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All the articles in this journal are formatted in the Chicago style, even social sciences papers that would normally use APA formatting. This was done for the sake of uniformity (to make the journal as professional looking as possible by giving it one style) and readability (to make the journal easier to read by not abruptly changing styles from article to article, particularly in regards for nonacademic readers, who constitute a significant portion of the journal’s audience). We wish to make social science professionals who may read this journal aware of this fact and why this formatting was used. Aside from normal copyediting and uniform formatting, the content of these articles was not changed in any way.

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One of the most important aspects of the mission of the Washington University Center for the Humanities is to promote research on all levels in the humanities and humanistic social sciences. In the academic world, however, the word “research” is often used exclusively to refer to the work of university faculty, although it is also at times extended to the projects of graduate students, who after all are considered by the institution as faculty-in-training. Undergraduate students, by virtue of the broad array of coursework they undertake in a variety different disciplines, are rarely thought of as conducting research, for the very breadth and diversity of their education are seen as ruling out the depth and sustained attention necessary for a serious academic research project. Undergraduates might be asked to write research papers for their courses, but with these assignments they’re not expected to fulfill one of the most important criteria the academy attaches to faculty research, namely that it make an original contribution to the existing scholarship. Moreover, unlike in the natural sciences and in some branches of the social sciences, where undergraduate students regularly assist in laboratories, in the humanities undergraduates rarely have the opportunity to participate in some way, however small, in faculty research projects. For these reasons, many students in the humanities and humanistic social sciences never get the opportunity to take on the role of junior researcher and conduct the type of research—even on a smaller scale—that they would be expected to perform as a graduate student or faculty member. For the student considering graduate study or even a career as a faculty member in a humanistic discipline, there thus arises a problem. Without the opportunity to engage in advanced research, how can one know one would be good at it? Or that one would even enjoy such an endeavor? How can one make the decision to embark on the long and at times arduous journey of graduate study in the humanities and humanistic social sciences (a journey whose endpoint, in these times of vocational uncertainty, is anything but certain) without having at least some experience of actually doing the type of work demanded by such a path?

The WU Center for the Humanities provides one solution to this problem in the form of the Merle Kling Undergraduate Honors Fellowship Program (MKUHFP), which was founded by Gerald Early, former Director of the WU Center for the Humanities and Merle Kling Professor of Modern
Letters, and named in honor of former WU provost and professor of political science Merle Kling. The MKUHFP is a two-year program that consists of cohorts of students in their junior and senior years; each year five to seven students are accepted at the end of their sophomore year and spend the final two years of their undergraduate careers working on in-depth and sustained research projects. The Kling Fellows are paired with mentors who carefully advise them with their research; they also participate in a weekly seminar devoted to the discussion and analysis of their work-in-progress. They are also provided with a summer stipend and some financial support during the academic year to facilitate their research, which permits them even to travel to archives and attend conferences. At the end of their two years, the Kling Fellows produce their research in article form and publish it in the annual journal of the MKUHFP, Slideshow, the latest volume of which you hold in your hands. (Copies of the earlier volumes may be requested from the Center for the Humanities at cenhum@artsci.wustl.edu.)

The 2013 seniors of the MKUHFP produced the work that is featured here. Jessica Kapustiak writes about Irenaeus's Against Heresies, which was written in the second century CE, a time in which there was no orthodoxy and no scriptural canon; rather, numerous theologies and conceptions of Christianity were interacting and competing for supremacy. The explicit purpose of this pivotal text, as Kapustiak demonstrates, was to expose and overthrow opposing forms of Christianity. She argues, however, that Irenaeus also had an implicit purpose for composing Against Heresies: to establish, through rhetoric, his conception of orthodoxy. Fahim Masoud examines the shift of global power to China. The economic rise of China combined with its military modernization has convinced many scholars and military analysts that China will eventually achieve global hegemony. Masoud takes issue with those who believe the future belongs to China. In his examination of China's geography and history, Masoud finds that China is not only resource-poor, but is also faced with many internal challenges ranging from a lack of political and civic institutions to economic inequities. Until China overcomes these problems, he argues, the chances of the country achieving regional and global hegemony are poor. Prateek Kumar explores in his project the role of music in medicine and healing. He attempts to unite the past and present of musical healing and calls for collaboration between music therapists, ethnomusicologists, and traditional musical healers. Based on his fieldwork in India, Kumar presents paradigms of Indian musical healing, discusses possible integration with music therapy, and argues that musical healing knowledge from different cultures can strengthen the discipline of music therapy. With his project,
Alex Tolkin combines his academic interests in computer science and political science, examining the effect of anonymity on online political discourse using a sentiment analysis program. Using the Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects, he predicts that anonymous discourse will be more politically polarized than non-anonymous discourse. He tests six sets of comments using a sentiment analysis program and concludes that while anonymity appears to have little effect on level of political polarization, topic of discussion has a significant effect.

As these essays demonstrate, all four of the Kling Fellows whose work is represented here have conducted a program of serious, sustained, in-depth and creative investigation of a particular topic, the very type of original research that they will engage in as graduate students and as future scholars. The two years they have spent with their projects—time spent gathering materials, creating bibliographies, reading widely and deeply, accumulating evidence, meeting with mentors, developing and analyzing models, formulating arguments, crafting their writing, producing draft after draft, and engaging thoughtfully with each other’s work—is time they spent as scholars and not merely as students. By finally seizing the opportunity to do independent, creative research, they have become in the process true researchers, an identity and a set of skills they will take with them to their further studies and to their careers.

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Abstract: Jürgen Habermas developed a normative ideal of how citizens should interact with their states by analyzing the deliberative institutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century bourgeois public sphere. Contemporary scholars have argued that the Internet could help realize Habermas’s ideal today. In my Kling paper, I argue that these views overlook the differences between the current online communications environment and the one Habermas was analyzing. Specifically, I examine the effect of anonymity on online political discussion. Based on the Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects, I predict that anonymous online discourse will be more politically polarized than non-anonymous online discourse. To test this hypothesis, I used a sentiment analysis program to compare comments on pairs of similar newspaper articles where one paper used a pseudonymous commenting system and the other a non-anonymous commenting system. Anonymity did not have a significant effect on political polarization. However, article topic did have a significant effect, indicating that topic of discussion has a significant effect on how politically polarized discussions.

Introduction

The Internet has forever transformed the way people interact. The ability to communicate with anyone who has an Internet connection has revolutionized collaboration, information distribution, and political discourse. Normative theories of how political discourse ought to operate, which were once considered infeasible, now appear newly relevant. However, these theories must be carefully examined for assumptions that no longer hold true in the online age. I evaluate how well the Internet is facilitating the achievement of Jürgen Habermas’s normative ideal of a public sphere by examining the way anonymity affects online discourse. While anonymity does not appear to affect online discussions, topic of discussions does.

I adopt a multidisciplinary approach to analyze the effect of ano-
nymity on online discussions. First, I examine ideal goals for political discourse and how the Internet can be a powerful tool to foster deliberation. I then use the work of Cass Sunstein to argue that online deliberation falls far short of this ideal. I expand on his argument by identifying anonymity as a potential factor influencing online debate. I then use a sentiment analysis program to compare relatively anonymous and relatively non-anonymous discussions. My results indicate that anonymity does not actually have the predicted effect of making online deliberation more divisive. Instead, article topic appears to be the primary variable affecting polarization. I discuss other variables that might affect online discussion, and conclude by examining the implications of my research on efforts to improve online discussions.

The Internet as Public Sphere

The standard analytical model for evaluating a communications environment is the “public sphere” idea developed by Jürgen Habermas in his 1962 book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. The book was revolutionary because it presented a model of how communication ought to function, unlike earlier works which emphasized problems of discourse (Schuler and Day, 4). Habermas describes a public sphere as a set of deliberative institutions that enable citizens to discuss matters of state with one another and critique the actions of their government. An ideal public sphere is open to all. In such a sphere, participants debate important issues using rational arguments and aim to find common ground. This ideal is appealing because the actions of a state affiliated with this sort of sphere would not be coercive. The citizens help shape these policies through rational-critical debate, and have approached a consensus on the optimal path for the state.¹ Thus, an ideal (or near ideal) public sphere is very appealing because it produces good policies that have been heavily debated and scrutinized. The eventual policies of the state are quite popular because the public (or most of them) have been convinced of their rightness over the course of deliberation.

Despite the appeal of his ideal, Habermas concluded *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* by arguing that the public
sphere had disintegrated. At the time of his writing, the institutions and forums the public once used to deliberate, such as coffee shops and salons, no longer existed. Similarly, the media environment of his time, with strong barriers against public access, seemed to corroborate his gloomy conclusion. As media outlets continued to consolidate, limiting opportunities for typical citizens to participate in national conversations, Habermas's ideal may have appeared increasingly unattainable.

However, in the 1990s the Internet appeared to remove many of the factors that had made the ideal seem impossible. Citizens could suddenly discuss political events with millions of their peers online. Habermas lamented that media consolidation had replaced a deliberating public with a small set of designated opinion-givers paid to espouse their views, such as television pundits. Blogs allowed citizens to start conversations or present narratives that countered the ones expressed by conventional media outlets. The Internet also allowed citizens to express their views in more complex ways than the binary process of voting, and to present justifications for their views. Scholars began to revisit Habermas's model as a feasible vision for democracy.

Some were overjoyed. Hubertus Buchstein, an early analyst of the Internet's effects on democracy, commented: “If one accepts the claims of the optimists, the new technology seems to match all the basic requirements of Habermas's normative theory of the democratic public sphere . . . the Internet looks like the most ideal speech situation” (Buchstein, 250). Some optimists even predicted that contemporary journalism would more resemble that of the eighteenth century, apparently believing that the Internet would not only facilitate deliberation but transform the media environment as well (Clark and Aufderheide, 13-14). Hugh Hewitt, a prominent conservative blogger, argued that traditional media would be swept away by a wave of bloggers who would critically examine coverage and be involved in constant debate with other online commentators.

More pessimistic scholars began to question the notion that a model for public discourse based on institutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could be applied to online discussion in
Habermas made a number of assumptions when constructing his ideal that clearly no longer held—for example, the idea that discussions would be discrete and mediated by periodic information from publications is clearly obsolete in a world where online news is updated continuously (Warner, 69). Similarly, the scale of potential deliberation has been radically expanded. Habermas assumed that the number of those deliberating would be limited by the physical constraints of the institution facilitating the deliberation. However, the Internet facilitates deliberation among a virtually limitless number of people simultaneously. Thus one of the most revolutionary aspects of online communication has been the creation of “many to many” conversation (Russell, 41). Technology such as the television allowed “one to many” communication. The state could effectively broadcast its message to every citizen, skewing debate. The Internet enables “many to many” conversation, which allows citizens to both broadcast their messages to the state and allows them to converse with many of their peers simultaneously.

Instead of accepting or rejecting wholesale the ideal proposed by Habermas, a more fruitful avenue for research is to examine the unique challenges and opportunities presented by the Internet. Every set of institutions where deliberation occurs is different and creates a different public sphere (Habermas, xviii). The Internet is clearly the best (and possibly only) tool that can currently create institutions where genuine deliberative democracy can occur. The unique nature of the Internet ought to influence normative prescriptions for how deliberation should operate in that communications environment. The next challenge is to determine how the Internet differs from previous tools for deliberation. While the Internet has many unique attributes compared to prior technologies used for communication, I focus on how it may foster increased polarization of discourse.

**Polarization**

The most revolutionary aspect of the online sphere is the non-territoriality of discussion. People can select their conversation partners based on whatever criteria they want, in contrast to earlier spheres where conversation partners were selected primarily based
on geographic proximity. Pessimists contend that this freedom has serious negative consequences for deliberation. Recall that a core aspect of Habermas’s ideal is that deliberation seeks to establish common ground among participants. If discussion is polarized or fragmented, it fails this criterion. If people are not exposed to alternative views or do not present their views in an attempt to persuade others (preferring to “preach to the choir,” so to speak), it will be extremely difficult for discussion participants to find common ground.

In his book *Republic.com 2.0*, Cass Sunstein argues that optimists have overlooked troubling aspects of the online sphere. His primary concern is “fragmentation,” or the fear that the public sphere is split into many small discussion groups filled with like-minded individuals. Such discussion groups are hardly “a utopian dream” of free consumer choice—instead, they “create serious problems from the democratic point of view” (Sunstein, 18). The primary product of the public sphere is “public opinion.” In order to serve as the legitimate basis of law, this public opinion should stem from “the will of the entire people” (Habermas, 107). By engaging in rational-critical debate, citizens can approach a consensus and find common ground on optimal policies. If members of the sphere with differing opinions never talk to one another, or they do not conceive of themselves as members of a single deliberating consensus-oriented public, no consensus is possible. Agreements can sometimes be reached via bargaining and negotiation, but these lack the moral force of consensus agreements. In an ideal public sphere, all members communicate with one another in some fashion, even if only through representatives.

Habermas emphasized the importance of face-to-face interactions for deliberation to function properly. In eighteenth century Germany for example, political journals established topics for discussion but most of the actual deliberation occurred “in the private gatherings of the bourgeoisie” or in the hundreds of “reading societies” that emerged as physical institutions where citizens could discuss the printed news of the day (Habermas, 72). The reading societies facilitated deliberation among groups of people in the same area who could contribute to a national conversation. Importantly,
while there was some choice of partners at the national level, there was little to no choice at the local level. People typically deliberated with those who were geographically close to them.

The Internet allows people to select conversation partners regardless of geography. If people select only partners whose views conform to their own, a consensus among members of the public in general will not be possible. Unfortunately for deliberative theorists, that fragmentation appears to be the norm online. Analysis of the link structure of the blogosphere indicates that it is sharply divided by political viewpoint. An examination of over 1,000 blogs during the 2004 US presidential campaign found that blogs linked to blogs with similar views more than four times as often as they linked to blogs with opposing views (Adamic and Glance, 40). Even more striking, a 2007 study of blogrolls, lists of links many blogs feature on their home pages, found that 91 percent of links were to like-minded blogs (Hargittai et. al., 77). When blogs actually linked to sites with opposing views, they often misrepresented those views (Hargittai et. al., 84).

The blogosphere is sufficiently divided such that it is fair to assume sections of the blogosphere are powerfully influenced by group identities. A group identity is a group to which one belongs that is part of one’s individual identity. For example, my individual identity is “Alex Tolkin,” but I have many group identities (white, male, college student, etc.). Since blogs are sharply divided, group identities along partisan lines are likely present. Cass Sunstein claims that when group identities are present, people are strongly inclined to follow the opinion of the group. When people to whom one feels connected strongly endorse a position, one is inclined to strongly endorse the position as well, regardless of whether or not one has actually conducted a thorough investigation to justify this confidence. Similarly, if one does hear the view of someone who does not share the group identity, one is more inclined to dismiss this view. For example, if there is a powerful group identity of “political science student” present during discussion, I am inclined to take the views of fellow political science students more seriously and dismiss the views of non-political science students. I would see them as outsid-
ers and probably link them to a variety of negative stereotypes. As I discussed earlier, effective deliberation requires that participants conceive of themselves as part of a broader consensus-oriented deliberating public. Members of a fragmented public conceive of themselves as members of sub-groups during deliberation, inhibiting the potential for consensus, common ground, and productive discussion.

Not only is the blogosphere divided, but one is almost certain to be rapidly directed to a community that agrees with one's pre-existing views. Search engines treat people as consumers of information rather than citizens with deliberative duties. As a result, these search engines direct people to sites that they expect the “consumer” will enjoy. For example, say that I am politically liberal and have just set up a new computer. At first, when I search for information online I will see a relatively politically neutral set of links. Since I am more likely to click on links from liberal sources, however, I will soon see a substantially different set of links than a person with conservative inclinations would see. This entire example rather implausibly assumes that I am not logged in to a site that logs search history. In such a situation, I may never even see a set of neutral links. Search engines effectively route people to news they want to hear and people similar to themselves. In its current form, the development of group identities is almost inevitable.12

For a public sphere to live up to the Habermasian ideal, there must be some unity. The current nature of online political discussion implies that fragmentation is pervasive. If the ideal of a public sphere of citizens freely debating and influencing politics is ever to be realized, citizens have to start to engage as a unified community more often. To encourage this, research must identify aspects of the online sphere that promote or discourage fragmentation and the formation of group identities. I examine anonymity as a potentially powerful force that makes it more difficult for people with different views to have a conversation with one another in which they try to either reach a consensus or at least discover some common ground. I hypothesize that anonymity exacerbates the effects of group identities and makes online discussion more polarized.
Anonymity

One of the significant changes to the deliberation environment is the immense rise in popularity of anonymous or pseudonymous discourse. Anonymous discussion occurs when statements cannot be linked to any real-life identity. Pseudonymous discussion occurs when statements cannot be linked to an offline identity, but can be linked to other pseudonymous online statements (in other words, there is a set of statements with a consistent online identity that can be evaluated as a set, but cannot be linked to anyone in the offline world). The concept of identifiability is not binary. One may have certain aspects of one's identity that are transmitted (such as name or gender) and other aspects that are not (such as address or appearance).

When anonymous, people are in a different psychological state than when they are identified. The most prominent model explaining the psychological effect of anonymity is the Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects, or SIDE. The SIDE model argues that people have two ways of conceiving themselves—as individuals or as members of groups. When one is anonymous, this self-conception is extremely important, because one has to construct an identity from scratch for others to interact with. When a strong group identity that one shares is present, one is more likely to adopt that group identity. If one is anonymous and feels as if (s)he is part of the same group as other anonymous members, one conforms to the standards of that group (Thurlow et al., 67). For example, one might expect that anonymity could break down gender barriers, since one does not know what gender his/her conversation partners are. In fact, the differences become more extreme, because people associate with their group identities as men or women. When discussing gender issues anonymously, men communicate in a more stereotypically masculine manner and women in a more stereotypically feminine manner than when they are non-anonymous (Postmes and Spears, 1080). In such discussions, gender is the salient group identity, and because the discussion is anonymous, this identity has a powerful influence on the discussion of the participants.

The costumes of the Ku Klux Klan are a concrete example of the
power of anonymity to create conformist impulses. Members of the KKK wear cloaks and hoods partly in order to hide their appearance from authorities. But another crucial reason is to promote extreme behavior. When masked, “any diversity among them is hidden from sight. Hence, the group appears to be more homogeneous than it already is . . . the cloaks and hoods undermine individual distinctiveness while accentuating a collective identity” (Postmes and Spears, 1075). This is an extreme case, but the same principles apply in more ordinary situations. On online forums with a salient group identity, members will see the similarity of the group identity but will be less attuned to the differences in individual identity among members of the group. Those differences are hidden by the anonymous nature of online discussion. The group identity is the only identity visible, and has an extremely powerful influence on how group members act, view themselves, and view non-members.

This influence has critical implications for political debate. Sunstein explains that “perceptions of identity and group membership are particularly important” for understanding “the nature of polarization on the internet” (Sunstein, 67). He argues that groups that have a shared identity are much more likely to develop extreme views. When a group identity is present, participants in discussions are much more easily persuaded by their peers. Conformist impulses will be very powerful because the discussion participants are so similar. Furthermore, people will become more confident in their opinions since they receive so much support for them, even though that support is coming only from similarly minded people (Sunstein, 67-69). These are all negative outcomes from the perspective of those who want to promote Habermas’s ideal of the public sphere. The only factor that is supposed to determine public opinion is the strength of the arguments to support each opinion. In a polarized public sphere, members evaluate arguments differently depending on who is presenting them, and may ignore many arguments entirely. This could marginalize parts of the population, inhibit or distort cross-group discussions, and slow the diffusion of ideas throughout the online sphere.

