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HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
CALIFORNIA SCHOOL

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

RITUAL AND RAGE

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DOUBLE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS, JEWISH COMMUNAL SERVICE

AND

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

BY

MARY BARON

MAY 1994 - SIVAN 5754

RITUAL AND RAGE

BY

MARY BARON

A Thesis presented to the FACULTY OF SOCIAL WORK OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA in co-operation with HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION, CALIFORNIA SCHOOL in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK.

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MARY BARON
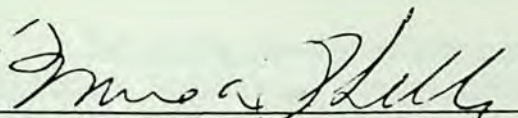
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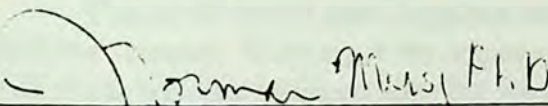
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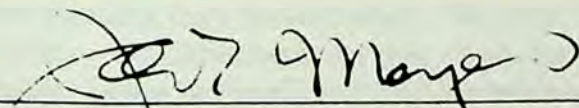
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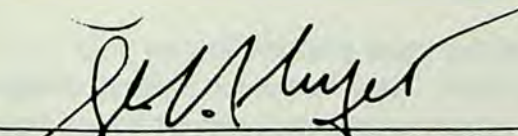Social Science Faculty

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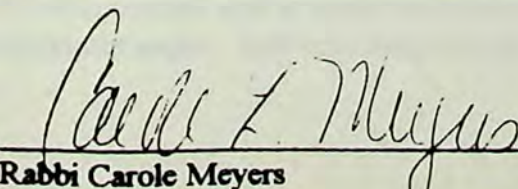
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ABSTRACT

While the rituals of Judaism are intact, demographic studies indicate that fewer Jews are practicing them. Something is malfunctioning in the ritual circuit. The messages of the rituals aren't getting through. It would be too easy to blame modern Judaism and modern Jews for this breakdown of ritual functioning. If the experience we call worship isn't happening, the problem is systemic. Somewhere the communication of Judaism is malfunctioning. Our rituals are not communicating their original intents.

The rituals of our society and the rituals passed on by our society connect us and hold us and society together. Without our rituals we are left alone to fight our lonely conflicts in isolation. With religion and with ritual, the accouterments of religion, we interrupt the apparent profanity of commonplace activity and, by reaching for the holy, sanctify our lives.

Our basic biological and psychological human natures urge attachment. Our society urges individualism. We try to attach. We try to be separate. Conditions in society cause us to feel alienated. We feel that we are set adrift from the society for which we yearn but which tells us to be autonomous. We feel angry. Those feelings terrify us because in the moment we feel angry we stand alone. Being alone terrifies us.

Expressing our anger affirms our aloneness. We innately fear alienation and separation. To be human is to have difficulty tolerating feelings of separateness and aloneness inherent in the experience of anger. We fear separation. Anger is an emotion of separation. Thus be human is to fear anger.

This cycle would seem hopeless were it not for the unifying power of ritual. With ritual we connect. With anger we empower ourselves. With anger we separate ourselves. With ritual we once again connect but we connect with renewed power.

There is a place in Jewish ritual for our anger. To voice our anger we must draw new meaning from ancient rituals. We must discover ancient rituals which are not incident specific. We must create our own rituals for our own needs. We must modify ancient rituals to meet our needs and thus express our own rage. Each of these possibilities can be accomplished and some are, in one form or another, being accomplished.

One way of bringing anger out into the open, of examining anger, of learning from anger is through the use of ritual. Anger separates. Ritual unites. If we ritualize our anger we are forcing ourselves to face it, and having faced it and examined it, we can leave it in the safety of the ritual created to contain it. We can return to our tradition, to our communities, and to ourselves stronger than when we separated ourselves to feel and express our anger. And returning stronger, we will strengthen all else.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It seems a bit presumptuous to thank people for making possible the completion of this thesis. The presumption lies in the notion that the thesis is worthy of the efforts put into it. While the words contained herein may not change much of anything, the experience of researching and forming them has been for me empowering and healing beyond measure. I will therefore indulge myself in a moment of grandiosity and express my appreciation to a number of people for making not only this thesis possible but for making possible for me these past two years of intense study and growth.

My daughter, Jesse, is a delight and a blessing. She has encouraged me to both work hard and rest well. Without her maturity beyond her years and without her generosity of spirit my graduate education would not have been possible. My friend and my rabbi and my teacher Carole Meyers has been patient with me beyond the bounds of expectable human behavior. I am continually astonished by and profoundly thankful for her friendship. Jeff Bernhardt, my classmate and my friend, has walked me through the labyrinthine schedules of two universities and reminded me of deadlines in time to meet them when life seemed far too complicated for even minimal academic functioning. Seth Chazanoff, who can program computers to execute missions to Pluto for Jet Propulsion Laboratory, programmed the printing of this thesis and didn't even laugh at the simplicity of the task. Marla Abraham of Hebrew Union College and Judy Axonovitz of the University of Southern California guided me through an astonishing and rewarding series of field internships. Their trust in and respect of my skills helped shape those skills. And, finally, Leslie Bergson from three thousand miles away listens to me and laughs with me and challenges me to hear all of life's harmonies.

These people are very important to me. I thank them for being in my life. Now and always.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOR BOTH OF YOU, THE DIVORCE BEING FINAL

We cannot celebrate with doleful Music
The old, gold panoplies that are so great
To sit and watch; but on the other hand,
To command the nasal krummhorns to be silent,
The tromba marina to wail; to have the man
Unlatch the tail gate on his cart, permitting
The sackbut player to extend his slide
And go to work on whimpering divisions;
For us to help prepare the masque itself,
Rigging machinery to collapse the household
Just at the end, rehearsing urchins who
Will trip, all gilded, into the master bedroom
And strip the sheets, is, finally, to confess
That what we lack are rituals adequate
To things like this.

<div align="right">

John Hollander
Spectral Emanations

</div>

I. EMOTION

We are told that Rabbi Eliezer brought to a dispute over the ritual purity of a certain oven all of the proofs in the world. A carob tree moved several hundred cubits, a stream flowed backwards, the walls of the House of Study began to topple. None of the other masters accepted his proofs. Not even God's Voice proclaiming Rabbi Eliezer correct persuaded the others. "We received the Torah at Mount Sinai," said Rabbi Jeremiah. "We have no need of heavenly voices." Whereupon the Holy One laughed with joy and said, "My children have defeated me. My children have defeated me." (B. T. Bava Metzia 59b)

Emotion colors our lives. Without emotion, life would be an exercise in monotony. Our emotions help us to chart the courses of our lives. We are enriched even by painful emotions. Negative emotional experiences are unpleasant. We try to remove the causes of these negative emotions and to regulate the distress caused by them. Positive emotional experiences are pleasurable and we seek them. If we have too little emotional color in our lives, we look for excitement. If we have too much emotional color, we look for escape. Beyond painting our lives with positive and negative colors, emotion serves physiological and social survival functions. Emotional arousal can help us mount effective assaults on danger. We fight. We flee.

Richard Lazarus has identified four classes of observable variables relevant to emotion: actions, physiological reactions, verbal reports, and environmental events and contexts including the social, cultural, and physical events under which an emotion occurs (Lazarus, 1991, p. 43). These observable variables pertinent to emotion can be labeled human behavior.

Explanations of human behavior have evolved from ancient theories of demonology through the somatogenic assumptions of correlations between mind and body and the psychogenic assumptions of mind and body autonomy (Davison & Neale, 1994, p. 26) to current explanations such as those found in the paradigms of the systems theories, the Freudian psychodynamic theories, the ego psychology theories, the attachment theories, and the cognitive theories of human behavior. And the studies continue.

An emotion is not a thing. It is an abstract label for a series of actions and processes (Pierce, Nichols & DuBrin, 1983, p.6). Emotions cannot be packaged or invested or wasted or saved. They can be suppressed and manipulated and expressed. They can make our lives unbearable. They can enrich our lives. They can hinder us. They can empower us. They can communicate to us that we are, indeed, alive and on the planet. If we do not feel, if we deny ourselves the spectrum of emotional living, we have no souvenirs from the journey that is life. By our feelings, we know that we have travelled. Wallace Stevens speaks of life bereft of emotion in a poem titled 'Esthetique Du Mal' XV:

> The greatest poverty is not to live
> In a physical world, to feel that one's desire
> Is too difficult to tell from despair. Perhaps,
> After death, the non-physical people, in paradise,
> Itself non-physical, may, by chance, observe
> The green corn gleaming and experience
> The minor of what we feel (Stevens, 1982, p. 325).

Every day we try to understand other people. Every day we try to understand ourselves. We study our actions. We study our feelings. Feelings are universal elements of human behavior. We feel happy. We feel sad. We feel angry. We feel frightened. With actions we communicate our feelings. We laugh. We weep. We shout. We tremble. Human experience is characterized by emotion (Greenberg & Rhodes, 1991, p.44). And so the circle is completed and continues.

Even with a cursory examination of human emotion we acknowledge the different spheres of human functioning. The disciplines of anthropology, psychology, biology, sociology, and linguistics offer their own indigenous explanations of emotion.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF EMOTION

A comprehensive theory of human behavior considers the differences in individual response to seemingly standard stimuli. To be human is to experience birth, death, pain and pleasure. However, each individual in each culture experiences these standard stimuli differently and the definitions and expectations of these same experiences differ within each culture. The cultural definitions and expectations of basic human experience and emotion are complicated by the ambiguity of what, exactly, is meant by the world 'culture'. A cultural system is a notion difficult to define. In its most simplistic sense, culture consists of the body of customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits constituting a distinct complex of tradition belonging to a racial, religious, or social group (Rubenstein, 1989, p. 38). Even this simplistic definition is far from simple because the notion of tradition itself is extraordinarily complex. Using the perspective of tradition, culture can be seen as an abstraction which can be used to distinguish the shared symbol system of one specified group from that of another (Kiefer, 1974, p. 94). Some cultures may assign, for example, greater or lesser stoicism when a person is in pain even though the facts of pain are common to all humans in all cultures. What differs from culture to culture and from individual to individual is not the emotional response to pain but the coping or behavioral response.

Theodore Kemper has identified several categories to explain these idiosyncratic response variations among cultures: [1] common cultural and subcultural contexts, [2] common structural conditions for large populations such as social class, [3] shaping of responses by peer groups, [4] common experiences and demands in social roles, and [5] common levels of physiological responsivity (Kemper, 1978, p. 15). Various cultures form various rules about how the people within those various cultures act. The function of the

culture depends on the willingness of its members to adhere to these rules of behavior. When the rules are broken havoc occurs. Earving Goffman calls this havoc mental illness (Goffmam, 1961, p. 334).

The key to any cultural influence of feeling lies in shared and divergent meanings acquired over the course of psychological development. Because of these meanings acquired through the life span, people capable of interaction have at least the basic skills to understand what is happening to them and to respond accordingly. They can respond to events even if they cannot say what is guiding their responses (Lazarus, 1991, p. 356).

Anthropology views human emotions as part of the reciprocal relationships between the cultural system and the person within that system. Emotions, along with thoughts and actions, emerge from the interaction between the person and the situation [system] (Kleinman, 1988, p. 3). Different cultures interpret events differently and assign different meanings to the various emotions, thoughts, and actions produced by those events. What we do with those interpretations, how we behave, is determined in large part by the culture in which we live.

The definitions and symptomatologies of emotional wellness and of emotional illness differ substantially cross-culturally (Kleinman, 1988, p. 44). Certain behaviors, the manifestations of certain emotions, are culturally acceptable. Other behaviors are not culturally acceptable. Even members of the same culture, living in separate spheres of personal privacy, interpret shared experiences differently (Bershady, 1992, p. 50). Both the interpretations of the events [the emotional, cognitive, and physical reactions to the events] and the actual events can be discussed by the participants and observers when the members of the culture share a common language.

With this common cultural language we organize the data of our lives. We label our feelings about events based on some previous process of objective evaluation (Bershady, 1992, p. 82). The individual differentiates his or her experiences, feelings, or thoughts from those of another individual. The culture [group] differentiates its experiences, feelings, or

thoughts from those of another culture. From these processes of differentiation come an organization of the self-system (Curtis, 1991, p.192). The individual and the culture develop an awareness of self and a sense of themselves as distinct from all others. That sense of self, however, is a construction of culture (Kleinman, 1988, p. 51).

An individual culture maintains a certain level of consistency of definition and interpretation. Among different cultures, however, concepts of emotions, self and body, normal behavior, or abnormal behavior differ dramatically (Lutz & White, 1986, p. 410). Not all cultures, for example, have an emotion called depression. Those same cultures may define sadness in a manner meaningless to Western society (Kleinman, 1988, p. 50).

Our experiences, our thoughts, and our emotions are expressed in actions, gestures, and words. Those expressions are both formed and interpreted by culture. We know the difference between a glass of water and an automobile tire, for example, because our culture possesses a theory about the characteristic internal structure of water and tires. The members of our culture share this theory and can, therefore, avoid such unfortunate errors as securing glasses of water to the wheels of cars or of placing automobile tires on dinner tables. These theories about the internal structure of things mediate between the word and the world. James Paul Gee refers to these theories as 'semantic mediational theories' (Gee, 1992, p. 5). Anthropology calls this relationship between word and world a 'cultural model' (Gee, 1992, p.10). Our cultural models guide our interpretations of events. Meaning is shaped by social practice. Social practices are composed of objects, of people, and of culturally characteristic ways of talking, relating, behaving, thinking, and valuing (Gee, 1992, p. 20). The meaning of an event, the emotional response to an event, can change throughout the life of the culture and throughout the life of the individual.

This labyrinthine line of reasoning could lead to the single conclusion that all is gibberish. Indeed, all would be gibberish were it not for two crucial, clarifying points. First, everything can be called into question. Social communication contains an infinite regress of assumptions. We are able to function within our cultures not because we clearly

understand everything but because we are willing, for the most part, to take things for granted. We get along because we don't ask questions. Second, even if we, in a momentary lapse, did ask questions, we would probably not obtain satisfactory answers to those questions. People don't like to explain that which they take for granted. They know that both the explanations and the questions could go on forever. Thus even if we want to ask questions, people tend to avoid situations in which endless explanations are expected (Collins, 1992, p. 73). In our culture, therefore, automobile tires and glasses of water are different objects with different uses because we say they are, we agree that they are, and no questions are asked. Given this commonality of expression, people in this culture who are sad are known to be in different emotional states from those who are terrified. The emotional states are different because our cultural definitions of sadness and terror are rarely questioned.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EMOTION

Emotion can be examined and explained and argued under the ægis of several different perspectives: the systems perspective, the Freudian perspective, the ego psychology perspective, the attachment perspective, and the cognitive [behavior and learning] perspective.

The Systems Perspective:

With our emotions we define in part our existence as systems in a myriad of other systems each impacting the other. Like the god Janus, each person on this planet faces two directions at once--inward to our own selves and outward to the systems in which we exist. Each person is a holon. We are simultaneously complete systems and parts of other systems (Anderson & Carter, 1990, p. 5). Each individual is the sum total of all of the various internal and external systems of his or her life. Life happens around us and in us. The objective of any system is to primarily survive and to additionally survive in a state of homeostasis. Harmony seeking is innate.

All systems strive for states of balance and harmony. We throw a pebble into a pond. The entire pond is changed forever. We see the splash of water as the pebble hits the surface of the pond. We see the ripples extend out from the point of impact in ever increasing circles until there is no energy left from the pebble's impact. We see the surface of the pond return to its original appearance. All is once again calm. All is as it was before. Except that now there is a pebble at the bottom of the pond that moments before was on the bank of the pond. The landscape around the pond is changed forever. The bottom of the pond is changed forever. The vegetation at the bottom of the pond is changed. The feeding habits and movement patterns of the life forms in the pond are changed. And, obviously, the pebble is changed.

The changes set in motion by the pebble may be positive. They may be negative. Positive or negative, they are permanent. Change is forever. Nothing will ever be as it was before we threw the pebble. There is no way to change one part of one system without changing all of the other systems.

We, like the pebble thrown into the water, are changed by all that we encounter. And we, like the pebble thrown into the water, change all that we encounter. Carried to its furthest possibility, the systems approach to life can seem overwhelming and potentially immobilizing. Appreciated for what it is, it can also instill in us a profound respect for the fragility and interdependency of life.

The Freudian Perspective:

Emotions, for Freud and his followers, are neither accidental nor the results of conscious thought but are, rather, indicators of other processes at work within the individual psychic structure. Emotion is determined by preceding psychic events and by very powerful mental processes or ideas (Freud, 1960, p. 4-5). These unconscious mental processes occur frequently in both normal and abnormal mental functioning. We dream. We forget. We make mistakes. In the Freudian psychoanalytic paradigm of psychic determinism, our dreams, our mistakes, and the things we forget are not random

occurrences but are part of a continuous ladder of events with each event determined by the preceding event (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991, p. 171).

The Freudian psychic structure is composed of unstructured, unmanaged drive energies. Drives, according to Brenner, are genetically determined psychic constituents which, when operative, produce states of excitation or tension (Brenner, 1974, p. 27). The ego, that part of the psychic involved in the environment, tries to mediate between the world and the id, the most primitive part of the psychic structure (Freud, 1960, p. 58), and the superego, the moral watch dog of the personality (Freud, 1960, p. 32).

The Ego Psychology Perspective:

Ego psychology is the general meeting ground of the Freudian psychoanalytic perspective and the remaining perspectives of human emotion. Using Freud as a springboard, ego psychology sees the ego as adaptive and autonomous. The ego is engaged in the constant activity of fitting the individual into his or her environment (Hartmann, 1958, p. 22). The fit, the adaptation, is achieved through ego functions such as reality testing, judgment, defense functioning, control of drives, and autonomous functioning (Goldstein, 1984, p. 44). These adaptive processes occur in the individual psychic system as well as in the external environment in which the individual functions. We not only adapt to our culture, we participate in the creation of the conditions to which we must adapt. Each individual culture decides which behaviors will have the greatest adaptive success. We do not recreate successful environmental adaptations in every generation. Certain human accomplishments are passed down from generation to generation (Hartman, 1958, p. 30-31). Each person, however, must achieve his or her individual fit into the cultural systems of that person's life. The task of ego psychology is to investigate how mental conflict and peaceful internal development mutually facilitate and hamper each other (Hartman, 1958, p. 11). The quality of the fit between person and environment contributes to the production of human emotion.

The Attachment Perspective:

With the 1958 publication by the British psychoanalyst John Bowlby of a journal article called "The Nature of a Child's Tie to His Mother", the attachment theory of human behavior and human emotion began. Bowlby sees the ability of infants to attach to their caregivers to be of the greatest importance to survival. Attachment behaviors are so stable across human cultures that they are considered instinctive to the species. In the presence of the attachment figure, the infant experiences and feels safety and security. If adequate proximity to the caregiver cannot be achieved, the infant will feel immediate distress or anxiety or fear or anger (Metcalf, 1992, p. 26). Attachment behavior and its resultant emotions are in no way confined to infancy. When we are ill, when we are upset, when we are in crisis each one of us seeks the comforting presence of those we know and trust. If we cannot have that presence, we feel troubled, unhappy, anxious, or angry. Attachment behavior is a normal, healthy, and essential part of human nature from the cradle to the grave (Germain, 1987, p. 570).

The Cognitive Perspective:

Events occur and are given meaning by those experiencing them either actually or vicariously. We organize our information about the world based upon our world views, our collections of past experiences and our past interpretations of those experiences. Into this existing organized network of already accumulated knowledge, we synthesize the new events. We think about them. We process them consciously and unconsciously. One product of these various types and levels of information processing is emotion (Greenberg & Rhodes, 1991, p. 45).

The three leading theorists in the arena of cognitive psychology are Albert Ellis, Albert Bandura, and Aaron Beck. Albert Ellis sees maladaptive feelings and activities as being caused by irrational beliefs. Through mistaken assumptions people place excessive demands on themselves and on others. Sustained emotional reactions are caused by internal sentences that people repeat to themselves. These self-statements reflect sometimes

unspoken assumptions or irrational beliefs about what is necessary to lead a meaningful life. In the perspective of Albert Bandura, we learn our behavior from watching others. Modeling may be applied to the acquisition of both abnormal and normal behavior. Positive learning experiences increase our sense of self-efficacy, our beliefs in our abilities to succeed. Aaron Beck is concerned with how people distort experience. Individuals often have negative beliefs about themselves, the world, and the future. These dysfunctional beliefs, or negative schemata, are maintained by one or more biases or errors in logic. Beck is generally referred to as the founder of cognitive therapy (Davison & Neale, 1994, p. 50-53).

For Aaron Beck, events have both public and private meaning. The private meaning of the event, the personal interpretation, is formed by the individual's world view and leads to an emotional response. The public interpretation of the event is formed by the public world view consisting of the separate world views of each individual member of the public and leads to a variety of emotional responses. Often the individual emotional response differs from that of the public emotional response. Both interpretations are subject to cognitive distortions and thus inappropriate emotional responses (Beck, 1976, p.48-51). The existence of cognitive activity in the emotion process does not equate emotion with cognition (Lazarus, 1991, p. 178). The two activities are separate and at the same time each effects the other. Thus, because we think, according to Beck, we feel.

We can learn about our behavior and our emotions from watching other people. Albert Bandura and the social learning theorists believe that other people either consciously or accidentally model behavior for us (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991, p. 113). We learn from this modeling process. If a person seems to function effectively, we can imitate his or her behavior and function more effectively ourselves. From our successful imitative experiences we acquire a sense of self-efficacy. We come to believe in our capabilities to exercise personal control in our lives.

Bandura has studied the connection between perceived self-efficacy and health promoting and health impairing behavior. The results of his studies show that people who perceive a high degree of self-efficacy can accomplish personal change. Perceived self-inefficacy makes us more vulnerable to stress, depression, and the biological changes which accompany stress and depression including impairment of the immune system. He feels, based upon his studies, that increasing self-efficacy in the gay community contributed to the behavior changes made by people to halt the spread of the AIDS epidemic. Members of the gay community successfully changed their behavior. They modeled this different, safer, way of being for the rest of the gay community. As more and more members of the gay community imitated the safer sex behavior the level of self-efficacy in the gay community rose (Bandura, 1990, p. 9-14) and thus a cycle of empowerment was created. People felt empowered and more able to take control of their lives. And the spread of AIDS, while still at epidemic proportions, has decreased dramatically in the gay community. Other cultures that are less cognizant of the threat unsafe personal habits can have on their well being, that deny the existence of homosexuality or bisexuality among them, and that have low levels of self-efficacy have not waged nearly so successful campaigns against the spread of AIDS as has the gay community.