The previous section argued that the new non-territoriality of
discussion has powerful implications for discourse. The online sphere appears to be sharply divided politically because people can select conversation partners who agree with their pre-existing views, regardless of where those people are located. Thus group identities are likely present. This section further contends that because most online discussions are anonymous or pseudonymous, these group identities likely have a huge influence on the conduct of online discussion. Sunstein argues that when “group discussion tends to lead people to more strongly held versions of the same view with which they began, there is legitimate reason for concern” (Sunstein, 78). Given the nature of current online discussions, Sunstein ought to be concerned. The Internet gives people greater opportunities to communicate. But if these opportunities lead to a divided public, where people only look for arguments that reinforce their pre-existing beliefs and never encounter opponents to their ideas, not only might the online sphere do little good; it may actually harm contemporary democracy.

**Methodology**

The preceding discussion is a theoretical explanation of why the study of anonymity is crucial for assessing the nature of online discourse and by extension constructing normative guidelines regulating this discourse. I echo scholars who worry that group identities are prominent in online political debate and raise the concern that anonymity exacerbates these identities’ effects. Curiously, empirical study of online discourse and the factors affecting it is relatively sparse. Further research is needed to understand the effects of anonymity in actual contemporary discourse, outside of controlled psychological experiments.

To examine this, one must contrast anonymous discourse with extremely similar non-anonymous discourse. Unfortunately, there is relatively little non-anonymous discourse online. However, the popular social media site Facebook has extended its commenting system to Web sites that wish to participate. Users can comment on
articles via their Facebook profile, and comments display the person’s Facebook name and profile picture. This is a quite non-anonymous method of commenting, since a fair amount of identifying information is publicly visible and most Facebook accounts use a person’s real name (Protalinski). *USA Today* is the only major newspaper that has adopted Facebook comments, while large blogs appear to prefer anonymous or pseudonymous commenting systems. This makes *USA Today* the ideal control group with which to study the effects of anonymity. *Boston.com* (a Web site affiliated with the *Boston Globe*) uses a pseudonymous system that reveals very little information about the commentators. I compared the comments on *USA Today* articles with comments on *Boston Globe* articles using a sentiment analysis program based on the programming language python’s Natural Language Toolkit.\textsuperscript{18} To prevent distortions caused by misspelled words that would not be recognized by the program, I manually corrected the spelling of the comments.

Sentiment analysis programs attempt to identify the sentiment in a given block of text. For this experiment, however, it is more important to determine the strength of the sentiment. In analysis of whether comments reflect polarization, whether a comment is “positive” or “negative” is not relevant. Sentiment analysis programs examine how closely the target text matches a corpus of text with a known sentiment. However, words matching the corpus may demonstrate strong sentiment while making it difficult for the analysis program to determine which sentiment is being displayed. Consider the following comment responding to an article on Obama’s election victory:

“Evil lost. By evil, i mean Citizens United, voter suppression, lies, false accusations, and obstruction. They tried it all, and it all failed in the end.”

Words that indicate sentiment are marked in bold. These are all negative words, even though the comment approves of Obama’s election victory. Nevertheless, they are strong indicators of sentiment—the author demonstrates the effects of prominent group identity on deliberation.

(S)he describes those who do not agree with his/her view as “evil”
and accuses opponents of underhanded political maneuvering. This sort of attitude inhibits productive discourse because it aims only to attack opponents rather than present an argument. A sentiment analysis program may classify such a quote as “negative” because it contains so many words indicating negative sentiment. My approach avoids this potential danger by examining only the strength of sentiment, not the direction.

Note that I do not analyze whether comments are neutral—I analyze whether they are presented in a neutral manner. Good discourse requires that people present their opinions, and they may be strong opinions. It also requires that these opinions be presented in a manner that fosters rational argument and an attempt to find common ground. Since sentiment analysis examines the language used but has difficulty understanding the topics discussed, it is a good tool for identifying a discussion’s quality of language rather than its quality of content. Good content and good arguments are essential for productive deliberation as well. The effect of anonymity on these aspects of discourse ought to be explored further, but it is beyond the scope of this paper.

Anonymity could affect comments in two ways. First, the SIDE model could correctly explain the psychological effect of anonymity and how anonymity changes the way individuals communicate. Alternatively, anonymity might alter the composition of the discussion group. Perhaps different people are inclined to deliberate anonymously than are inclined to deliberate non-anonymously. Nevertheless, so long as the effect is the same, the implications are the same for deliberative democracy.

I analyzed comments on three pairs of similar news articles. The first pair covered Obama’s negotiations on the budget and “fiscal cliff,” the second pair examined his efforts on gun control, and the third reported on an interview with Mitt Romney. These topics have been extremely divisive, have received extensive media coverage, and have prompted intense online debate, making them the ideal subjects for examining polarization in public opinion. I hypothesized that the boston.com articles would have significantly more polarized comments than the USA Today articles.
Chart 1

Proportion of Comments by Neutrality Level - Fiscal Cliff

Proportion

Neutrality Level (0 is most neutral)
Total number of comments: 270

Non-Anonymous
Pseudonymous

Chart 2

Proportion of Comments by Neutrality Level - Gun Control

Proportion

Neutrality Level (0 is most neutral)
Total number of comments: 364

Non-Anonymous
Pseudonymous
Results

In all cases, the pseudonymous comments were not statistically different from the anonymous ones. A chi-squared test of independence returned a $p$ value of .347 on the articles about the fiscal cliff, a value of .279 on the articles about gun control, and a value of .817 on the articles about Romney’s comments. This means that the difference between these three sets of comments is not statistically significant. This contradicts the hypothesis that the pseudonymous comments would be significantly more polarized than the non-anonymous ones. My tests produced no evidence that anonymity has an effect on the level of polarization in a discussion. Charts 1-3 show that on each topic, non-anonymous and pseudonymous comments had extremely similar polarity distributions.

My tests did produce strong evidence that discussion topic has a significant effect on levels of polarization, however. The differences in polarity distribution among the Boston.com articles and among the USA Today articles were significant. The only pair of articles from the same paper that was not statistically different was the USA Today pair of articles covering Gun Control and Romney’s comments ($p$ value of .304). Every other pair of articles from the same paper had significantly different polarity distributions. In other words, while the comments on the articles on the same topic from different newspapers were very similar, the comments on the articles from the same newspaper on different topics were extremely different. Topic had a significant effect on the polarization of discourse, even if anonymity appeared not to. Chart 4 shows the average polarity level across each pair of articles. Unlike the previous three charts, the polarity distributions do not line up, indicating that comments followed different distributions depending on topic.

Discussion

This is of course not the expected result that follows from the analysis laid out in my paper. There are several possible explanations for anonymity’s apparent lack of influence on discourse. An optimistic explanation is that group identities have minimal effect when people deliberate outside of those groups. For example, it may
be that there are powerful group identities on blogs, but that these
identities are less influential once people begin talking with those
with different views. If true, this would make conformist pressures
on blogs much less troubling, since they have minimal impact out-
side of those blogs.

Another possible explanation is various lurking variables mask
the effect of anonymity. One of the biggest variables is moderation
policy. Almost every commenting system has some policy for de-
leting posts, from extremely permissive (only posts containing ille-
gal content, such as links to child pornography, will be deleted) to
extremely restrictive (any post that does not conform to rigorous
standards of discourse will be removed). Generally, comment sys-
tems provide guidelines or explanations for good posting behavior.
Facebook aims to prevent spam or illegal content from being post-
ed, but Boston.com has more restrictive guidelines that demand no
“personal attacks” or “hate speech.” Facebook’s system is automat-
ed, while Boston.com uses human moderators (Ghiossi). Comments
deleted by Boston.com but not by Facebook are likely extremely po-
larized and demonstrate strong group identity by furiously dispar-
aging or attacking members of other groups. Perhaps the best way to
ensure productive deliberative discourse is stronger moderating pol-
icies rather than using anonymous or non-anonymous commenting
systems. Removing offensive comments may be a more effective ap-
proach than attempting to prevent people from posting them.

A third explanation questions some assumptions of my study. I
chose news Web sites that were fairly politically neutral, and assumed
that political group identities would be salient on these sites because
conversation participants are discussing politics. However, because
the sites are relatively neutral, there may be a different group identity
that has more of an effect on discourse. For example, if, say, location
was the most salient group identity in the gun control debate, news-
papers from different regions might have different polarity distrib-
utions, even if they used a similar commenting system. Mitigating
all potential lurking variables would require a much more in-depth
study with perhaps dozens of articles from dozens of news sources.

The differences between the sets of articles suggest that the most
influential factor affecting the polarization in online discourse is the topic of the article itself. This result is both encouraging and discouraging for efforts to improve online discourse. If comments are not greatly affected by commenting systems, the potential for change may be limited. There are millions of blogs, but only a few extremely popular commenting systems such as Disqus, Facebook Comments, and Livefyre. If commenting systems had a major effect on discourse, implementing changes in the policies of a few big systems could have a massive effect on the online public sphere. Instead, because discussion appears to vary so much by topic, achieving major improvement in online discussion appears extremely difficult.

The variability of online discussion suggests that some discussions may be far more productive than others. The challenge is then to find and identify good discussions by sorting through the majority of discourse consisting of people with different views failing to engage in a productive conversation. It may be that some topics are difficult to discuss in a civil and productive manner, while on other topics people can more easily recognize the merits of their opponents' positions. Understanding how discussion topic affects quality of discourse is a subject that could be explored in future research among the growing scholarship on the nature of online discussions.

Conclusion

This paper took a multidisciplinary approach to try to understand the nature of online discourse. Understanding the Internet requires many perspectives and approaches. Fortunately, the huge amount of data available online makes quantitative analysis in the social sciences more feasible than ever before. Future research can and will expand upon this work to help understand the differences between online discussion and previous communications environments.

In order to make online discourse more productive, it is vital to understand the factors that make online discourse less rational, inclusive, and compromise-oriented than it could be. I have analyzed one potential factor, which is the anonymity of discussion participants. This did not appear to have a major effect. Instead, topic of discussion appeared to be the major factor influencing how polarized online dis-
Discussion is. This surprising conclusion confirms one of the premises of this paper—that fostering good online discourse requires a better understanding of how online discussion actually operates. The Internet appears to be the discussion arena of choice for the foreseeable future. Further investigation in this new field can create groundwork for future policymaking to promote the best discourse possible.

1 In Habermas’s words, the “domination” of the public sphere was in fact a situation where “domination itself was dissolved.” The coercive power of the state has been replaced by citizens collaborating to develop policies. Not only are the resulting policies rational, but the citizens feel that since they have been more involved in the policy formation they are effectively consenting to their own rule.

2 Habermas argues that mass capitalism has turned the public into consumers rather than critics. The increased interaction between state and citizen that mass capitalism fosters prevents the types of interactions necessary for effective analysis and debate on state policies. This means that an “acclimation-prone mood comes to predominate.” In other words, people vote yes or no on policies or public figures, but they do not critically debate policies and try to develop their own. While the citizens in theory have some control over the government, if they are not in the majority they have no input whatsoever, and regardless of whether they are in the majority they have no say in the actual formation of policies (Habermas, 217).

3 An extreme example of the denigration of the public sphere was the first Gulf War, during which the Pentagon had almost complete control over what journalists reported on. The low number of reporting outlets combined with the state control over coverage stifled genuine conversation on US policy (Russell, 5).

4 Worse, after Habermas wrote his book these opinion givers increasingly pursued a role as entertainers and profitable brands, rather than trying to deliberate as representatives of common citizens (Barlow, 126-127).

5 In the early days of blogging, many in both government and the mainstream media were caught off guard by the public’s ability to generate narratives. Bloggers broke the Abu Ghraib scandal, a feat of journalism that stands in stark contrast to the terrible mainstream coverage of the first Gulf War (Russell, 15-16). Similarly, Dan Rather was fired from CBS over factual inaccuracies in a story on George W. Bush’s Vietnam service because he and his staff did not expect bloggers to thoroughly fact-check the report (Scott, 40-41).

6 This is not to say that some scholars were not already trying to apply deliberative ideals even before the Internet. The most interesting approach was proposed by Bruce Ackerman and James Fishkin in their paper “Deliberation Day.” They argued for a national holiday where citizens across the country could deliberate on which candidate they would prefer. There were two major problems with this approach. First, it would only introduce the most basic type of deliberation. Second,
it would be extremely impractical, likely costing the country billions of dollars. The Internet made deliberation far easier and better deliberation possible, which is why I assume that mass public deliberation is currently only viable online.

7 Habermas constructs his normative ideal of the public sphere by examining a clearly non-ideal public sphere, the bourgeois public sphere of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Critics such as Nancy Fraser charged that such an approach did not generate an ideal applicable for a public sphere in the twentieth century (Fraser, 58). The bourgeois public sphere was sufficiently far from ideal that critics argue there may be problems that are only apparent once the sphere better approximates the ideal. If these critics are correct, such a sphere would be clearly inapplicable for a twenty-first-century online sphere as well.

8 Habermas conceives of public opinion as well reasoned deliberative consensus, rather than the non-deliberative public reaction commonly thought of as public opinion today. I am here referring to the more idealized sort of public opinion.

9 Such agreements are “devoid of all rationality” because they are not supported by rational argument in pursuit of the common good, but rather bargaining and pursuit of individual self-interest (Habermas, 234).

10 Sunstein defines group identity as thinking of oneself “as part of a group having a shared identity and degree of solidarity.” Thus, some group identities are far more powerful than others. For example, my identity as an American usually has a much greater influence on the way I deliberate with others than my identity as a glasses-wearer (Sunstein, 67).

11 This has been documented by a variety of psychological studies (Sunstein, 68).

12 Eli Pariser conducts an in-depth examination of how these algorithms work and their effect on democracy in his book *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet Is Hiding from You*.

13 Admittedly, there was some anonymous or pseudonymous discussion in the earlier public sphere. Jonathan Swift wrote brilliant satires pseudonymously to make political arguments (Mullan, 9-10, 30). However, most discussion occurred in face-to-face encounters where all participants were identified. Anonymous and pseudonymous discussion almost certainly plays a larger role in the public sphere now than ever before.

14 These definitions of anonymity and pseudonymity are based on the much more detailed typology of Pfitzmann and Hansen.

15 See Marx for a categorization of the various types of “identity knowledge” that can be expressed.

16 For a detailed summary of the SIDE model as well as a history of empirical studies of anonymity, see *Understanding the Psychology of Internet Behaviour: Virtual Worlds, Real Lives* by Adam Joinson, pp. 26-51.

17 In the information age, identity construction is crucial, so much so that some philosophers claim that control over identity is a right (Floridi, 195).

18 For documentation, see http://nltk.org/. For demonstrations of the various functions, see http://text-processing.com/demo/.

I used $p < .05$ as my significance threshold for all tests.


Interestingly, these systems already compete for market share by claiming their systems encourage good discourse. The largely pseudonymous system Disqus, for example, has argued that pseudonymous comments actually promote better discussion than anonymous or identified comment systems, while Facebook comments have been praised for reducing the most vitriolic anonymous online debate.

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The Economic Rise of China and Its Implications for the United States and the World

By FAHIM MASOUD

Abstract: Global power is shifting to the East, and many countries are rising economically, politically, and militarily. China is one of the Asian economic giants, and the country has been experiencing an unprecedented economic growth. This economic rise of China combined with its military modernization has convinced many scholars and military analysts to believe that China will overtake the U.S. economy and eventually attain global hegemony. I register objection to those who believe the future belongs to China. Upon closer examination of China’s geography and history, we learn that China is not only a resource-poor country but also faced with many internal challenges ranging from a lack of political and civic institutions to economic inequities in regions such as Tibet and Xinjiang, which are demanding political autonomy and independence. Until China overcomes these problems, the chances of the country achieving regional and global hegemony are not very high.

We know we have to play the game your way now, but in ten years we will set the rules!
— Chinese ambassador to the World Trade Organization during China’s negotiations to enter the institution in 1994

With the economic rise of China and its military modernization, the present world order will undergo significant change. In a remarkably short span of time, China has become a world-class manufacturing powerhouse. China’s impressive economic growth of 9.5 percent annually, its widespread economic investments around the world, and its rapid ascent to global power have aroused con-
cern in the Western world, particularly in the United States. In addition, China’s growing appetite for non-renewable resources and its efforts to achieve global hegemony have added to this anxiety. History demonstrates that when a new great power emerges, uncertainty and conflict follow because the rise of this new player challenges the status quo.\(^1\) China’s rapid economic growth and its ascendancy on the global scene have convinced many historians and scholars of international relations that China will inevitably become a global hegemon. My goal in this paper is to investigate their belief and ask: “What are the conditions under which China can become the regional hegemon in the twenty-first century in Asia?” It is naive to think that there is a global hegemon. No country, empire, or great power can completely dominate the world. However, the closest a country can come to global hegemony is through regional hegemony. The United States is supposed to be the world’s superpower not because it is dominating the entire world, but because of its complete domination of the Western Hemisphere. As of now, it has no political, military, and economic rival in its region.

Throughout this paper, I argue that China will not be able to dominate the twenty-first century nor will it be able to become the hegemon—the political, military, and economic leader—of its region. In fact, I maintain that China, after the slow-down of its economic growth, will began to recede and thus play a much more diminished role on the global scene. This paper is divided into two sections. In the first half, I will examine China’s recent past to illustrate how far China has traveled since the eighteenth century. To appreciate the economic rise of China and how far it has traveled to attain the status of a global power, we must know China’s modern political history because only by knowing that history can we assert how events might unfold in the future. China’s history demonstrates that the country is a regional hegemon when it is internally stable. When internally unstable, the country is in no position to project its power effectively abroad. The second part of the paper will explore the question of whether the present economic growth in China is sustainable. Over such a short period of time, no country has seen the degree of economic development that China has accomplished
so far, and to sustain that growth will be an enormous challenge for the Chinese Communist government. In conclusion, I will challenge the beliefs harbored by scholars and historians who are convinced that China will not only overcome its internal challenges but also become the preeminent power in the world. Among those who harbor such beliefs is Niall Ferguson. Using John Mearsheimer’s theory of “Offensive Realism,” I argue that for China to attain global preeminence and be able to dominate its region, it must first overcome its internal problems and become the dominant power in its own backyard. China’s domestic problems include underemployment, political instability, social unrest and the aspirations of separatist groups (Uyghurs, Tibetans, etc.) to break away from the mainland and declare independence.

It is through understanding the past that we can understand China’s growth trajectory and chart where the country is headed in the future. It is also necessary to clarify the term “the rise of China.” I believe China’s emergence as a new great power is treated as if China had never been a great power. Joseph Nye (2000) has noted that it is inaccurate to call China’s economic expansion and its growing influence throughout the world the “rise of China” (1). A more accurate term is the renaissance of China. One of the questions historians and scholars of international relations have been grappling with is why China, beginning in the fourteenth century, lagged behind its European counterparts.

Janet Abu Lughod has observed that in the thirteenth century China was ahead of its European counterparts in many spheres. China’s Qin Jiushao (1202-1261) and Li Zhi (1192-1279) were the greatest mathematicians of the thirteenth century. “This was a period of major progress during which mathematics reached new heights” and China made significant breakthroughs in technological advancements (O’Conner and Robertson 2013). China also boasted the greatest and most beautiful urban centers in the world. Marco Polo, who traveled through China in the thirteenth century, described Shanghai as “beyond dispute one of the finest and noblest [cities] in the world” (Jeremy Ferguson 2009).

However, at the turn of the fourteenth century, China began to
lag behind Europe. The reason for this shift was that China “was temporarily in disarray”—constant invasions by the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and the Black Death interrupted trade routes, discontinuing economic and trade exchanges in China (Abu-Lughod 1991, 19). China also lagged behind because it abandoned its navy. The Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) stopped maritime expeditions after 1433, the date of the last voyage (Wertz 2010, 5). Historians believe that the Ming stopped Zheng He2 and his expeditions throughout the world because it had to focus its resources on a northern defense against the Mongols and Central Asia’s nomadic invaders. Finally, China lagged behind while Europe pulled ahead from the fourteenth century onwards because the power balance shifted in favor of the Western world as a result of the Industrial Revolution, making Europe and America the dominant players in the world (Nye 2010).

China is emerging as a great power and is returning to the status it once occupied on the world stage. Niall Ferguson (2011) argues that the twenty-first century will belong to China, as “most centuries with the exceptions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries” have belonged to China (5). In the same vein, Martin Jacques (2009) among other scholars—author of When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New World Order—has argued that in the thirteenth century the biggest cities and economic centers in the world were located not in Europe but in China. If China was not the economic center of the world, it was one of the major economic centers of the world. Even though China’s decline began in the fourteenth century, it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that the country began to suffer from all kinds of internal problems. China was faced with a series of natural catastrophes in the form of droughts, floods, and a demographic crisis, which brought about conflict among various Chinese ethnic groups over land shortage and resources (Ci and Yang 2010, 188).

The Qing dynasty (1644-1912) was not prepared to deal with any of these problems. During this time, China’s population doubled. With the growth of the population, the empire failed to maximize its bureaucratic effectiveness and to provide its growing population with employment. This failure of the Qing not only put a strain on
the economy, but also led to power decentralization (local and regional officials becoming more powerful) and to the breakdown of ecology and environment (Huc 1928, 122). As a result, more and more rebellions arose. For example, the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) was the most destructive of all the rebellions that occurred in the nineteenth century. As Schoppa (2002) notes, it was not the physical and material threat that was devastating to the health of the empire “but its political, social, and [ideological dynamics] that posed the most serious threat to the regime” (73). Hong Xiuquan—the leader of the movement—and his followers took up arms against the Qing due to their economic hardships and political alienation. Twenty million Chinese lost their lives. The rebellion sapped the Qing’s financial strength and crippled its ability to prevent foreign powers from interfering in its domestic affairs. Shortly after these events in the mid-eighteenth century, European powers arrived in China and demanded the Qing dynasty establish trade and commercial ties with them.

The British, who had already established a foothold in India through the East India Company, were the first to attempt to initiate trade ties with China. King George III had dispatched George McCartney to “open trade and diplomatic avenues in China” (Scott 2008, 16). The Chinese, having been the predominant power in Asia for centuries, refused to receive the king’s envoy. After the Qianlong emperor turned down McCartney, the British continued to export opium to China, and as more opium entered China, the country’s social and financial problems grew. More and more Chinese grew addicted to opium, resulting in political chaos and the breakdown of social structures.

Frustrated with the foreign merchants and their engagement in the opium trade, the emperor dispatched Lin Tse-hsu to attend to the problem. Lin seized 300 tons of opium in a single seizure and forced the British merchants to leave. British merchants demanded compensation for the loss of their opium, and when the Qing refused to pay, the British government began a series of attacks on China in what later came to be known as the “Opium War.” The Qing lost the Opium War (1839-1842), and the war made the dynasty realize the
superiority of the Europeans’ technology and science. Consequently, China was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanking. “With this treaty five ports of China were opened for Trade to foreigners” (Chaurasia 2004, 69).

Even after the Qing regime was exposed to the technological changes of the time, it was reluctant to begin modernizing its economy and to initiate reforms that would help rescue the country from its predicaments. There were ranks within the Qing dynasty who thought their failure in wars with the Europeans was due not to their backwardness, but to the Qing dynasty’s ineptness to rule over China effectively. This of course was not the case, and their statements were framed in racial terms since the Qing was a non-Han dynasty. It was a time when a group of disenfranchised, unemployed peasants took up arms against the Qing and formed the White Lotus Society and the Taiping Rebellion (1853-1861). As mentioned above, the Taiping Rebellion was the bloodiest of all the uprisings in the eighteenth century, which nearly brought down the Qing dynasty (Crossley 2010, 10).

Faced with grave economic and social challenges at home and plagued by foreign powers’ intrusions, the Qing continued to rule China until 1912. Upon the collapse of the Qing dynasty, China underwent a long period of violence and regional rivalries. Various forces such as Yuan Shikai and Sun-Yat Sen jockeyed over power and control in China. However, none of these competing forces was able to consolidate power and form a united government (Bergère 1998, 73).

After a host of rebellions and foreign interferences, more and more Chinese grew conscious of their country’s weak position in the world. They no longer wanted to be an underdeveloped country or to be pushed around by foreign powers. The Russo-Japanese War of 1905 further convinced the Empress Dowager and other imperial bureaucrats that there was nothing inherently superior about the European powers. However, reforms in terms of science and technology were not enough to bring China on a par with its European rivals. The Qing dynasty had to go, and a new republic had to come into existence if China was to become a strong, independent coun-
try. A number of leaders and movements sprang up and eventually replaced the Qing dynasty with a republic.

The period that followed the foundation of the republic was chaotic and marked by violence and bloodshed. However, China eventually emerged from this age of political instability and chaos. In 1949, Mao Zedong—the son of a wealthy landowner who studied under Li Dazhao—took over the country and founded the People’s Republic of China (Snow 1968, 425). During his tenure as the Chairman of the Communist Party, Mao undertook major plans with the hope of transforming China into a developed country. For example, through the Great Leap Forward, Mao tried to industrialize and modernize the country. Even though this plan had some success (construction of infrastructure, roads, canals), it failed to realize the objectives Mao had set out to achieve. As a result of Mao’s ruthless plans for modernizing China, millions of Chinese lost their lives. Mao forced farmers to leave their villages and work in the factories, and because of food shortage and displacement, “an estimated twenty to forty million people died of starvation” (Gay 2008, 67).

Upon Mao’s death in 1976, Deng Xiaoping succeeded him as the next leader of the party. Deng was a visionary ruler whose leadership style was very different from that of Mao. Deng was a moderate communist and integrated capitalism into the Chinese economy. It was his efforts and reform agenda that launched China on the road to development and economic growth. Deng thought four areas needed immediate attention for China to join the ranks of advanced countries: agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology. Toward that end, Deng “lured foreign investors to China and tapped outside expertise to jump-start a largely moribund economy, setting the stage for China’s three-decade-long economic boom” (Vogel 2011, 155). Because of his modernization of the economy and other key areas of Chinese society, China went from being an underdeveloped country with millions of poor people to a developing country with a booming economy.
Can China Sustain Its Present Course of Economic Development?

Since the beginning of the economic reforms of Deng, China has been growing at an impressive nine percent annually. The challenge today is whether China can press forward with its present economic growth rate. In an interview in 2010, former President George W. Bush revealed the following: “I asked Hu Jintao ‘what keeps you up at night?’ Hu Jintao responded: ‘twenty-five million new jobs a year.’” The Chinese government cannot afford not to maintain its present economic growth. The country has 1.3 billion people, and that number is projected to rise to 1.4 billion people over the next two decades. In addition to the need to accommodate millions of people in its urban centers, China must also create millions of jobs for the people who graduate from college each year. These millions of students need employment, and the failure of the Communist government to provide them with jobs will translate into economic malaise and political turmoil in China. To maintain economic growth and improve the living conditions of its citizens, China must embark on a “global energy search” and is securing energy contracts throughout the world (Liao 2006, 12).

Energy needs are not the only problem China is facing. According to the New York Times, China is producing college students in numbers that the world has never seen before. While this number of college graduates is “potentially enhancing China’s future as a global industrial power, an increasingly educated population poses daunting challenges for its leaders. With the Chinese economy [projected to slow down in the near future], the country faces a glut of college graduates with high expectations and limited opportunities” (Bradsher 2013, 13). These are formidable challenges that lie ahead for the Communist Party and its new leader, Xi Jinping.

As in the eighteenth century, China is now faced with millions of people who need employment, who desire to join the ranks of the middle class. To create employment and accommodate the high numbers of Chinese moving into urban centers, China needs resources such as oil, natural gas, uranium, iron and other rare resources. Failure to provide jobs and to meet the needs of its people
will result in social unrest and political instability. Chinese leaders are wary of the reoccurrence of uprisings like the Taiping Rebellion and the Boxer Rebellion, both of which were triggered by ordinary people who felt alienated by their government.

As this chart illustrates, China’s domestic oil production is not enough for it to sustain its economic growth. It must reach out to energy rich countries and import billions of barrels of oil.

![Figure 1: Long-term outlook for China’s oil production and imports. (Courtesy of Professor Robert Canfield)](chart.png)

China is territorially the third largest country in the world. Nonetheless it does not have the resources to maintain its economic growth. In order to satisfy its energy needs, it must reach out and invest in other countries that are endowed with such resources. China has already invested in many countries in Africa, Latin America, Central Asia and other oil- and resource-rich regions. According to The Diplomat magazine, China has been aggressively investing in Sudan’s oil reserves, “obtain[ing] 40 percent of [the country’s] oil production” (Shinn 2012, 2). In the same vein, The Global Post reports that to strengthen its presence in Africa, and to expand its soft power capabilities, China built a $200 million building in Ethiopia, where the new African Union’s headquarters will be located (Conway-Smith 2012, 3). David Shinn, who worked as the U.S. ambassador to Ethiopia and Burkina Faso, maintains: “in the past several
years, China was the single largest bilateral source of annual foreign
direct investment (FDI) in Africa’s 54 countries” (3). Shinn notes
that more than 2,000 Chinese companies have invested in Africa.
These state-owned companies have gone into energy, mining, con-
struction, and manufacturing. Chinese oil companies are also prev-
alent throughout the continent.

The Chinese National Petroleum Corporation has invested up to
$6 billion in the oil sector of Sudan, a country that is embroiled in a
bloody civil war. “The China Power Investment Corporation plans
to invest $6 billion in Guinea’s bauxite and alumina projects. Private-
ly-owned Huawei and publicly-traded ZTE have become the principal
telecommunications providers in a number of African countries,”
Shinn notes (3). The Chinese have also invested in other sectors of
African countries’ industries, including aviation, agriculture and
even tourism. Shinn also observes that even individual Chinese are
investing in small amounts in minor businesses such as restaurants
and acupuncture clinics, etc. Shinn goes on to note:

The bulk of China’s FDI has been concentrated in a relatively
few countries. Between 2003 and 2007, five countries—Nigeria,
South Africa, Sudan, Algeria and Zambia—accounted for more
than 70 percent of China’s FDI. While these countries remain
important recipients, others such as Guinea, Ghana, Democratic
Republic of the Congo and Ethiopia have joined the list in recent
years. In 2010, Ethiopia had, for example, 580 registered Chinese
companies operating with estimated investment capital of $2.2
billion. Some of this new FDI is coming thru Chinese special
economic and trade cooperation zones. China is working with
African counterparts to establish seven of them: two each in
Zambia and Nigeria and one in Mauritius, Egypt and Ethiopia.
However, Chinese investments in Africa will likely decline because
of the slowdown of the Chinese economy and the growing inter-
est of new players wishing to exploit Africa’s resources. India, Bra-
zil, and Turkey are among the new players that are arriving on the
continent, and will naturally compete for resources with China. As
China is increasing its foreign investments in the African continent,
oil-producing countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia have been ex-
panding their own economic and energy ties with China.

Iran and Saudi Arabia—two of the major oil producing countries in the world—have also been expanding their economic and energy ties with China. Thierry Kellner (2012) notes that the “China-Persian Gulf link will be a fundamental dimension of the region’s geopolitics in the 21st century” (2). Kellner further states: “The international diplomatic context in the wake of 9/11 and the cooling of Saudi-American relations, along with Iran’s nuclear program and the war in Iraq, provided Riyadh and Beijing an opportunity to draw closer together. Saudi Arabia was looking to diversify its foreign relations to somewhat counterbalance the U.S. influence,” and China has provided the Saudi government with that alternative (27).

Afghanistan, a country embroiled in a civil war, is another attractive place that has drawn Chinese companies’ attention. The very fact that the Chinese would be interested in Afghanistan is of significance, considering that the country is not a safe place to invest. However, in spite of its instability, China has been expanding its efforts in Afghanistan. This demonstrates China’s desperation for energy and resources to meet the needs of its people. William Maley (2012) states, “China has a range of economic interests in Afghanistan. Following the liberalization of the Chinese economy after the reforms of Deng Xiaoping, Chinese investment surged in a wide range of projects in different parts of the world. Post-2001 Afghanistan has now become a beneficiary of this development” (6). Because of Afghanistan’s rich resources, the Chinese will continue to expand their economic efforts into that country.

The Metallurgical Corporation of China has been involved in the extraction of the Ainak copper mine in Logar, and in 2011 the China Petroleum Company “secured an exploration contract for the Amu Darya basin,” Maley notes (6). Security threats by the extremists in the region and activities of radical elements in the western Autonomous Region of Xinjiang have forced China to pay closer attention to the development of events in Afghanistan. Besides economic and security interests, China also has “geostrategic interests” to its west (Maley, 7). Through the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, an entity initially founded by China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan,
Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, the Chinese government has been trying to assert a more active role in Central Asia, a region that was under the domination of the Soviet Union for several decades.

**Central Asia—A Region of Strategic Importance to China**

The collapse of the Soviet Union made the independence of the Central Asian states possible. The five republics of Central Asia (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan) are endowed with an immense number of natural resources and are located in the center of Eurasia. Considering China's scarcity of natural resources and its large population, the country must invest throughout the world to maintain its economic growth. Kazakhstan is one such country that has attracted the interest of the Chinese government. Geographically, Kazakhstan shares a border with China's western province, Xinjiang. Politically, Kazakhstan is still a dictatorship. China, unlike the United States and European powers, registers no objections to the Kazakh government's human rights abuses. This makes China's political and economic transactions with the Kazakh government much easier. Furthermore, China is anxious about its Uyghur population in Xinjiang and their separatist aspirations. As Kazakhstan is home to two to three million people of the Uyghur diaspora, the Chinese must avoid political disorder and social instability in Xinjiang by cementing their ties with the Kazakh government, so that the Kazakhs do not lend support to any of the Uyghur separatist groups.

Given these realities, Central Asia is of growing importance to the world and, especially, to China. China's thirst for oil and natural gas will stimulate the Chinese to heavily invest and get involved in the markets of Central Asia. Liao (2006) states:

With the steady growth of the Chinese economy and its energy demands, Kazakhstan together with other central Asian states—has become one of the key sources for China's energy supply. In terms of absolute amounts, oil from Kazakhstan still only accounts for a small portion of China's total oil imports: in 2004, China imported 1.19 million tons (8.3 million barrels) of crude oil from Kazakhstan, compared with the country's total imports
of 91 million tons (636.8 million barrels), about 1.31 percent. Nevertheless, a bilateral strategic partnership underpinned by energy cooperation is believed to fit the fundamental interest of both nations. (10)

Of course, China is not the only country eyeing the natural resources of Central Asia. Western Europe, Russia, India, and the United States are interested as well. Thus it is no surprise that Central Asia in recent years has become the center of world attention.

Central Asia is at the center of a super-continent whose strategic importance is manyfold: it is a continent that is home to three of the world’s most sophisticated and advanced economic regions. Seventy-five percent of the world’s population lives in Eurasia and, as Brzezinski (1977) notes, “three-fourths of the world’s energy resources” are there as well (31). Eurasia is also the world’s most dynamic continent, as it is the location of six of the largest economies as well as the six biggest military spenders. The location of Central Asia has made it a “strategic pivot.” The interconnectedness and high degree of economic interaction among great powers makes it unlikely that a strategic player (China or Russia) could use Central Asia as a staging ground for an invasion. However, it should be “America’s primary interest to help ensure that no single power come to control this geopolitical space” because the strategic player that dominates Eurasia would likely seek to control other parts of the world.

Central Asian countries, especially Kazakhstan, can be a conduit of stability, as its natural resources can satisfy some of the energy demands of the PRC. As figure 2 indicates, Central Asian countries are rich in oil, natural gas, and other resources, and therefore, it makes sense for the Chinese to extend their economic muscle to that part of the world. Kazakhstan is a country that is rich in natural resources and can help Beijing with the prospect of creating jobs for its citizens. China has been working on many infrastructure projects in Kazakhstan: roads, railroads, bridges, airports, and pipelines. The map below demonstrates the new pipelines built by China:
It is not only energy demands that draw China to Kazakhstan, but also security concerns. The western province of China—Xinjiang or the “New Territories”—was annexed to the Chinese empire in 1884. However, ever since its addition to the empire, the Uyghurs, the natives of the province, have been trying to separate and create their own independent state. During the upheaval and instability in China in the 1930s and 1940s, the Uyghurs broke away and created an independent Xinjiang (Dillon 2004, 20). Nonetheless, with the emergence of the PRC, Mao crushed the natives and re-annexed Xinjiang. To avoid political problems and to extinguish the Uyghurs’ aspirations for an independent Xinjiang, China has been working with the Central Asian states to contain the problem of the Uyghurs’ partnership with the diaspora scattered throughout the region. Ethnic unrest will continue to be a major domestic issue. Separatist groups in Tibet, Xinjiang, and Mongolia pose a strategic threat to the regime, and Muslim Uighurs have been behind “several bombings”
in Xinjiang and other parts of China (Shirk 2007, 58). Thus, social unrest, in addition to economic concerns, contributes to need for China to “march westward” (Perdue 2005, 10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Northern States</th>
<th>Natural Resources</th>
<th>Agricultural Products</th>
<th>Industries (non-agricultural)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>Major deposits of petroleum, natural gas, coal, iron ore, manganese, chrome ore, nickel, cobalt, copper, molybdenum, lead, zinc, bauxite, gold, uranium</td>
<td>Grain, (mostly spring wheat), cotton, livestock</td>
<td>Traction and other agricultural machinery, electric motors, construction materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkmenistan</td>
<td>Petroleum, natural gas, coal, sulfur, salt</td>
<td>Cotton, grain, livestock</td>
<td>Natural gas, oil, petroleum products, textiles, food processing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>Natural gas, petroleum, coal, gold, uranium, silver, copper, lead and zinc, tungsten, molybdenum</td>
<td>Cotton, vegetables, fruits, grain, livestock</td>
<td>Textiles, food processing, machine building, metallurgy, natural gas, chemicals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>Hydropower, some petroleum, uranium, mercury, brown coal, lead, zinc, antimony, tungsten, silver, gold</td>
<td>Cotton, grain, fruits, grapes, vegetables, cattle, sheep, goats</td>
<td>Aluminum, zinc, lead, chemicals and fertilizers, cement, vegetable oil, metal-cutting machine tools, refrigerators and freezers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>Abundant hydropower, significant deposits of gold and rare earth metals; locally exploitable coal, oil, and natural gas; other deposits of nepheline, mercury, bauxite, lead, and zinc</td>
<td>Tobacco, cotton, potatoes, vegetables, grapes, fruits and berries, sheep, goats, cattle, wool</td>
<td>Small machinery, textiles, food processing, cement, shoes, sawmills, refrigerators, furniture, electric motors, gold, rare earth metals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern States</th>
<th>Natural Resources</th>
<th>Agricultural Products</th>
<th>Industries (non-agricultural)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Petroleum, natural gas, coal, chromium, copper, iron ore, lead, manganese, zinc, sulfur</td>
<td>Wheat, rice, other grains, sugar beets, fruits, nuts, cotton, dairy products, wool, caviar</td>
<td>Petrochemicals, textiles, cement and other construction materials, food processing (particularly sugar refining and vegetable oil production), metal fabricating, armaments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Natural gas, petroleum, coal, copper, chromite, talc, barites, sulfur, lead, zinc, iron ore, salt, precious and semiprecious stones</td>
<td>Opium, wheat, fruits, nuts, wool, mutton, sheepskins, lambskins</td>
<td>Small-scale production of textiles, soap, furniture, shoes, fertilizer, cement, hand-woven carpets, natural gas, coal, copper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Natural gas, limited petroleum, poor quality coal, iron ore, copper, salt, limestone</td>
<td>Cotton, wheat, rice, sugarcane, fruits, vegetables, milk, beef, mutton, eggs</td>
<td>Textiles and apparel, food processing, pharmaceuticals, construction materials, paper products, fertilizer, shrimp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Index Mundi: http://www.indexmundi.com/

Figure 3: Countries endowed with rare natural resources in Central and South Asia. (Table courtesy of Professor Robert Canfield)

China’s ability to maintain its economic growth is in question, and the failure of China’s government to do so will be colossal. Social unrest and political chaos are already looming over China. Even a small political crisis will do serious damage to China’s economic growth. In a recent op-ed article in the National Interest, Jonathan Levine (2013) raises a critical topic: “Why Reform Eludes China.”
Levine’s response is revealing. “The importance of mature institutions in ensuring stable growth is nowhere more visibly on display now than in China, where their failings arguably pose the single greatest challenge for the ruling Communist Party.” What makes China a fragile power is the fact that it has many challenges that are not very likely to be overcome by its communist leadership. Unlike leaders of Western democracies, it is not success in the next election that keeps Chinese leaders awake at night but anxieties about social unrest that could potentially bring down the Communist regime. “The worst nightmare of China’s leaders is a nationalist movement” of dissatisfied groups—unemployed workers, farmers, and students—united against the government by “the shared favor of nationalism,” writes Shirk (2007, 7). After all, the Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China (1911-1949) collapsed because of their failure to put down nationalist revolutionary movements, observes Shirk (5). Shirk also writes that the present Chinese leaders fear that they too could meet the same fate, and that is why they “strive to stay ahead of the wave of popular nationalism sweeping the country” (7).