THE BIOLOGY OF EMOTION

Something happens to our bodies when we think and when we feel. The body responds to perceptions of threat and activates a response to the perceived stress. Vital bodily organs can be irreparably harmed if the autonomic nervous system remains in a prolonged state of stress (Cannon, 1942, p. 178).

> A Brazilian Indian condemned and sentenced by a
> so-called medicine man is helpless against his own
> emotional response to this pronouncement and dies
> within hours. In Africa a young man knowingly eats
> the inviolably banned wild hen. On discovery of his
> 'crime' he trembles, is overcome by fear and dies
> within twenty-four hours. In New Zealand a Maori
> woman eats fruit that she later learns came from a
> taboo place. Her chief has been profaned. By noon
> the next day, she is dead (Richter, 1957, p. 191).

Psychophysiological studies investigate relationships between the brain, the autonomic nervous system, and causes of emotions. Emotions are mediated by the brain. According to Theodore Kemper, the human organism responds biologically to cognitive information processing. The organism also responds to interruptions in information processing. Kemper suggests that negative emotions are produced by nervous mechanisms thrown into action when a living being lacks the information necessary and sufficient for organizing the actions that will satisfy a need. Surplus information, on the other hand, produces enjoyment and pleasure. A common element of emotions is that they all represent some kind of biologically produced reaction to a reinforcing event or to signals of impending reinforcing events (Kemper, 1978, p. 7-9).

Charles Darwin observed similarities between animal responses and human responses to similar stimuli and proposed the principle of serviceable associated habits. Those responses useful for adaptation survive (Kemper, 1978, p. 3). Utilizing this Darwinian principle, Kemper proposes that an adequate theory of emotions must have relevance to basic biological adaptive processes. Emotional responses to stimulus are innate (Kemper, 1978, p. 4). Faced with any threat, frustration or irritation, animals become psychologically aroused for maximum effort. They fight or they flee.

This maximization of effort to either fight or flee is the biological response to stress. Bette Cohen explains that disease is directly related to personality development, emotional crisis, and stress. Our notion of stress actually involves two different things: situations that trigger physical and emotional reactions and the actual reactions. Generally speaking, the

term 'stressor' refers to the situations that trigger the physical and emotional reactions. The term 'stress response' refers to the actual reactions. Stressors can be pleasant or unpleasant. Vacations, for example, can prove quite stressful even though the overall experience is positive. Such a stressor is called 'eustress'. On the other hand, 'distress' stems from unpleasant stressors such as flat tires or traffic gridlock (Cohen, Interview, 1994).

Throughout each day we experience a host of stressors. Our response to them is automatic and consists of a predictable series of physical reactions. Hans Selye termed this predictable pattern the 'general adaptation syndrome [GAS]' (Davison & Neale, 1994, p. 191). If our lives contain too many stressors, we deplete our readily available stores of energy.

The stress response utilizes a certain type of energy called adaptive energy. The physical component of adaptive energy is glycogen. Our glycogen levels help maintain biological homeostasis. They help us to withstand environmental stressors. Glycogen is also one of the best indicators of the status of the body's immune system. The normal T-cell count in the blood of a healthy person is 2,800. The T-cell count is crucial in diagnosing, for example, whether or not a person is HIV positive. When our level of glycogen is high, our T-cell count is high. Our immune system is functioning properly. A T-cell count of 800 or less indicates a serious deficiency in the immune system. People with T-cell counts of 800 or less are diagnosed as having AIDS. When the T-cell count is low, the glycogen level is also low. Our biological response to stress is a lower glycogen level.

The biological reaction to stress occurs in three stages as identified by Selye (Davison & Neale, 1994, p. 191). In the Alarm Reaction Stage we perceive the danger. In the Resistance Stage we rally biological forces to deal with the danger. We fight or we flee. If we survive the dangerous episode, we enter the Exhaustion Recovery Stage. The stress response activates the neurotransmitters epinephrine and norepinephrine. Secreted by the adrenal glands, epinephrine and norepinephrine effect the parasympathetic and sympathetic nervous system. They help us respond to the danger and they help bring us back to normal

after the danger has passed. These neurotransmitters, when secreted, effect many of our biological systems including the nervous system and the endocrine system. We use glucose more quickly. We do not break down fat. Our digestion stops. Our rate of respiration increases. Our blood vessels to our skin and viscera constrict. Our blood vessels to our heart and muscles dilate. Our heart rate increases.

All of this biological activity is preparing us to either flee or fight. Unfortunately, most of us today have nowhere to flee and the only person with whom we fight is ourselves. We experience this neurotransmitter activity with upset stomachs and other gastric discomforts. Additionally, our glycogen level drops and the effectiveness of our immune system decreases. During the stress response our seratonin levels drop to low levels and thus we are less able to feel pain. As pain levels fluctuate more and more, our bodies lose their abilities to adapt. This biological response to stress cannot be stopped. Once the process starts the entire parasympathetic system must become engaged and disengaged. GAS is a survival mechanism with potentially life-threatening possibilities. Our bodies were not designed to withstand the heavy demands of the stress response on an ongoing basis. The biological changes involved in the stress response are not triggered by the stressor but by our perceptions of the stressor. By the time we feel angry, for example, we have already perceived something and are responding to it. Each time our bodies activate the stress response our homeostasis is interrupted. The more this homeostasis is interrupted the more likely we are to experience chronic disease such as high blood pressure, diabetes or heart disease, ulcers, mental illness, and possibly some forms of cancer.

TABLE 1 -- SYMPTOMS OF STRESS

Emotional Signs	Behavioral Signs	Physical Signs
Tendency to be irritable or aggressive	Increased use of alcohol, tobacco, or other drugs	Pounding heart
Tendency to feel anxious, fearful, or edgy	Excessive TV watching	Trembling, with nervous tics
Hyperexcitability, or emotional instability	Sleep disturbances (insomnia or excessive sleep)	Grinding of teeth
Depression	Sexual problems	Dry Mouth
Frequent feelings of boredom	Overeating or Undereating	Excessive perspiration
Inability to concentrate		Gastrointestinal problems
Fatigue		Stiff neck or aching lower back
		Migraine or tension headaches
		Frequent colds or low grade infections
		Cold hands and feet
		Allergy or asthma attacks
		Skin problems

Our perceptions or recognitions of stress force our bodies to adapt. We go into the stress response of fight or flight. Once we have to deal with stress, it is too late. By the time we know we're angry, for example, it is too late to not become angry. The stress response is by that time already functioning and must run its full course before the response ends. The only way to biologically circumvent the process, according to Dr. Cohen, is to learn to deal with stress. We can train ourselves to perceive a stimulus as something besides stressful or dangerous. If we don't perceive something as scary our bodies will not go into the stress response.

The basic animal instincts of fight or flight are still with us. Unfortunately, few people today have the option of fleeing from stress. Denied actual flight, we can only seek refuge in psychological flight. Saul has identified four forms of psychological flight: [1] Fantasy and sublimation. [2] Intoxicants and drugs. [3] Withdrawal states such as schizophrenic catatonia or, less severe, the giving up of all or nearly all responsibility. [4] The psychological regression found in emotional disorders (Saul, 1956, p. 14-18).

The cognitive perspective of emotion plays into the biological perspective of emotion. The way we perceive or appraise the environment determines whether or not stress is present. Stress is experienced when we appraise our situation as exceeding our adaptive resources. This notion accounts for individual differences of response to the same event (Lazarus, 1966, p. 77). If the same event can produce different levels of stress in

different people, it stands to reason that variables exist that moderate stress levels and stress responses in individuals. Variations in individual coping mechanisms can in part serve to moderate our biological reactions to the emotions we feel.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTS OF EMOTION

Events in the social environment, according to Kemper, instigate emotions. The most important events are the ongoing or changing patterns of social relations between people. Human relationships generally occur within a context of interdependence and division of labor between people (Kemper, 1978, p. 27). Human social interaction, Kemper further proposes, is a technical activity designed to acquire, express, maintain, increase, or upset relations of power and status (Kemper, 1978, p. 30). His sociological theory of emotions is founded on the following assumptions: [1] Relationships between people exist on the two relational dimensions of power and status. [2] In any interaction episode, up to four possible relational changes can occur simultaneously. [3] Relational changes are gains or losses in the power and status positions of the people participating in the interaction episode vis a vis each other. [4] Continuity of the existing levels of power and status of the participants is also a possible outcome of an interaction episode. [5] When a relational change occurs or when there is continuity, some agent is responsible for the outcome. [6] Agents can be self, other, or third party. [7] One can feel different emotions toward self, other, and third party as a result of the same relational outcome (Kemper, 1978, p. 46-47). The actions of others toward us and our actions toward others instigate our joy, sadness, anger, or despair. Social situations influence the expression of those emotions produced by social interaction. Human beings are social beings. We have not evolved in isolation. Harry Stack Sullivan saw the very great importance of interpersonal relationships as deriving from the fact that acculturation [socialization] can only occur in reciprocal exchanges between people and is always occurring in any interpersonal configuration (Blitsen, 1953, p. 25). It is mistaken, according to Kemper, to look for emotions

significant for evolutionary survival that do not consider the social environment. Without the social environment, emotion has no significance and no function for survival (Kemper, 1978, p. 3-4).

Sociology ignores biological universals of behavior in favor of socio-cultural forces to explain the emotions. Nevertheless, because emotional arousal is often useful biologically in helping us mount effective responses to danger, societies have numerous, complex social constraints on how we react when threatened. Most societies have punitive laws as well as deeply embedded moral impediments against aggression. Becoming overly aroused can get in the way of successful coping because vital cues may be missed in the excitement (Lazarus, 1991, p. 25).

Society influences emotional experience as well as emotional expression with feeling rules and display rules. We tailor our reactions to fit the social rules. Because we internalize these rules, we believe something is wrong when we break the rules and feel or act in deviant manners. These rules are not only situational. Through processes of socialization they can become part of the personality, operating in the same way culture operates on personality development (Lazarus, 1991, p. 370).

We react to our feelings in culturally and socially prescribed manners. The labels we give to our feelings have meaning to us because we have learned their meanings from our social communities. To understand the meaning these labels have for us we study not the human brain but the societies created by humans.

Viewed from the sociological perspective, most emotions result from real, imagined, or anticipated outcomes of social relationships (Kemper, 1978, p. 43). A sociological analysis of emotion identifies three types: structural, anticipatory, and consequent. Each of the three types of emotion refers to or results from the status level and the power balance of a reciprocal relationship. Structural emotions exist in a relatively stable structure of power and status. Anticipatory emotions are responses to perceptions of status and power in the

future. Consequent emotions are the culmination of the chain that links the structural and anticipatory emotions to the actual results of the interaction (Kemper, 1978, p. 49).

Each person must learn the intricacies of cultural functioning and the maintenance of satisfactory relationships with other people. These skills are not innate but are nevertheless essential to all societies. Sullivan calls actions which effectively maintain relationships in particular societies 'security operations'. The needs that evoke security operations Sullivan calls 'security needs'. These operations maintain our prestige and self respect. They are dependent upon the respect of others for us and the deference they pay us. We learn these skills before we understand their meaning or their utility because we must learn them if we are to possess any power to pursue satisfaction in the societies in which we function (Blitsten, 1953, p. 52).

THE LINGUISTICS OF EMOTION

Harry Stack Sullivan believed language behavior to be the clearest demonstration of the tendency in man to integrate experience by means of symbols. All cultural entities were, for Sullivan, actualizations of the symbolic tendency of humans. The essence of culture was the actualization of man's symbolic tendency (Blitsten, 1953, p. 124-125). We utilize the symbol system of language to describe our emotions.

We use words such as joy, regret, fear, irritation, or pity to identify emotions. These names for emotions are thought by Wierzbicka to be shorthand abbreviations for complex expressions (Wierzbicka, 1972, p. 59). They describe emotions but they are not the actual emotions. To accurately describe an emotion, words must capture the totality of our experiences as defined by our culture (Kövecses, 1990, p. 15). Thus statements about emotion reveal how the speaker interprets the social events surrounding the feeling about which he or she is speaking (Kövecses, 1990, p. 21). Emotion categories are idealized cases which capture a great many similar cultural experiences. The language we use to

describe or to define emotions does not belong to an elite group of specialists. It is the language of everyday life and everyday people.

The use of metaphor helps us to understand abstract concepts and symbols. We use metaphor to describe emotion. A conceptual metaphor utilizes two concepts, one typically abstract and the other typically concrete. For example, love is often conceptualized as fire. She set my heart on fire uses an expression from one domain [fire] to capture aspects of another domain [love]. The abstract concept of love is presented in the terms of the concrete concept of fire. Love, it is hoped and assumed, can be more easily understood in terms of fire than in terms of physical and psychological responses to certain stimuli (Kövecses, 1990, p. 47)

When we speak of emotions, we often refer to them as some type of substance in a container (Kövecses, 1990, p. 25). Putting emotions into containers should not be a surprising activity. Our conceptual system places a great many things into containers. Often we find ourselves in a room. A room is a type of container. By using the preposition 'in' we are able to locate ourselves at least conceptually. Metaphorical containers can hold events, societies, time, and emotional states. Some metaphors utilize the human body or the human mind as the container (Kövecses, 1990, p. 145). The metaphorical containers of mind and body are the frequent depositories of emotions. She was full of emotion means that the container [she] was filled. The container can also be empty. I feel drained.

The language and its constructs with which we describe emotion help give structure to and make sense of a variety of unstructured and undefined experiences. With language we can create a certain amount of order out of the chaotic concept and experience that we call emotion. The words with which we describe our emotions are shaped by our cultures and in turn shape those cultures. And thus we are returned to the premise that life functions in a myriad of systems each complete in itself and each dependent upon and interacting with all other systems.

II.   ANGER

Moses has been too long on the mountain. Without visible leadership, the Children of Israel are frightened. They have made for themselves a molten calf. They have bowed down to it and they have sacrificed to it. They have betrayed God and God is furious. God tells Moses to hurry down from the mountain because "Your people, whom you brought out of the land of Egypt, have acted basely." Severing all connections with this stiff-necked people, God instructs Moses to "Let Me be so that My anger can blaze forth against them and destroy them." Moses implores God to spare the Israelites and at the same time reminds God that they are the Chosen People of God, not of Moses. "Let not Your anger blaze forth against Your people, whom You delivered from the land of Egypt. Turn from Your blazing anger and renounce the plan to punish Your people." God does as Moses requests. (Exodus. 32: 7-14.)

Anger can be a terrifying emotion to feel as well as to behold. We often associate feelings of anger with aggressive or frightening or damaging behavior. We fear in ourselves as well as in others the behaviors associated with anger. And so we try to suppress our anger or to ignore it. When we do express our anger, we are often ashamed of both our behavior and our initial feeling of anger. We enter the shame-rage spiral (Scheff, 1990, p. 171) and convince ourselves that we had neither the right to feel anger nor the right to express it.. This spiral of anger and shame generally snowballs and becomes extraordinarily intense and long lasting (Scheff, 1990, p. 105). We spend large amounts of time and money trying to learn about what to do with our anger. The psychological self help shelves of bookstores often contain a plethora of books dealing with anger. From reading these books we learn how to control our anger, how to manage our anger and how, if we fail to learn the previous lessons, to die from our anger. From this body of angry literature, however, we do not learn what anger is, why we are feeling it, or what we can do with it that will neither damage nor destroy.

DEFINITIONS OF ANGER

It is simpler to dispose of anger than to define it. Like any other definition, a definition of anger reflects a context and a culture and is therefore susceptible to a multitude of ambiguities. Before the concept of anger can be approached, however, it must be at least rudimentarily defined.

Anger is an emotion. Like all other emotions, anger does not exist in one perspective of human behavior independent of the other perspectives. Anger is a multidimensional construct. It is an amalgam of cognitions, behaviors, and somatic sensations (Thomas, 1993, p. 40). Like the totality of emotions, anger is not a thing. It is an abstract label for a series of actions and processes. Anger cannot be packaged or invested or wasted or saved. It can be suppressed or expressed. Our anger can hinder us. Our anger can empower us. Like the emotional system of which it is a part, anger can be examined through the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, biology, sociology, and linguistics

The Anthropology Of Anger

The cultures in which we exist tell us what we do with our anger. Acceptable forms of behavior are part of a moral code embedded in the culture. The actual codes vary between cultures. Acceptable forms of behavior in one culture may be inappropriate or even unhealthy in another culture (Beck, 1976, p. 70).

The emotion language of the A'ara of the Solomon Islands is characterized by social events which lead to particular emotive responses. Social events, in other words, produce specific emotions. These events are defined by the following properties: [1] Moral evaluation: The action broke a rule. [2] Role structure: Someone broke the rule and someone was affected by the breaking of the rule. [3] Social relations among the speaker and participants. [4] Responsibility for the action. and [5] Intentionality. Viewed

in this paradigm, anger is considered a logical ramification of a violation of a rule of A'ara life (White, 1979, cited in Kövecses, 1990, p. 20).

Davi Friend Aberle has studied the cultural norms of emotional expression in the Native American Hopi Nation. To express anger is to violate the Hopi moral code. A Hopi who does express anger brings social disapproval upon himself or herself. The internal turmoil caused by this social disapproval is so great that it can cause illness in the Hopi. Even when an expression of anger is justified by extraordinary circumstances, a Hopi man or woman will not risk cultural disapproval and express the anger he or she feels. Aberle goes on to observe that holding in the feelings of anger is no healthier a solution for the Hopi than is expressing them (Aberle, 1979, p. 120).

The Psychology of Anger

Like all other emotions and like the umbrella subject of emotion, anger can be examined from the various disciplines of human behavior. Anger viewed from certain perspectives appears relatively simple to explain. In the systems perspective, if the fit between the person and his or her various systems is not functional or positive or pleasurable, the person may feel angry. Anger viewed from certain other perspectives appears so complicated that any type of explanation seems impossible. A psychoanalytic theory of anger, for example, would be formulated in terms of drives and energy levels and drive-cathexis (Bowlby, 1969, p. 116) in the interplay between the id, the ego, and the superego. If the superego is too regulatory of the id, the person feels anger.

The Attachment Perspective:

Anger can be viewed and defined through the attachment theories of human emotion. Attachment behaviors, as previously noted, are instinctive and essential. While the attachment behaviors of the adult differ from those of the infant, the need to attach is never outgrown nor do the behaviors of attachment ever disappear. Adults ill, upset, or in crisis seek the presence of a trusted caregiver. Lacking or denied that presence we feel troubled, unhappy, anxious, or angry.

No form of behavior is accompanied by stronger feeling, according to John Bowlby, than is attachment behavior. We love the person toward whom our attachment behavior is directed. We greet his or her presence with joy. We feel secure when that person is nearby. If we are threatened by the loss or if we experience the actual loss of our attachment figure we feel either anxiety or actual loss sorrow. Both anxiety and sorrow, according to Bowlby, are likely to arouse anger (Bowlby, 1969, p. 209).

The Cognitive Perspective:

Our processes of cognition deal with obtaining, organizing, and utilizing intellectual knowledge. The cognitive perspective of human behavior and emotion focuses on the role understanding plays in the human condition. According to C. E. Izard, emotions occur in patterns. These patterns are produced by the constantly changing elements of our perceptual cognitive fields [Izard, 1972, p. 103]. Anger, for example, is viewed by Izard as a compound of various other emotions such as fear, guilt, shyness, disgust, surprise, contempt, distress, anxiety, and fatigue.

Often we think about events in such a way that we feel angry. We process events in distorted and irrational manners and then, based upon our misinformation, we feel angry. We, very basically, tell ourselves things that aren't true. We misrepresent reality to ourselves and then we feel angry. Two types of distorted thinking involve destructive labeling and mind reading. Mind reading involves our tendencies to anticipate what others are thinking. More often than not, we not only decide what the other person is thinking but we decide that he or she is thinking negatively. We then feel insecure or inadequate or angry because we have convinced ourselves that this other person thinks negative thoughts about us. When we use destructive labeling we are making generalizations about how other people feel about us or about how we feel about ourselves. We can decide that someone thinks that we are stupid, for example. Perhaps we will internalize this message we have decided the other person is sending us. Perhaps we will feel angry at the other person for thinking that we are stupid (Douglas, 1990, p. 56-57).
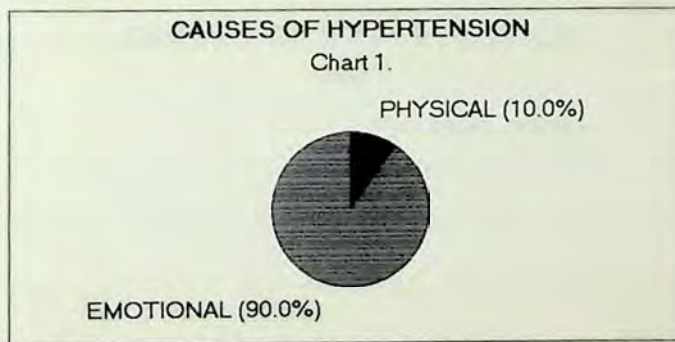
Aaron Beck believes that when a person exhibits an outburst of anger proportionally inappropriate to an incident perceived by others as trivial, that incident may have an idiosyncratic meaning for the person who is disproportionately angry. According to Beck, a person feels angry if he or she perceives a threat to or an assault upon his or her domain. The domain includes the values, moral codes, and protective rules of the person. The perception of threat or assault, however, is not sufficient in itself to arouse anger. The person must take the threat or assault seriously and label it negatively. The threat, according to Beck, cannot be appraised as life threatening. In such a case, the emotion would not be anger but would no doubt be anxiety or fear. Finally, the person must focus on the negative aspects of the offense and of the offender. The completed sequence of these cognitive functions produce anger. The degree or intensity of the anger is proportional to how the person perceives the threat or offense (Beck, 1976, p. 71-73).

The Biology of Anger

When we feel anger, things happen to our bodies. By the time we are aware of our anger, the stress response has already been activated. We are ready to either fight or flee. Our glycogen level has dropped. Our immune system has become compromised. The stress response has activated our neurotransmitters epinephrine and norepinephrine. These adrenal gland secretions are effecting many of our biological systems including our nervous system and our endocrine system. We are using glucose more quickly. We are not breaking down fat. Our digestion has stopped. Our rate of respiration has increased. Our stomachs are upset. Once we become angry, this biological process cannot be stopped. The more frequently we enter this biological cycle, the less our bodies are able to adapt to stress. Each time our bodies activate the stress response our homeostasis is interrupted. The more this homeostasis is interrupted the more likely we are to experience chronic disease (Cohen, Interview, 1994).