To understand the Communist leadership’s worries, “it helps to remember” the 1989 incident that almost ended the forty-year-old Communist dynasty, writes Shirk (2007, 35). For six weeks, millions of college students “demonstrated” for democracy in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square and in tens of other Chinese major cities. Right after the Tiananmen Square incident, Deng Xiaoping declared: “Of all China’s problems, the one that trumps everything is the need for stability,” Shirk notes (38). Deng went on to emphasize the urgency to “jump on anything that might bring instability” (38). Most of these problems emanate from a lack of institutions that support the rule of law and political accountability and transparency in China. As Samuel Huntington noted, some nations are more stable than others because they have established political institutions that served as the guardians of civilian politics (Fukuyama 2011, 6). There are no such mechanisms in place in China at the moment, and until China develops such institutions, the country’s stability will remain fragile.

“Why did China founder while Europe forged ahead?” Niall Ferguson (2011) asks. Adam Smith, founder of economics, thought the
problem in China was institutional: “In his day it was China that looked stationary: a once “opulent” country that had simply ceased to grow. Smith blamed China’s unfavorable institutions—including its bureaucracy—for the stasis” (Ferguson 2011, 20). While Deng ushered in an era of economic reform and growth, China has still not made political reforms, and the country is suffering from corruption, officials’ abuse of power, and widespread economic inequality. Can China become the hegemon in its region in the face of these major problems? It will be very trying for the Chinese government to sustain its economic growth and to project its power in an effective way in its region.

China: The Next Superpower?

Napoleon Bonaparte is known to have said of China, “Let her sleep, for when she wakes, she will shake the world.” A spate of articles and books has appeared on the rise of China and its supposed eventual domination of the world. Scholars and historians who believe in China’s take-over of the world have a legitimate point—after all, China has enjoyed being a superpower many times in its history, such as during the Han dynasty, the Tang dynasty, and the during the Ming dynasty and the Qing dynasty. Niall Ferguson (2011) is among those who believe in the inevitability of China’s political hegemony and domination:

China is more a continent than a country. A fifth of humanity lives there. It’s 40 times the size of Canada. If China were organized like Europe it would have to be divided up into 90 nation states. Today there are 11 cities in China with a population of more than six million. There’s only one in Europe and that’s London. There are 11 European Union states with populations of less than six million. In just 30 years China’s economy has grown by a factor of very nearly ten and the IMF recently projected that it will be the largest economy in the world in just five years time. It’s already taken over the United States as a manufacturer and as the world’s biggest automobile market. And the demand for cars in China will increase by tenfold in the years to come. By 2035 China will be using one fifth of all global energy. It used to
be reliant on foreign direct investment. Today with three trillion dollars of international reserves and a sovereign well fund with 200 billion dollars of assets, China is the investor.

I am not as optimistic as Ferguson is about the future of China. Size matters, and it is an important factor in the calculation of a country’s power. However, as Nicholas Spykman noted, “size is not strength but potential strength” (Sempa 2006, 5). Large size can be either strength or a weakness contingent upon “technical, social, moral, and ideological development, on the dynamic forces within a state, on the political constellation of the past, and on the personality of individuals” (Sempa 2006, 4). The most important component of a large state, Spykman wrote, was having an effective system that would allow its rulers to exercise effective political control over the country.

Unlike Ferguson, Fareed Zakaria (2011) states that China will not become the dominant power in the twenty-first century for three reasons: economic, political, and geopolitical. In the 1980s, Japan was thought to overtake the United States in a decade or so. That prediction did not materialize in spite of Japan's stable and democratic political system. Just because China has been growing at a rate of nine percent annually does not mean it will take over the world—in fact, as discussed above, China will not be able to maintain that growth in the coming years.

In addition, China is located on a continent where there are many regional economic powerhouses – India, Japan, Indonesia, Vietnam and South Korea. These countries, as Zakaria points out, harbor deep historical mistrust and suspicion, and do not like each other. As China tries to become the dominant power, these countries will combine their forces to respond to China’s growing influence in their backyards. As John Mearsheimer (2001) argues in the Tragedy of Great Power Politics, no country can assert the status of the great power in the world unless it has dominated its continent first.

Mearsheimer’s theory of international relations, termed “offensive realism,” is based on the inherent fears for survival that arise in the anarchic international system. “Survival is a state's most import-
tant goal, because a state cannot pursue any other goals if it does not survive. The basic structure of the international system forces states concerned about their security to compete with each other for power. The ultimate goal of every great power is to maximize its share of world power and eventually dominate the system” (Mearsheimer 2001, 1). However, he notes, “Great powers behave aggressively not because they want to or because they possess some inner drive to dominate, but because they have to seek more power if they want to maximize their odds of survival” (6). It is only through expansion and accumulation of power that a great power can assure its survival. Mearsheimer’s thinking is very much in line with that of Immanuel Kant, who said: “It is the desire of every state, or of its ruler, to arrive at a condition of perpetual peace by conquering the whole world, if that were possible.” With world conquest, survival “would then be almost guaranteed,” Mearsheimer states.

As a rising great power, China’s ultimate objective is of course to rise to superpower status and play great and powerful strategic roles. Mearsheimer rightly points out that it is almost impossible for any power to achieve global hegemony “because it is too hard to project and sustain power around the globe and onto the territory of distant great powers. The best outcome a state can hope for is to be a regional hegemon, and thus dominate one’s own geographical area” (Mearsheimer 2001, 2). For a state to become a regional hegemon, it must first overcome its domestic challenges. Given the tenuous political system in China, it is unlikely that it can tackle its internal issues successfully. The United States did not become a regional hegemon until the late 1800s because until then it had not ended the Indian Wars and other domestic conflicts. Nonetheless, once it overcame its internal issues, it became a regional hegemon in the Western Hemisphere; it does not have any economic or military competitors in its geographical area. Like the United States in the Western Hemisphere, China might try to become the dominant power in Asia. However, considering the grave domestic problems at home, and competition from its neighboring countries, it is unlikely that China will dominate Asia, and thus it cannot have enough military power to gain regional hegemony.
According to Alice Miller (2012), a superpower is “a country that has the capacity to project dominating power and influence anywhere in the world, sometimes, in more than one region of the globe at a time.” It is not only hard power that makes a country a superpower but also soft power, which can be exercised through cultural and political influences. China has an authoritarian political system that is not attractive to most developing countries. In order for China to rule the world and gain hegemonic status on a global level, it must also become an innovative society, a society that nurtures political and economic institutions. China has had this tremendous economic growth but that has not launched China on a trajectory of the type of scientific revolution that led to the rise of the West. China will not rule the world because it is rising on a continent filled with many competitors. Japan and India come immediately to mind. These surrounding countries do not welcome the rise of China. Furthermore, India and Japan are democracies; ideologically they are thus both opposed to China. A country cannot become a superpower without first consolidating power in its back yard. The United States did not rise to great power status until it drove the European powers from the western hemisphere in 1890. Finally, I concur with Amitai Etzioni (2012) who eloquently argues that China’s rise has ended before it even began:

Just as almost everybody has come to agree that China is the rising global power—with an economy that shortly will supersede that of the United States, a model of state capitalism preferred by many Third World nations over democratic capitalism, colonization of parts of Africa and Latin America and increasing influence among its neighbors—the world’s largest emerging power is already plateauing. While China weathered the financial crisis that has bedeviled the West since 2008, it faces serious challenges of its own. If major trends continue to unfold, those who wrote that we are about to enter a Chinese century will soon discover that it ended before it started.

China is plagued with many colossal problems ranging from regional power play to a growing middle class who demand political
participation. Tackling these issues will be a major challenge for the Chinese Communist Party. Those who worry about the rise of China and its supposed eventual domination of the world ought not to. For upon closer examination, the prospects of the Middle Kingdom achieving global hegemony are not as high as one might think.

Acknowledgements

This essay would have not been possible without the help of many people. My greatest debt of course is to my research adviser, Professor Robert Canfield, who accompanied this work with patience, sage counsel, and moral support. I would like to also thank Professor Gerald Early and Professor Andrew Sobel, who were always a source of sound advice and unfailing support. I am grateful to the Kling seminar leaders, Professor Erin McGlothlin and Dr. Wendy Anderson, and to the Kling fellows, who made the process of completing this paper more than bearable. Needless to say, I am solely responsible for the argument advanced in this paper. All of its weaknesses are mine.

_____________________________

1 In History of the Peloponnesian War, Thucydides wrote that the main cause of the war between Athens and Sparta was the growing power of the former and the fear and the “alarm which [it] inspired in Sparta.”

2 According to the National Geographic: “The ships of Zheng’s armada were as astonishing as its reach. Some accounts claim that the great baochuan, or treasure ships, had nine masts on 400-foot-long (122-meter-long) decks. The largest wooden ships ever built, they dwarfed those of Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama. Hundreds of smaller cargo, war, and supply ships bore tens of thousands of men who brought China to a wider world.”

3 The Qing dynasty was established by the Manchus, who were the indigenous people of Manchuria, residing in the northeast of China.

4 Li Dazhao was a Chinese intellectual and one of “the early Marxism converts” who went on to co-found the Communist Party of China (Schoppa 2002, 174). While teaching at Beijing University, Mao studied under Li and was greatly influenced by his ideas.

5 Frustrated with the growing influence of the Christian missionaries and foreigners, a group of peasants in Shandong took up arms to wipe out the foreigners whom they thought were responsible for the plight of China. This conflict in which
the peasants and the government of China fought against the combined forces of Europe and Japan came to be known as the Boxer Rebellion (Silbey 2012, 10).

6 A concept developed by Joseph Nye explaining how countries could advance their national interests through economic means and cultural resources throughout the world.

7 “Geopolitical pivots are the states whose importance is derived not from their power and motivation but rather their sensitive location and from the consequences of their potentially vulnerable condition for the behavior of geostrategic players. Most often geopolitical pivots are determined by their geography, which in some cases gives them a special role either in defining access to important areas or in denying resources to a significant player” (Brzezinski 1997, 41).

Bibliography


Old Perspectives, New Frontiers: Ethnomusicology and Healing Traditions in Music Therapy

By PRATEEK KUMAR

Abstract: Music therapy is in the process of becoming. As a discipline, it has historically borrowed theories from other disciplines such as psychology, and is recently shifting to a neuroscience paradigm to corroborate its use of music in healing. Despite this new support, music therapy struggles to define itself and lacks a complete theory that describes how music functions in healing. The field should look to musical healing practices from other cultures in order to develop a more complete theory of music therapy. Music has historically been, and continues to be, an essential component of the practices of traditional healers. Ethnomusicologists have researched extensively this use of music in traditional healing practices; however, their research has been viewed as primarily of musical and anthropological interest, rather than of interest to music therapy. I present a case study of Indian musical healing as evidence that musical healing knowledge from other cultures may be useful to music therapy. In order to reach a more comprehensive theory of music in healing, multi-way discourse must be established between music therapists, music therapy researchers, ethnomusicologists, and traditional musical healers.

Introduction

“If music be the food of love, play on, give me excess of it” (Shakespeare, in Twelfth Night). But if the purpose of music is not to strengthen love, why do we have music? One interpretation dismisses music as “evolutionary cheesecake,” as a consequence of abilities that evolved for other purposes, and now it exists simply to bring us
pleasure. Other evolutionary explanations propose that music functions in social bonding and cohesion, in cognitive development, or even, as Shakespeare suggests, in sexual selection (Levitin 2006). But regardless of its specific function, the application of music to make people feel better is not unusual among human activities. Throughout history and in cultures across the world, music has been used for healing purposes (McClellan 2000). In modern society, the discipline of music therapy uses music in the treatment of children and adults suffering from physiological, neurological, or psychological disorders.

Music therapy is a young discipline, developing only over the last half-century or so. It has yet to come up with its own comprehensive theory, and is currently engaged in a sort of patchwork in which new facts and methods are assembled in accordance with previous theories. This progression is driven by practical reasons for furthering a discipline not well recognized by the medical and scientific communities, and it has removed from the field its historic focus on the inherent healing properties of music. This paper discusses current trends in music therapy theory and possible directions for the future. Specifically, I argue that music therapy must incorporate research on music used as healing in other cultures into its own research and practice paradigms. I present a case study of Indian musical healing theories to support this argument. But before proceeding, I will clarify a few terms that I use throughout the study. Firstly, I make a distinction between “music therapy” and “musical healing.” “Music therapy” refers specifically to the discipline in the United States, and unless indicated otherwise, it is not meant to include any other therapeutic music or process that exists outside the discipline. “Musical healing” refers to these other processes that use music for healing purposes but are generally found in more traditional settings. While music therapy and musical healing describe different disciplines, I use the terms “healing” and “therapeutic” interchangeably. Therefore, “healing” music is treated as similar to “therapeutic” music that is used inside or outside the discipline of music therapy, and the “healing” qualities of music refer to qualities of music that provide healing or therapeutic effects.
I now begin by describing the history and development of music therapy, explaining the theoretical framework that has helped shape the field. The discipline is still struggling to define itself, but is beginning to develop new perspectives that lend it more scientific credibility. After pointing out recent trends, I argue that another trend should be towards studying musical healing of other cultures from the past and present. Presenting the case of musical healing in India, I try to illustrate important similarities and differences between music therapy and traditional theories, suggesting that collaboration and multi-way communication here would help us reach a more complete understanding of how music can help us live and be healthy.

Music Therapy: History and Theoretical Framework

In the late 1920s, music was used in hospitals mainly to boost morale, as a general aid to recovery, and as an entertaining diversion. Physicians invited musicians to play to large groups of patients on the vague assumption that it might activate metabolic functions and relieve mental stress. Anecdotal accounts of music's inherent worth abound in the early literature on music in medicine, and there seems to have been a general consensus that exposure to music could do nothing but good (Juslin and Sloboda 2001). The large influx into hospitals of veterans of World War II was critical for development of a music therapy discipline. Musicians began to be employed regularly in hospital teams, but medical and scientific communities were not so easily convinced by anecdotal stories of patients being reached by music after responding to little else. Challenges were made to the musicians to verify and systematize their work, but the musicians lacked medical or psychological training. The scene was set for the development of training courses for musicians wanting to develop their skills in this specific use of music. The formation of the National Association for Music Therapy in 1950 marked the beginning of the formal profession of music therapy (Davis, Gfeller, and Thaut 2008). Today, there are over 5,000 employed music therapists in the United States, and the American Music Therapy Association (AMTA) supports undergraduate and postgraduate degree courses
and awards board certification for entry into the music therapy profession.

Music therapy practice has become incredibly diverse. A steady profusion of texts during the 1990s illustrates applications in a wide range of settings: hospitals and special medical facilities for adults and children with neurological and psychological disorders, learning and physical disabilities, and diseases such as cancer; centers for the elderly and for people with visual or hearing impairments; hospices for people living with terminal illness; preschool centers and nurseries for children; special schools for children with varied learning difficulties; and private settings (Aldridge 1996; Ansdell 1995; Bruscia 1991; Bunt 1994; Heal & Wigram 1993; Pavlicevic 1997; Wigram & De Backer 1999; Wigram et al. 1995). Naturally, goals and methods vary from one setting to the next, from one client population to another, and from one music therapist to the next. This variety highlights a somewhat disconcerting fact—that a consistent theoretical basis for music therapy practice has yet to be recognized. Although the diverse nature of music therapy practices may necessitate a variety of theoretical frameworks (Bruscia 1998), because music therapists lack a common theory, they have struggled in producing consistent clinical outcomes and in communicating effectively with other health care professionals (Scovel and Gardstrom 2002). To overcome these obstacles, research attempts to deepen our understanding of music therapy. At play here is an interaction between many disciplines: musicology, music cognition, music psychology, neuroscience of music, biomusicology, medicine, music education, music performance, ethnomusicology, and medical, cognitive and applied ethnomusicology. At this point in the development of music therapy, music therapists must stop and purposefully decide which fields should have the strongest influence in shaping the future of music therapy. To do this, it helps to first look at which fields have influenced its development thus far.

As the profession began, it borrowed theoretical paradigms from other disciplines, such as psychology or the biological sciences (Aigen 1991). E. Thayer Gaston (1968), whom some call the father of music therapy, points out that music is an essential form of human
behavior, and “because little is known of what happens inside man when he is engaged musically, the only recourse is to observe and study his overt behavior. The best method for such study is the one utilized by the behavioral sciences” (7). Borrowing the framework of behavioral sciences may have initially helped music therapy gain recognition in scientific and academic settings, but the resulting theoretical frameworks may not be the most appropriate for guiding a practice that relies heavily on both healing and musical principles. Intuitively, one would think that music therapy is based on a unique framework that provides mechanisms for how music improves health. To explore this idea, Gfeller (1987) conducted a content analysis of 243 articles published in the *Journal of Music Therapy* between 1964 and 1985 that related to theory or practice in music therapy. Her results revealed no prominent theory or philosophy of music therapy. Rather, most of the articles utilized various psychological theories, including behavioral (26 percent), psychoanalytic (11 percent), and other prominent schools such as cognitive, humanistic and developmental theories. To determine whether or not these theories provide an adequate framework for music therapy, we must analyze the practices that have emerged from each theory. Here I review the practices that emerge from behavioral, psychoanalytic and humanistic theories. Then I describe the recent trend towards incorporation of neuroscience research.

**Behavioral music therapy** grew out of behaviorism (based on the work of B.F. Skinner), which emphasizes operant and classical conditioning and experimental methods of studying overt behaviors of individuals reacting to stimuli or interacting with the environment. A behavioral music therapist manipulates musical stimuli to facilitate a change in the client’s observable measurable behavior (Scovel and Gardstrom 2002). A basic application would be the use of music as a contingent reinforcer: for example, the opportunity to play a favorite instrument could reinforce a desired behavior. One well-known behavioral approach is Applied Behavior Analysis (ABA), which utilizes principles of operant conditioning. With ABA, the therapist first establishes a baseline of the client’s behavior, implements a strategy for change, and then documents the client’s
response (Brownell 2002; Hanser 1995). Although these behavioral approaches are used in music therapy, critical questions remain about how music influences human behavior. While this approach may be sufficient for therapeutic goals (and thus a satisfactory justification for music therapy), the lack of a functional understanding of the music renders the approach incomplete.