Despite recent decreases in the rate of death from cardiovascular disorders, diseases of the heart and blood circulation system account for almost one half of the deaths in this country each year. Cardiovascular disorders affect over 300 people out of every 10,000 people (U.S. Census, 1990) and consume well over 100 billion dollars a year in care and research (Anderson & Neale, 1994, p. 201).

Franz Alexander believes that unexpressed anger creates a chronic emotional state responsible for essential hypertension (Alexander, 1950, p. 150). This disease predisposes people to atherosclerosis, heart attacks, strokes, and kidney failure. As illustrated in Chart 1, only ten percent of all cases of hypertension in the United States are attributable to an identifiable physical cause.

CAUSES OF HYPERTENSION
Chart 1.

PHYSICAL (10.0%)

EMOTIONAL (90.0%)

Hypertension without an identified organic cause is called essential hypertension. Recent estimates indicate that from 15 to 33 percent of the people in this country suffer from essential hypertension (Davison & Neale, 1994, p. 201). Anger and inhibited rage are considered to be significant contributors to the development of essential hypertension (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991, p. 502).

The Sociological Constructs of Anger

Emotions, as previously discussed, are in part products of the division of labor between people (Kemper, 1978, p. 27). Human social interaction is a technical activity designed to acquire, express, maintain, increase, or upset relations of power and status (Kemper, 1978, p. 30). The actions of others toward us and our actions toward others

can instigate our feelings of anger. If others gain power and we lose power, we feel angry. When we see others as the cause of our own insufficiency of structural power, our anger is directed to those whom we perceive responsible for our loss of power. To view others as capable of diminishing our power is to assign to them the intent and will to overcome us and to benefit thereby. In such a case, according to Kemper, our anger can be expressed as hostility. Sometimes our anger takes form in efforts to destroy the others or to diminish their power. Kemper calls this type of anger response 'Anarchy Rebelliousness'. Anarchy literally means without rule. From both emotional and political perspectives, when confronted with a power disadvantage in which others are seen as the cause of the disadvantage, people desire to and, in fact, sometimes attempt to destroy those with the greater amount of power (Kemper, 1978, p. 57).

When people insult us, when they intentionally inflict pain upon us, when they ignore us when we have a right to be attended to, when they deprive us of goods, services, money, or approval that we have according to our own understanding earned or deserved we lose status. The immediate emotional outcome of any interaction in which status is lost is anger (Kemper, 1978, p. 128).

A loss of power or status is not the only reason we feel angry. When we attain excess status because other people have given us the excess, we feel shame extrojected as anger and possibly hostility toward the others (Kemper, 1978, p. 62).

The formation of trust between people can effect power and status. If we like another person we tend to trust that person more than a person we do not like. Because we trust the person, we share our thoughts and our feelings with that person. The degree of self disclosure is positively correlated with our liking the other person. Self disclosure is a matter of trust. It elevates the other person's power over us because we have given the other person information with which he or she can attack our self esteem. We begin to fear that the other person will reduce our power because we have liked and trusted him or her. If we begin to read a power oriented intent into the actions of the other person we

begin to feel angry. If the other person does actually use our self disclosures to diminish our power, our anger is intensified. The intent more than the behavior of the other person determines the magnitude of our anger. A betrayal of a confidence indicates a deliberate intent to lower the status of the person being betrayed (Kemper, 1978, p. 124).

When we view another person as being responsible for our status loss, we sometimes want to try to hurt the other person. Causing the other person pain, we mistakenly think, will compensate us for our original losses. In such cases, our feelings of anger may function as mediator between the resultant pain caused by the status loss and our desire to hurt the person responsible for our pain and loss.

The preceding social constructs of anger are incorporated into George C. Homans' proposition of distributive justice. Distributive justice as a principle states that a person's profits from exchange interactions should be in proportion to the person's investments. If a person receives less than he or she believes that he or she deserves, according to the distributive justice rule, that person feels anger. Utilizing this social exchange theory (Homans, 1961, p. 22), if the rule of distributive justice falls to our advantage, we feel happy. If it falls to our disadvantage, we feel angry. In the game of what I lose you gain and what I gain you lose, it becomes simple to understand that if one member of the exchange dyad keeps more than his or her fair share the other person will feel angry. Even if the person keeping more than his or her fair share does so unknowingly, the rule has been violated. The matrix for anger is satisfied (Homans, 1961, p. 75).

The Linguistics of Anger

Our cultural language of anger utilizes the physiological effects of anger as metaphor for the emotion of anger. Our physical reactions symbolize our feelings. We understand these symbols because a large proportion of social phenomena depend upon our abilities to function in the symbolic level of reality. The personal is always associated with symbolic formulations (Blitsen, 1953, p. 29). The use of metaphor, as previously noted, can help us to understand the complex conceptual structure of emotions.

Zoltan Kövecses uses the physiological effects of anger to stand for the anger. With our cultural model of emotion he creates metaphors for anger. Anger produces an increase in body heat: They had a heated argument. Anger raises blood pressure. I was so angry I thought I was going to hemorrhage. Increased body heat and blood pressure can produce redness in the face and neck area. She was red with rage.

The body can be seen as a container for the emotions. I am full of anger. The concept of anger as heat can be combined with the concept of the body as container. You make my blood boil. The amount of the anger can exceed the capacity of the container. I exploded with rage. Insanity can also become a metaphor for anger. You drive me crazy. Anger can be an opponent. I am struggling with my anger. (Kövecses, 1990, p. 50-61).

INDIVIDUALISM AND ANGER

Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote in 1840 that society was conspiring against the individuality of its members. He urged Americans to do what concerned them and not what concerned society (Whicher, 1957, p. 149-150). Personal liberty is the foundation upon which this country was built. Individualism is central to American culture. Bella sees the American belief in individual dignity to be an essential concept in this culture. We must think for ourselves. We must judge for ourselves. We must make our own decisions. We must live our lives as we dictate and not as others dictate. To live otherwise would be to violate the moral codes of this culture (Bella, 1985, p. 142.

Our historical national heros are loners living on the margins of society. The American frontier, for example, was explored and settled by such marginal men as Davey Crockett, Johnny Appleseed, and Daniel Boone. Our greatest contribution to the mythical hero genre, the American Cowboy, raises individualism to almost ludicrous proportions. Not only is the American Cowboy a loner living on the margins of society, the American Cowboy possesses a highly developed sense of morality. This highly developed sense of

morality is, in fact, a greater criterion for the American Cowboy than is any previous experience in the field of livestock management.

The Lone Ranger, wearing a mask and accompanied only by his trusty scout Tonto, rides into towns defending right and defeating wrong. Modeling anonymity and rootlessness, The Lone Ranger, his work finished, gallops away from each town with Tonto at his side, leaving behind him only a silver bullet, the fading echo of 'Hi Yo, Silver, Away', and a great deal of confusion among the residents of the towns who can only look at each other and ask the eternally unanswerable question, 'Who was that masked man?'. To say that The Lone Ranger is the prototypical American is to risk conversational sanction. To say, however, that we have internalized the lessons taught by our mythical heroes is an accurate appraisal of society today and of our place in society. Concepts such as lonely individualism and heroic selflessness (Bella, 1985, p. 146) are practically deified by this culture.

Jay and Julia Gurian have studied issues of dependency in several different cultures: in India, in American Indians living in the Southwest, in Japan, in Hawaii, and in mainstream continental America. The Gurians take a dim view of this culture's deification of individualism. Dependency, they believe, is a universal theme which binds cross cultural experiences together. It is a life process, a cycle of attitudes and actions in which the sense of individual Self develops and functions within a larger and more binding sense of Others (Gurian, 1983, p. 5). From their research they conclude that the American definition of personality is frighteningly and destructively narrow (Gurian, 1983, p. x). By socializing it as a bedrock moral virtue, American culture has won the battle for independence. The victory, however is Pyrrhic. Perfect non-dependents lack a clear sense of their place in the universe (Gurian, 1983, p. 16). Thus American culture, while winning the battle of independence, has lost the war for the acquisition of psychological health.

The Gurians echo earlier thoughts of Erich Fromm:

> ... modern man, freed from the bonds of pre-individualistic
> society, which simultaneously gave him security and limited
> him, has not gained freedom in the positive sense of the
> realization of his individual self; that is, the expression of his
> intellectual, emotional and sensuous potentialities. Freedom,
> though it has brought him independence and rationality, has
> made him isolated and, thereby, anxious and powerless.
> This isolation is unbearable ...(Fromm, 1941, p. viii).

While we glorify our individualism, our emotional relationship with this

individualism is bifurcated. We love it and we hate it. We seek it and we fear it. Our

most benign feeling for American individualism, according to Bellah, is ambivalence.

While individualism has deep roots in America's social history, its current usefulness and

desirability may be clouded by new definitions of the meaning of 'successful individual' and

even the meaning of 'success'. For Bellah, individualism seems to be destroying its own

conditions (Bella, 1985, p. 150)..We seek the socially mandated independent state while

yearning for community. We stand alone. We fear standing alone. We are constantly

torn between the dictates of the social systems in which we live and the needs of the

biological and psychological systems which exist in us. We are born, we live, and we die

in this tension between the socially prescribed stance of individuality and the biological or

psychological needs for attachment. To intensify the tension, Jewish tradition instructs us

to not separate ourselves from the community (Pirkei Avot: 2.5).

We cannot simultaneously satisfy our society, ourselves, and our heritage. We feel

frustrated. We feel angry. Because anger is, for us, inherently scary we feel frightened.

Things start happening to our bodies. We are ready to either fight or flee. Our

homeostatic state is interrupted. We become more susceptible to diseases such as

essential hypertension. Too often we develop the diseases to which we have become

emotionally predisposed. And all too often we die from these diseases.

Thomas Moore believes that modern medicine, hell-bent on cure, has no concern

for or connection to the body's inherent art. Our bodies have become abstractions of

chemistry and anatomy and our poetry is hidden behind graphs, charts, numbers, and

structural diagrams. He suggests that medicine become more in tune with the art of the human body and the symbolism of a disease (Moore, 1992, p. 155). By turning our bodies over to science, Moore believes we have lost sight of our most powerful metaphors. Our hearts are no longer the arenas of courage or love. They can no longer be broken. Instead of dying from broken hearts, we now die from cardiovascular disorders. Our hearts are muscles which function as mechanical pumps. They are objects. We walk them or run them for exercise so we can keep them in 'shape'. This is not a fantasy presentation of our hearts. They are muscles. They do function as pumps. And we do need to eat and exercise appropriately if we are to keep them functioning at optimal levels. If, however, we limit our views of our hearts to the mechanical, if we reduce them to a function, we lose the metaphorical power our hearts once held. Poetry and song have for centuries approached the human heart as the seat of affection. By abandoning this view of the heart we have suffered a different form of heart failure (Moore, 1992, p. 157).

Scientific explanations do not invite continual interpretations. Giving our bodies completely into the hands of scientists will by definition limit our interpretations of our symptoms. Poetry, on the other hand, invites endless interpretation. Moore proposes that we embrace a more poetic reading of our bodies and relate to our bodies as having soul, utilizing a new appreciation for imagination that will allow us to move into ever newer and ever deeper insights about our lives and our places in the universe (Moore, 1992, p. 159).

> When we relate to our bodies as having soul, we
> attend to their beauty, their poetry and their
> expressiveness. Our very habit of treating the
> body as a machine, whose muscles are like pulleys
> and its organs engines, forces its poetry underground,
> so that we experience the body as an instrument and
> see its poetics only in illness. ... If we could loosen
> the grip we have on the mechanical view of our own
> bodies and the body of the world, many other
> possibilities might come to light. We could
> exercise the nose, the ear, and the skin, not only the
> muscles. We might listen to the music of wind in the

trees, distant locomotives, crickets and nature's teeming
musical silence. ... We may understand the body as a
collection of facts, but if we also grant it its soul, it is an
inexhaustible source of 'signs'. Tending the body in all its
physicality, but also with imagination, is an important part
of care of the soul. ... Maybe there is a chance that the
body will be freed from its identification as a corpus, a
corpse, and once again feel the flush of soul as it becomes
animated by a new appreciation for its own art (Moore,
1992, p. 172-176).

This line of reasoning indicates that to begin the process of caring for our souls, of

reclaiming the metaphor and poetry of our bodies, we must begin to reclaim the

homeostatic state, the balanced state, of interdependence for which all systems yearn.

ALIENATION AND ANGER

No matter how fervently we try to be like the Lone Ranger, we live our lives in

relationship with others. Through our relationships we discover ourselves. The individual

in relationship does not fit the mold of the mythic hero. Rather than displease society, we

try to escape from our relationships, from our connectedness to others. Simultaneously,

we seek out attachments as our biological and psychological imperative. We live our lives

in cognitively distorted states of safe isolation. But life lived in isolation is oxymoronic.

Isolation and life are not compatible. During the 1960s the attention of this country

turned to issues of inner harmony and world peace. This was the time of the philosopher-

guru. Some addressed issues no more profound than tuning in and turning off or turning

on and tuning out. However, during that decade of spiritual transformation, much was

said about repairing the fragmentation of our lives and about reclaiming that immeasurable

something for which we have everlastingly sought. One approach to achieving this repair

and reclamation was through acknowledging the importance and power of relationship.

> Relationship is a process of self-revelation in which we
> begin to know ourselves not as separate solitary systems
> but in relationship with another. Through out relationships
> we discover our own motives, our own thoughts, our own
> pursuits. And that very discovery is the beginning of
> liberation, the beginning of transformation.
> (Krishnamurti, 1968, p. 107).

The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) rejected the deification of individuality. For Durkheim, society is the basic reality. The individual is defined through his or her relationship to the larger social order. The norms, values, statuses, and roles of society create the social reality of the individual. Behavior, according to Durkheim, can be understood only through an examination of the behavioral attributes that are clearly social. Individual behavior is determined by society (Cockerham, 1981, p. 42). Durkheim's concept of anomie refers to his belief that the chronic lack of normative regulation leaves people feeling alienated from society.

In his 1897 book Suicide, Durkheim suggested that suicide is not entirely an individual free choice. For Durkheim, suicide is a social fact explainable by social causes. Durkheim studied various European societies to determine the circumstances under which a society pressures individuals to kill themselves. Of the three types of suicide identified by Durkheim [egoistic suicide, anomic suicide, and altruistic suicide] anomic suicide sees the individual as being cut adrift from his or her normative systems. The individual committing this type of suicide has experienced a sudden change. The rules by which the individual lived his or her life no longer seem to apply. Sudden wealth or sudden poverty, for example, disrupt the normative patterns and the person enters a state of anomie or normlessness. What worked before the change no longer seems appropriate. The individual functioning in a chaotic society feels cut off. He or she no longer feels bound to society. The person often enters a state of psychological crisis. For this type of suicide, the controls of society no longer restrain the person from taking his or her life. The cause of the suicide, according to Durkheim, is not the loss of money but the loss of equilibrium.

Equilibrium can be lost from positive change as well as from negative change. Durkheim cites a financial crisis in Vienna in 1873 during which the number of suicides immediately rose as one example of an increase in the number of suicides corresponding to a negative change in society. He uses the 1888, 1889, and 1890 World Expositions in Paris to show that the number of suicides also tends to increase with positive changes in society. Successful world expositions, Durkheim points out, are beneficial to society. They stimulate business, bring more money into the country, and increase public prosperity. However, during the first seven months of each Paris World Expositions, the suicide rate increased significantly. "Whenever serious readjustments take place in the social order, whether or not due to a sudden growth or to an unexpected catastrophe, men are more inclined to self-destruction" (Durkheim, 1966, p. 243-246).

Donald F. Krill suggests that certain dysfunctional aspects of our society, such as the high rates of alcoholism and the manic searches for entertainment and recreation, are outgrowths of our freedom [severing] from traditional ties, associated systems of mores, folkways, and religions. We have become, according to Krill, confused, anxious, angry, and self destructive (Krill, 1983, p. 727). 'Anomic man' and 'unauthentic man' and 'alienated man' are all the same person. This person aimlessly drifts or obsessively strives. This person feels grandiosely important or pathetically insignificant (Krill, 1983, p. 731). When the individual is alienated from society, a fundamental human need cannot be met: The need to be loved and to experience a sense of unity with what is other than oneself can only be satisfied when the individual is connected to society (Krill, 1983, p. 733).

ATTACHMENT AND ANGER

Like the astronaut in Stanley Kubrick's "2001: A Space Odyssey," we have witnessed the severing of our lifelines to the mother ship. Set adrift in the empty and unfathomable eternity of space, we are terrified. We are alienated from that which sustains us. Bessel A. van der Kolk, M.D., believes that the essence of psychological

trauma is the loss of faith in the order and continuity of life. When we feel that our actions have no bearing on the outcome of our lives, we experience trauma. Human life requires connection. The most devastating early trauma, according to van der Kolk, is the loss of a secure base (van der Kolk, 1987, p. 31). And attachment is essential for survival. We suffer not only psychologically but also biologically when we are separated [alienated] from that which supports us. Research has linked social isolation and cellular immune competence. Hofer studied the biological effects of premature weaning of infant rats and found loss of the attachment figure to be associated with an increase in opportunistic infections and premature death (Hofer, 1975, p. 260). In human beings, a correlation exists between stress or psychological trauma and the body's immune system. Alienation, the loss of attachment figures and opportunities, is both stressful and traumatic.

We yearn both biologically and psychologically for attachment and all that is implied by attachment. We want to belong. We want to connect. Our culture tells us that we must be independent. We fear alienation because we seek attachment. We separate ourselves from our communities because we know we must be independent. Society, reacting from its own mechanisms and from the withdrawal of its members from connection to alienation, shifts and changes and becomes a place in which we feel even more alienated and less capable of autonomy and independence. We become frustrated and anxious. We yearn for what society dictates that we cannot have. We are angry. Our feelings of anger frighten us even more than do our oxymoronic feelings of autonomy and attachment.

Harriet E. Lerner addresses the feeling and the expressing of anger in this society. The focus of her research is on the differences in socialization between men and women vis a vis anger and aggression. Expressions of anger and aggression, according to Lerner, are considered appropriate in men and inappropriate in women. The only expressions of anger by women sanctioned by society are in defense of others more helpless than themselves. Lerner sees two causes for women's difficulties expressing anger. Certainly

one explanation is the socialization process of girls and women in this society. Lerner sees this as less compelling than the second explanation she has identified. Our innate attachment needs account in large part, according to Lerner, for the difficulty women have with anger. When we feel angry at another person, our anger at least temporarily separates us from that person. For however fleetingly, we lose our connection with that person. Expressing our anger affirms our aloneness (Lerner, 1980, p. 140).

Both men and women yearn for and seek attachment figures. Both the search and the attachment take different forms in men and women because our socialization experiences and expectations differ. Fear of alienation and separation, however, are innate to both women and men. Even though her studies have focused on women and their anger, Lerner acknowledges that to be human is to have difficulty tolerating feelings of separateness and aloneness inherent in the experience of anger. Often when we cannot tolerate our feelings of separateness we shift from anger to hurt. Lerner feels that hurt emphasizes the relational 'we' rather than the autonomous 'I' (Lerner, 1980, p. 141). If to be human is to fear separation and if anger is an emotion of separation, then, according to the laws of symbolic logic (Crowdis & Wheeler, 1969, p. 118), to be human is to fear anger.

Our basic biological and psychological human natures urge attachment. Our society urges individualism. We try to attach. We try to be separate. Conditions in society cause us to feel alienated. We feel that we are set adrift from the society for which we yearn but which tells us to be autonomous. We feel angry. Those feelings terrify us because in the moment we feel angry we stand alone. Being alone terrifies us. We express our anger in either ways inappropriate to society or ways that are harmful to us. We become violent. We become depressed. We lash out at other people. We lash in at ourselves. Rarely in this morass of confusing and contradicting demands and expectations and fears and needs do we ever confront the reasons for our anger nor do we process our anger in life affirming manners.
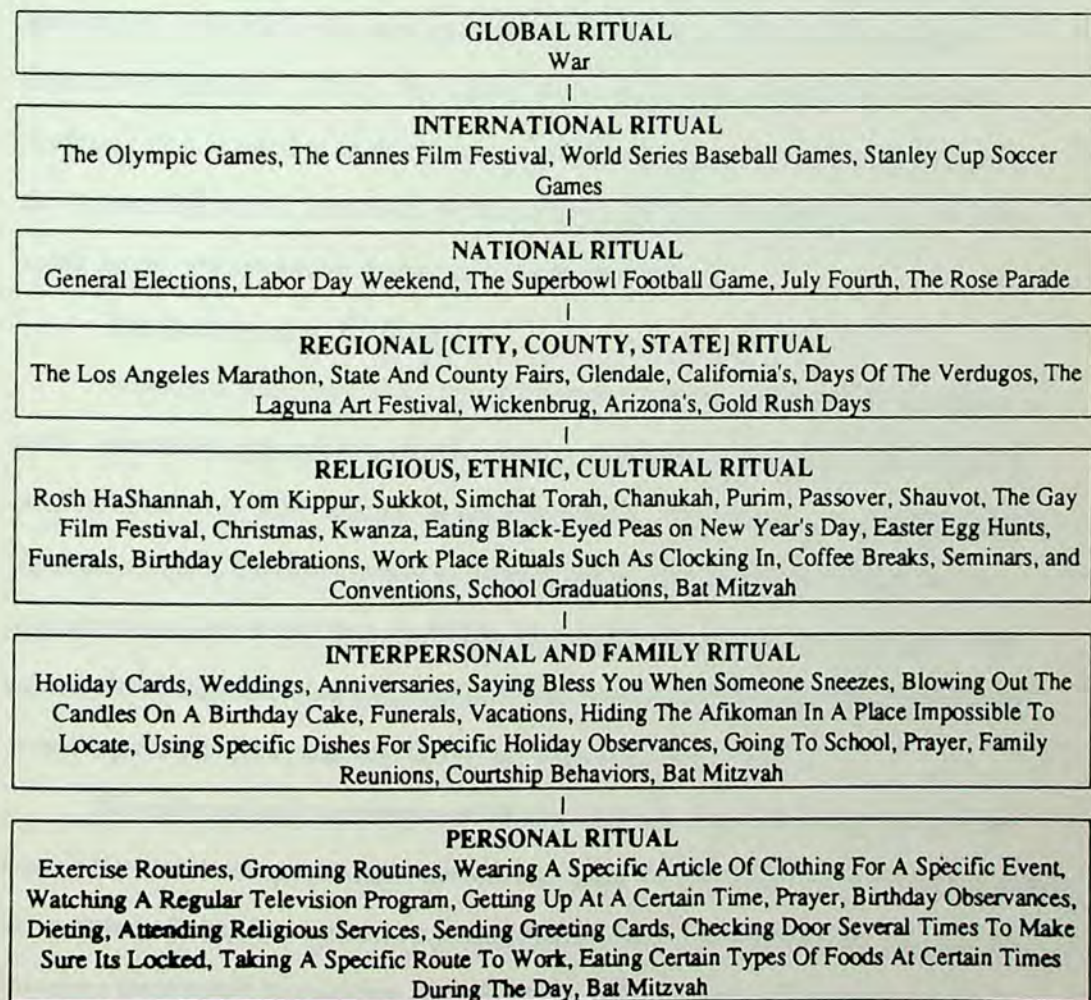
III. RITUAL

And this shall be to you a law for all time: In the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, you shall practice self-denial; and you shall do no manner of work, neither the citizen nor the alien who resides among you. For on this day atonement shall be made for you to cleanse you of all your sins; you shall be clean before the Eternal One. It shall be a Sabbath of complete rest for you, and you shall practice self-denial. It is a law for all time. The priest who has been anointed and ordained to serve as priest in place of his father shall make expiation. He shall put on the linen vestments, the sacral vestments. He shall purge the innermost Shrine; he shall purge the Tent of Meeting and the altar; and he shall make expiation for the priests and for all the people of the congregation. This shall be to you a law for all time: to make atonement for the Israelites for all their sins once a year. And Moses did as God had commanded him. (Leviticus 16:29-34).

We live our lives in the context of ritual. We repeat the same behaviors over and over again. Sometimes we don't even realize that our behavior is ritualistic. Those unconscious rituals may have no recognizable meaning for us. Sometimes we resent our rituals. They seem to be nothing more than intrusions on our lives. Other rituals give meaning to the occasions of our lives. Grandma always carves the Thanksgiving Day turkey. Dad always kicks his car tires before he gets in and starts the engine. Our rituals and the symbols used in our rituals give meaning to our lives. Grandma's cutting pieces of meat off of a cooked bird symbolizes the nurturing matriarch of the family we have or for which we yearn. Kicking large pieces of rubber symbolizes the safe journeys we have had in the past and those we hope to have in the future.

According to Erik Erikson, every human expression means more than it superficially seems to say and much more than it is consciously intended to say. These hidden meanings often have central significance. Through repetition we gain and maintain physical, emotional, and spiritual competence. If we cannot repeat the actual behavior, we

need to repeat symbolically those experiences not sufficiently managed in the past. By so doing we can turn what was passively suffered into active mastery (Erikson, 1977, p. 41).

Each individual, each family, each culture, each similarly governed area, each country, each collective of countries has his, her, or its own rituals. The world has at least one identifiable ritual. If these rituals can be seen as rungs on a ladder, the first rung of the ladder would be the one upon which most rituals lie. On the top of the ladder would then be the one identified global ritual.

GLOBAL RITUAL
War

INTERNATIONAL RITUAL
The Olympic Games, The Cannes Film Festival, World Series Baseball Games, Stanley Cup Soccer Games

NATIONAL RITUAL
General Elections, Labor Day Weekend, The Superbowl Football Game, July Fourth, The Rose Parade

REGIONAL [CITY, COUNTY, STATE] RITUAL
The Los Angeles Marathon, State And County Fairs, Glendale, California's, Days Of The Verdugos, The Laguna Art Festival, Wickenbrug, Arizona's, Gold Rush Days

RELIGIOUS, ETHNIC, CULTURAL RITUAL
Rosh HaShannah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Simchat Torah, Chanukah, Purim, Passover, Shauvot, The Gay Film Festival, Christmas, Kwanza, Eating Black-Eyed Peas on New Year's Day, Easter Egg Hunts, Funerals, Birthday Celebrations, Work Place Rituals Such As Clocking In, Coffee Breaks, Seminars, and Conventions, School Graduations, Bat Mitzvah

INTERPERSONAL AND FAMILY RITUAL
Holiday Cards, Weddings, Anniversaries, Saying Bless You When Someone Sneezes, Blowing Out The Candles On A Birthday Cake, Funerals, Vacations, Hiding The Afikoman In A Place Impossible To Locate, Using Specific Dishes For Specific Holiday Observances, Going To School, Prayer, Family Reunions, Courtship Behaviors, Bat Mitzvah

PERSONAL RITUAL
Exercise Routines, Grooming Routines, Wearing A Specific Article Of Clothing For A Specific Event, Watching A Regular Television Program, Getting Up At A Certain Time, Prayer, Birthday Observances, Dieting, Attending Religious Services, Sending Greeting Cards, Checking Door Several Times To Make Sure Its Locked, Taking A Specific Route To Work, Eating Certain Types Of Foods At Certain Times During The Day, Bat Mitzvah

Rituals combine present reality with memories and expectations. Thus rituals simultaneously take place in the present, in the past, and in the future.

DEFINITIONS OF RITUAL

All life forms exhibit ritualized behaviors. Penguin couples, for example, perform very dramatic greeting ceremonies when the males return from their long journeys at sea. With these ceremonies each penguin affirms its own identity and the identity of its mates as well as the identities of the offspring who had awaited for their father's returning to them in the one right nest among the vast multitude of nests in a crowded penguin colony. This penguin ritual of return is innate to the species and, like other such phylogenetically performed ceremonial behaviors, instinctively affirms a bond of supreme adaptive importance (Erikson, 1977, p. 78). Lifetimes have no doubt been devoted and will continue to be devoted to studying and explaining the essential ritualized behaviors of non-human life forms. However, for the moment, an acknowledgment of the fact that rituals are not the exclusive domain of humans must suffice.
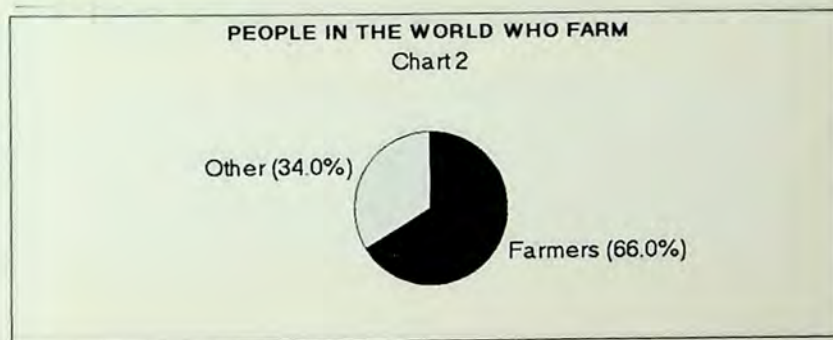
The Anthropology Of Ritual

A study of humanity which ignored human rituals would be a pitifully shallow study. Rituals indigenous to a specific people in a concentrated geographical area are often referred to as 'folk customs' by anthropologists. The physical environment plays a significant role in the development of these customs. The landscape impacts human organization of space and thus the effects human actions have on the landscape. Folk customs or rituals involving food, clothing, and shelter are especially influenced by the prevailing climate, soil, and vegetation (Rubenstein, 1989, p. 205).

No anthropological evidence exists, for example, to even hint of a folk custom among Native American Alaskans involving prayers for more snow. Nor do people native to the Sahara Desert bestow blessings upon their homes constructed from blocks of ice. However there could be evidence that, if such an immigration had occurred, the decedents of a family of Native American Alaskans who immigrated to the Sahara Desert generations back into the family's history might still be performing a ritual for blessing the family igloo. The descendents of those who performed this ritual in Alaska might have no knowledge of

what an igloo was or any concrete information of why they were performing the ritual to bless it. Nevertheless, such a ritual could have great meaning for those descendents of a people who once lived in a land of snow and ice.

Rituals performed in their places of origin, in their antediluvian environments, can be essential to biological and cultural survival. The rituals associated with the growing of food illustrate this survival component. As presented in Chart 2, approximately two-thirds of the people on this planet are farmers.

PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WHO FARM
Chart 2

Other (34.0%)

Farmers (66.0%)

This large percentage of the world population who farm is significant in a study of ritual because the majority of this two-thirds of the world population are not modernized farmers who grow enough food to feed the world. Most of the people in the world farm and most of the people who farm grow only enough food to feed themselves. These subsistence farmers interact with the physical environment with culture specific beliefs, customs, and rituals. Thus most of the people in the world perform rituals related to the growing of food. These rituals may be either the concrete rituals of planting practices or the spiritual rituals of asking a greater power for rain and sunshine sufficient for their plants to grow.

In the tropical Amazon regions of South America, shifting cultivation is the main form of agriculture. In this type of agriculture farmers clear the land for planting by slashing the vegetation in a specific manner and then burning the debris. The cleared areas are used only a few years for farming and then are left fallow for many years. The village

chief allocates to each family a patch of land. Ceremonies accompany the allocating of the land, the slashing of the vegetation, and the burning of the debris. Without the ritual of these actions, this type of cultivation might not be accomplished in a consistent and productive fashion. Without the ritual of leaving the land fallow, the nutrients in the soil would become depleted and the land would no longer be fertile. Even the ritual of burning the debris serves the practical function of fertilizing the soil with the potash from the fires. Approximately five percent of the world's population engages in shifting cultivation on one-fourth of the world's land area. These percentages, however, are declining (Rubenstein, 1989, p. 316-317) as technology presents other agricultural alternatives. As this manner of cultivation gradually disappears, so too will many of the rituals accompanying shifting cultivation. While the people of the Amazon will doubtless find other food sources to nourish their bodies, it is doubtful that they will find other rituals to nourish their souls.

The Psychology of Ritual

An obsessive repetition of ritualistic acts is considered diagnostic for mental health purposes. Autistic children become extremely upset when their daily routines and surroundings are changed. If they are offered juice in a different drinking cup than they normally use, they may burst into tears. Changing the arrangement of the furniture in their rooms or homes may be sufficiently stressful to bring on temper tantrums (Davison & Neale, 1994, p. 481).

> Each morning she had to be greeted with the set
> phrase 'Good morning, Lily, I am very, very glad
> to see you.' If even one of the verys was omitted,
> or another added, she would start to scream wildly.
> (Diamond, Baldwin & Diamond, 1963, p. 304).

Ritualistic behaviors which become obsessions, if they ever had life affirming aspects, generally lose those life affirming qualities. Ritualistic behaviors taken to this extreme are classified as personality disorders. Attempts to resist or end compulsions of

this type can create tremendous tension in the person suffering, for example, from obsessive-compulsive personality disorder (Davison & Neale, 1994, p. 64).

Not all ritual behavior, however, is indicative of a mental illness. Ritualization that supports the formation of behavior patterns which combine human propensities in a cultural system, according to Erikson, is not neurotic symptomatology. Daily ritualization can provide an adaptive interplay central to both the natural and the social universe (Erikson, 1977, p. 81).

Erikson speaks of the need in technocratic societies for rituals of nonviolence to reclaim or create and maintain devotional frames of mind. The development of such mind sets and of such rituals could be the most promising guarantor of human survival. This type of hopeful ritualization can begin, for Erikson, in the ontogenetic reconstruction of play. We have forgotten how to play and we have forgotten the rituals that accompany play. To reclaim or to create life affirming rituals we should rediscover the ritualized meaning and importance of play to our interpersonal relationships. From these early lessons we form meanings of ritualized interplay which are essential for the development of the individual ego (Erikson, 1977, p. 73). We learn about ourselves, in other words, through our relationships with other people and through the ritualized interplay we experience with those other people.

John Bowlby based his theories of human attachment on the previous studies of object-relations and object-constancy by Melaine Klein, Margaret Mahler, and Rene Spitz (Bowlby, 1969, p. 17). Their studies focused on the development of one's internalized sense of self and others. These theorists saw object-relations as central to the development of all other human ego functions. According to the object-relations perspective, the individual's internalized sense of self and of others and the evolution of the individual's external relations with others occur simultaneously and provide the context for personality development (Goldstein, 1984, p. 51).

> The optimal development of internalized object-relations
> requires that an individual perceive himself as a separate
> person with three-dimensional qualities and be able to
> view others in a similar fashion. This capacity is crucial
> to identify as well as to mature, loving relations with
> others. Its development begins at birth... It is likely that
> an individual lacking such integration will show impairments
> in other more discrete ego functions. ... One does not
> assess the quality of internalized object relations and
> interpersonal relationships on the basis of single instances
> in a person's life. What is important is the patterning of
> these qualities as they are reflected in past and current
> functioning (1984, p. 52-53).

The operative word in Goldstein's definition of the object-relations theory of human behavior is 'patterning'. Vital to the formation of healthy object-relations are organized patterns of behavior which become the basis for infant-object attachment. Chaotic object behavior is not conducive to infant attachment. As a species, we have rituals which, when performed consistently and positively, help to insure that the infant establishes an attachment to the primary care giver (Ainsworth, 1982, p. 7-11). Throughout our lives, it seems, we yearn for attachments basic to survival. If the rituals of object-relations are successful, we feel our own distinctness while at the same time feeling our needs for attachment. Thus even though we can stand alone we feel terrified by the prospect and avoid those experiences and emotions which most remind us that we are, in fact, separate beings. Erikson sees re-ritualization as a primary aspect of integrating past and present. We must trace a path, according to Erikson, from the past to the present and thus reclaim the power of what were once instinctive patterns of behavior. By bringing our instinctive history into present ritual we can slowly change our life negating habits into behaviors which can link everyday human life with a greater, universal vision (Erikson, 1977, p. 117).

The Biology of Ritual

Our biological survival has depended on the power of ritualization and ritual. There exists great evolutionary significance for the ritualization behaviors in man. The evolutionary importance of ritual can be observed in ...

> ...the ontogenetic development of playfulness into sportsmanship which makes it possible to train in the human being what can only be called a non violent discipline instinctively given in the games of higher animals. Gregory Bateson has described animal interplay.
> ...animals are instinctively intent on signaling each other when pseudo antagonistic actions are to be taken as an invitation to play. Eibl-Eibesfeldt reports that in the playful acts of some animals even action patterns otherwise belonging to separate spheres of instinctive behaviors programmed for good phylogenetic reasons to exclude each other such as hunting, fighting, and mating can appear side by side in special combinations without being consummated in the catch, the kill, or the act of mating. In the human species, institutionalized games take place bounded in a special space and a programmed time. (Erikson, 1977, p. 71).

Through the rituals of play we learn the rituals of survival. Some rituals are no longer necessary for human survival but we nevertheless practice them through ritualized play. Rarely, for example, must we rely on hand-to-hand combat for our survival. This survival skill is still practiced, however, in the modern ritual of football.

The Language of Ritual

Language is a basic element of culture. With words we know ourselves. With words we know our cultures. With words we know our rituals. With words we know the human condition. Language unifies us. Language separates us. Few states in the world, with the exceptions of Switzerland and Belgium, peacefully embrace cultures that speak different languages (Rubenstein, 1989, p. 129). The sharing of and the participation in common rituals require a common language. And rituals unify cultures.

With our common language we form the basic human bonds of mental and emotional connectedness which Scheff calls 'attunement between individuals'. By sharing our thoughts and feelings we are able to connect with other members of our culture. This connection makes society possible. When people cannot connect, when they cannot share thoughts and feelings, society is endangered (Scheff, 1990, p. 97). Part of the language with which we connect is the language of ritual. For Scheff, as long as the connection between its people exists society can exist (Scheff, 1990, p. 100).

Visitors to the homes of close-knit families, for example, can sometimes feel left out of such a simple ritual as sitting down for a meal if they do not know the specific language of the familiar ritual of sharing the evening meal. Some families begin their meals with blessings. Other families eat in silence while jointly watching television.

In the film "Mermaids" the mother and her two daughters eat their meals in different parts of the kitchen. One girl sits on the counter and holds the plate in her lap while eating. The other girl sits at the table reading a book while eating. The mother stands at the stove ready to refill her daughters' plates and eats there. While they eat, the three people exchange short-hand type comments. For example, if the mother wants to know how well her younger daughter performed at swim practice, she might say something like, 'Was the water wet?' To assure her mother that practice went well, the daughter might reply with, 'Just right.' To which the mother might reply, 'Gottcha.' In this condensed manner of speaking, both mother and daughter have exchanged concern, support, accomplishment, and praise. When a romantic interest for the mother enters the story line of the film, he experiences distress the first time he joins the family for dinner. He has no place to sit, he neither speaks nor understands the family's short-hand language, and he knows none of the mealtime rituals practiced by the family. When he tries to 'fix' the dinner habits of the mother and her daughters, the family system is thrown into chaos. With none of their previous mealtime rituals to sustain them, they feel alienated from the

activity of sharing a meal. Forced to abandon their short-hand way of speaking to each other, they become angry and silent.

With a common language we practice the rituals of our lives. If the language disappears, the rituals often disappear, too. If the rituals disappear, there is sometimes no reason for the language to continue living. The Jewish poet Irena Klepfisz writes of her mother tongue, Yiddish. She yearns for what was destroyed by the Holocaust and for what was nearly destroyed by the Holocaust. What was destroyed is gone forever. What was nearly destroyed will never again be the same. She yearns for the lost culture and the lost rituals which the nearly lost and forever changed language of Yiddish represents.

> my tongue, mouth, lips, throat, lungs,
> physically pushed Yiddish into the
> world--as I, a Jew, spoke a Jewish
> language to other Jews, Yiddish was very
> much alive. Not unlike a *lebn-geblibene*,
> a survivor, of an overwhelming catastrophe,
> it seemed to be saying *'khbin nisht vos*
> *ikh bin amol geven.* I am not what I once
> was. *Ober 'khbin nisht geshtorbn. ikh leb.*
> But I did not die. I live.
> (Klepfisz 1986, p. 47)

Katherine Smith is an elder of the Navajo people. She has led the resistance of the Navajo to the forced relocation by the United States government from the ancestral homeland at Big Mountain, near Flagstaff, Arizona. The Navajo cannot leave Big Mountain because they have no ritual for such a departure. They have no ritual for such a departure and they have no language for the act of relocating. The elder Katherine Smith explained to the United States government why her people cannot do what the government has ordered them to do: "There is no word for relocation in the Navajo language. To relocate is to disappear and never be seen again" (Aptheker, 1989, p. 24). Small wonder, then, that the Navajo were reluctant to relocate.

So intertwined are language and ritual that those seeking to destroy a culture need only destroy those two essential elements of the culture. Those Native Americans who survived the genocide which killed millions of their people were forced into other cultures. Whether the cultures were rooted in the normlessness of reservations or whether they were the cultures of the conquerors, the traditional cultures and languages of the Native American people were essentially destroyed. Those Native Americans who were forced to attend missionary schools were forbidden to speak their native languages (Aptheker, 1989, p. 23). By depriving the survivors of their language, they were deprived of their rituals and thus they were deprived of their cultures.

Janet Campbell Hale was raised on the Coeur d'Alene Reservation in northern Idaho. She mourns the loss of her language in a poem titled 'Desmet, Idaho, March, 1969'.

> At my father's wake,
> The old people
> > Knew me,
> > Though I
> > > Knew them not,
> And spoke to me
> In our tribe's
> Ancient tongue,
> Ignoring
> The fact
> That I
> Don't speak
> The language,
> And so
> I listened
> As if I understood
> What it was all about,
> And,
> Oh,
> How it stirred me
> To hear again
> That strange
> > Softly
> > Flowing

> Native tongue,
> So
> Familiar to
> My childhood ear.

(Hale, 1985, p. 68-69)

To share a language is to share more than the basic understanding of the words contained therein. Language is not merely a matter of translation. Language is a matter of culture and experience and ritual. With language we name things. With language we define ourselves. Harmony, for example, is an essential aspect of Navajo existence. The Navajo word for beauty encompasses the notions of balance, health, and harmony. When the Navajo bless a fellow traveller with the words 'may you walk in beauty' the wish is not for pleasing aesthetics but for a life of harmony and balance (Aptheker, 1989, p. 24). To rob a people of its language is to rob them of their culture and all the rituals practiced by that culture. To share a common language is to share the common memory and the common practice of ritual.

The Sociology of Ritual

The maintenance of social bonds is crucial to human survival. Maintaining these bonds underlies or at least colors virtually all human behavior. Secure social bonds hold society together (Scheff, 1990, p. 4). Society is based on trust. People can work together because they have a feeling that other people will honor societal and personal agreements. They trust the other people. This trust is rooted in the nonrational. And, in fact, the very nonrational aspect of this trust makes society function even more dependably. People do not have to make rational decisions about what benefits they might obtain and what losses they might incur before they follow a societal norm. We trust that the system works and that other people are functioning within this same framework of trust. Even though there are short term gains for thinking only of immediate needs and thereby violating a trust, the majority of members of a functioning society bypasses the instant gratification of breaking society's norms in favor of the long term gain (Collins, 1992, p. 13). For this reason, only a small percentage of people in this society choose to rob banks instead of working for

whatever wealth they accumulate. On a far less dramatic level, people follow society's norms in their daily behavior. Our society says, for example, that we not forthrightly display anger. We behave ourselves. Even when we are enraged, we are capable of polite conversation. Aside from the laws of the land, ritual is a primary enforcer of society's norms.

This social conformity is encouraged by rewards and punishments. The reward for not displaying anger in public is greater social approval than received for displaying anger in public. The punishment for such emotional outbursts can be social disapproval or social discomfort.

> Our thoughts and perceptions of social expectations only set the stage for social control. We experience it as so compelling because of emotions: specifically, the pleasure of pride and fellow feeling, on the one hand, and the punishment of embarrassment, shame, or humiliation, on the other. ... But formal rewards and punishments are infrequent, even rare. The deference-emotion system functions virtually continuously, even when we are alone, since we can imagine and anticipate its movements in vivid detail (Scheff, 1990, p. 75).

The rituals of society and the rituals passed on by society carry with them the moral consciousness of that society. They guide the individual in expressions of symbolic loyalty, they help the individual decide whether or not other individuals are friends depending on how those other individuals interface with the societal rituals. The moral consciousness of a society is stored up in its members' rituals. When the rituals are broken, moral outrage can be felt and expressed by society (Collins, 1990, p. 111).

Societies without trust are impossible venues for routine social life. We assume that the majority of our buildings are safe. That assumption is based upon lifetimes of experience with buildings which were, in fact, safe. We are outraged when earthquakes reduce our buildings to rubble. Beyond the outrage over loss of life and property, we are outraged because our society has proven untrustworthy and has betrayed us. We trust

that the food we buy from our supermarkets has been hygienically packaged. This trust has been proven time and time again by our purchases of satisfactorily safe food. On the few occasions when supermarket food has been tampered and deliberately rendered unsafe, we are furious. We have been betrayed. We trust that traffic laws will be obeyed by the vast majority of people driving cars. When we cross streets in accordance with the law, we are betting with our lives that this trust will not be betrayed. If we win the bet, we live to cross another street. If we lose the bet, our fatality or injury will not undermine the trust society places in people who drive cars because, presumably, our fates will be isolated instances of accident or mayhem. We trust, in other words, that the majority of drivers do not operate their vehicles with malicious intent. Often we trust society to our own detriment. Without a reasonable trust in society, however, our lives would be transformed into chaotic arenas of destruction (Manning, 1992, p. 64).