**Psychoanalytic music therapy** (PMT) grew out of psychoanalysis (based on the work of Sigmund Freud), which holds that people function at various levels of awareness, including unconscious, preconscious, and conscious. In psychoanalytic therapy, repressed unconscious material must be brought into the client's awareness and then processed through experiences of transference and counter-transference. In psychoanalytic music therapy, music experiences are used to supplement or replace traditional verbal psychoanalysis. The music therapist, through vocal or instrumental improvisation with the client, creates musical experiences to stimulate thoughts and feelings related to the client’s past and present life, and to elicit repressed unconscious material. In one approach, called Analytical Music Therapy (AMT), the therapist and patient improvise together and subsequently use psychoanalytic techniques to determine what happened or what they were thinking about during the improvisation (Eschen 2002). In the Bonny Method of Guided Imagery and Music (GIM), the therapist provides carefully sequenced music selections to help the client achieve altered states of consciousness. In these altered states, repressed emotional themes may emerge through imagery, which can be processed with the therapist through verbal dialogue (Bonny 1994). Despite the many clients who have benefited from PMT approaches such as AMT and GIM, these approaches do not offer standardized techniques (therapists typically utilize a number of strategies at once), nor do they provide an explanation for music’s therapeutic mechanism. For these reasons, PMT does not provide a comprehensive theory for clinical practice and research.

Psychologists in the 1970s developed alternative theories with a humanistic approach, such as existential therapy (Viktor Frankl, Rollo May), person-centered therapy (Carl Rogers) and Gestalt therapy (Fritz Perls) (Corey 2005). These humanistic theories involve
helping clients reduce inhibitions, alleviate handicaps, and reach their potential, moving towards self-actualization. **Humanistic music therapy** uses music to determine the client's needs and facilitate the process of self-actualization. Methods range from active (e.g., improvisation) to receptive (i.e., listening). In one of the most well-known approaches used with handicapped children, Creative Music Therapy (CMT), the therapist uses vocal or instrumental improvisation for purposes such as developing self-expression, communication, and human relationships, building stronger and richer personalities, and eliminating pathological behavior patterns (Nordoff and Robbins 1977; Robbins 1993). This is done in three phases: meeting the child musically, evoking musical responses, and developing musical skills, expression and/or communication (Bruscia 1998). CMT stems from a music-centered philosophy: music functions as the primary agent of change and offers unique benefits that cannot be achieved verbally. Yet, similar to the two previous theories, humanistic music therapies like CMT lack a scientific explanation for how music functions as the agent of change.

The above theories indicate that music therapy is based on a social science framework. This framework fails to explain *how* or *why* music effects change in health. More recently, however, we are seeing a paradigm shift to a neuroscience framework (e.g., Thaut 2005), and neurological models are beginning to fill the gap left untouched by the social science framework. In the last two decades, with the advent of modern research techniques in cognitive neuroscience such as neuroimaging and brain-wave recordings, music has received an unprecedented focus in the brain sciences research. Our understanding of the neural processes involved in music perception and music production is growing, and along with that, our understanding of how music “works” physiologically in a music therapy session. This has many implications for the music therapy profession, the foremost being new models of clinical practice and research. Music therapists can now produce stronger, more specific outcomes than changes in behavior or general well being. This evolution has resulted in the formation of **Neurologic Music Therapy** (NMT) (Clair and Pasiali 2004; Thaut 2005). NMT techniques address dysfunction
resulting from neurological disease. Such techniques are designed to induce functional changes and are evidence based, drawing from scientific data in basic and clinical research. Although modified to meet each patient’s unique needs, they are standardized in terminology and application, which helps enhance communication and clinical efficacy among music therapists and with other health care providers (Hallem et al. 2008).

According to Thaut (2005), the paradigm shift is a very critical step in the historical understanding of music therapy. He points out that rather than being viewed as an ancillary and complementary discipline that can enhance other forms of therapy, music therapy can now be seen in light of how music can access processes in the brain related to control of movement, speech production, learning, and memory (116). Research has so far shown that rhythmic entrainment of motor function can actively aid the recovery of movement in patients afflicted with stroke, Parkinson’s disease, or traumatic brain injury; singing and lyrical work can help recover speech functions by possibly helping “re-wire” neural circuits; and music can influence perception and organization of behavior in children with autism and other mental conditions (115). In hospitals, clinicians have demonstrated neurological measures that indicate that music therapy can decrease anxiety and pain, increase relaxation, and improve mood, thus enhancing health outcomes in surgery, cardiology, obstetrics, and oncology (Wigram et al. 2002; Cassileth et al. 2003; Bradt 2011; Gallagher 2011).

The Problem of Defining Music Therapy

Current practices still rely heavily on behavioral theories. But as the number and depth of neuroscience studies increase, music therapy theorists will develop a more profound understanding of the healing properties of music and perhaps move closer towards a unified theory, closer to an approach grounded in how music influences humans. But one fundamental problem will perhaps never be solved—the issue of defining music therapy. Unlike definitions of terms in other health professions, a definition of music therapy is not self-evident—it is not as if music therapists are helping people's
music as speech therapists (for example) are helping people’s speech. Defining the field is a frustrating issue, perhaps most so for music therapists. Music Therapist Carolyn Kenny (1982) exclaims:

Every time someone asks me the question “What is Music Therapy?” I have to absorb the silence, center myself and think, “My God, here it is again. What am I going to say this time?” Every time it is a challenge, a task, an invitation to increase my own understanding by assigning words to something which is indescribable by nature and has the additional aspect of being something different every time it happens. (1)

Kenny indicates that the challenge in describing music therapy arises because music therapy is indescribable by nature and every instance of it is different. There are many additional challenges here, as pointed out by Kenneth Bruscia in Defining Music Therapy (1991): “Music therapy . . . is at once an art, a science, and an interpersonal process; . . . it is incredibly diverse in application, goal, method, and theoretical orientation; . . . it is influenced by differences in culture; . . . as a young field, it is still in the process of becoming” (5). Despite the difficulties for defining music therapy, Bruscia says that coming up with a specific yet comprehensive definition is important. Definitions set boundaries for practice and help legitimize the field by projecting a professional identity. A definition can be a tool for educating outsiders about the field and can specify the body of knowledge and skill set needed for the subject. Over the years, as music therapy adapted to different needs and client groups, definitions shifted their emphasis. For a long time, a standard definition was Juliette Alvin’s (1975):

the controlled use of music in the treatment, rehabilitation, education and training of adults and children suffering from physical, mental or emotional disorder. (4)

According to Leslie Bunt (1994), there would be “hot debate” among contemporary music therapists over both the word “controlled” and the use of the terms “treatment, rehabilitation . . . and training.” The current definition comes from the American Music Therapy Association (2013):

Music Therapy is the clinical and evidence-based use of music interventions to accomplish individualized goals within a thera-
A notable change is the new emphasis on the music therapist and the therapist-client relationship. This may reflect a trend in the evolution of music therapy suggested by Schneider et al. (1968): from “an emphasis on the music without recognizing the importance of the therapist” to “the disregarding of the music by the therapist in favor of a developing relationship” to finally “a position somewhere between the two extremes” (3). This trend parallels our earlier discussion of theoretical frameworks. Music therapy emerged from an emphasis on general healing qualities of music; then with the adoption of a social science framework the focus shifted to the therapist and the patient-therapist relationship; and now, with the influence of a neuroscience framework, the field is rekindling the importance of music. But there still is a lack of a comprehensive definition, which indicates that something is missing and that a complete theory of music therapy still has not been reached. The historical struggle for music therapists in defining themselves might also indicate that the theoretical framework here is insufficient. Since theoretical frameworks are changed through research (as recent neuroscience research has indeed proven), perhaps the young discipline should further modify its research focus.

**Old Perspective, New Frontier**

Where to next? As Bruscia points out, music therapy’s identity as a profession has not yet fully emerged. It seems the trend now is towards documenting neural and physiological effects of music. In other words, music therapists are looking to discover the specific healing effects of music. But by looking at the history of music therapy we can see that the trend towards understanding the qualities of music is actually a reversal (albeit with a new, neuroscience lens). Music therapy originally began with a mindset that music has inherent, healing powers. This view was held by the early twentieth-century physicians that brought musicians to hospitals, and was even present if we look back further, to health practitioners from pre-modern times to antiquity, in cultures from all around the world.
Every human culture in the recorded past had music, and history provides countless examples of civilizations that used music in healing contexts (Levitin 2006). Indeed, when you look at modern music therapy literature, nearly every major work begins by first paying lip service to the ancients, be it the Greeks, Egyptians, Chinese, Indian, or others. Why then, do music therapists not study the musical healing practices of different cultures across history?

From a developmental point of view, it is understandable that music therapy, in establishing itself among other disciplines in the fifties, had to depart from all kinds of metaphysical or idealistic types of theory in order to gain respect in the prevailing scientific community. But in the creation of the science of music therapy and the profession of the music therapist, the question about the general role and value of music has subsided. The concept of music as therapy is beginning to win scientific credibility but has lost its historically important role as a field of knowledge seeking to utilize music as a prime source of information about how to live and be healthy.

Music therapy should return to a focus on the healing qualities of music. Yet if this return comes solely from neuroscience, music therapy is at risk of inheriting a narrow view of music. There are a myriad of non-neurological perspectives on music and healing—we need only look to our past and to the traditional musical healing practices of non-Western cultures. While music therapy is a Western phenomenon, music and musical healing do not belong to any one ethnic tradition. A definition of music therapy should embrace, or at least account for, the range of musical healing concepts present around the world. Plus, learning about different musical healing paradigms can deepen our understanding of music therapy. It can help music therapists move towards a more complete theory of music therapy. I will now describe a field of study that researches traditional practices and then argue that music therapy must incorporate this ethnomusicological framework.

Ethnomusicology and Music Therapy

From its beginnings in the early 1900s, ethnomusicology has had a stream of research dedicated to music and healing. A century’s
worth of research shows not only how culturally diverse practices of music function as tools for therapy, but that music is very often practiced as a means of healing or cure (Koen 2008). May May Chiang (2008) notes that ethnomusicologists have rarely shared their knowledge with music therapists. On the other hand, music therapists also rarely attempt to relate their practices to shamanic healing or other indigenous healing methods that are associated with music. Gioia’s (2006) survey of the most outstanding works in the Journal of Music Therapy in its first thirty years of publication found that the topic of traditional healing was completely ignored. May May Chiang (2008), as part of a comprehensive review of ethnomusicology and music therapy research, also conducted a survey on major music therapy journals such as the Journal of Music Therapy, Music Therapy Matters, The Arts in Psychotherapy, and Music Therapy Perspectives, and found very few articles that showed interest in world music and traditional music and healing.

Over the past fifteen years, however, a stream of contributions from music therapy researchers documents various therapeutic roles of music throughout history (Koen 2008). In Peregrine Horden’s volume of collected essays, Music as Medicine (2000), for example, select musical solutions to medical issues are documented from antiquity to modern times. The book focuses on European medical traditions, but also offers reflections on medical practices in India and Southeast Asia, and from Judaic and Islamic religious traditions. Penelope Gouk’s Musical Healing in Cultural Contexts (2000) is a collection of essays that moves further into globalizing the coupling of music and medicine. It includes impressive case studies from the Bolivian Andes, several areas of Africa, and Western Europe. The Performance of Healing, edited by Carol Laderman and Marina Roseman (1996), includes a range of articles presenting culturally diverse practices of healing from the perspectives of both healer and the healed. Finally, a few music therapists (e.g., Joseph Moreno, Barbara Wheeler, and Michael Rohrbacher) are beginning to promote multiculturalism in music therapy practice through articles and papers presented at Music Therapy conferences (Chiang 2008).

This is the extent of the music therapy and ethnomusicology col-
laboration. On the whole, it is limited still to descriptions and ethnographies rather than discussions about how to modify music therapy theory with knowledge from other cultures. And any involvement here of music therapists was generated only in the last two decades. Why have music therapists paid so little attention to traditional music and healing? Chiang points out several possible reasons. First, the practice of traditional music and healing is often immeasurable and unquantifiable. Second, with the general movement of modernizing music therapy, it almost seems that shamanism and traditional healing are an embarrassment to the music therapy profession, as Gioia (2006) points out:

For the most part, the fervent practices of traditional musical healers—with their ecstatic trances, their costumes, their supernatural helpers, and their journeys to the spirit world—can only be an embarrassment to this new professional group [music therapy], focused on legitimizing a discipline and integrating into the broader medical community. (124-25)

Third, healing music is considered to be culturally specific—music is not a universal language. Healing music, like other musical genres, may lose its meaning, functions and effectiveness if taken out of context. Fourth, there may be concern about modifying indigenous traditions; and on the other hand, secrecy in many healing traditions prevents researchers from gathering a sufficient understanding. Fifth, most music therapists are practitioners rather than researchers. Hence the profession of music therapy is more a job than an academic interest, and therapists will not explore issues outside the scope and responsibilities of their job. Additionally, therapists like to be client-centered, so they are not inclined to bring in music that the clients would not be familiar with.

So it seems that applying ethnomusicology research to music therapy theory is difficult. Also, the general arguments above that advocate this integration may not be convincing without examples and details. Thus I present here a case study on traditional musical healing practices in India. This work comes from fieldwork in several major cities around India (July-August 2012), in which I interviewed and observed musicians, music therapists, traditional
healers, teachers, and physicians involved with musical healing practices. My primary purpose is simple: to outline the frameworks that support Indian musical healing practices. From this, I hypothesize about whether music therapy can borrow from Indian theories. Additionally, since the music therapy discipline has recently expanded to several other countries around the world, I comment on the status of music therapy in India and briefly discuss future directions for the field in India. India is a country that has very recently stared learning about music therapy but has a strong, rich history of traditional musical healing practices.

**Background: Music and Medicine in India**

India is known to have strong musical heritage and medical traditions. Even the Western medical world is beginning to endorse Indian traditional healing systems like Yoga and Ayurveda for their therapeutic value. Some traditional systems of health and healing also include musical treatment approaches. An extensive amount of research documents the variety and complexity of Indian music, but little research explores the musical healing traditions; and even less discusses integration of music therapy with these musical healing practices. I will soon describe four foundational theories of Indian musical healing practices: Vedic traditions, Ayurveda, Yoga, and Raga Chikitsa. But before proceeding with these descriptions, I first briefly discuss Indian music and medicine. To fully understand Indian musical healing practices, one has to appreciate the science and sound of music that was studied so intricately and understood so deeply in ancient India. That vast complexity is of course beyond the scope of this paper, but a brief presentation will be sufficient for a discussion relating to the progression of the music therapy discipline.

Indian classical music is built around the systems of *raga* and *tala*. *Tala* is the rhythmic foundation, the repeated rhythmic cycle around which everything else is organized, and will not be discussed further here. The *raga* (literally “color, hue” and also “beauty, melody”) system is the melodic basis of Indian classical music; hundreds of ragas exist in both North (Hindustani) and South (Karnatic) Indi-
an music. They have superficial similarities to scales used in Western music in that each is a melodic series of (five or more) pitches. However, each *raga* has a special quality, and the way the notes are played or sung in musical phrases and the mood they convey are more important in defining a raga than the notes themselves. In the Indian musical traditions, *ragas* are also associated with different times of the day or with seasons. Indian classical performers try to represent the appropriate moods and feelings in their compositions or their largely improvised performances.

Contemporary India has what anthropologists such as Charles Leslie (1976) have termed a “pluralistic medical system.” As Dominik Wujastyk (2003) explains, this means that a person experiencing illness may have recourse to multiple therapeutic resources. For non-life-threatening illnesses, one is likely to be treated at home by friends or family members, perhaps using therapies and ideas that have been passed down from earlier generations through family traditions. Others may turn to temple healers, herbalists, village healers, ascetics, exorcists, ayurveda, siddha, or other diverse forms of healing (52). Of course, many also seek advice from modern establishment medicine. Often, these forms of medicine are combined, despite the fact that they have different explanatory models. The Indian government’s Ministry of Health and Family Welfare devotes most of its budget to modern establishment medicine, but it also has a Department of Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, and Homoeopathy (AYUSH).

**Traditional Musical Healing Practices In India**

Below I describe the range of foundational theories from which most Indian musical healing practices seem to have emerged. Unlike music therapy, Indian musical healing practices are based on specific healing systems and healing qualities of music. From my personal interviews and experiences in India, I can discern four different theoretical frameworks. To describe these frameworks, I refer to the works of Randall McClellan (2000) and Sumathy Sundar (2007) that elaborate on particular healing systems.

**Vedic traditions** surfaced from study of the Vedas, a large body
of texts that constitute the oldest scriptures of Hinduism. Trans-
mission of the Vedas has historically been by oral tradition alone,
which consists of several pathas, ways of reciting the individual
verses known as mantras. On a superficial level, any short verbal
phrase that is constantly repeated can be called a mantra, the rep-
etition of which sinks into our unconscious minds and influences
our thoughts, perceptions, and actions. In Vedic traditions, specific
mantras are known to have specific effects on the psyche. These ef-
fects arise from properties of nada (sound), including its two kinds,
aha (struck sound) and anaha (unstruck sound), and the fifty
distinct vibrations (known as Matrika) formed from nada. Govinda
states that

all mantras are held to be modifications of an original underlying
vibration which sustains the whole energy pattern of the world
and which is another form in which the principle can be recog-
nized . . . the energies concentrated by mantras can be directed to
specific magical purposes, including healing. (McClellan 2000,
61).

McClellan categorizes mantras into two types: single syllable seed
mantras, which work on the levels of vibration and carry no seman-
tic meaning, and multi-syllable meaning-ful mantras. The chanting
of mantras is generally monotonal or tritonal (with one tone above
and below a principle chanting tone) and syllabic, with the rhythm
dictated by the rhythm of the word sounds. Seed mantras create
sound patterns in space that stimulate healing mechanisms; mean-
ing-ful mantras are often associated with deities and are prayers for
aid. Mantras are used in combination with other theoretical systems
of healing and music described below. On its own, the power of the
mantra lies in its ability to create vibrational patterns that, through
resonance, can stabilize our mental attitudes and physical energies
(65). Two traditional healers from Calcutta used archika, gathika
and samika mantras (Vedic verses with one, two and three notes)
to enhance focused attention and to help clients get into meditative
and relaxed states. The healers chant loudly, either alone or with the
client repeating certain mantras when indicated to do so. This tech-
nique is used in musical healing settings mainly for needs related
to mental development, behavior and personality traits. Once in a while, multi-syllable *mantras* will be used that appeal to certain deities in prayer for aid for particular ailments.

**Ayurvedic practices** stem from Ayurveda, a system of traditional medicine that guides patients into healthy living through physical, mental, social and spiritual harmony. The origins of Ayurveda have been found in the Vedic texts. Ayurveda principles say humans are a mixture of three mind/body types, *vata*, *pitta*, and *kapha*, and they are healthy when the four *dhatus* (the four humors of black bile, yellow bile, phlegm and blood) are in balance. Specific imbalances of *dhatus* result in specific conditions of unhealthiness (diseases). These four *dhatus* are assigned to the twenty-two *shrutis* (musical intervals) of the Indian music system according to the nature of the *dhatus*. Ayurvedic musical healing practices employ this connection of music and Ayurveda through different compositions to improve health. Certain *ragas* have been classified as having particular effects on *vata*, *pitta* and *kapha*. For example, one musical healer in Pondicherry uses pentatonic ragas for curing a variety of diseases and bad health, hexatonic ragas to attain beauty, youth and charm and *sampoorna* ragas (ragas with all the notes) for strength, wisdom, prosperity and children. He plays the ragas on his sitar (a long-necked lute with movable frets) for a few healing sessions and then will provide clients with a CD of the appropriate *ragas*, prescribing frequency, duration and time of listening.