Erikson differentiates between special rituals and ritualized customs of everyday life. Society separates the grand display of rituals and periodic ceremonies from the formalization of minute patterns of daily human interplay. The ritualization of daily human interplay is a mixture of formality and improvisation, a rhyming in time. Daily custom creates ritual needs which then find periodical fulfillment in grand rituals. These various terms for ritual displays share common etymological origins and usages which are best expressed with the phrase 'measured in space and time'. We learn our rituals slowly. Humans are socialized during a prolonged childhood. We are familiarized by ritualization with a particular version of human existence. From this process of socialization and ritualization we develop distinct senses of corporate identity (Erikson, 1977, p. 78).

The majority of rituals indigenous to our society have been in place our entire lives. We don't think about them. We simply do them. We don't even know that our actions are ritualistic. Ritualization is an aspect of everyday life. Often, however, we can see the rituals of another culture or class or family more easily than is possible for us in our own. The rituals of others seem different or odd to us. In our own society

ritualization is more often than not experienced simply as the only proper way to do things. To the members of the society we have deemed odd, their rituals odd to us are to them more likely than not simply the proper way to do things while we are the society with, for them, the odd rituals (Erikson, 1977, p. 80).

W. Lloyd Warner feels that certain American holidays have, because of the rituals around them, become almost sacred occasions. Memorial Day ceremonies, according to Warner, are rites of today, yesterday, and tomorrow with rituals of a sacred symbol system which functions periodically to unify the whole community. With these rituals and symbols, according to Warner, we mollify our anxiety about death.

> Memorial Day is a cult of the dead which organizes
> and integrates the various faiths and national and class
> groups into a sacred unity. It is a cult of the dead
> organized around the community cemeteries. Its
> principal themes are those of the sacrifice of the soldier
> dead for the living and the obligation of the living to
> sacrifice their individual purposes for the good of the
> group, so that they, too, can perform their spiritual
> obligations (Warner, 1976, p. 409).

At its best, ritualization represents a creative formalization of society's expectations. It helps us to avoid both impulsive excess and compulsive self restriction. By practicing societal rituals we avoid both social anomie and moralistic coercion. According to Erikson, rituals accomplish a number of things for both the individual and the society or group to which the individual belongs: [1] They elevate the satisfaction of immediate needs into the context of a communal actuality. [2] They teach sanctioned ways of doing simple and daily things. In doing so, they transform the infantile sense of omnipotence into a joint sense of manifest destiny. [3] They deflect feelings of unworthiness onto outsiders within and without the individual's culture. These outsiders are either excluded by society or they exclude themselves. [4] They put emerging cognitive patterns in the service of a general vision shared by the individual and the

community. [5] Each successive stage of ritualization helps develop essential aspects of all ritual sense. [6] They develop the experience of a social differentiation. This sense of being different is essential to any functioning society. With it the individual can discriminate between prescribed and good behavior and shameful or guilty acts. For the adult members of a society shameful or guilty acts can be further encountered in judicial contexts. [7] They provide the psychosocial foundation for the gradual development of an independent identity. This independent identity is often sealed in adolescence by various rituals of confirmation. The use of ritual is a major link between the individual ego's need for orientation in space and time and the world views which rule society (Erikson, 1977, p. 82-83).

When the healthy functioning of society collapses, the ritualized schemes of behavior have also collapsed. Without the rituals which connect them to society and which hold society together, people are left alone to fight their lonely conflicts in isolation. To rebuild a society or a culture is to reclaim its rituals. By studying rituals we learn much about human adaptation and survival. With our rituals we reconcile our conflicts and find a mutual fit within ourselves, within our societies, and within our generational patters. To deny ourselves our own or societies ritualizations is to deny ourselves and our worlds life affirming behavior (Erikson, 1977, p. 83).

A knowledge of ritual and the importance of ritual for healthy individual and societal functioning is especially important in times of rapid change. If society changes too fast ritual disintegrates. If ritual disintegrates the individuals within the society feel alienated and cut adrift. Without the sense of belonging, the individuals are not able to reclaim those rituals left to them. Without ritual the structure of society collapses. Ritual and societal survival become tenuous during times of both negative change and positive change. Change, whether positive or negative, is stressful. Stress effects the biology of a culture much as it effects the biology of a person. Just as it makes the person more susceptible to disease, so too does it make the culture more susceptible to dysfunction.

With the rapid changes occurring in the world today, we seem to be particularly at risk of becoming alienated from our rituals and from their cultures. Technology, for example, is obsolete the moment it becomes available to the public. Our lives are literally and figuratively changing faster than we can keep up with them. We no longer know whether or not our previous rituals are sufficient to sustain us. New rituals emerge. We examine them for ways in which our modern technological civilization attempts to get through each day. We experience universal and hazardous ritualistic improvisations as we try to reclaim the sense of belonging experienced in earlier periods of our history. We sense that the old rituals are perhaps not working. We seem to have lost our places in society. The hazardous ritualistic improvisations can be abandoned in favor of new rituals of affirmation. Modern technology has and will continue to rightfully attach its own ritualizations onto our lives. Erikson sees world wide communication as creating new and more universal parliaments into which new prophets will rush to occupy places left vacant by vanishing ritualization (Erikson, 1977, p. 118). Rituals of affirmation must be created and observed or old rituals must be given new meaning as dramatic and aesthetic representations of our changing faster than human comprehension lives. Into these old or new rituals we must imbue a new spirit embodying an eventual identification of the whole human species with itself. Such a way of being can only assist the One Who Creates Peace in bringing the planet closer to wholeness and harmony.

RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS OF RITUAL

The rituals of our daily lives help us to structure and to survive our days. We wake up each morning at a certain time because we have to be at our jobs by a certain time. We move from ritual to ritual throughout the day. We drink our morning coffee or tea. We turn on the computer. We peruse our mail. We wash the breakfast dishes. We scan the headlines on the morning papers. These rituals guide us and contain us. With the rituals of religion we transcend our daily routines. With religion and with ritual, the

accouterments of religion, we " ... interrupt the apparent profanity of commonplace activity and, by reaching for the holy, sanctify our lives" (Borowitz, 1984, p. 416).

The rituals employed by the various religions delineate the boundaries between one religion and another. Geographical boundaries rarely serve as religious boundaries. Often, unfortunately, people following one religion fight with supporters of another religion for control of the earth's surface. Christians and Muslims have battled, for example, throughout the centuries for control of Europe and the Middle East. These battles and the lives lost in fighting them speak not of a high level of civilization but of the high level of importance placed upon religion (Rubenstein, 1989, p. 186).

For Theodor Reik, the distinguishing criteria between the ritual of religion and the ritual of mental illness are often indistinct.

> The ceremonials and prohibitions of obsessional patients force us to conclude that they have created a private religion for themselves; and even the delusions of the paranoiac show an unwelcome external similarity and inner relationship to the systems of our philosophers. We cannot get away from the impression that patients are making, in an asocial manner, the same attempts at a solution of their conflicts and an appeasement of their urgent desires which, when carried out in a manner acceptable to a large number of persons, are called poetry, religion, and philosophy (1946, p. 9).

No doubt the obsessional rituals of the mentally ill can have profound meaning and can achieve a spiritual dimension. In fact, Thomas Moore suggests that neurotic rituals appear when imagination has been lost and the soul is no longer cared for. For him, the cure for neurotic ritualism could be the cultivation of a more genuine sense of ritual in our daily lives (Moore, 1992, p. 225-226).

Religion, however, is a function of society. It is precisely the socialness of religion that makes it binding upon the individual. The rituals of religion help to create the social solidarity of religion (Hunt, 1990, p. 30). Thus the obsessive rituals of the mentally ill,

while they may appear to be religions in nature, do not constitute religion. "Neurotics live," according to Sigmund Freud, "in a world apart where only 'neurotic currency' is legal tender" (Freud, 1950, p. 108).

PRACTICES OF RITUAL

According to Rabbi Lawrence Hoffman, successful ritual requires successful communication. He compares ritual to an automobile. The successful completion of the ritual 'circuit' depends on the proper message 'script' being sent and received according to schedule (Hoffman, 1988, p. 64). When we accelerate we activate a message which goes to the fuel pump which goes go the engine which makes the automobile move faster. When this message of extra fuel fails to arrive at the engine, the automobile does not move faster. The ritual circuit has malfunctioned. If, instead of the automobile simply failing to move faster, it skids to a stop when we press the accelerator, the ritual collapses. The message of acceleration not only failed to get to its proper destination, it somehow wound up at the wrong destination and the unexpected happened.

This circuit of ritual messages happens every day of our lives. Rabbi Hoffman cites the example of the ritual of greeting someone we know (Hoffman, 1988, p. 65). We unexpectedly encounter an acquaintance and we say, 'Hello. How are you?' The socially prescribed response is, 'I'm okay. How are you?' We expect this response and the other person has been socialized to give this response even if he or she is not okay. If the other person ignores the ritual and starts telling us about financial concerns, interpersonal relationship stressors, and medical problems we leave the situation and the person as quickly as possible. The ritual circuit has malfunctioned. Communication was not successful. When we unexpectedly encountered the acquaintance, what we were really saying was, 'I recognize the fact that I know you. I globally care about you but I do not want to hear specifics. Good bye.' The response from the other person was supposed to communicate 'I share the recognition and I know you don't want to hear the details of my

life nor do I want to hear the details of yours. Good bye.' Somehow these communications were misdirected. The ritual of casual greeting enacted by us was interpreted by the other person as a ritual of intimate friendship.

Every culture practices ritual and the rituals of each culture communicate something of importance to that specific culture. The A-ara of the Solomon Islands, previously discussed, deal with the meaning of anger, shame, and sadness in a ritual called 'disentangling'. Disentangling is a meeting designed to allow the public expression of pent-up emotions and to repair the relationships damaged by inappropriately expressed anger (White, 1979, cited in Kövecses, 1990, p. 21).

Some cultures or societies seem replete with ritual. It is difficult, for example, to think of any Native American tribe or nation without thinking of its rituals. From the trivializations of Native American culture presented by television and motion pictures, we know that Native Americans performed [observed] rituals for burial, for rain, and for war. This wealth of ritual was all but obliterated with the virtual elimination of Native Americans. What remains are media caricatures, memories, and small groups of Native Americans desperately trying to reclaim and revive their old rituals before even the memories disappear.

Father Larry Dolan, a friar of the Franciscan order, conducts the weekly Mass at St. Catherine's Mission in Topawa, Arizona, a small village approximately nine miles south of Sells, Arizona. The mission and the villages of Topawa and Sells are located on the Tohono O'odham Reservation of southern Arizona's Sonora desert. Father Dolan is the spiritual leader of the Tohono O'odham Nation. The Tohono O'odham are a settled tribe strongly invested in agriculture and in the harmonious rhythms of nature. Unlike other American Indian nations, the Tohono O'odham historically considered fighting to be an absolute last resort. Fighting, for them, was so disruptive to the natural order of life that those who fought without profoundly compelling provocation were considered to be insane (Wilson, Harel & Kahana, 1988, p. 341).

Father Dolan respects the Tohono O'odham reverence for harmony. He is assisted in his leadership tasks by the medicine men and women [shamans] of the Tohono O'odham Nation. They lead in harmony, blending the rituals of Catholicism and those of the Tohono O'odham. These combined rituals are not the creation of Father Dolan but of the Tohono O'odham, themselves. During the weekly Mass, the shamans sometimes perform ceremonial dances to sanctify the alter and the Franciscan celebrants. For special blessings, the tribal shamans burn greasewood and creosote in clay pots. As the smoke rises from the pots, the shamans spread it with feathers. With this smoke blessing the Tohono O'odham purify themselves in preparation for the communion offertory.

Father Dolan believes that these Tohono O'odham rituals enhance the Catholic rituals. There are occasions, however, which Father Dolan believes to be inappropriate for the combined rituals. In these cases, the rituals of Catholicism are considered insufficient for the requirements of the occasion and Father Dolan defers to the shamans. One such instance is the reburial on sacred land of the remains of long dead Tohono O'odham recently released from the museum vaults of the University of Arizona. Father Dolan feels that, since the deceased never even heard of Catholocism, a Catholic funeral would be insulting and absurd.

Father Dolan tells of other Catholic missions on other reservations that have forbidden the use of American Indian rituals. It is not surprising that few people on the reservations are interested in even giving Catholicism a chance. These missions experienced little success. Father Dolan believes that a people cannot be deprived of its rituals. Nothing gives anyone that right. So important is ritual that Father Dolan sees life off of the Tohono O'odham Reservation to be searching for and creating its own rituals.

Because we lack ritual, Father Dolan believes that we develop ritual in unhealthy ways. He cites the rise of gangs and their accompanying violence as an example of unhealthy ritual. He encourages the creation or reclamation of healthy, life affirming ritual

because, in his opinion, we need ritual if we are to even come close to the harmony in which the Tohono O'odham have lived for centuries (Dolan, Interview, 1994).

Steven M. Silver and John P. Wilson studied the use of American Indian healing ceremonies in the treatment of trauma survivors. The non-Indian mental health profession, with its emphasis on quantifiable, standardized research methods, often lacks the spiritual resources necessary for healing the wounds of trauma. 'Unless it can be stated in hard data terms, there is a reluctance to become involved in such soft and nebulous areas as religion' (Silver & Wilson, 1988, p. 339). Because of its need for data and empirical evidence, the scientific community has largely ignored the healing rituals of the American Indian. Beyond its hard data orientation, it is probably not surprising that the rituals of the American Indian were ignored because they had been suppressed for years by deliberate federal policy (Silver & Wilson, 1988, p. 344).

Recently, however, these healing rituals have come out of hiding. This has been primarily in response to the traumatization suffered by American Indians serving in the Vietnam War. While the majority of non-Indian returning veterans were being humiliated and abandoned by a self-righteous mainstream society, many American Indian veterans were quietly returning to their reservations and to the ancient healing ceremonies of their tribes. Long cognizant of the role of warrior, these rituals recognized the need to reintegrate the veterans into the tribe but also recognized the fact that they could not return to their previous status as though nothing had happened. By ritualizing common trauma reactions, the power of the trauma and its accompanying reactions are reduced by reframing and suggestion.

> Along with giving the warrior psychological support
> through formal purification, he assumed a new position
> within the tribe based on wisdom gained through experience.
> This provides the tribe a social and political structure in
> which to use warriors as leaders. This is a recognition of
> the acceleration of development that often accompanies
> exposure to massive trauma. Survivors typically have to

> deal with issues of life and death most people do not have
> to consider until later in life. There is wisdom in survivorship
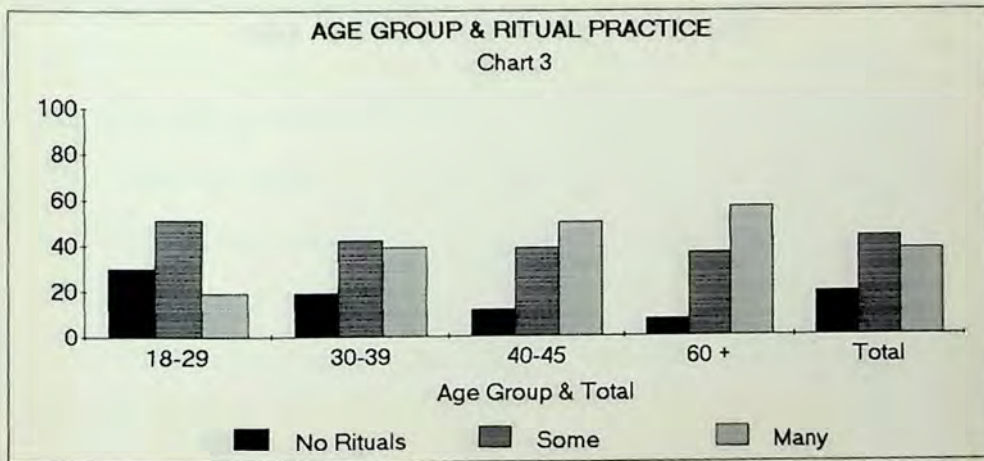> worth salvaging (Silver & Wilson, 1988, p. 345).

No warrior has returned home from battle so unsuccessfully as did those warriors returning from Vietnam. It seems that this society had little to offer its warriors. A great many of those warriors are still suffering the effects of the trauma they survived. The mental health professions have recently begun looking at the healing rituals of the American Indian and their efficacy and applicability in treating Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, especially for war veterans. These rituals possess physical, psychological, group oriented, and spiritual dimensions that are especially useful in the treatment of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (Silver & Wilson, 1988, p. 347).

The fires that recently devastated so many and so much in Southern California left many yearning for a way to rebuild and reclaim their lives and the harmony they may have once known or at least yearned to know. For some, this was accomplished early one Saturday morning on the blackened slopes of Cold Creek Preserve. There about two dozen people gathered to participate in a Chumash ceremony of renewal. None of the participants was American Indian. All of the participants were residents of the nearby canyons and felt the need to formalize the beginning of their healing with ritual. Finding no such rituals in their own cultures, they turned to the ritual rich Chumash Nation for meaning and strength and renewal (Leovy, 1993, p. B1).

Judaism, too, is ritual rich. To practice Judaism is to practice the rituals of Judaism. It is difficult to imagine any aspect of Jewish observance that does not involve ritual and the symbols which accompany that ritual. Recently, however, Jewish demographers have indicated that both the practice of ritual and the level of Jewish observance in this country have diminished. Many explanations are presented to account for this decline: As Jews assimilate into American society their religious practices also change. The denominational identification of American Jews has shifted. This country is

experiencing a general decline in religiosity and Judaism is not excluded from this diminution of religious observation (Goldscheider, 1986, p. 152).

The most urgent concern for the American Jewish community is not the disappearance of its rituals but the disappearance of American Jewry. Judaism without rituals, it is feared, would not be Judaism. Studies seeking to ascertain the state of Judaism in America look almost immediately to an evaluation of the ritual practices of Judaism. Such an evaluation would examine the differences and degrees of ritual practice between Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Jews, between age cohorts, between men and women, between the various fields of employment, between various levels of education, and between various economic levels. Chart 3 utilizes data from a 1975 survey of Jewish ritual practice (Goldscheider, 1986, p. 155).

AGE GROUP & RITUAL PRACTICE
Chart 3

Clearly, ritual observance in American Jews has not completely disappeared. However, the percentage of people in each age cohort who practice many rituals declines as the cohort age declines. Conversely, the percentage of people in each age cohort who practice no rituals increases as the cohort age decreases. Three assumptions can be immediately drawn from this rudimentary appraisal of ritual practice: [1] If ritual practice continues to diminish at the rate indicated in Chart 3, few Jews will be practicing any type of Jewish ritual in another twenty years. [2] Jewish rituals are losing their meaning. [3]

Younger Jews are practicing non-traditional rituals. Proving or disproving these assumptions would be a separate project in itself. Suffice it to say, however, that whether or not the members of a group practice the rituals of that group indicates in large part the viability of the group.

Rabbi Hoffman sees ritual as essentially the experience of pattern (Hoffman, 1988, p. 266). The content of a ritual is in large part an affirmation of the values of those practicing the ritual. Through our rituals we form patterns of the world and of our places in the world. The world makes sense to us. Because we have patterns we see the balance between the whole and the individual pieces. Religious rites of passage, for example, affirm the continuity of life despite the obvious reality that we all die. Such rituals affirming a larger on-going life help us navigate the step by step journey from the cradle to the grave (Hoffman, 1988, p. 159).

Without our rituals, life can feel terrifying and out of control. Rituals can organize time for us in a sacred manner during which we can feel soothed and life can seem less chaotic. Without our rituals we lose sense of where we fit in the scheme of life on this planet. Without our rituals the patterns of life can become undifferentiated shapes. Without our rituals we become isolated and alienated from all that sustains us.

The current decline in the practice of Jewish rituals sounds an alarm for the future of American Judaism. The alarm, while not yet a death knoll, is an alert that the old rituals are either no longer working or are no longer sufficient.

> ...the definition of Jewish ideology which motivated and gave direction to American Jews of the post-World War II generation cannot be counted on to sustain the next generations. This ideology was grounded in three core elements: Israel, Holocaust, and ethnicity, none of which has the same appeal to today's American Jews as they did for their parents and grandparents. ...This generation is disenchanted with ethnicity as the chief determinant of their Jewishness. ...What appears to be missing for this educated, 'choosing' generation is a

> Jewishness which has something to say about spirituality,
> about meaning, about transcendence. ...today's Jews are
> in quest of Jewish ideology which affords them with ideas
> and values which might give them direction in how to live
> their lives as Jews who also want to be part of a
> sophisticated, modern American society.
> (Reisman, 1991, p. 8).

The rituals of Judaism are intact. However, if fewer Jews are practicing them, something is malfunctioning in the ritual circuit. The messages of the rituals aren't getting through. It would be too easy to blame modern Judaism and modern Jews for this breakdown of ritual functioning. However, Rabbi Hoffman does not see this as anything close to solving the problem. If the experience we call worship isn't happening, the problem is systemic (Hoffman, 1988, p. 67). Somewhere the communication of Judaism is malfunctioning. Our rituals are not communicating their original intents. This weakening of our ritualistic structure gives solemn credence to John Hollander's statement that "... the Book of the People of the Book is in tatters" (Hollander, 1978, p. 37).

IV. VOICES OF ANGER

In a concentration camp, one evening after work, a rabbi called together three of his colleagues and convoked a special court. Standing with his head held high before them, he spoke as follows: "I intend to convict God of murder, for He is destroying His people and the Law He gave them from Mount Sinai. I have irrefutable proof in my hands. Judge without fear or sorrow, or prejudice. ..."
The trial proceeded in due legal form, with witnesses for both sides and with pleas and deliberations.
The unanimous verdict: "Guilty."

(Wiesel, 1966, p. 197)

Anger is not a thing. It cannot be packaged or invested or wasted or saved. It can be suppressed or expressed. Anger evaluates power. When we gain power and others lose power, we are rarely angry. When we lose power and others gain power we are often angry. Our anger can hinder us. Our anger can empower us.

Daily newspapers throughout the country contain front page accounts of expressions of anger. A man upset with the treatment he received from a receptionist stands in a parking lot and fires a rifle at an office building. A disgruntled postal employee turns a Post Office into a death house. Unhappy with a jury's verdict, angry citizens set fire to their own city. In the American workplace violence, not industrial hazard, has become the number one cause of death.