**Yoga**, as I use it here, refers to its original definition as a general term for physical, mental, and spiritual disciplines (rather than the physical system of health exercises, *hatha yoga*, that is popular across the Western world). According to the teachings of Tantra Yoga, the human subtle anatomy is composed of a system of *nadis*, *pranas* and *chakras* that sustain and control the vitality of our physical and spiritual life. As explained by McClellan, the *nadis* are a system of subtle channels that underlie our nervous system, originating at the crown of the head and spreading like veins throughout the body. *Pranas* are the currents of vital energy that run through the *nadis*. Four specialized branches of yoga have developed from Tantra Yoga, which involves control and release of *prana* through the *nadis*.
Kundalini Yoga, Laya Yoga, Kriya Yoga, and Nada Yoga. All of them are concerned with breath and sound—by means of breath-control (Pranayama) and vibrational activity (Mantrayana), it is possible to influence the body. But each yoga has a specific intension. For example, Nada Yoga has to do with balancing chakras. Chakras (Sanskrit for “wheels”) are a series of mandala-like discs or energy vortexes that are strung along the central nadi. They serve as the focus points for receiving and distributing the subtle energies of the body as well as the incoming energies of the environment. There are seven major chakras that are said to govern the endocrine gland system (they are found in the same general area as seven major glands of the body). In addition, each chakra is associated with a meaning, a quality, a color, an element, a sense organ, and a mantra sound that when sung, can balance and energize the chakra. Many musical healing practices that deal with chakras utilize unique methods for attaining balance. A well-known healer from Hyderabad uses Carnatic Classical Music as a means to establish communication with the chakras. Each of the seven swaras (notes) of sa, re, ga, ma, pa, da, ni (similar to do-re-mi-…) work on a chakra. Depending on the disability or illness, she will focus on certain swaras more than others in order to enhance the appropriate chakras to improve the immunity level of the body. She also incorporates Vedic mantras and use of ragas based on the next general framework.

Raga Chikitsa might be what many Western music therapists call “Raga Therapy.” It is the general use of ragas for healing purposes—its guiding principles deal with healing qualities of ragas as described in the section above on Indian music. This framework is separate from the previous ones because it is not necessarily tied to a specific healing system, but rather is simply associated with the healing aspects of ragas, present in features such as swara (note) patterns, embellishments and rhythms. It takes into account the relation of ragas with the time of day and specific seasons as well as specific effects on moods and suggests specific ragas for specific illnesses. For example, two village healers in North India that use ragas for various kinds of healing say that the effects of certain ragas have been established over centuries of trial-and-error and by intuitive knowledge.
of the music. One healer begins a healing session with a devotional (religious) song or two to prepare himself and the patient, and then after a process of identifying the patient’s illness, begins to perform in a certain raga, improvising and becoming more intense over time. He progresses through several stages of improvisatory music, perhaps moving through several ragas, in a manner that only he and a few other special people understand. Each stage of music has a specific healing purpose and affects a different release. In other practices of Raga Chikita, healers borrow ideas from other healing frameworks, as is commonplace among Indian music and medicine. For example, Raga Chikita can be used in tandem with Vedic chants, or with intentions of effecting ayurvedic or yogic goals.

**Similarities and Differences**

Music therapists must analyze the above theoretical systems to assess whether they can be applied to music therapy. But even a non-music therapist can immediately see that the use of music in music therapy and with the frameworks above can be similar. Firstly, music creates an auditory field or atmosphere that manipulates mood and creates both tension and relaxation. Parameters and boundaries for exploration, discovery and safety can be set through music in music therapy and with many of the Indian theories. Parallels can be seen between psychoanalytic theories and Vedic traditions that involve repetition of mantras that affect unconscious minds and influence thoughts and perceptions. Both music therapy and Indian theories support the therapeutic uses of music in imagery to induce altered states of consciousness. Analogies can also be drawn between the role of music in the realization of broad goals such as the support of positive belief systems regarding the course of an illness, distractions from physical or emotional pain, expressing conflicts musically rather than verbally for emotional release and enhancing feelings of group support and individual self-esteem. An obvious similarity is that musical instruments and styles employed by music therapists and traditional healers are often the same. One example is the drum circle, in which participants, situated in a circle, are given instruments such as drums, maracas, shakers, bells, tambourines, and oth-
er hand percussion instruments and play together in an interactive music session. Music is a catalyst for emotional expression and physical responses for both music therapy and traditional Indian practices. Overall, both music therapists and traditional Indian healers use musical genres that are familiar to the group, and both ritual healing and music therapy serve to contribute to the wellness of the patients. Of course, there are many more similarities that can be exploited that I do not mention here.

An important difference is that Vedic traditions, Ayurveda, Yoga, and Raga Chikitsa are healing systems and are directly connected to music. Compared to the behavioral, psychoanalytic, and humanistic foundations of music therapy practices, we see that the Indian frameworks are more directly in touch with both healing and music. These frameworks all attempt to integrate lifestyle, a specific philosophical orientation, and music to approach health holistically. Additionally, in the Western music therapy model we do not find the active acknowledgement of sacred or unseen forces of music, although there may be a passive acknowledgement since many music therapists likely personally believe in the inherent, unseen powers of music.

**Music Therapy in India**

Throughout this paper I have been analyzing music therapy and whether the field can benefit from studying traditional musical healing practices. But what about traditional practices—can they benefit from music therapy? It turns out that regardless of whether music therapy is integrating with traditional practices, it is spreading throughout the world. The discipline has made rapid strides over the last couple of decades in Europe, North and South America, and more recently in Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In some (largely Western) countries, this is resulting in specialization and development of particular areas of music therapy. But in others (largely non-Western), the discipline is in a messy state. In Korea as of 2002, there were only approximately fifteen qualified (by Western standards) music therapists, yet there are currently more than ten associations for “music therapy” practices. Integration of
traditional Korean music into Korean music therapy seems to be sparse and disorganized as well (Kim 2002). A Japanese music therapist notes that in Japan, there are two extreme tendencies: one that emphasizes “the delay of Japanese music therapy and worshipping the Western one blindly,” and the other that emphasizes “excluding Western influence to go back to [traditional practices]” (Ikuno 2001). This is not an exaggeration: currently the three philosophies of Korean music therapy are behavioral, psychodynamic and humanistic theories.

But this is not to say that music therapy is not trying to take over traditional musical healing practices. Likely this spread is due to music therapy’s strong scientific support relative to traditional practices. In India, I have noticed there are two groups of musical healers: the larger group that encompass the traditional musical healers, and a few therapists who are Western-trained or trained by Western music therapy programs in India, as well as a few self-trained but Western-oriented music therapists. The traditional healers work individually, and their work is based on personal theoretical frameworks that are often a combination of multiple philosophies. The other group of practitioners, the Indian music therapists, is attempting to integrate traditional healing systems and music therapy, although their efforts are in the very early stages (Sundar 2007). There is a discussion emerging about whether this integration is even possible (Sundar 2005). But overall, there is an enormous lack of collaboration. Traditional healers do not collaborate among themselves largely because they believe strongly in their own developed philosophies and practices, and dismiss others’ philosophies and practices. Perhaps for that reason, there is also not much collaboration between Indian music therapists and these traditional healers. If the Indian music therapy field is to move forward, this is a problem that must be fixed. Healthy progress in a complex field such as music therapy needs collaboration among the various practitioners and philosophies.

What should be evident is that the Indian practices should not necessarily adopt music therapy models because India has its own unique and powerful musical and medicine systems and theoretical
frameworks for musical healing. Furthermore, music therapy, with its behavioral history, might not have developed in a manner most fitting for the discipline. Indian music therapy should form its own principles because they will hopefully arise from traditional practices that are intertwined with music and healing unlike the roots of music therapy. Perhaps this will lead to a theory of music therapy that is more complete than what has formed in the Western music therapy world.

Conclusion

Our discussion regarding the foundations of music therapy and traditional musical healing illustrates similarities and differences in the philosophies that underlie very comparable fields. The original social science framework for music therapy perhaps is not the most appropriate philosophy for a discipline such as music therapy, as illustrated by a case study of Indian musical healing theories. In music therapy, while we have recently seen a paradigm shift from a social science framework to a neuroscience framework, this shift should be extended to include an ethnomusicological framework as well.

Learning about different musical healing paradigms can deepen our understanding of music therapy and help the discipline move towards a more complete theory of music therapy. As described above, Indian music healing theories have deep connections with the fundamental healing qualities of music. While Western music therapy need not incorporate Indian ideals, it should explore the Indian philosophies. Some say the recent change in the scientific climate “appears to favor a paradigmatic change in the field of music therapy, where the emphasis is once again put on the inherent qualities of music to effect change” (Ruud 1988, 35). The case study of India shows that through its holistic view and wisdom, Indian musical healing frameworks can make essential and important contributions to the field of music therapy, just as Ayurveda (for example) already contributes substantially to our understanding of health. By extension, music therapists should look to practices and theories from all cultures around the world in an attempt to reach a more comprehensive understanding of music therapy.
Since music therapy is also spreading to non-Western cultures, we see a need for sharing knowledge in two directions: from traditional musical healing to music therapy and from music therapy to traditional musical healing. Ethnomusicology seems to be an appropriate discipline to facilitate this conversation. Thus, strong, multi-way discourse must be established between music therapists, music therapy researchers, ethnomusicologists, and traditional musical healers. Failing to study musical healing practices in history and from cultures around the world puts music therapy at risk of developing an incomplete understanding. On the other hand, collaboration here may be able to unite the past and present of music in healing, helping music therapy and musical healing disciplines realize their potential power.

Acknowledgments

This work would not have been possible were it not for the generous support of many special people. I would like to first thank my mentor Dr. Bradley Stoner for his experienced guidance and encouragement throughout my four years at Washington University. I am grateful to the fellows and leaders of the MKUHF for their counsel and for providing me the opportunities to engage in my two-year pursuit. I profusely thank the many music therapists, musicians, traditional healers, and physicians in St. Louis and India for openly sharing their worlds of music and healing with me. Thanks to the Washington University’s Office of Undergraduate Research and Department of Anthropology for supporting my fieldwork in India. Finally, I wish to thank my friends and family in the U.S. and in India for their trust, support, and inspiration.

1 In this paper, “traditional” refers to healing traditions that are outside the context of Western music therapy in the broadest sense. Therefore, “traditional music” is used to indicate non-Western music. “Western” and “non-Western” are also used in a broad sense, “Western” referring to U.S. and European perspectives and “non-Western” referring to perspectives from areas outside the U.S. and Europe.

2 Some believe in a distinction between physical healing and mental healing.
“Healing” as I use it covers both aspects.

3 Transference occurs when the client projects unfinished emotional business onto the therapist or the music, while countertransference pertains to the therapist's emotional response to the patient (Priestley 1985). The technique is most often used with patients in psychiatric settings and in other areas of health care.

4 This is not to say that findings of behavioral changes or changes in well-being are less significant than neuroscientific findings. In my opinion, simple changes in behavior or well-being that are engendered through musical means are sufficient justification for healing with music.

5 Shamanism refers to a variety of practices that involve a shaman reaching altered states of consciousness in order to engage with spiritual forces. A shaman is a respected person regarded as having access to, and influence in, the spiritual world. He or she typically enters into a trance state during a ritual and practices divination and healing. In musical healing settings, shamans use music to enter the trance state or to interact with spirits.

6 For more information on tala and Indian rhythm, see Clayton 2008.

References


Abstract: During the second century CE, there was no orthodoxy, no scriptural canon, and no single accepted Christology in Christianity. This is the environment in which Irenaeus composed Against Heresies. His explicit purpose for the text was to expose and overthrow opposing forms of Christianity. In this paper, I will argue that Irenaeus also had an implicit purpose for composing Against Heresies: to establish his conception of orthodoxy. Through a rhetorical analysis of the text, I will further argue that Irenaeus establishes the bounds and tenets of his conception of orthodoxy by creating a dichotomy between his Christianity, that of the ekklesia (Church), and the Christianity of his opponents, the hairetikoi (heretics). Irenaeus rhetorically creates the “other,” that is, heretical Christianity, to define and establish his own form of Christianity.

Background
“Christ neither suffered nor died.” While this idea was decisively rejected by the First Council of Nicaea in 325 CE, two hundred years earlier it had been prevalent among numerous Christian groups.1 To them, Jesus was a good man, but he was merely a man. Jesus only became divine when Christ, a purely spiritual being, entered him, enabling him to preach and perform miracles. Yet, before Jesus was crucified and died, Christ left him. The ramifications of such an understanding of Jesus were legion. For example, these Christians believed the material world was evil, and they asserted that salvation
could only be achieved through esoteric knowledge given to a select few. Ideas like these are foreign to modern, orthodox Christianity, but in the second century CE, orthodoxy had not been determined, and the scriptural canon had not yet been established. Numerous Christian groups, adhering to different texts and traditions, struggled for supremacy. The divinity of Jesus represents just one of the disagreements among these groups.²

Prior to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices in 1945, polemicians like Irenaeus of Lyons were the only textual sources available for descriptions of these early Christian groups. Thus, scholars were attempting to reconstruct early Christianity by relying almost exclusively on the depictions provided by individuals writing with the explicit purpose of refuting those other forms of Christianity. Due to the scarcity of evidence, a biased and inaccurate myth regarding the origins of Christianity emerged. Irenaeus and other polemicians indicated that their version was the original Christianity and that the vast array of “heretical” forms of Christianity formed as a result of outside influence.³ This myth profoundly impacted scholarship on early Christianity in two key ways: 1) Scholars commonly assumed that Christianity could be traced back to a single origin. 2) Scholars also often regarded truth as single and unified, but falsehood as various and divergent.⁴ Though the trend of questioning the accuracy of polemicians’ depictions had begun prior to the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices, this December 1945 event would prove to be a watershed.⁵

The Nag Hammadi codices revolutionized scholarship on early Christianity. These codices were written in Coptic and consisted of forty-six different fourth-century works, most of which were previously unknown.⁶ Because of this discovery, sources on early Christianity were no longer limited to the slanted view of Christian polemicians; the beliefs of their opponents were now available to scholars, no longer tainted by the bias of a proxy. These new sources enabled a greater understanding of early Christianity, resulting in the refutation or, at least, refining of scholarship.⁷ Scholars debated and redacted their categorization of the various groups of early Christians. They reassessed the accuracy of polemicians’ depictions and, in some cases, disregarded these depictions, finding them entirely inaccurate.
They also presented more complex models for early Christianity in an effort to convey their more nuanced understanding of the relationships among early Christians. These models incorporate metaphors associated with competitions, like a horse race or a battle, and attempt to account for both the diversity of ancient Christianity and the fact that the model of Christianity supported by the polemicists eventually became its dominant and accepted form. They emphasize the fact that different forms of Christianity interacted and competed until one, a form of Christianity similar to the one espoused by Irenaeus, ultimately defeated the others. While these models still face criticism, they are generally believed to mark a significant improvement in that they no longer rely upon polemical characterizations of ancient Christian groups.

The Importance of Against Heresies

While the Nag Hammadi codices have enabled numerous innovative theories in scholarship on early Christianity, these codices by no means replace polemical accounts. Since the codices are fragmented and rather specialized, their interpretation requires a considerable fund of knowledge concerning the material and the historical setting. The Nag Hammadi codices do not provide an introduction or detailed contextual background; they are works meant for people already familiar with the basic philosophies underpinning the texts. Therefore, polemics remain essential to studies of early Christianity because they provide a different perspective, though undeniably colored, about various groups of early Christians. Irenaeus’s second-century polemic On the Detection and Overthrow of Gnosis Falsely So Called (a.k.a. Against Heresies) is especially important for attempts to reconstruct early Christianity because it is the only extant detailed account of the diversity within Christianity during the late second century CE.

Irenaeus composed Against Heresies between 175 and 185 CE. Minimal factual information is known about Irenaeus himself because few of his works survive. Scholars typically date Irenaeus’s
birth to sometime between 130 and 140 CE. Moreover, Irenaeus was linked to the Apostolic period because, as a boy, he heard Polycarp, a student of John the Apostle, preach and he held a position of authority in the early *ekklesia* (Church). *Against Heresies* is Irenaeus’s response to a request he received from another group of Christians within the *ekklesia*, perhaps in Asia and Phrygia and likely from outside Gaul and Rome, for a description of the Valentinians, a group of “heterodox” Christians. *Against Heresies* consists of five books and was originally written in Greek. However, the complete work is extant only in a Latin translation dating to the fourth or early fifth century CE.

Scholars have proven that Irenaeus’s depiction of early Christianity in *Against Heresies* was tainted by his polemical agenda. His myth of a single, unified origin for Christianity wreaked havoc on nineteenth and early twentieth century scholarship. Now, however, the myth has been identified as a mere rhetorical device utilized in order to convey the superiority of Irenaeus’s form of Christianity and the deficiency of his opponents’ forms of Christianity. This misinterpretation serves as a cautionary tale for reading and analyzing *Against Heresies*; one must approach all of Irenaeus’s claims with discretion. Understanding the purpose of *Against Heresies* is essential to determining the veracity of Irenaeus’s claims. For example, Irenaeus explicitly identifies the exposure and refutation of his opponents as two of his goals for *Against Heresies*. In order to reveal the doctrines of his opponents to his audience, Irenaeus could not completely distort their belief system because his audience would be unable to identify “heretical” beliefs. Thus, if we follow this line of reasoning, the basic descriptions of his opponents’ theologies would be accurate and would be, in fact, largely corroborated by the Nag Hammadi codices. Yet, Irenaeus was also motivated by a desire to disprove and overthrow his opponents. Therefore, Irenaeus’s extended descriptions and criticisms of his opponents could be and were exaggerated in order to incite his readers to rise up against his “noxious” and “evil” opponents. In this way, *Against Heresies* both accurately conveys and purposively distorts the reality of second-century Christianity. Understanding the purpose of Irenaeus’s text is a valuable tool
that helps the reader to discern between reality and distortion.

The exposure and refutation of Irenaeus’s opponents are both explicit goals, but over the course of this paper, I will identify Irenaeus’s implicit purpose for writing Against Heresies, namely to craft an identity for the ekklesia that was entirely distinct from all other conceptions of Christianity, a distinction that did not exist in reality. Irenaeus creates this identity by juxtaposing the ekklesia and hairesis (heresy). I will argue that hairesis is a constructed “other,” which Irenaeus places in opposition to the ekklesia to elucidate qualities of the ekklesia. In other words, the Church is everything that hairesis is not. I will prove this by tracing the usage of hairesis in the first and second centuries in order to establish the connotations of the term when Irenaeus wrote Against Heresy. I will then examine Irenaeus’s own usage of hairesis, focusing in particular on how Irenaeus draws upon and expands previous usage of the term to definitively separate himself and the ekklesia from his opponents. After exploring other rhetorical devices Irenaeus uses to establish this distinction, I will prove that this definitive separation between Irenaeus and his opponents did not exist. Rather than conveying reality, Irenaeus used Against Heresies to incite divisions that were not yet established. I will then argue that the impetus for this carefully constructed identity is the fact that individuals whom he deems hairetikoi (heretics), adherents of heresy, posed a paramount threat to his understanding of orthodox Christianity because they either were drawing members of the ekklesia to their corrupt teachings or were muddling the teachings of the ekklesia itself.

Rhetoric of Distinction: The “Church” and “Heresy”

Through his rhetoric, Irenaeus establishes a definitive distinction between the ekklesia and hairesis, in which ἐκκλησία is uniform and nourishing, whereas αἵρεσις is multiform and noxious. The two are entirely distinct, irreconcilable, and in opposition to each other. This opposition is emphasized by Irenaeus’s use of the term hairesis and his choice to refer to his opponents as hairetikoi, adherents of heresy.20

Hairesis is derived from the Greek verb αἱρέω. While the verb encompasses a range of meanings, its noun form, hairesis,21 ultimately derives from the category of definitions emphasizing deliberate
choice. As a result, in Hellenistic thought, *hairesis* denoted “doctrine” and “school” and was applied largely, perhaps even exclusively, to Greek philosophy and medicine. In Hellenistic Judaism, *hairesis* had a similar meaning, but it was applied to both philosophical schools and Jewish religious schools. In the Septuagint, the term is less specific; rather than denoting a school of thought, *hairesis* simply indicates a choice. Common to all these usages is the neutral connotation of *hairesis*. The term indicated a choice or a distinct system of thought, not a bad or inferior one.

The works comprising the New Testament utilize *hairesis* in a variety of ways. The term’s neutral tone persists in Acts, a work in which *hairesis* denotes Jewish religious schools. In the Pauline Epistles, however, *hairesis* has a decidedly negative connotation. For example, in his letter to the Galatians, Paul includes *hairesis* in his list of “works of the flesh” (*erga tes sarkos*), evil acts which Paul advocates avoiding. Other “works” in this list include: sexual immorality (*proneia*), idolatry (*eidololatria*), jealousy (*zelos*), selfishness (*eritheia*), and drunkenness (*methai*). This passage from Galatians taken in conjunction with Paul’s application of the term in 1 Corinthians 11 indicates that, for Paul, *hairesis* is akin to dissension.

While Paul’s definition is imprecise, it is clear that *hairesis* is meant in the pejorative. Heinrich Schlier takes this idea a step further. He argues that Galatians 5:20 indicates that “*ekklesia* and *hairesis* are material opposites. The latter cannot accept the former; the former excludes the latter.” For him, Pauline theology definitively separates the two entities. This absolute separation does not reflect the reality of early Christianity because it presupposes a unity in early Christianity that did not exist. However, in terms of the rhetoric of early Christian polemics, it is essential to recognize that a distinction was already forming between *ekklesia* and *hairesis*. This distinction was honed and developed by numerous early Christian apologists, so that, by the time that Irenaeus wrote *Against Heresies* in 180 CE, *hairesis* had acquired derogatory connotations and denoted something distinctly different from proper followers of Christ. While a number of early Christian apologists could be used to demonstrate this development, the use of *hairesis* by Justin Martyr, an early
Christian apologist, provides the most relevant illustration of the trend for understanding Irenaeus.

In Book IV of *Against Heresies*, Irenaeus approvingly quotes a portion of Justin Martyr’s “work against Marcion” (*en to pros Markion-ona suntagmati*) in order to further emphasize the importance of the Creator, the God of the Hebrew Bible. Though this work against Marcion is not extant, Justin seems to reference it in his First Apology when he states “I have composed a work against all the ‘heresies’ which have arisen.” Furthermore, the context of this quotation is indicative of Justin’s understanding of *hairesis*. He uses the term to refer to people who are called “Christians” (*Christianoi*) but adhere to the doctrines of figures like Simon Magus, Menander, and Marcion. As Justin presents it, such figures have “through the assistance of demons, made many speak blasphemies.” Rebecca Lyman surmises that Justin understood *hairesis* to be “a diabolical error . . . [and] the demonic counterfeit of the truth, characterized by innovation, human ingenuity, and multiplicity.” Clearly Justin attaches a great deal of negativity to *hairesis*. It is important to recognize that underlying all these associations is the notion that *hairesis* denotes an “otherness” in opposition to proper belief and practice. Justin indicates that people adhering to *hairesis* are called Christians, but the designation is improper, for they are not actually Christians.

Irenaeus’s understanding of *hairesis* is similar to that of Justin. Irenaeus first uses *hairesis* in Book I of *Against Heresies* when he describes the doctrines of Valentinus. This first usage sets the tone for the work as a whole. Immediately prior to attaching the term *hairesis* to his opponents, Irenaeus discusses the church, stating that “the Church is universal and holds one and the same belief throughout the whole world.” These attributes are then placed in direct opposition to his description of his opponents. Irenaeus writes, “Let us now see the inconsistent knowledge of these [heretics], since there are two or three of them, how, about the same things, they do not say the same things [and] they are shown to be opposing in names and in deeds.” This description sets up the following sentence, in which Irenaeus describes Valentinus as the first of “these heretics” and indicates that Valentinus “adapted” (*metarmosas*) the teachings
of the “heresy of the ones called Gnostic” (apo tes legomenes gnostikes haireses). Taken in context, hairesis is intended to denote not just an improper system of thinking, but also a multiformity of ideas. This multiformity is contrasted with the Church, whose belief is the same throughout the entire world. Thus, already in Book I, Irenaeus presents a dichotomy between ekklesia and hairesis, a dichotomy that he maintains and cultivates throughout Against Heresies.

This characterization is not an isolated incident. The dichotomization of these two terms can be further illustrated by briefly examining Irenaeus’s usage of hairesis later in Book I:

From these [heretics], who were spoken of previously, already many offshoots have been made from their many heresies because many from them, perhaps all, wish to be teachers, and indeed to depart from the heresy in which they had existed.39 This passage confirms the multiformity of hairesis in a more concrete manner. Instead of merely asserting that adherents of hairesis have different teachings on the same matter, Irenaeus charges them with breaking off from one another due to their desire to create new teachings. Far from being driven by a desire to attain the truth, as Irenaeus presents it, adherents of hairesis are driven by their refusal to submit to the instruction of another. Each man must be his own teacher; therefore, adherents of hairesis do not represent one break from the ekklesia, but a series of breaks that will continue to split off endlessly. The dissension and multiformity associated with hairesis completely contrasts with his earlier portrayal of the ekklesia, which maintains its unity despite being spread throughout the world. Irenaeus writes,

The Church, even though it has been scattered throughout the whole world, carefully guards [its preaching and belief], as though it lived in one house. Likewise it believes in these things as though it held one soul and the same heart, and it harmoniously proclaims and teaches and transmits such things as though it possessed one mouth.40 The ekklesia is wholly different from hairesis, at a fundamental level. The former is equated with unity, the latter with multiformity. If the ekklesia were to accept hairesis, it would divide itself and alter one of
its core qualities; the two entities must be separate because their base nature is irreconcilable. As Mary Ann Donovan interprets the above passage, “the intent is clear: unity of faith does not admit diversity.”41 Thus, beyond an esoteric dichotomy, *hairesis* and *ekklesia* cannot interact in a literal sense.

Irenaeus further clarifies this point in Book IV. The passage begins with an exhortation for his readers to obey the presbyters (*presbyteris*) in the “Church” (*Ecclesia*). There is then a warning advising his readers to hold suspect (*habere suspectos*) those who gather in another place and regard them as if they were heretics (*haereticos*), schismatics (*scindentes*), or hypocrites (*hypocritas*). Irenaeus concludes the section on an ominous note. He claims that “the heretics bringing foreign fire to the altar of God, that is foreign doctrines, will be consumed by heavenly fire as Nadab and Abiud [were].”42 Similarly, he indicates that “[those heretics] who rise up contrary to the truth, and exhort others against the Church of God remain in hell [and those heretics] who cut up and separate the unity of the Church receive the same penalty from God as Jerobam.”43 In this section, *hairesis* is indicative of more than just a group distinct from the *ekklesia*; they are opposing units. The *hairetikoi* are a profound threat to the *ekklesia*. They bring in foreign doctrines and break up its unity. Therefore, the *hairetikoi* deserve and will suffer exceedingly harsh penalties from God. More immediately, however, as Irenaeus’s rhetoric indicates, they need to be marginalized from the *ekklesia* to prevent further damage. Through his usage of *hairesis*, Irenaeus both employs an emerging tradition evidenced by Justin Martyr as well as takes Justin’s use of *hairesis* further, namely by opposing his opponent’s multiformity with the *ekklesia*’s uniformity to ensure that his readers recognize the differences and incompatibility of the two terms. By emphasizing such a distinction, he furthers his goal of crafting a distinct identity for the *ekklesia* far removed from *hairesis*.

David Brakke believes that Irenaeus applies harsh criticisms to his opponents and fashions his argument in a way that emphasizes the differences and distinction between the *ekklesia* and the *hairetikoi* because such profound differences and distinctions between the groups did not exist. Rather, Irenaeus utilizes rhetoric in order to
create an identity distinct from that of his opponents.⁴⁴ Brakke writes, “The boundedness, continuity, and natural evolution of incipient beliefs and doctrines that we have attributed to early Christian groups were not in fact there in social life, but were invoked rhetorically in the multilateral process of identity formation and boundary setting in which all early Christians were engaged.”⁴⁵ Brakke argues that, in the second century, Christianity was hybrid and syncretistic. Doctrines and tenets were still being formed and various groups were interacting and exchanging ideas. Thus, groups of Christians were in the process of formation and were not yet the distinct entities that Irenaeus makes them out to be.

**Theology**

Irenaeus’s presentation of the theology of the *ekklesia* further evidences how much he relies upon the *hairetikoi* for identity formation. Before we analyze how Irenaeus’s theology is presented in *Against Heresies*, it is helpful to know the basics of his theology. Irenaeus asserts that the God of the Old Testament, the Creator, and the God of the New Testament are one and the same. Moreover, Irenaeus believes that the creation story is not simply one in which man went awry from God’s plan; rather, it represents an essential portion of God’s larger plan for humanity in which Jesus is the recapitulation of Adam. Jesus is the son of God who suffered and died on the cross, but, and perhaps more importantly, Jesus also acts as the new Adam; he lives a full human life properly, by which he effectively undoes all the wrongs caused by Adam’s sin. To Irenaeus, Jesus is more than an example for the rest of mankind; he is the savior who rights past wrongs. Without Jesus, God is entirely unknowable and incomprehensible to the human mind. Jesus is the link between God and man as well as the fulfiller and revealer of God’s plan.⁴⁶

Though Irenaeus never lists every text he accepts as Scripture and uses to form his theology, he does adamantly support a four-fold gospel. In fact, Irenaeus offers an extended description about why four gospels, no more and no less, are absolutely necessary. He argues that there need to be four gospels because there are four zones of the world, four principal winds, four-faced cherubim, and four
principal covenants. Yet, as Annette Reed argues in her article “EU-AGGELION: Orality, Textuality, and the Christian Truth in Irenaeus’ Adversus haereses,” Irenaeus’s main concern in Against Heresies was not to promote the canonization of a four-fold Gospel, but rather to defend what Irenaeus views as the Gospel message from the various heretical misrepresentations of it. The context in which Irenaeus promotes the four-fold Gospel clarifies this point. Irenaeus insists upon four gospels because, as he views it, any more or less than four gospels leads to a skewed, heretical theology. Irenaeus writes,

And these indeed are the principles of the Gospel: there is one God, maker of the universe, who was also announced by the prophets, and who by Moses set forth the dispensation of the law, the law which announces the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and does not know of another God beyond him. So firm are these things upon which these Gospels rest, that even the heretics themselves bear witness to them, and, from them (i.e. the Gospels) each one of them (i.e. the heretics) tries to establish his own doctrine. The Ebionites, who use Matthew’s Gospel only, are refuted from the Gospel itself, making false suppositions about the Lord. Moreover, Marcion, mutilating the [Gospel] according to Luke, is shown to be a blasphemer of the only existing God, from those [passages] which he still retains. Again, those who separate Jesus from Christ, and say that Christ remained impas-sible but that Jesus suffered, and prefer Mark’s Gospel, if they read it with a love of truth, they are able to be corrected. Those, moreover, who descended from Valentinus and excessively use John’s Gospel in order to illustrate their conjunctions, will be re-vealed to have spoken nothing correctly by this Gospel itself, as I have shown in the first book.

Irenaeus interprets the four gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, to be telling one unified account of God from creation to Jesus to the beginnings of the Church. He further indicates that the Gospels balance each other out. His opponents who accept or heavily favor one gospel over the others have an incomplete and skewed understand-ing of Jesus. However, because his opponents also recognize these texts as Scripture, Irenaeus feels particularly justified in using
these texts to argue against their systems. In a sense, Irenaeus per-
ceives his interpretation of the Gospels as a way to undermine the
very foundation of his opponents’ theology. Once he has proved that
these four texts all proclaim the same message, he does not need to
argue about why his text is superior to the ones his opponents are
using; he simply has to prove that his exegesis is more accurate. Thus,
Irenaeus’s defense of the four gospels is motivated by his opponents.
In order to prove the validity of his exegesis of these texts, he had to
first prove why his opponents were wrong to favor one gospel over
another. His goal was not to promote a canon, but to cement his the-
ology over the theologies of his opponents.

After criticizing what his opponents consider to be Scriptures,
Irenaeus goes on to describe a number of stories. Some of these sto-
ries are canonical like the story of Mary and Joseph finding Jesus
in the temple after running away and Jesus asking his concerned
parents “Didn’t you know I had to be about my father’s business?”50
Or the passage in Matthew when Jesus states that the God of heav-
en and earth has revealed hidden things to little children, then says
that “No one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows
the Father except the Son and those to whom the Son chooses to
reveal him.”51 Others, however, are non-canonical like the story in
which a teacher asks Jesus to pronounce “Alpha” and Jesus does so,
but when the teacher asks him to say “Beta,” he replies “You tell me
what ‘Alpha’ is, then I will tell you what ‘Beta’ is.”52 Irenaeus’s oppo-
nents interpret these and a few other passages to indicate that Jesus’s
father is unknown to mankind. They further deduce that because
the creator God, the God of the Hebrew Bible, is known, Jesus is
discussing some higher, more powerful God distinct from the God
of the Hebrew Bible.

Such an interpretation is at odds with Irenaeus’s own theology,
which is grounded upon the idea that the God who created the world
is one and the same with the God who is Jesus’s father.53 However, he
not only views the God of the Old and New Testaments as the same,
but also considers the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament to be
one, unified story, the story of mankind’s redemption. This unity is
reflected in his exegetical strategy of Scripture. Consider for exam-
ple this passage from Book 4 explaining Irenaeus’s understanding of prophecy:

These things did the prophets signify prophetically; but they did not, as some say, [state] that He who was seen by the prophets was a different [God] than the Father of all being invisible. However, they (i.e. the heretics), who do not know the nature of prophecy at all, say this. For prophecy is a prediction, by means of a presignification, of future things, that is, of those things which afterwards will be.54

Irenaeus places his understanding of prophecy in direct opposition to his opponents’ understanding of prophecy. Irenaeus believes the prophets of the Hebrew Bible foretold Jesus’s life and the events of the New Testament, whereas his opponents assert that the prophets are discussing two different Gods: a known, creator God and an unfathomable, invisible God above that of the creator God. Irenaeus's own exegetical strategy regarding prophecy in the Hebrew Bible is exemplified when Irenaeus writes:

In the last days, “when the fullness of the time” of liberty “had arrived” (Gal 4:4), the Word Himself did by Himself “wash away the dirt of the daughters of Zion,” (Is. 4:4) when He washed the disciples’ feet with His own hands (John 13:5). For this is the end of the human race inheriting God; so that just as in the beginning, through our first [parents], we were all returned into servitude in the debt of death; so at last, by means of the newest man, all who from the beginning [were His] disciples, having been purified and washed of the things pertaining to death, should come into the life of God. For He who washed the feet of the disciples sanctified the whole body, and added it into the clean (John 13:10).55

Isaiah 4:4 prophesizes that the Lord will “wash away the filth of the daughters of Zion.” Irenaeus in turn loosely interprets an action recorded in the New Testament—namely, Jesus washing his disciples feet—as the fulfillment of the prophesy. For Irenaeus, the New Testament reveals the true meaning of the prophesies of the Old Testament. Furthermore, this interpretative strategy emphasizes the interconnectedness of the two groups of texts and highlights that they
are not mutually exclusive as many of his opponents claim. In fact, the difference between Irenaeus’s and his opponents’ understanding of prophecy derives from two entirely different conceptions about the relationship between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.

This difference can be expanded upon by considering the passages Irenaeus utilizes to disprove his opponents’ assertions that the God seen by the prophets in the Hebrew Bible was different from the God of the New Testament. Irenaeus writes, “The prophets, then, showed beforehand that God will be seen by men; just as the Lord also says, ‘Blessed are the pure in heart, because they will see God.’ But with respect to His greatness indeed, and His wonderful glory, ‘no one shall see God and live,’ for the Father is incomprehensible.” The choice of passages is significant. The first comes from the New Testament, Matthew 5:8, the second from the Hebrew Bible, Exodus 33:20. Irenaeus does not view the two texts as separate. In fact, he uses the passage from Matthew, despite the fact that this text was composed centuries after Exodus, to interpret the passage from Exodus. Irenaeus considers the Hebrew Bible to be a Christian text. Therefore, Matthew cannot contradict Exodus because both qualify as Scripture. Rather, Matthew aids in the interpretation of Exodus; it reveals the true meaning of Exodus. Exodus does not indicate that mankind cannot see God because Matthew clearly states that mankind can see him. Exodus instead indicates that mankind cannot comprehend God’s greatness and glory. However, those who love God are completely capable of experiencing God’s love, kindness and infinite power. For Irenaeus’s opponents, the relationship between the Hebrew Bible and New Testament is simple, but entirely different from the one posited by Irenaeus: the two sets of texts are discussing two different Gods. Irenaeus, by contrast, consistently works to show the interconnectedness of the two sets of texts.

Where many of his opponents are willing to reject the validity of passages from the Hebrew Bible, Irenaeus highlights the two texts’ intimate connection. His exegeses emphasize this unity in opposition to heretical variations, as M. C. Steenberg, in his book Of God and Man: Theology As Anthropology from Irenaeus to Athanasius, el-
sequently summarizes: “His [Irenaeus’s] anthropological views centre round two apparently simple, fundamental suppositions, each raised in opposition to variant exegetical hypotheses laid out by those with whom he engages: first, that it was God himself who created the human person in Eden; and second, that God did so intentionally with purpose and as part of a larger taxis or economy.”58 Irenaeus did not view Against Heresies as a theological treatise or a platform to propagate a certain canon. Rather, the text is devoted to contrasting proper teaching and practice, those ideals espoused by the ekklesia, with improper teaching and practice, those ideals espoused by the hairetikoi. Irenaeus carves out the theological identity of the ekklesia by presenting his opponents’ completely disparate theology.

**Danger Due to Similitude**

Despite the startling contrasts, in some of his descriptions, Irenaeus belies the fact that his opponents are quite similar to members of the ekklesia and in some cases, even consider themselves to be members of the ekklesia. Consider Irenaeus’s use of the Homeric cento, a literary genre in Hellenistic times in which lines from different poems were combined to form a new poem,59 and the mosaic. If either the Homeric passages or the jewels are out of order, they tell a story or produce an image that, while formed with the same material, is inaccurate. Irenaeus, analyzing a Homeric cento, writes:

Now, who of those guileless men would not be misled by such verses and thus think that Homer made them with such a plot [in mind]? But he who is acquainted with the Homeric plots will recognize the verses, but he will not recognize the plot to which they are applied . . . But when he takes these things and restores each one to its proper position, he will make the [improper] plot go away. Thus, he steadfastly, holding within himself the rule of truth which he received through of baptism, will recognize the names, the expressions, and the parables taken from the Scriptures, but will not recognize the blasphemous plot [of these heretics].60

Irenaeus uses the example of Homeric centos and mosaics to illustrate the fact that people who are unaware confuse heretical ideas
with proper ideas, those taught by the *ekklesia*. He indicates that people need the rule of truth, available only through the *ekklesia*, to distinguish proper teachings from blasphemous ones. Through these examples, Irenaeus explicitly states that the *hairetikoi* misuse and misinterpret Scripture. However, implicitly, he indicates that the teachings of the *hairetikoi* and the teachings of the *ekklesia* are confused for one another. To the untrained eye, both groups teach the same general ideas. The individual is not able to distinguish one from the other. As Irenaeus states in the preface to Book I:

Glass, by means of its clever imitation, insults that precious stone the emerald - highly honored by some - except when one, being able, cleverly tests and exposes the counterfeit. Or, when copper intermixes into silver, what simple man will be able to confirm that the pure mixture is pure? Therefore, so that none, through my neglect, should be snatched away, as sheep are by wolves, failing to recognize the true character of these men, outwardly are covered with sheep’s skin, against whom the Lord has enjoined us to be on our guard, speak like us, but have a dissimilar purpose . . .