> America has been hard at work in the past 10 days, and here is what happened: a Federal Express pilot took a claw hammer and attacked three others in the cockpit, forcing one of them to put the fully loaded DC-10 cargo plane through a series of violent rolls and nose dives in a melee that brought the whole crew back bleeding. A purchasing manager in suburban Chicago stabbed his

boss to death because, police say, they couldn't agree on
how to handle some paperwork. And a technician who
quit because he had trouble working for a women sneaked
back inside his fiber optics laboratory, pulled out a 9-mm
Glock semiautomatic pistol and started firing at workers,
who ducked or fled or curled up in closets and file cabinets.
By the time he finished the job, two were dead and two
were injured. He then walked upstairs to an office and shot
himself in the head (Toufexis, 1994, p. 35)..

These expressions of anger are dramatic and destructive but not beyond the range

of expectable human behavior. We live with these destructive expressions of anger every

day. Every day we also die from them. We become terrified of our own anger and of the

anger of the people around us. We dread feelings of anger and we dread expressions of

anger. We suppress our expressions of anger but expressed or not the anger remains.

Pierce, Nichols & DuBrin believe that this culture teaches us how to suppress our

anger. Thus anger is experienced everywhere all of the time and is suppressed everywhere

all of the time. Society frequently demands that we not express our anger. If an angry

child, for example, begins yelling in the supermarket the child's parents are likely to

become extremely embarrassed. Our culture tells us that people selecting food do not like

to hear the sound of an angry child. They do not like to see the sight of an angry child.

They feel uncomfortable. The parents of the angry child think that the other shoppers

consider them to be inept parents. They may try to forcibly stop the child from yelling by

putting their hands over the child's mouth. They may try to control the child's behavior by

blocking or distorting his or her feelings. They may offer the child candy or remind him or

her of a special treat for being 'good'. Anything, it seems, is better than acknowledging

that their child is feeling angry and is expressing those feelings. The parents may even

punish the child for expressing anger. The parents are perhaps so estranged from their

own feelings that they cannot tolerate the feelings and the expression of those feelings in

their child. Thus the parents play a role in the emotional blunting of their children.

Children who are punished or ignored when they express their anger learn to conceal and

submerge their feelings until eventually they do not even recognize them. Parents and society teach children that their feelings and impulses are not acceptable. The children internalize these lessons and soon see themselves as also being unacceptable.

We learn emotional suppression from our culture. We constantly adapt our inner lives to the socially appropriate. John Murray Cuddihy refers to this tension between the individual instinct and the social expectation an 'ordeal of civility'. Cuddihy feels that civil behavior requires the bifurcation of private affect from public demeanor. We daily undergo the processes of modernization, civilization and assimilation. These processes and our responses to them constitute the 'price of admission' to society (Cuddihy, 1974, p. 13). We also learn a mystifying web of rules pertaining to, should we break the first and primary rule of not expressing our anger, what degrees of anger can be expressed, how the anger can be expressed, and when it can be expressed. At practically all costs, though, we will try to suppress our feelings of anger. Unable to do so, we express our feelings but label them something other than anger. Mislabels for anger include such physical condition labels as illness, fatigue, worry, or argumentativeness. We can also mislabel anger with appetite labels such as hunger or sexual desire. Since the concept of feeling can be used in conjunction with anger or with the mislabels for anger, even our language conspires against us in the mystification of our feelings of anger and our expressions of those feelings (Pierce, Nichols & DuBrin, 1983, p. 1-3).

Healthy functioning can become compromised by the repression of emotions. The natural human response to distressing events is spontaneous emotional catharsis or discharge. Socialization in our culture blocks this natural process of recovery by placing taboos on the direct expression and discharge of feelings. We are told that big boys don't cry. We are told that we shouldn't feel bad. We are told to not be angry. We are taught not to discharge feelings. Since we can't feel or express what we really are feeling, we turn anger into something else. We feel sad. We lash out. The discharge of feelings can be mistakenly identified with the pain that caused the feelings. However, the discharge of

the pain is not the actual pain. Tears are not the grief but a way of expressing and recovering from emotional pain. When we cannot or do not express out feelings we interfere with life affirming thinking and functioning (Pierce, Nichols & DuBrin, 1983, p. 39).

The notion of catharsis as a method of expressing anger frequently receives considerable attention. This notion has its roots in ancient drama, ritual, and healing ceremonies. Catharsis is not the stimulation of feelings but rather the uncovering of dormant feelings. These dormant feelings can be uncovered by relaxing psychological defenses. Catharsis does not get rid of feelings but allows them to be experienced and expressed. (Nichols & Zax, 1977, p. 97). For Pierce, Nichols & DuBrin catharsis is the completion of an interrupted emotional action sequence. It is remembering something with feeling and then expressing those feelings because expressing feelings is part of what is meant by having feelings. Catharsis involves remembering something with feeling and vigorously carrying out the bodily actions that express that feeling. It can be useful because it helps people reevaluate early painful experiences and view them more accurately. It also helps change maladaptive habits of emotional restraint. If we do not face the reality of the past we cannot let go of the past. If we fail to acknowledge and express our feelings, we cannot take hold of the present (Nichols & Zax, 1977, p. 6). By expanding our capacity to feel, we automatically make it easier to take hold of our lives.

Feelings help us to experience and negotiate the world. They are a signal of our needs and impulses. They are an incentive motivating us to gratify those needs and impulses (Nichols & Zax, 1977, p. 22). Symptoms are not caused by what we feel but by what we do not allow ourselves to feel. Catharsis can, for some people, be a vehicle for rallying our defenses and avoiding the symptoms of unexpressed emotion (Nichols & Zax, 1977, p. 42). Acknowledging our feelings of anger, then, helps us to acknowledge other feelings which in turn can help us function more effectively. Expressing our anger in life affirming manners motivates us to tend to our needs. Still, however, anger is an emotion

of terror. We are terrified when we see it expressed by others and we are terrified when we feel it in ourselves. We try to separate ourselves from angry people. We try through denial or suppression to separate ourselves from our feelings when we are angry. We isolate ourselves. We alienate ourselves. And as fewer of our needs are met we become increasingly angry. As we become more angry we become more frightened because we feel our aloneness. When we feel alone, we yearn for the community which tells us to stand apart. And so we live in this ever increasingly tighter spiral of defeat and negation and frustration.

Exceptions to this seemingly hopeless cycle present themselves with great infrequency but nevertheless frequently enough to remind us that the power of anger can be put to life affirming uses. In the past quarter century, for example, the world has been changed for the better by a very few very angry individuals. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. had a dream and began the Civil Rights Movement in this country. Vaclav Havel, after spending years in a Communist prison, became President of Czechoslovakia when the Soviet tide receded. Betty Friedan wrote The Feminine Mystique and started a revolution that changed the culture of this country. Lech Walesa took Poland on strike for democracy. Wei Jingsheng in China in 1979 was sentenced to fifteen years in jail for leading the Democracy Wall movement. Nelson Mandela, after serving twenty-six years in prison for his political activism, ended Apartheid. Chai Ling in 1989 led the protests in Tiananmen Square, China.

Unfortunately, not every positive use of anger appears in newspaper headlines. However, each time we use anger in life affirming ways, the repair of the world moves a little closer to completion. Dai R. Thompson is an attorney who advocates for people with disabilities. She, herself, is disabled. Her name has never appeared in the headlines of major newspapers. Her words are not quoted in national publications. These, however, are her words: "Anger is not a pretty emotion. ... But anger is real. And it is strong. It can immobilize. It can twist a person's life into a warped mess completely out

of touch with reality. It can turn inward, leading to severe depression and even suicide. On the other hand, anger can be a major force behind an individual's desire to accomplish. ... Anger is, then, a part of our lives (Thompson, 1985, p. 78).

The seemingly trite saying that when the going gets tough the tough get going is actually a fairly accurate assessment of the mobilization power of anger. When the power shifts, when we lose power, we can deny our anger and feel, instead, sad or depressed or even oppressed. Denying our anger can maintain our connection to the possessor of power, whether that be a person or an organization. If what we need and want is the almost symbiotic aspect of that connection, we may be willing to pay the price of sadness, depression, or oppression. On the other hand, we can choose to express our anger creatively and appropriately and thus claim our autonomy. This can be frightening. When we express anger we stand separate from the source of our anger. Standing separate violates our biological and emotional needs to attach. If we are not attached to some significant object [person] we feel a terrifying sense of alienation and we feel a devastating loss of attachment.

SURVIVOR RAGE

Several studies of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in survivors of the Holocaust have pointed to the need for the recognition and expression of their anger. While they were in the camps, the survivors had to contain their rage. To exhibit anger toward the SS was to die. Once liberated, the effects of the trauma endured by the survivors rendered them incapable of adequately dealing with their anger. Beyond the impact of their trauma, survivors who formed families could not express their Holocaust related anger because anger is generally seen as a threat to the cohesion and stability of the family system. When the rules are violated, so is the loyalty to the family, and fear and guilt may result. Thus the survivor and the family engage in various conflict avoiding maneuvers to maintain its homeostasis (Perel & Saul, 1989, p. 142). Since there are few direct and normal

expressions of anger in survivor families, they may resort to indirect outlets such as somatization and other symptomatic behaviors (Perel & Saul, 1989, p. 143). Rage, according to Robert Krell, is the dominant emotion of the survivor. Unresolved, this rage becomes an impediment to healing the trauma of the Holocaust. It seems almost virtuous to feed righteous indignation and treasonous to stop the rage. Krell suggests that the recognition and expression of this rage beyond comprehension, properly directed, is itself healing (Krell, 1989, p. 218-219).

BUREAUCRATIC RAGE

Bensman and Rosenberg address issues of anger in those monoliths to power we call bureaucracies. People at the lower levels of the bureaucracy have less power than the people at the higher levels. Those on the lower levels want to move up the hierarchy and acquire more power. Those on the upper levels want to keep moving up until they can move up no higher and then they want to maintain their positions of power. Thus, according to Bensman and Rosenberg, a myth exists in almost every bureaucracy which presumes that everyone above the people on a lower level in the hierarchy is incompetent. This myth of higher official incompetency is cherished by those lower officials. The existence of this myth is a rough gauge of the anger that powerless people feel for their ostensibly powerful supervisors (Bensman & Rosenberg, 1960, p. 191).

CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANGER

Life in this country changed forever in 1955 when an angry, young, black minister organized a bus boycott in Birmingham to protest the law which required blacks to sit at the backs of buses. With the success of this boycott, Martin Luther King, Jr., began the Civil Rights Movement which set the tone of an era and which forced political leaders to propose policies (Jansson, 1988, p. 160-161) to remedy the glaring social problems of this country. Americans had a dream that advantages could be given to the disadvantaged and

that the powerless could become powerful. A great many disadvantaged and powerless people who prior to the Birmingham bus boycott thought they had no right to feel anger watched Birmingham blacks win the right to sit anywhere in the bus they liked and these other silent disadvantaged and powerless people, too, became angry. With their anger they found their voices. With their angry voices they began claiming the advantages of power.

Tom Wolfe writes about the mobilizing power of anger in Mau-Mauing The Flak Catchers. Black welfare recipients in San Francisco of the 1960s confront the bureaucratic nightmare by exaggerating their own stereotypes. Mau-Mauing was specific to the black community of San Francisco.

> When anybody other than black people went in for
> mau-mauing, however, they ran into problems, because
> the white man had a different set of fear reflexes for each
> race he was dealing with (Wolfe, 1970, p. 127).

If the Caucasian welfare bureaucrats, for example, felt uncomfortable around black men who wore their hair in the style of famous, militant black men, the men mau-mauing the San Francisco welfare office would look even more militant than the famous militants and behave in a mock confrontational manner. They would appear, in other words, more stereotypical than the stereotypes held by the bureaucrats. The bureaucrats, under normal circumstances frightened by black militants, became even more frightened when confronted by what must have appeared to be their worst fears. Thus those people mau-mauing the welfare office generally received the extra funding or the programs they sought and which they would not have received if they hadn't been expert in mau-mauing the flak catchers.

> Ninety-nine percent of the time whites were in no
> physical danger whatsoever during mau-mauing.
> The brothers understood through and through that
> it was a tactic, a procedure, a game. If you actually
> hurt or endangered somebody at one of these sessions,

you were only cutting yourself off from whatever was
being handed out, the jobs, the money, the influence.
The idea was to terrify but don't touch. The term
mau-mauing itself expressed this game-like quality. It
expressed the put-on side of it. In public you used the
same term the whites used, namely 'confrontation'. The
term mau-mauing was a source of amusement in private.
The term mau-mauing said, 'The white man has a voo-doo
fear of us. Deep down he still thinks we're savages. Right?
So we're going to do that Savage number for him.' It was
like a practical joke at the expense of the white man's
superstitiousness (Wolfe, 1970, p. 149-150).

RAGE AND STIGMA

Glen Davidson, M.D., Ph.D., tells of behavior similar to mau-mauing among the

gypsy population of this country. Currently the chairperson of the Department of Medical

Humanities at Doane College in Crete, Nebraska, Dr. Davidson served several years as the

director of a program for the critically and the terminally ill at the University of Chicago

Medical School where he both practiced and taught. A medical doctor and an

anthropologist, he has studied and written about the nature of mourning cross-culturally.

One day as he pulled into the hospital parking lot, Dr. Davidson noticed that a tent

city had been set up outside the hospital. As soon as he walked onto his unit, he learned

the reason for the tent city. A gypsy prince was dying.

The death of a gypsy is a serious matter, involving much
ritual. If it is known or suspected in advance that a gypsy
is going to die, word of the impending death is spread via
a clandestine communications network to the relatives.
These relatives immediately drop whatever they are doing
and head for the ailing gypsy's bedside. Thus, at the time
of a gypsy's death, there may be several hundred other
gypsies present (McLaughlin, 1980, p. 30).

Dr. Davidson became fascinated by the behavior of the immediate and extended

family of the dying prince. The waiting area near the dying prince's room was continually

occupied by gypsies. When only gypsies were in the waiting area, their behavior was not

note worthy. They visited quietly among themselves. They watched television. They drank coffee. However, on those occasions when non-gypsies were also in the waiting area, the behavior of the gypsies changed dramatically. They became exaggerated stereotypes of themselves. Gypsy men looked leeringly at non-gypsy women. Gypsy women stared with obvious hunger at the purses of non-gypsy women. Gypsy children made exaggerated searches of each other's hair for head lice. Within a short period of time, their worst gypsy fears having been realized, the non-gypsies would leave the waiting area to find more comfortable places to wait. The minute the area resumed its gypsy homogeneity, according to Dr. Davidson, the gypsies stopped being stereotypically frightening and offensive and returned to their non-note worthy behavior. The cycle was repeated each time non-gypsies began to gather in the waiting area.

Gypsy culture is maintained through strict boundaries separating the gypsy from the 'gajo' [non-gypsy] world. These boundaries are maintained in part by an assortment of rituals which guide the gypsy through his or her life. One area of ritual concern, for example, is the purity of the human body.

> The one thing I always do...I'm strict...is to wash my
> face and take care of my razor right. If there isn't a face
> towel, I use my children's T shirt. Sometimes when the
> soap falls out on the floor and I don't have any more, I
> look at it and it's hard [to refrain from picking the soap
> up], but like the razor falling on the floor or being used
> for something else [than the intended ritual use], I can
> always tell if it's 'marime' [defiled]. I break out in a rash.
> (Miller, 1975, p. 42).

Not only do gypsy rituals guide the gypsy through his or her daily relationships with self and community, they also guide all interactions between gypsy and non-gypsy. With few exceptions, the only reasons for a gypsy to establish relations with the non-gypsy world are economic or political (Sutherland, 1975, p. 20). The observances of the rituals and the maintenance of the boundaries of gypsy life keep gypsy culture alive. It is essential to the survival of the culture that the social order of the gypsy be maintained.

If the boundaries are crossed, those who violate the 'romania' [the moral codes and traditions] face harsh sanctions. They may even be cast out from the community either temporarily or permanently (Tyrner-Stastny, 1977, p. 11). The gypsies observed by Dr. Davidson, therefore, obviously had to make the 'gajo' so uncomfortable that they would leave the waiting area. They had to protect the solidarity and separateness of their culture. To do otherwise would be to violate the 'romania' essential for cultural survival.

Dr. Davidson sees the behavior of the dying gypsy prince's family representative of ways in which persecuted people empower themselves. In this particular case, as in the case of mau-mauing the San Francisco welfare department, a stigmatized people used the very things for which they are stigmatized to their advantage. They turned stigma into strength. In both Chicago and San Francisco a stigmatized minority expressed anger in a manner that ridiculed the majority and empowered the minority (Davidson, Interview, 1994).

WOMEN AND ANGER

Among those silent, powerless, disadvantaged groups who became angry during the Civil Rights Movement were women. Women in the 1960s had much about which to feel angry. Having been written out of history, they wanted in. Having been brought to this new Colonial America as servants, slaves, and purchased wives (Abramovitz, 1988, p. 55), they wanted freedom. Having been regulated by the laws of this country and of all other countries throughout history into dependency on men, they wanted their rights to equal citizenship. The basic problem for women, according to Riane Eisler, was that ...

> ... in male-dominated societies there are two fundamental
> obstacles to formulating and implementing the kinds of
> policies that could effectively deal with our mounting global
> problems. The first obstacles is that the models of reality
> required to maintain male dominance require that all matters
> relating to no less than half of humanity be ignored or trivialized.
> This monumental exclusion of data is an omission of such

magnitude that, in any other context, scientists would immediately pounce upon it as a fatal methodological flaw. But even when this first obstacle is somehow overcome and policymakers are provided with complete and unbiased data, a second and even more fundamental obstacle remains. This is that the first policy priority in a male-dominated system has to be the preservation of male dominance. Hence, policies that would weaken male dominance--and most policies that offer any hope for the human future will--cannot be implemented (Eisler, 1987, p. 179).

Women, Religion And Anger

One particular focus of women's anger was religion, an arena in which women had been silenced for millennia. The feminists of the 1960s received excellent modeling for expressing anger toward religion. In 1885 the American suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton formed a committee of women to revise the Bible. She was outraged by how much the Bible degraded women and wanted people to know about the Bible's treatment of women. She and her revising committee began working on "The Woman's Bible." Stanton's anger went beyond Biblical concerns, however. She felt that society used the Bible as an authority to justify the unequal treatment of women in society. The Mosaic code, according to Stanton, is responsible for the religious customs of our own day and generation and therefore is responsible for a great many of the injustices in society. For example, Stanton observed that church property is exempt from taxation while the smallest house and lot of every poor widow is taxed at its full value. Her main objective in revising the Bible was to undermine Biblical authority by pointing out absurdities, contradictions, and misinterpretations (Goldenberg, 1979, p. 10-12).

According to Rosemary Radford Ruether, women found their power in the very texts from which they had been excluded. A feminist, a humanist, interpretation of text speaks of the need to pursue social justice and to restore equality to all people.

> The hopes for a new age of peace and justice constituted the meaning of redemption most central to prophetic Judaism. In Hebrew Scripture, these hopes are not generally thought of 'eschatologically' that is as a fulfillment in an eternal time beyond history but historically as a

redemption that takes place in a future time within the limits
of creaturely mortality. One of the most striking expressions
of this struggle for a just society is the laws of Jubilee in
Leviticus 25. Such laws mandate a periodic social revolution.
The normative social order commanded by God is seen as
that of an egalitarian society of free small landholders.
Ideally no one should be enslaved to another. No one should
have to sell her or his self or property for debt and pass into
a serf status. However, the laws recognize that there is a
continual drift toward alienation of society and land. Some
get rich and others poor and so people lose their land and
their freedom. Thus periodically every fifty years there
should be a restoration of society to the ideal norm. Those
who have been enslaved will be released. Those who have
lost their land will be able to redeem it. This is a very
important idea because it recognizes that redemption [a term
based on ransoming a slave] is not simply spiritual or
eschatological nor does it refer simply to some total new
age at the end of history. Rather, it is a continuous process
that needs to be done over and over again, within history.
In Isaiah we see all the Hebrew hopes for redemption
summed up in an ideal vision...Redeemed life is seen not as
immortal life but rather as the fulfillment of human life within
its proper finite limits (Ruether, 1985, p. 196).

Modern feminists have continued Elizabeth Cady Stanton's reclamation of text and
tradition. Naomi R. Goldenberg feels that when feminists succeed in changing the position
of women in Christianity and Judaism, they will shake these religions at their roots. She
sees this change beginning with a feminization of the symbols and images of both
Christianity and Judaism. For her, the nature of a religion lies in the nature of the symbols
and images it exalts in ritual and doctrine. The symbols and images have been masculine.
The language of God has created a masculine God. The concept of Christ is masculine. It
is these psychic pictures of "... Christ and Yahweh that inspire the loves, the hates and the
behavior patterns of Christians and Jews" (Goldenberg, 1979, p. 5). Changing the psychic
pictures of a religion begins with the symbols of that religion. Goldenberg believes that
God the Father has been responsible for keeping huge portions of the human community
stupid (Goldenberg, 1979, p. 26).

Women, Judaism And Anger

Our history tells us that women did not play an active part in the development of rabbinic Judaism. They were granted no significant role in Jewish religious life. Rabbinic Judaism's definition of women, according to Judith Baskin, shares many of the same characteristics that are found in other conservative societies. In Judaism, as elsewhere, women are not considered to be inferior to men but are instead so different from men that, naturally, the same rules and expectations could not possibly apply to both men and women.. Men are, according to the ancient and wise men of our tradition, unblemished. Because of their elevated states of purity, men and men only are worthy of serving God fully. In rabbinic Judaism, no woman is deemed capable of any direct experience of the divine (Baskin, 1985, p. 3).

The historical function of women in Judaism as well as in most other cultures was to fulfill their numerous household and family obligations, to provide a loving and supportive atmosphere within the home, and to realize their spiritual potential through the merits of their fathers or husbands. As long as they fulfilled these expectations women were revered and honored. Rabbinic literature often praises the supportive, resourceful and self sacrificing wife. So high was the esteem held for women that laws were passed to protect their physical and emotional needs. Despite the fact that those ancient laws were written by men and reflected their assessment of what was appropriate for women, this passing of laws to protect women was revolutionary.

All assessments by men of the needs of women, all determinations by men of what is good for women and what is not good for women hinges on the needs of the men doing the assessing and the determining to keep women subordinate to men. In Biblical courts of law women were unacceptable witnesses. Women were assigned to the same category as slaves and children. In terms of observance, women were exempt from most regular religious obligations especially those bound to be performed communally at specified times including study. In essence, all the important ways in which Judaism defined what it

meant to be a Jew were either partially or completely closed to women (Baskin, 1985, p. 5).

Having been written out of their cultural and religious histories and having been denied equal participation in their religious rituals, it is not surprising that Jewish women led the early feminist movement in this country. Jewish women, like a great many other women, were furious. Even though Ellen Umansky does not see the involvement of Jewish women in the feminist movement as having stemmed from an intrinsically Jewish commitment to women's equality, during the 1960s and 1970s women not only voiced their anger at American society but at American Judaism as well. Women began demanding equal opportunity to pray in their congregations and to lead their congregations in prayer as either lay members of their congregations or as the rabbis of those congregations. Some began to develop prayers and rituals to express their own senses of spirituality. Jewish women led the feminist movement, according to Umansky, because the notion that every Jew has a responsibility as a Jew to fight injustice mandated that they do so. Women saw their situations in society and in Judaism as unjust and therefore no longer acceptable (Umansky, 1985, p. 478).

Women, Disabilities And Anger

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 protected physically disabled people from discrimination. Section 504 of the act states in part that

> ... no otherwise qualified handicapped individual ...
> shall ... be excluded from participating in, be denied
> the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under
> any program of activity receiving federa assistance.
> (Bowe, 1980, p. 59).

This act, like all social change, was passed not because people not physically disabled noticed that society was stigmatizing and discriminating against people who were physically disabled. This act was passed because wheelchair bound people could no longer tolerate being unable to enter public buildings or even cross streets because they

couldn't get up the stairs or the sidewalk curbs. It was passed because people with physical disabilities became furious that jobs for which they were eminently qualified were given to less qualified people without physical disabilities. It was passed because disabled people articulated their rage and changed the way the government of this country and the people of this country look at and treat the disabled.

If the ludicrous fact that such legislation had to be passed at all can be ignored, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was an historic piece of legislation. It and the resultant associated lawsuits, led to massive efforts to make buildings, public transportation, and jobs available to handicapped persons (Jansson, 1988, p. 187). People with disabilities were given judicial permission to feel angry not about their disabilities but about the way society treated them because of their disabilities.

Women with disabilities joined the voices of outrage. Their rage, however, was multi-faceted. They were angry because society had treated them as inferior and less than human because of their physical disabilities. They were also angry because, even without their disabilities, society had assigned them to a secondary status because they were women. In 1985 three disabled women in San Francisco gave voice to the rage of disabled women throughout the country. With their award winning anthology they hoped to " ... bridge the gap that separates disabled women from one another and from the non-disabled world. This book is a tool we can use to examine and challenge our able-ism without defending it, and to demystify disability and the lives of disabled women (Browne, Connors & Stern, 1985, p. 10-11). The writings included in the anthology confront an inaccessible society. And they express healing anger at that inaccessible society.

"Tale of a Pretty Woman" by Cheryl Wade typifies the powerful and empowering rage of the contributors to the Browne, Conners and Stern anthology.

> She awoke one morning with her right foot gone. Not
> actually gone from sight, just not there when she stood on
> it. 'Oh, what am I to do without a foot?' she wailed. 'I
> have never been able to endure looking at poor creatures

who hobble -- they depress me so. Besides I am far too
pretty to be hobbled.' She was truly miserable and wept
and wept at the injustice of life -- that such beauty should
be tainted.
Of course she could have saved her tears for God did not
mean for her to be so miserable. He agreed she was,
indeed, far too pretty to suffer such a fate, so He performed
one of the many delightful miracles that has kept Him so
popular with so many for so long. The very next morning
she awoke to find her left foot gone to match the right.
Attempting to arise from her bed she fell flat on her face on
the floor, splattering her delicate nose from ear to ear and
although she was now more hobbled than ever it mattered
not half as much. And such be the glory of the Lord. Amen.
(Wade, 1985, p. 268).

GAY WOMEN AND ANGER

Two gay friends, Hattie Mae Cohens and Brian Mock, shared an apartment in
Salem, Oregon. Despite constant harassment from their homophobic neighbors, Hattie
and Brian tried to be friendly and live their lives in peace. In the summer of 1993 a fire
bomb was thrown through their apartment window. Both Hattie and Brian burned to
death. The rage felt at this senseless killing swept through the gay community of this
country. Many groups were formed to protest the killings. One such group was formed
by gay women in New York City to voice their protest. They call themselves The Lesbian
Avengers. They are angry. They are furious. However, they refuse to even consider
retaliating by throwing fire at those who threw fire. Instead, they stand on the street
corners of New York City and eat fire. Their slogan is: "The fire will not consume us.
We take it and make it our own" (Fire Eating, 1994). Seldom, if ever, can a more
dramatic expression of anger and protest be found.

ANGER AT GOD

God is famous for, among other things, having a temper. People are destroyed,
cities are destroyed, worlds are destroyed because God feels angry. Often God's creations
seem powerless in the face of this Divine wrath. We appear to have no voice when in the
presence of our angry God.

Historically, however, this has not been the case. We do have and have had very strong, very powerful voices. Biblical Judaism models for us numerous expressions of anger at God. While our society may not even empower us to be angry with each other much less to express that anger, our Biblical ancestors frequently feel angry at God and frequently challenge God.

Abraham, in the first Jewish argument with God, calls God to task regarding the Divine plan to destroy the people of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis. 18:23-32). Abraham doesn't win the argument. God, in the end, does destroy the two cities. However, Abraham persuades God to look for at least ten righteous people before killing everyone living in either city. The degree of success Abraham does achieve, or perhaps the degree of success Abraham is allowed to achieve, in this first confrontation with the Holy One gives permission for the generations following Abraham to express anger at God.

Anson Laytner rhetorically asks what gave Abraham the right to question God's judgment. Laytner answers his own question with two reasons for Abraham's empowerment. First, God's Covenant gave him the right. With the Covenant, all Jews are guaranteed a unique relationship with God. God and man jointly assume responsibility to pursue justice and righteousness. The Covenant and the resultant partnership between God and man gives Abraham and the generations after Abraham the right to dissent and even to protest against any apparent abrogation of its terms by God. God has equal right to express anger over any abrogation of the terms of the Covenant by man. Laytner's second reason results from the first. Abraham feels angry that God would even consider destroying two cities because of an assumption that all the inhabitants were wicked. God remembers Abraham's arguments and spares Lot and his family (Genesis 19:29). Laytner notes that in his arguments with God, no indication is given that Abraham fears for his life (Laytner, 1990, p. 6-7). Abraham trusts his place in his partnership with the Divine. Even by modern standards, the relationship between Abraham and God was healthy and whole.

They argued. They felt anger. They trusted. They respected each other. When Abraham argued with God about destroying Sodom and Gemorrah, the relationship between God and the Patriarch became a partnership. The concept of power sharing in a relationship began with this argument (Safire, 1992, p. xiv).

After the failure of his first attempt to free the Children of Israel, Moses furiously confronts God saying, in essence, 'Why bother sending me here if you're going to harm these people. Since I got here to do as you told me to do, things have only gotten worse for these people. And still you haven't delivered them from slavery! (Exodus 5:22-23).

The most moving confrontation between Moses and God comes at the time of the death of Moses. God tells Moses that he will not enter the promised land -- that a glimpse of it is all he will ever have. Moses argues with God and, according to Laytner, the argument is for entering the Promised Land and, at the same time, against dying. (Laytner, 1990, p. 65). Moses desperately wants to cross over the Jordan River into the Promised Land. He feels furious because he is being denied the completion of his life's work. A Midrash tells us that Moses throws a powerful and amazing temper tantrum.

> When Moses realized that God's decree concerning his
> death had been sealed, he drew a circle in the ground,
> stood inside it and declared, 'Lord of the Universe! I
> will not move out of this circle until you repeal the decree.'
> ... God ordered all the gates of heaven to be closed
> against Moses' prayers, and that his supplications should
> not be brought to Him since the decree had been sealed
> for Moses' death. But the cries of the prophet prevailed
> over those orders and like a sword they began to cut their
> way through the heavenly gates. 'Go down quickly,' said
> God to the ministering angels, 'and bolt every gate of all the
> heavens.'
> Moses pleads to God, 'You alone know all the pain and
> suffering which I endured until the people of Israel believed
> in You ... All I want is to see a little of their happiness after
> all the years of pain in the wilderness. Yet You tell me now,
> 'You shall not pass over the Jordan.' Oh, God! In that case
> Your Torah is discredited since Your own law commands the
> employer to pay his hired servant on the day he finishes his

work. Is this my payment from You for forty years of toil trying to make Israel into a holy and faithful nation? ...If you won't let me enter the Land alive, at least let me be brought in dead, like the remains of Joseph.'
God replies, 'Enough! No more!'
When Moses saw that his pleadings were of no avail he turned to the heavens and earth and asked them, 'Intercede for me!' They would not. He asked the sun and the moon, the stars and the planets but they would not speak on his behalf. He asked the mountains and the sea. He appeared before the angel at the heavenly court who asked him why he was going to all '... this trouble when you will achieve nothing. Your prayers will not be heard in this manner.' Moses put his head in his hands and wept.
Finally the heavenly Voice declared, 'Now you must depart from the world.' ..God then spoke to the soul of Moses, saying, 'Precious soul I set a time of one hundred and twenty years for you to be in the body of Moses. Now the time has come for you to depart. Leave his body. Do not wait!. ... I will raise you to the highest heaven and set you down beneath the throne of My glory ...
At that moment God kissed Moses and removed his soul with a kiss. The heavens wept; the earth wept; the ministering angels wept; Israel wept. God wept. And there has not arisen since then a prophet like Moses.
(Bialik & Rawnitzky, 1988, p. 141-147).

Other Biblical confrontations with God may be far less dramatic and moving. However, they do reaffirm the human right to feel angry at God and to express that anger. After waiting years to become pregnant, Hannah speaks to God with bitterness in her soul. She silently argues with God about the injustice of her remaining childless (1 Samuel 1:10-11). It is noteworthy that for years Hannah longed for a child but only after she expresses her anger to God does she conceive and give birth to a son. '... and she called his name Samuel: because I have asked him of the Lord' (1 Samuel 1:20).

The Book of Job tells the story of a righteous man who suffers devastating misfortunes and losses. When the story of Job begins, he has seven sons, three daughters, one wife, seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred oxen and five

hundred she-asses. By the end of the first chapter, the sons, the daughters, the sheep, the camels, the oxen, and the she-asses have either been stolen or are dead.

For Leo G. Perdue, the book of Job articulates the quintessential conflict between the Creator and the monster of chaos. The struggle is not Job's but God's. To Perdue this book engages faith, revitalizes tradition, and recreates the world (Perdue, 1991, p. 30-31). The story of Job demonstrates the power of anger and dissent to wear down resistance. With anger and dissent we may not necessarily experience complete victory but we may accomplish compromise (Safire, 1992, p. 44).

When Job could no longer tolerate his misfortunes, he angrily lashed out at God saying, 'Damn the day that I was born! May that day turn to darkness' (Job 3:1-4). His anger, according to Safire, helped Job cling to his sanity. His focus was on more than the injustice of his suffering. He went beyond that and focused his anger on God and on the way God was treating him (Safire, 1992, p. 195). He claimed his right to feel anger.

Chasidic masters argued often with God. They let God know when Divine obligations had not been honored. They accused God as often as they praised God. Rabbi Levi Yitzhak of Berditchev [1740-1809] is perhaps most famous for his rages at the Divine.

> A miraculous tale is told about Levi Yitzhak at the time
> of the fair in Berditchev. Among the farmers and traders
> who came to this fair were many pious Jews and students
> of the Torah. During one unfortunate year all the days of
> the fair passed and they had still not sold their merchandise.
> They went to the rabbi and lamented their lot, for now they
> would not be able to pay their debts.
> The rabbi cried out, 'Master of the World, why do we need
> a livelihood? Only because You chose to put our soul into
> a body that requires food and clothing and housing. If there
> are no buyers, then You should send them angels who
> will buy!'
> The next day, according to the story, a number of men came
> whose destination and origin were unknown and bought up
> all the goods (Dresner, 1974, p. 146).

Rarely did Levi Yitzhak express anger at his followers. Frequently, however, he expressed fury at God because of the sufferings of the Children of Israel. Often while leading his congregation in prayer, Levi Yitzhak would stop praying and stand silent in front of the Holy Ark. Then, after minutes or perhaps hours of silence, he would leave the written text and talk to God as though he and God were in the privacy of Heaven. During these times when he spoke to God in his language and the language of his congregants, Levi Yitzhak would lash out at God for failing to provide, for breaking promises, for not '...following our ways when we have tried to hard to follow Yours' (Dresner, 1974, p. 79).

Our relationship with God has been forever changed by the Holocaust. If, as indicated earlier, a healthy relationship runs the gamut of emotional expression then our relationship with God, if not actually over, is not at this moment healthy. Unable, perhaps, to articulate our anger at God for letting the Holocaust happen we have opted to remove ourselves from the relationship or to at least be far less involved in the relationship than we were before the Holocaust.

Tragically, when one member of a relationship removes himself or herself from the relationship, the relationship ends. God needs us as much as we need God. The Yiddish poet Jacob Glatstein speaks of this interdependence between God and man/woman. Glatstein believes that when the Jewish people is threatened with destruction so, too, is their God. Glatstein in poetry warns God that the very existence of God is at risk.

> If we leave this world
> The light will go out in your tent...
> Now the lifeless skulls
> Add up to millions...
> The memory of you is dimming,
> Your kingdom will soon be over.
> Jewish seed and flower
> Are embers.
> The dew cries in the dead grass!...
> Who will dream you?
> Who will remember you?
> Who deny you?

Who yearn for you?
Who, on a lonely bridge,
Will leave you--in order to return?
The night is endless when a race is dead.
Earth and heaven are wiped bare.
The light is fading in your shabby tent.
The Jewish hour is guttering.
Jewish God!
You are almost gone.   (Glatstein, 1969, p. 331-332)

Anson Laytner believes that we have entrusted our post-Holocaust arguments with God and thus our anger at God to the voices of poets and authors (Laytner, 1990, p. 196). Before the Holocaust the majority of our anger at God was connected in one way or another to the concept of Galut, to our exile from the land of Israel. After the Holocaust Galut has acquired a different meaning. This new sense of Galut has nothing to do with the return of the Jewish people to the land. It has nothing to do with the rebirth of the Jewish state. We have returned to the land. Israel has been reborn. Yet we still wander in the deserts of exile. In our post Holocaust wanderings, however, we have lost the passion of our relationship with the Divine. We no longer feel furious with our God. We no longer feel rapturous with our God. We are, it seems, in exile from our God. Our present state of Galut is of a spiritual nature. We are separated from our God. We are separated from ourselves. We are exiled from the wholeness for which we yearn.

IV. RITUAL AND RAGE

> Dear God: We are gathered here to fulfill Your commandment of Brit Milah. But I find no joy in fulfilling this commandment. I come to You in protest as Abraham did when You told him You were going to destroy S'dom and G'mora. ...Why do I submit my child to this when I have neither the faith in You nor knowledge of You that Abraham did. I submit my child to this because I was raised to believe that Your commandments are given to us for our benefit and that they are righteous and just. I submit him because I dare not stand before the community and say this is senseless cruelty which I will not participate in. I submit him because I hope there is more to this than I can see or understand. God, if You cannot send an angel to stop the mohel, then at least comfort my son as he is submitted to Your command. (Judith Mosenkis, January 1989)

Attachment is essential to physical, psychological and spiritual survival. The behaviors of attachment are innate. We yearn for feelings of connectedness. Not being connected terrifies us. We go to great lengths to maintain our attachments. Sometimes we even remain attached to people, jobs, or organizations that have lost their life affirming qualities. Sometimes we stay in these relationships even though they have become harmful to us. Such is the strength of our need to attach. No other behavior is accompanied by stronger feeling than is attachment behavior.

When the objects of our attachment are denied us, we feel angry. Anger, we know, can be a terrifying emotion because it threatens our attachments. When we feel angry at another person, our anger, if only for a moment, separates us from that person.

Expressing our anger affirms our aloneness. We innately fear alienation and separation. To be human is to have difficulty tolerating feelings of separateness and

aloneness inherent in the experience of anger. We fear separation. Anger is an emotion of separation. Thus to be human is to fear anger.

The rituals of our society and the rituals passed on by our society connect us and hold us and society together. Without our rituals we are left alone to fight our lonely conflicts in isolation. With religion and with ritual, the accouterments of religion, we " ... interrupt the apparent profanity of commonplace activity and, by reaching for the holy, sanctify our lives" (Borowitz, 1984, p. 416).

Our basic biological and psychological human natures urge attachment. Our society urges individualism. We try to attach. We try to be separate. Conditions in society cause us to feel alienated. We feel that we are set adrift from the society for which we yearn but which tells us to be autonomous. We feel angry. Those feelings terrify us because in the moment we feel angry we stand alone. Being alone terrifies us.

This cycle would seem hopeless were it not for the unifying power of ritual. With ritual we connect. With anger we empower ourselves. With anger we separate ourselves. With ritual we once again connect but we connect with renewed power.

Dr. Glen Davidson tells of a gypsy ritual of settling the score one year after a person's death. The ritual takes place in a room large enough to accommodate the participants. Tables are arranged in the room in the shape of the Romanian Orthodox cross. The family and the community of the deceased sit around the table. At the head of the table a chair remains empty, a symbol of the presence in the room of the spirit of the deceased. Each person in turn addresses the empty chair and thus the spirit of the dead person. This ritual is not a ritual of memorial or of comfort. It is a ritual of rage. It is a ritual for confronting the dead with the anger of a lifetime. You cheated me in business, a former partner might say. You lied about me, a friend might say. I hate you for dying, a son or daughter might say. When all participants have spoken, the closest surviving family member [spouse, sibling, son or daughter, mother or father] ends the ritual and is thereby released from either the obligations of matrimony or from the obligations of mourning.

For Dr. Davidson, this ritual makes public what he believes is frequently felt by everyone at times of loss. We are generally furious at the person who has died (Davidson, Interview, 1994). They have left us. We feel abandoned and we feel angry. And, unlike the gypsies, we have no place to put our anger. Dr. Davidson feels that we often turn this unexpressed grief induced anger inward where it feeds on us in the form of guilt (Davidson, 1984, p. 58).

Societies more rooted in the proprieties of mandated civil behavior than are perhaps gypsy societies prescribe rigid behavior codes upon those who are bereaved. We are given permission to weep. We are given permission to feel sad. We are given permission to grieve as long as we maintain our grief within acceptable boundaries. We are not given permission to feel anger at the person we have loved even though we hopefully felt angry at that person many times when he or she was living. Death forbids displeasure. And we the bereaved are afraid to express anger at our loved one whom death has taken from us. Even if society permitted such behavior, we would probably find it difficult to express our rage. To feel and express anger separates us from the person with whom we are angry. When death has already irrevocably separated us from that person, we dare not risk the further separation of feeling and expressing our anger at the person for dying. We feel that we cannot sustain one more separation, one more loss. And so we cling to our anger as though it were our only connection to the person we loved so much and for whom we grieve so profoundly. We are often even hesitant to feel and express our anger at God for allowing death to take our loved one away from us.

The historical and spiritual connection to God lies at the core of Judaism. To separate ourselves from our connectedness with God is to separate us from the essence of our history and the essence of our spirituality. We do feel, and have historically felt, rage toward our God. That rage, however, became ritual. And with ritual we reclaim our connectedness to, our attachment to, our God.

The previously examined anger directed toward God eventually assumed a structure. When 5,000 Jews were killed in the First Crusade, when thousands more were murdered in subsequent Crusades, when one half of the German Jewish population was murdered after the Black Death, when over 70,000 Jews were murdered in Seville, Spain, on June 6, 1391, when the Chmielnitski rebellion in the Ukraine and Poland between 1648 and 1658 obliterated Polish Jewry, when the pogroms of 1768 killed over 100,000 Jews, anger was voiced in the form of poetic protest. Piyyutim of protest have continued to be used into this century voicing outrage at, for example, the massacres in the Ukraine during World War I and the subsequent 1919 massacre of 60,00 Jews by the counterrevolutionary army of Denikin (Laytner, 1990, p. 131-132).

A piyyut of protest is inserted into the liturgy. For example, Brach Dodi [Flee, my Beloved] are piyyutim recited in the Pesach Shacharit preceding Shemoneh Esrei. These poems of protest were composed for insertion on the first and second days of Passover and on Shabbat Chol Hamoed. Each of these poems uses as its first line the last verse of Shir HaShirim, 'Flee, my Beloved.' Each of these poems voices Israel's anger at Exile from God's presence. The author of the following piyut is thought to be Rabbi Shlomo HaBavli of tenth century Italy (Scherman, 1988, p. 710-711).

> Flee, my Beloved, and be like a deer, reveal and bring
> near our appointed time, draw me from captivity to be a
> crown of pride. The abominated covet the cherished
> Mount -- but there is neither leader nor prophet, nor
> Tishbite to resolve and reconcile. Oh take up my
> grievance, remove my guilt and pain, let my enemy see
> and be shamed.

Piyyutim became the expression of the common Jew as well as of the erudite Jew. The piyyutim were written to be used. They were pragmatic forms of protest intended for inclusion in the worship service. With these prayers of protest Jews could angrily confront God for their hardships and for the sufferings of Exile (Laytner, 1990, p. 178).

One of the most moving moments in modern Jewish liturgy occurs once each year with the chanting of the Kol Nidre. For many, this prayer symbolizes the Days of Awe. Jews who do not attend Shabbat services more than occasionally during the year often feel a sense of obligation to hear the Kol Nidre and, having heard it, feel a sense of spiritual gratification and renewal. The beauty of its various melodies perhaps masks the meaning of the Kol Nidre. If it were chanted in English instead of in Hebrew, it is possible that some of the power and majesty of the Kol Nidre would vanish or at least diminish significantly.

> Let all our vows and oaths, all the promises we make and
> the obligations we incur to You, O God, between this
> Yom Kippur and the next, be null and void should we,
> after honest effort, find ourselves unable to fulfill them.
> Then may we be absolved of them. (Stern, 1978, p. 252).

The Kol Nidre originated in the period of the Western Goths. Their kings, Recared, Sisebut, and Chintilla forced entire Jewish communities to convert to Christianity and to be baptized. These Jews, forced to take oaths of conversion to Christianity, secretly gathered each Yom Kippur and whispered the words of the Kol Nidre to relieve themselves of the oaths they were forced to take (Reik, 1946, p. 180).

We stand in awe during the Days of Awe and listen to the chanting of an ancient legal document, to a document of outrage over Jewish torment and martyrdom. Perhaps the power of the Kol Nidre comes from the misery which necessitated the formation of such a legal document. Perhaps when we stand before the open Ark listening to the chanted legalese we hear not words declaring contracts null and void but the anguished cries of tormented souls in which our own anger echoes. Or perhaps when we stand before the open Ark listening to the Kol Nidre we hear only meaningless words sung to a haunting melody. The words, if they are meaningless to those who hear them, lack meaning because the urgency of their creation no longer exists.