Again, Irenaeus presents the teachings of the *hairetikoi* as counterfeits of some original masterpiece and indicates that the inexperienced are unable to distinguish counterfeit from original. Although Irenaeus portrays the differences between the teachings of the *αἱρετικοὶ* and the teachings of the *ekklesia* as excessively divergent and easily identifiable to those equipped with proper knowledge, people confuse the two teachings. Irenaeus largely attributes this to the fact that the teachings were derived from the same sources and use the same words, as was previously discussed, and because the *hairetikoi* lurk, pretending to be members of the *ekklesia*. Or to use Irenaeus’s terminology: they are wolves in sheep’s clothing.

Irenaeus employs this scriptural metaphor of wolves in sheep’s clothing several times throughout *Against Heresies*. For example, when he criticizes the teachings of the Valentinians in Book III, Irenaeus describes them as “sheep on the outside, for through this speech, which they hold, they appear similar to us, speaking the same things as us, but are wolves on the inside.” Elaine Pagels interprets
this passage to indicate that “the majority of Christians did not recognize the followers of Valentinus as heretics. Most could not tell the difference between Valentinian and orthodox teaching.”65 This point is further illustrated by another passage from Book III, in which the Valentinians indicate that they view themselves not as imposters, but as veritable members of the *ekklesia*:

> And then these things are asked regarding us, why, when they hold similar [doctrines] to ours, do we, without a cause, keep ourselves away from their communication? And why when they say the same things, and they hold the same doctrine, do we call them heretics?66

The Valentinians do not view their teachings as opposing those of the *ekklesia*. Yet, Irenaeus identifies them as distinct from his group and desires for them to be definitively separated from it. To answer why the Valentinains must be excised from the *ἐκκλησία*, he notes that their opinion is “homicidal” (*homicidalis*) and they weaken (*comminuens*) and divide (*dividens*) the Son of God.67 Simply stated, Irenaeus views the Valentinians as a threat that needed to be neutralized. In Book I, he details why not only the Valentinians but the *hairetikoi* more generally pose such a threat:

> These men who even themselves, just as Gentiles, have been sent forth by Satan to detract from the divine name of the Church, so that in one way or another, men hearing the things which are of them, and thinking we are all such [as they are], turn their ears from the preaching of truth; or also seeing which things are of them, they blaspheme us all, [though we] communicate with them in nothing, neither in doctrine or in morals nor in daily conduct.68

Irenaeus is concerned that non-Christians will confuse the teachings of the *hairetikoi* with the teachings of the *ekklesia* and be completely turned away from Christianity. While this passage indicates that Irenaeus perceives the two entities’ teachings as entirely different, it also clarifies that both outsiders and insiders have trouble identifying distinctions between the Valentinians, as well as the *hairetikoi* more generally, and the members of the *ekklesia*. Thus, one of Irenaeus’s purposes for writing *Against Heresies* is to expose the differences
to readers and incite them to create more tangible boundaries between the groups. In other words, Irenaeus considers the proximity of members of the *ekkllesia* and the *hairetikoi* to be a threat to his belief system. Therefore, he works to dichotomize the two entities and advocates the marginalization of the *hairetikoi* to prevent further interaction and confusion.

**Danger Due to Appeal**

Irenaeus begins *Against Heresies* by presenting his reasons for composing the work. He writes,

> Some men have set the truth aside, and bring in false words and empty genealogies, which, as the Apostle says, “yield inquiries rather than the structure of God [a structure] which is in faith,” and by means of their cunningly constructed persuasiveness draw away the minds of the inexperienced and take them captive.\(^69\)

If this paragraph is accurate, Irenaeus’s impetus for writing *Against Heresies* is the threat his opponents pose to the Church. For Irenaeus, the problem is not simply that his opponents are wrong; it is that they are wrong and they draw people away from proper teaching and practice. Before proceeding, it is important for me to prove that Irenaeus conveys reality and does not simply craft a myth in which the Church is an innocent victim that has been forced to attack its aggressor in self-defense, in order to incite action among his readers.

First, a myth that portrays the Church as weak and susceptible to opponents is inconsistent with Irenaeus’s overall depiction of the Church. Irenaeus consistently promotes the Church as a nurturing mother, a safe haven, and a port of truth, not as a victim in need of protecting. Rather, the Church, as Irenaeus portrays it in *Against Heresies*, functions as a safeguard and protector of the tradition and Scriptures handed down by the Apostles. The Church must be a steady, incorruptible vessel for the transmission of truth. According to Irenaeus, the unity of faith is maintained through the Church’s careful preservation of doctrine from the Apostles to the present time.

This point is confirmed by Irenaeus’s attempts to curb the lev-
el of threat posed by the heretics and to entirely avoid mentioning the Church when discussing how the heretics are drawing people to their doctrines. For example, in Book 2, Irenaeus writes,

But also if they have done anything [remarkable] through magic, just as we have said, they strive to deceitfully lead foolish people astray. Indeed they provide neither reward nor utility in those whom they say that they perform mighty works over; However, by bringing forward mere boys, and deluding their eyes, and showing them phantasms which cease immediately and do not even persist for a little bit of time, they are shown to be not like Jesus our Lord, but like Simon the magician.70

Though the heretics are certainly the aggressors in the scenario, they are neither particularly adept nor capable. They are only able to draw away the “foolish” and “mere boys.” Irenaeus's diction here serves a dual purpose. First, his rhetoric conveys the general inadequacy of the heretics and their doctrine. They cannot fool the learned and faithful, only those without knowledge. Second, his rhetoric encourages his readers not to convert to or even to entertain the thought of heretical ideas. Irenaeus indicates that to do so means that they are “simple” and “inexperienced.” Irenaeus is interested in downplaying the fact that his opponents convert members of the ekklesia, not highlighting it. Their ability to penetrate the ekklesia runs contrary to his goals in writing Against Heresies. Therefore, Irenaeus has no motive for inventing the idea that the hairetikoi are leading away members of the Church.

The fact that the hairetikoi pose a legitimate threat to the Church, at least by Irenaeus's perception, is further confirmed through Irenaeus’s examples. Throughout Against Heresies, Irenaeus mentions, and in some cases describes in great detail, specific examples of hairetikoi, such as Marcus the Magician, Simon and Carpocrates, and the Valentinians, who draw away members of the ekklesia. These specific examples further confirm that Irenaeus perceived the hairetikoi as a distinct threat to his conception of the ekklesia through their ability to draw people away. Though distinct sects of Christianity were not fully formed and divisions were not as definite as they are today, Irenaeus drew a boundary and conceived of these other ideas as threats
to his conception of the *ekklesia* because they were drawing away unwitting people formerly in line with Irenaeus’s conception of the *ekklesia*. To Irenaeus, this was unacceptable and necessitated an absolute defining of the *ekklesia* as a distinct entity.

**Conclusion**

The *hairetikoi* posed a threat to Irenaeus’s conception of orthodox Christianity. They converted members of the *ekklesia* to their own beliefs or muddled the beliefs of the Church itself by claiming to be associated with it. *Against Heresies* depicts the *ekklesia* as entirely distinct from these adherents of heresy in order to clarify the identity of the *ekklesia* and promote separation between the two entities in reality. Therefore, beyond Irenaeus’s explicit purpose of fortifying members of the *ekklesia* to combat this danger, Irenaeus’s implicit purpose for composing *Against Heresies* was to promulgate an identity for the *ekklesia* in accordance with his understanding of orthodox Christianity by placing it in opposition to the *hairetikoi*.

**Acknowledgements**

First and foremost, I would like to thank my mentor, Professor Roshan Abraham. His guidance over the past three years has been invaluable and has inspired me to consistently revisit and improve my paper with every iteration. I would also like to thank the Kling program, particularly the seminar leaders Dr. Gerald Early, Dr. Erin McGlothlin, and Dr. Wendy Anderson, and the Kling fellows. Their questions and critiques ensured that my argument was focused and comprehensible.

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Ibid., 31-2; David Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 6. For example, the nineteenth century scholar Adolf von Harnack was heavily influenced by these polemicists’ ideas. Harnack asserted that the origin and essence of Christianity was found in Jesus’s teachings. He further argued that the belief system of Irenaeus’s opponents, by contrast, arose out of either not departing enough from Judaism or the corruptive forces of Greek thought on Christianity. However, not all scholarship followed the polemicists’ precedent. In his 1934 book *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, Walter Bauer argued that, in some locations, heretical forms of Christianity predated orthodox forms. The emergence of orthodoxy is portrayed as the result of a struggle among these various ideas. Though a number of Bauer’s historical reconstructions have been proven inaccurate, this work challenged Irenaeus’s notion that Christianity developed from a singular origin, and instead posited diverse sources. Walter Bauer and Robert A Kraft, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Mifflintown, PA: Sigler Press, 1996), xvi-xvii.


David Brakke criticizes these models for not adequately conveying the hybridity and syncretism within ancient Christianity. He argues that groups of second-century Christians were not distinct and clearly defined entities like horses or humans. Rather there was fluidity and exchange among the various groups so that the winner, orthodoxy, was not one group, but a combination of beliefs and ideas taken from numerous groups.


Irenaeus held the position of ‘πρεσβυτέρος’ of Lyons; cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 5.4 (“... Εἰρήναιον, πρεσβυτέρον ἡδὴ τοῦ ὀντά τη στη εν Λουγδουνιω παροικίας...”) [Irenaeus, already being ‘presbyter’ of the congregation at Lyons]). Determining when Irenaeus attained the status of ‘πρεσβυτέρος’ and what that status en-
tailed has proved to be an issue of scholarly contention. ‘πρεσβυτερος’, commonly translated as priest, was used interchangeably in the second century to refer to bishops and priests. Some scholars, such as Pierre Nautin, argue that Irenaeus was Bishop of Vienne when the churches underwent persecution, and when Pothinus, the Bishop of Lyons, was imprisoned and died, Irenaeus took over as Bishop of Lyons, c. 177 CE. John Behr is less certain about whether or not Irenaeus was Bishop of Vienne, but claims that Irenaeus certainly became Bishop of Lyons after Pothinus. Denis Minns questions Irenaeus’s role as bishop, writing that he “nowhere lays claim to being a bishop.” (See Denis Minns, *Irenaeus: An Introduction* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010), 2.; John Behr, *Asceticism and Anthropology in Irenaeus and Clement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.; and Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 4).

16 In *Against Heresies* 1.Pr.3 Irenaeus describes how his recipients should not expect rhetorical skill from him because he lives among the Celts and was never taught it, then goes on to say how his recipients are more capable than he is. While, Irenaeus’s claim to lack any rhetorical skill proves false and actually is a rhetorical device itself, it seems unlikely that he would open his book with such a blatant criticism of his recipients given that the purpose of this work is to encourage and instruct them against heterodox Christians (Grant, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 6). Grant argues that although Irenaeus never identifies which group of proto-orthodox Christians sent this request, it is unlikely that they were in Rome or Gaul because they would not have needed the list of bishops contained in the text. He also notes that churches at Lyons and Vienne had a precedence for sending letters to Phrygia and Asia (e.g. *Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia*, c. 177 CE, preserved in Eusebius’s *Ecclesiastical History*).

17 Minns, *Irenaeus: An Introduction*, 5. The date of the text is disputed, but must be before Augustine’s quotation of it in 421 CE. Osborn gives 380 CE as the approximate date (Osborn, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 1). Behr states that the Latin text was made in the fourth or early fifth century (Beher, *Aceticism and Anthropology*, 4).

18 see AH I.Pr.1.

19 Brakke *The Gnostics*, 29. Brakke notes that these descriptions have been proven accurate, but provides a different reason for their accuracy. He writes, “If Irenaeus expected to persuade his readers that his case against competing forms of Christianity was right, then his account of these forms and their relationships to one another could not completely distort the actual situation that his contemporaries could observe.”


21 *TDNT*, s.v. “αἵρεσις” II

22 This category includes definitions like “effort directed towards a goal”; “resolve”; and “enterprise”; see *TDNT* s.v. “αἵρεσις” II.a

Notably, αἵρεσις was utilized in a derogatory manner within Judaism, particularly Rabbinic Judaism. In fact, in Rabbinic writings of the late first and early second century CE, the Hebrew equivalent of αἵρεσις was applied exclusively to Jewish groups in opposition to the Rabbis. Given that Irenaeus had minimal acquaintance with Hebrew (cf. Grant, Irenaeus of Lyons, p 29-31) such a discussion lies outside the scope of this paper. For further discussion on the topic see TDNT s.v. “αἵρεσις” II.b and Desjardins, “Bauer and Beyond,” 76-77.

Some scholars have argued that in the final two examples given, αἵρεσις should be interpreted to have negative connotations for such a discussion; see Desjardins, “Bauer and Beyond.” However, the usage of αἵρεσις seems more likely to indicate that the movement that would later be identified with “Christianity” was still considered a school of Judaism in the context of Acts. For example in Acts 24:5, Tertullus uses the term while presenting a case against Paul. Tertullus describes Paul as “leader of the school of the Nazarenes” (πρωτοστάτης τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως). However, this use is consistent with the other uses of αἵρεσις in the Acts. Tertullus clearly understands the Nazarenes to be a Jewish religious school because he charges Paul with stirring up riots among the Jews.

see Gal. 5:16-26.

see 1 Cor. 11:17-22. In this passage Paul discusses how divisions are causing problems within the Church.

AH IV.6.2. Irenaeus clearly has a positive view of Justin given the context of the quotation as well as his introduction to the quote: “Justin spoke well that . . .” (καλῶς Ἰουστῖνος . . . φηςίν ὅτι. Irenaeus approvingly quotes Justin’s “work against Marcion” (ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μαρκίωνα συντάγματι).

Justin Ap. I.26; For other instances in which Justin uses αἵρεσις see Dial. 51.2, 80.4.

AH I.11.1’Ἰδωμεν νῦν καὶ τὴν τούτων ἄστατον γνώμην δόο ποθ καὶ τριῶν ὄντων, πῶς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὗ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγοντι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν.
ἐναντία ἀποφαίνονται. ”

39 AH I.28.1; “Ab his autem qui praedicti sunt, jam multae propagines multarum haeresum factae sunt, eo quod multi ex ipsis, imo omnes velint doctores esse, et ascedere quidem ab haeresi in qua fuerunt.”

40 AH I.10.2 “Τουτο τό κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν,ὡς προέφαμεν,ἡ Ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἑπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ᾡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα καὶ συμφωνως ταύτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἕν στόμα κεκτημένη.”


42 AH IV .26.2, “Et haeretici quidem alienum ignem afferents ad altare Dei, id est alienas doctrinas, a caelesti igne comburentur, quemadmodum Nadab et Abiud.” In Leviticus, God sends fire upon Nadab and Abiud because they brought forth unauthorized fire before the Lord. For more information see Leviticus 10:1-2.

43 AH IV.26.2, “Qui vero exsurgunt contra veritatem, et alteros adhortantur adversus Ecclesiam Dei, remanent apud inferos . . .Qui autem scindunt et separat unitatem Ecclesiae, eandem quam Hierobam ponam percipient a Deo.” Ahijah prophesies that Jerobam’s ancestors and all of Israel will suffer numerous hardships as a result of Jerobam’s actions. For more information, see 1 Kings 14.


46 see M. C. Steenberg, Of God and Man: Theology as Anthropology from Irenaeus to Athanasius (New York: T&T Clark, 2009).

47 AH 3.11.8.


49 AH III.11.7 Et haec quidem sunt principia Evangelii, unum Deum fabricatorem hujus universitatis, eum qui et per prophetas sit annuntiatus, et qui per Mosaicum legis dispositionem fecerit, Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi annuntiantia, et prae- ter hunc alterum Deum nescientia, neque alterum Patrem. Tanta est autem circa Evangelia haec firmitas, ut et ipsi haeretici testimonium reddant eis, et ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam. Ebionei etenim eo Evangelio quod est secundum Mattaeum solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur, non ex praesumptiones de Domino. Marcion autem id quod est secundum Lucam circumcidens, ex his quae adhuc servantur penes eum, blasphemos in solum existentem Deum ostenditur. Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicitunt, id quod secundum Marcum est praefertes Evangelium, cum amore veritatis legentes illud, corrigi possunt. Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Johannem plenissime utentes ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum, ex ipso detegentur nihil recte dicentes, quemadmodum ostendimus in primo libro.

50 AH 1.20.2; Luke 2:49.
Haec prophetice significabant prophetae, sed non quemadmodum quidam dicunt, invisibili Patre omnium existente, alterum esse eum, qui a prophetis videretur. Hoc autem dicunt, qui in totum, quid sit prophetia, nesciunt. Nam prophetia est praedicatio futurorum, id est, eorum quae post erunt, praesignificatio.

In novissimis autem temporibus, cum venit plenitudo temporis libertatis, ipsum Verbum per seipsum sordes abluit fliarum Sion, manibus suis lavans pedes discipulorum. Hic est enim finis humili generis haeredificantis Deum; uti quemadmodum in initio per primos, omnes in servitutem reductionis sumus debito mortis, sic in ultimo per novissimum omnes qui ab initio discipuli, emundati et abluti quae sunt mortis, in vitam veniant Dei. Qui enim pedes lavit discipulorum, totum sanctificavit corpus, et in emundationem adduxit.


Tίς οὐκ ἂν τῶν ἀπανούργων συναρπαγείη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπῶν τούτων, καὶ νομίσειεν οὕτως αὐτὰ Ὅμηρον ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως πεποιηκέναι; Ὁ δὲ ἐμπειρὸς τῆς Ὁμηρικῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐπιγνώσεται, [suppl. μὲν τὰ ἔπη, τὴν δ’ ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ ἐπιγνώσεται,] . . . Ἄρας δὲ αὐτὰ, καὶ ἐν ἔκποδον ποίησε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῆ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰς λέξεις, καὶ τὰς παραβολὰς ἐπιγνώσεται,
simulans; comminuens autem et per multa dividens Filium Dei.”


66 AH III.15.2 qui et jam quaeruntur de nobis, quod cum similia nobiscum sentient, sine causa abstineamus nos a communicatione eorum, et cum eadem decant, et candalunt habecant doctrinam, vocemus illos haereticos.


68 AH I.25.3 “οἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς διαβολὴν τοῦ θείου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὀνόματος, πρὸς [l. ἃς καὶ] τὰ ἔθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ προεβλήθησαν, ἵνα κατ’ ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον τρόπον τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκούοντες ἀνθρώπους, καὶ δοκοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντας τοιοῦτος ὑπάρχειν, ἀποστρέφουσι τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματος, [adj. ἢ καὶ] λέποντες τὰ ἐκείνων ἀπαντάς ἡμᾶς βλασφημοῦσιν. in nullo eis communicantes, neque in doctrina, neque in oribus, neque in quotidiana conversatione.”

69 AH I.Pr.1 “ἘΠΙ [l. Ἐπεὶ] τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραπεμπόμενοί τινες, ἐπεισάγουσι λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ γενεαλογίας ματαίας, αἵτινες ζητήσεις μᾶλλον παρέχουσι, καθὼς ὁ Ἀπόστολος φησιν, ἢ οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ τὴν ἐν πίστει· καὶ διὰ τῆς πανούργως συγκεκριμένης πιθανότητος παράγουσι τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἀπειρο τέρων, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζουσιν αὐτούς.”

70 AH II.32.3 Sed et si aliquid faciunt, per magicam, quemadmodum diximus, ope-rati, fraudulenter seducere nituntur insensatos: fructum quidem et utilitatem nullam praestantes, in quos virtutes perficere se dicunt; adducentes autem pueros investes, et oculos deludentes, et phantasmata ostendentes statim cessantia, et ne quidem stil-lidido temporis perseverantia, non Jesu Domino nostro, sed Simoni mago similes ostenduntur.

Bibliography


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