The Av Harahamim, said regularly in many congregations as part of the Torah service, is another prayer of outrage. Seeming to contain little anger, it is a prayer which not only expresses rage but which seeks vengeance. Written after the Crusades, it decries the destruction of Jewish cities and the loss of Jewish lives (Hoffman, Interview, 1993). Prayed today, the outrage felt centuries ago pales. Not only can we not connect with the original wrath of the Av Harahamim, it is difficult for us to find a place for our anger within its words.

> Av Harahamim, Source of mercy, let your goodness be
> a blessing to Zion; let Jerusalem be rebuilt. In You alone
> do we trust, O Sovereign God, high and exalted, Creator
> of all the worlds (Stern, 1975, p. 417).

Unfortunately, modern Jews may find it difficult to emotionally connect with the prayers of protest, with the prayers of outrage, so meaningful to earlier generations. We may regularly recite or chant the words of outrage but we have little cognizance of their historical context. And the causes of these ancient historical outrages have only slight similarity to the causes of our present rage.

Even if we can emotionally connect to the ancient agonies which necessitated the formulation of such prayers as the Kol Nidre and the Av Harahamim, it is doubtful that we can find in their words or melodies expressions for the almost inexpressible rage felt when we experience the atrocities of today: When an arsonist burns an entire city with a single match; When a man rapes elderly women and little girls; When a woman betrays her lover and friend. When a savings and loan executive steals millions of dollars from his depositors. Issues such as drive by shootings, the rise in power of neo Nazi and other anti-Semitic groups, AIDS, poverty, gay bashing, or child molestation cannot be addressed by these prayers.

The National Association of Social Workers is beginning to look at the relatively unfamiliar theoretical approach of transpersonal psychology. Concerned with disturbances of the psyche or soul, the emphasis of transpersonal psychology is on spiritual growth and

the transformation of consciousness. Its prime concerns are the search for ultimate values and the legitimation of spiritual practice (Cowley, 1993, p. 527).

> Spiritual health, according to this perspective, comes from spiritual practice. Spiritual practice requires an integration of mind and body, spirit and flesh. Spiritual well-being is considered the epitome of health and is described as an overall sense of personal fulfillment and satisfaction with life, a sense of peace with oneself and the world ... a sense of unity with the cosmos, of a personal closeness to God or with nature (Bloomfield, 1980, p. 125).

Cowley sees the pathologies of this decade and the prevailing forms of suffering in our society to be reflections of the unique relationship between us, our social practices, and our institutions in this time of social and ethical transition. We are, according to Cowley, between two epochs. We are reacting to the 'disjunctiveness' and anomie of the day with the obvious forms of mental illness and social violence but also with a spiritual pathology (Cowley, 1993, p. 528). For Cowley, the spiritual dimension of life can no longer be ignored by the healing professions if those professions are to remain relevant to the social problems of our day. "Whether the evolution of consciousness within individuals or societies takes place in the years ahead will depend to a large degree on the belief systems that shape and guide us" (Cowley, 1993, p. 533).

Where, then, is the forum in our tradition for our anger? Where, within the safe structure of ritual, can we shout at God? Where are the rituals to reunite us with our tradition, with each other, and with ourselves after we have voiced our anger? If, as indicated earlier, the number of Jews who practice Jewish rituals is declining, it may perhaps be at least considered that at the moment there are few forums in our tradition for our anger. We are, for the most part, still mouthing the wrath of past generations.

There is a place in Jewish ritual for our anger. To voice our anger we must draw new meaning from ancient rituals. We must discover ancient rituals which are not incident specific. We must create our own rituals for our own needs. We must modify ancient

rituals to meet our needs and thus express our own rage. Each of these four possibilities can be accomplished and some are, in one form or another, being accomplished.

A ritual specifically for the expression of rage does exist. It is an ancient ritual. It is seldom practiced in modernity. It does not appear in any Siddur. To formally insert this ritual somewhere in the context of a worship service would be to violate both the purpose of the worship service and the purpose of the ritual for expressing anger. This ritual involves interrupting and stopping the service. This ritual is rooted in the medieval European Jewish community. In a time of religious and cultural isolation, the needs of the Jewish individual as well as the needs of the Jewish community were supplied internally by the local kehilla which bound together all Jews who were permanent local residents (Katz, 1971, p. 79). With the ever changing social, economic, and legal status of the Jew in medieval and early modern Europe, this local self-determination, even though often required to legislate for no other reason than to satisfy the often capricious orders of the rulers of the area in which the community was located, provided a certain stability and cohesion for its members. Each community elected officials and passed rules authorizing certain activities while at the same time banning other activities.

Many of these rulings were designed to limit the power of leaders. One example of an accepted form of limiting power was through the institution of interrupting the prayers [ikkuv ha-keri'ah ikkuv ha-tefillah].

> Every citizen, unable to obtain redress through courts,
> could invoke the assistance of the congregation by
> stopping the divine service and preventing its continuation
> until he had aired his grievances against the established
> communal leadership and received or was promised
> satisfaction. In Fürth until 1786 anybody wishing to protest
> communal abuses, such as failure properly to call some
> committee session, was entitled to rise and to interrupt the
> services by calling out *ich klame*. Frequently moral rather
> than strictly legal issues were involved. Even today in
> orthodox congregations of eastern Europe a tenant,
> threatened with eviction by an implacable landlord who is

within his legal rights, may appeal to the landlord's
congregation for moral aid against the enforcement of a
court judgment. In the middle ages, powerful individuals
who succeeded in intimidating recognized leaders often
bowed before public opinion thus aroused.
(Baron, 1945, p. 33).

This practice apparently become so pervasive in some communities that ordinances
were sometimes passed granting Jews the right to interrupt services but only within certain
parameters. It was hoped that then some sort of order could be established to protect the
congregations. One ruling stipulated that, while someone did have the right to stop the
morning or afternoon prayers or the reading of the Torah, this right could not be exercised
until the person had stopped the evening services three times. Another ruling included the
requirement of stopping the evening service three times but then went even further. If the
community had more than one synagogue, the aggrieved person could only stop services
in the synagogue attended by the person accused of committing the injustice. If these
services were stopped three times and the aggrieved person had still not received justice,
the person could then stop services in all synagogues. Baron tells of one congregation in
Cologne in which the prayers were stopped for an entire Shabbat (Baron, 1945, p. 34).

There were exceptions to these strict rules regulating ikkuv ha-keri'ah ikkuv ha-
tefillah. An orphan or a widow or a bereaved mother could interrupt services any time
and as often as necessary until justice had been achieved. This exemption provided a
forum in Russia after the 1827 conscription law for women to stop services and prohibit
further prayer until their anger and grief over the drafting of their sons into the Russian
army had been heard (Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971, p. 1061-1062). Judith Baskin
provides other examples of both women and men interrupting and stopping services to
express their anger.

Women also participated in worship services by disrupting
them. In Modena, when the Torah was taken out of the
ark, women would loudly curse men and ask for vengeance
against those who had slighted them. In 1534 R. Azriel

> Diena wrote a responsim against this practice, stating,
> 'Over his women, every man shall be ruler in his house and
> rebuke his wife.' However, men, too, used the service as an
> arena to air marital grievances, particularly in cases where
> their wives refused to have intercourse with them.
> (Baskin, 1991, p. 139-140).

Rabbi Solomon Freehof notes that the power of this ritual rested in the horror a community would experience if it could not conduct or participate in any single one of a weekday's service. He questions whether such a practice would be as effective today because, for him, there seems to be less piety today than apparently existed when this ritual was both used and abused (Freehof, 1971, p. 84-85). However, Rabbi Freehof seems to have neglected in the rendering of his opinion the power of even one weekly service. Piety is not a mathematical product. Reform congregations which read Torah during Friday evening services would, in all probability, be just as horrified if their service were stopped as were the medieval Jews. There is great power in stopping a synagogue service.

No doubt American Judaism would be quite shocked if ikkuv ha-keri'ah ikkuv ha-tefillah began to be practiced again and in congregations in this country. However, the power of such a ritual is somewhat seductive. If, for example, the board of directors of a synagogue acted unfairly and harmed a member of the congregation, that person could stop services to voice his or her anger. Perhaps with such public accountability congregational boards might at least consider the possibility of modifying behavior sometimes notorious for its lack of propriety and sensitivity.

Each Passover seder repeats a ritual of rage as the door is opened for Elijah.

> Shefoch chamatcha el ha goyim...Pour out Your fury
> on those peoples that do not know You, And over realms
> which do not even call You by Your proper Name; For
> such nations have eaten Jacob alive, Wiping out the places
> where we peaceably lived, Pour out Your wrath upon
> them, let Your burning anger overtake them, Pursue them
> with anger, wipe them out from under the heavens of God.
> (Levy, 1989, p. 96).

These words were inserted into the seder ritual to express the anger felt over the persecution of Jews during the Middle Ages and to request God's vengeance upon the perpetrators of the atrocities against Jews (Glatzer, 1953, p. 76). Rabbi Lawrence Hoffman suggests that this can be used as a springboard for a seder discussion of modern societal atrocities. In addition to expanding this prayer, Rabbi Hoffman also suggests the passing of an empty goblet around the seder table. Each seder guest names a present plague or atrocity and pours wine from his or her glass into the goblet. As we symbolically empty our anger into the goblet being passed from participant to participant, what was originally an empty goblet fills with what once was our anger but what, once expressed, can become symbolic of hope for a wholeness that could not exist when rage was unexpressed (Hoffman, Interview, 1993).

Women, so long voiceless in Judaism, have begun to claim their voices and their anger. The voices are heard in lay and professional leadership and in the creation of new rituals specific to women's issues. They address today's atrocities and express today's rage.

In November, 1989, Laura Levitt was raped. Her friend and her rabbi, Sue Ann Wasserman, created a ritual to acknowledge the violation and to begin the healing.

> When Laura was raped, I wanted to find a way to support her as her friend. As a rabbi, I needed to find a way for Judaism to respond to her. The mikvah seemed to be the most appropriate ritual for several reasons. [1] It was predominantly our foremothers' ritual. [2] It requires the whole body. [3] Its waters flow in and out -- representing continuity and process. [4]. Its waters symbolically flow from Eden, a place of wholeness. [5] The natural waters remind us of the constant intermingling presence of the Creator in our own lives. [6] Finally, water itself is cleansing, supportive, and life sustaining. The task then was to find words that would give this ancient ritual meaning in the context of Laura's experience.
> (Levitt & Wasserman, 1992, p. 321).

The mikvah had not been part of Rabbi Wasserman's background or observance. From her work with Jews by choice, she became convinced of its power to provide '...a meeting place for people and God' (Levitt & Wasserman, 1992, p. 321). Standing at the edge of the mikvah, the women read '...a liturgy that had been created in a day to prepare for a ritual that has existed for centuries' (Levitt & Wasserman, 1992, p. 323).

> ...and I entered the water. In so doing, the violation
> of my Jewish female body was attended to. It was
> neither silenced nor ignored.
> (Levitt & Wasserman, 1992, p. 323).

By reclaiming an ancient ritual, Laura Levitt was able to tend to both her spiritual needs and her physical needs. The waters of the mikvah are not only symbolic of life and renewal and sustenance, they are real. Her entering the waters was a physical reality. The waters symbolized comfort and the waters comforted. The blessings recited connected her to antiquity while addressing her specific need to reaffirm her place in her heritage. Baruch ata Adonai Eloheynu Melech Ha-olam asher kid'shanu, be-mitzvotav vitsivanu al ha'tevilah. Praised are You, Adonai, God of all creation, who sanctifies us with Your commandments and commanded us concerning immersion. Baruch ata Adonai, Eloheynu Melech Ha-olam she-hehiyanu vikiamanu vihigianu lazman hazeh. Blessed are You, Adonai our God, Ruler of the Universe, who kept us alive and preserved us and enabled us to reach this season. May the God whom we call Mikveh Yisrael, and the God who is the source of living waters, be with you now and always (Levitt & Wasserman, 1993, p. 324).

When she created a ritual for the weaning of her son, Joshua Isaac Goldstein, Rabbi Laura Geller asked if she was inventing or remembering.

> Sarah said, 'God has brought me laughter; everyone who
> hears will laugh with me.' And she added, 'Who would
> have said to Abraham that Sarah would suckle children!
> Yet I have borne a son in his old age.' The child grew up
> and was weaned, and Abraham held a great feast on the
> day that Isaac was weaned. (Genesis 21:6-8)

In her ceremony for the weaning of her son, Rabbi Geller observes that the weaning of a child does not happen just once but many times throughout the life of the mother or the life of the child (Geller, 1984). This constant letting go of the child to which we gave life, this constantly changing but never lessening love we feel for that child, can be a wrenching experience from which we can emerge content with the cycle of life or angry at and depressed by all that life has taken from us. The latter is the more likely outcome if we fail to internalize and express and synthesize the many times we must wean our children. Ritual can turn the anger and the sadness which we feel with each weaning into the strength and harmony that come with an acceptance, an embracing, of the rhythms of our lives.

The weaning celebration of Joshua Isaac Goldstein ended with Havdallah. This ritual of weaning ended with the ritual of separation. The ritual of Havdalah has also been used to mark and observe the ending of a marriage. Ruth Berger Goldstan is a member of a Princeton, New Jersey, Rosh Hodesh group. When a member of the women's group separated from her husband of nineteen years, she asked for a ritual to mark the occasion of her moving into a residence separate from that of her husband. The Rosh Hodesh group chose the ceremony of Havdalah with which to observe this ending, this separating, this beginning.

> We praise You, Source of Life, for the wine that helps
> heal our wounds and points to future joys. We praise
> You, Source of Life, for the fragrance that enables us to
> savor pleasant memories of shared experiences. We
> praise You, Source of Life, for the flame that lights the
> direction to the future, guiding us on new paths. Blessed
> is the One who separates and makes distinctions.
> Blessed is the One who guided me to join my husband
> under the chuppah. Blessed is the One who enabled us
> to bring our children into the world. Blessed is the One
> who sheltered us in our home. Blessed is the One who
> has helped me to decide to leave this marriage. Blessed
> is the One who separates and makes distinctions. I
> affirm that I have chosen, with sorrow and with anger,

with regret and with relief, to end my marriage. Before,
we were joined. As of now we are separated. Before,
we shared our home. Now, we live in separate homes.
I leave behind me forever my married life. I look ahead
to a new life for myself, a life that will grow from the
sweetness and the bitterness of our marriage. Blessed
is the One who separates and makes distinctions.
Blessed is the One who enables us to make
transformations and new beginnings.

The woman for whom this ritual was created and performed later spoke of the comfort and strength the ritual gave her. With ritual, she was able to affirm for herself and to share with the Rosh Hodesh group participating in the ritual the positive aspects of her marriage. She also noted her astonishment at realizing that not only is there a holiness in marriage, there can also be a holiness in divorce. She no longer felt solely responsible for the ending of her marriage (Goldstan, 1993, p. 28-29).

The preceding rituals are among many new Jewish rituals for healing our modern wounds and the pain and anger caused by our being wounded. These and other rituals for rage were examined in January, 1994, at the annual conference of Pacific Area Reform Rabbis [PARR] held in Palm Springs, California. Among the rituals examined were other rituals of divorce and separation, a ritual for accepting the loss of the dream of having a biological child, a ritual to be performed after a miscarriage, and a ritual for healing from childhood sexual abuse (Marder, Interview, 1994).

The voices of women have been heard before in our tradition but never before with the force and the professional status and sanction with which they are presently heard. The Biblical voices of Miriam and Deborah were and are still heard. They were, however, gifted with an eloquence and a strength rarely encountered. Other women, less strong and less eloquent, did not choose silence but were silenced by Halakhah. When Yiddish became the language of prayer, however, women began writing their own prayers and creating their own rituals. These Yiddish prayers written by women for women, these *tkhines*, achieved a high level of popularity and use. The authors of many *tkhines* were the

daughters of rabbis. This is no coincidence since these women were more highly educated
than other women (Klirs, 1992, p. 4).

> For Jewish women, the *tkhines* represent the only
> significant body of Jewish liturgy which was created
> by women and which addresses a variety of uniquely
> feminine concerns. Today, when the feminist movement
> is generating a growing interest in and enthusiasm for
> women's studies in general, the *tkhines* are particularly
> relevant. The literature provides an important resource
> for Jewish women as they strive to discover and reclaim
> their past. (Klirs, 1992, p. 9).

Even though a great many *tkhine* express humility and acceptance of the role of
women in society and in Judaism, a few express anger either at the community, at the
tradition, or at God for letting the community and the tradition behave in harmful ways.

Rebetsn Sore [Sarah], daughter of Rabbi *Mordkhe*, expressed her anger at the
constant talking of some young women during services in her *Tkhine* of Three Gates.

> I, the woman *sore*, beseech the young women not to
> converse in the beloved holy *shul*, for it is a great sin.
> I recall that the *tane* Rabbi *elozer*, the son of Rabbi
> *shimen*, met officials who were leading two donkeys
> laden with punishments. He asked the officials: 'On
> whose account are these?' They answered: 'On
> account of the people who converse in *shul* from after
> *barukh she'omar* until after the *shimensre*.' Therefore,
> I am warning you that you should not - *khas vesholem* -
> be punished as I have been, with wandering. You
> should take me as an example and confess your sins to
> *hashem yisborekh*, praised be He.
> (Klirs, 1992, p. 28).

A ritual for Rosh Hodesh, written by *rebetsn seril*, daughter of Rabbi *yankev*
sega"l of Dubno and wife of Rabbi *mordkhe ka"ts rapaport*, lashes out at God for creating
a world of sinners and their sins.

> What can I depend on, if not Your mercy, in such
> bitter days when each person is investigated and each
> one's deeds are read aloud? Upon what can I depend,

> if not on repentance, which You created before You
> created sins? Therefore, I accept the obligation to
> repent and to serve you with all my heart. *Omeyn*.
> (Klirs, 1992, p. 56).

And a final *tkhine* written by *khane* the wife of *elkone* speaks the anger and pain

and fear of any woman who has placed her infant son in the hands of the mohel.

> Great and merciful God! We have obeyed Your holy
> commandment to perform the circumcision on the eighth
> day. I beseech You, dear God. Just as You sent Your
> angel *refo'el* to *avrom ovinu* to heal his circumcision,
> so may You send Your angel once again to heal the
> wound of my son, that he may recover quickly. Grant
> good health to everyone so that they may always perform
> Your holy commandment.
> (Klirs, 1992, p. 132).

These Yiddish prayers resonate through the ages. The subjects they address have

not changed significantly. The specific situations, of course, are different. But the general

issues of and for women remain. As Jewish women create or recreate rituals to express

their angers they must necessarily be at least for a moment separate from the Judaism of

patriarchy which for so long silenced them. This is terrifying and this is necessary.

Donald Krill has observed that with the freedom of modernity we are, instead of

becoming psychologically healthier, becoming more and more muddled and confused and

anxious and self destructive and unaware of ourselves and our places in the world (Krill,

1983, p. 727). He suggests that with our freedom we seem to be putting the bulk of our

energy into running away from all that is painful.

Unfortunately, we are running too fast to notice that we are taking our pain and

our anger at the pain with us wherever we go. Embracing an existential approach to

healing, Krill feels that the only thing to do with pain and anger is to learn from them.

And the only way to learn from them is to bring them out into the open where they can be

examined (Krill, 1983, p. 742).

Martin Buber addresses our existential isolation in terms of the I-Thou relationship, a mutual relationship involving a full experiencing of the other. Nothing can be withheld. We must be in relationships with our whole beings. For this to happen both I and Thou must withhold nothing. Neither person in a relationship can be a spectator. Each is essential to the relationship (Buber, 1970, p. 62).

This is true for any relationship--a relationship between two people, between groups of people, between a person and a group, between a person and God, between God and a people. Relationships are systems and systems need and seek balance. If we keep our feelings to ourselves, we throw the relationship out of balance. If we feel anger but do not express it, the relationship suffers even though the feeling and expressing of our anger mandates that we separate ourselves if only for a moment from the relationship.

One Sunday afternoon in 1834 a young man sat in a cafe in Denmark. He smoked a cigar and thought about his life and the contribution he might make to the world. He thought about successful people who were

> ...benefactors of the age who know how to benefit
> mankind by making life easier and easier, some by
> railways, other by omnibuses and steamboats, others
> by telegraph, others by easily apprehended compendiums
> and short recitals of everything worth knowing, and finally
> the true benefactors of the age who by virtue of thought
> make spiritual existence systematically easier and easier.
> (Kierkegaard, 1946, p. 193).

After reflecting on this a moment, Sören Kierkegaard wondered if the appropriate goal of life was to get through it as easily as possible. Weighing the possibility that ease of passage might not be the most important aspect of life, he decided that

> You must do something but inasmuch as with your
> limited capacities it will be impossible to make anything
> easier than it has become, you must, with the same
> humanitarian enthusiasm as the others, undertake to
> make something harder (Kierkegaard, 1946, p. 193).

Kierkegaard reasoned that when everyone works toward making everything as easy as possible there is created a danger that easiness will be excessive. Perhaps, he thought, someone is needed to make things difficult again. It occurred to him that he had discovered his destiny. He would spend his life examining life's difficulties (Yalom, 1980, p. 15). This Kierkegaardian reasoning may seem at first glance flawed. Who would want, we might ask, to make life more difficult than it already is. What we need, we might respond, is a way to make life less complicated, less difficult. An understanding of Kierkegaard's reasoning requires an understanding of ourselves and the manners in which we live our lives. The analysis of our ways of living can be fairly cursory and fairly quick.

The analysis begins. From an emotional standpoint, we are already doing things as simply as possible. We are denying our feelings and the expressing of our feelings. Denial is a primitive defense mechanism. We don't even have to think about it to do it. Nothing could be simpler. Except that this method, this manner in which we live, isn't working. The proofs of its failure can be found in newspaper headlines reporting teenage suicides, gang killings, and other forms of violence. The proofs of its failure can be found in psychiatric hospitals. The proofs of its failure can be found in sadness and loneliness and depression and chronic misery. The proofs of its failure can be found in you and me. The analysis ends.

If we continue running from our anger while still carrying it with us, we will not have heard the prayer of *Sore bas Mordkhe*. We will continue to wander through our lives laden with the increasingly heavy burden of our anger and our pain with our only prayer words of sorrow to *hashem yisborekh*, praised be Adonai.

One way of bringing anger out into the open, of examining anger, of learning from anger is through the use of ritual. Anger separates. Ritual unites. If we ritualize our anger we are forcing ourselves to face it, and having faced it and examined it, we can leave it in the safety of the ritual created to contain it. We can return to our tradition, to our communities, and to ourselves stronger than when we separated ourselves to feel and express our anger. And returning stronger, we will strengthen all else.

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