Dissertation Report

Research Question: To what extent does urban overstimulation influence hoarding behaviors, particularly among women of contrasting cultural backgrounds?

Title: More Than Just a Clutter: Hoarding as Misogyny, Inequality, and Resistance

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This research investigates the evolving relationship between urban overstimulation, hoarding behaviors, and the cultural roles of a woman in Western vs non-Western societies. It examines how external and internal factors either facilitate or hinder hoarding, providing a comparative analysis that concludes with a personal perspective on Egypt's non-Western culture as a counterpoint. Urban overstimulation often drives individuals toward hoarding behaviors to mitigate the intensity and stress of the growing world. For women, this behavior is further influenced by traditional roles that diminish them to the proximity of their house. Societal expectations, which historically positioned women as secondary to men, contribute to hoarding as a form of self-expression. Additionally, pressure to conform to consumerist ideals encourages women to accumulate possessions in a mirrored response. Internal factors play a significant role as well. Emotional attachments often provide women with a sense of identity in a restrictive world. Trauma and fear of the outside world may exacerbate hoarding, transforming the house into a comfort retreat. Opposingly, hoarding can sometimes serve as a positive response to the external world, such as when a woman assigns sentimental value to objects to commemorate interactions with others, creating a unique archive of her life. The study also analyzes these dynamics with the cultural response of Egypt, where overstimulation has led to an increase in the usage of minimalism within homes. This minimalist approach, aimed at reducing clutter, is a counteracting response to the sensory overload of the external environment. This paper also covers hoarding in its ability to drive the functionality of the home into oblivion. This study clarifies the cultural, psychological, and sociological elements that influence women's connections with their homes and belongings by looking at these intricate relationships.

At what point do our possessions stop reflecting our lives and start controlling them? As psychologist Dr. Randy O. Frost suggests, "We may own things in our homes, but they own us as well."[1] The moment our possessions accumulate and claim control over us is called hoarding disorder. Hoarding is a continuous struggle to part with one's objects, eventually leading to a clutter that overcrowds living spaces, often dooming most into inhabitance. The impact of this clutter is not exclusive to the mind; it also transforms domestic spaces from functional domains into environments that embody emotional burdens[2]. The disorder of hoarding has a close correlation to other mental health problems, including but not exclusive to obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD), anxiety, depression, and other trauma-responsive disorders[3]. Hoarding and mental health disorders exist within an interdependent cycle where the act of accumulating may stem from trauma as a coping mechanism while also reinforcing feelings of anxiety and depression. Contrary to the public's perception, hoarding is more common than many comprehend, as studies prove an estimated 3-6% of the world's population exhibits signs of hoarding[4]. Both of the previous points emphasize the complexity of hoarding.

The intricate parallel between hoarding and mental health becomes even more significant when a third aspect is considered, the overstimulation of the external environment. Nowadays, the excess in buildings, cars, people, etc contributes to the constant bombardment of noise pollution. These components drive individuals towards a state of overwhelm disrupting their sense of safety and security[5]. To reclaim this security, many find themselves adopting a lifestyle of hoarding surrounding themselves with readily available possessions at their convenience. The overwhelming urban landscape of today, with its sensory overload and the relentless rise of buildings, prompts hoarding[6]. On the contrary, constant exposure to high noise levels can impose a contradictory effect. To escape this highly sensory-overloaded atmosphere, individuals often design homes that evoke feelings of tranquility and serenity, perhaps a minimalistic approach[7]. This is where my interest in this topic arises. As someone who is frequently overstimulated by the chaos of the outside world, it is fascinating to compare how different cultures respond to this external pressure. Nonetheless, there remain a range of reasons why people choose to hoard which are not necessarily related to the outside world and stem from personal factors

Hoarding encapsulates various controversial aspects including history, origins, and the significance of objects. However, this research paper will focus on the psychological effects, external stress, and urban and non-urban reasons that facilitate hoarding. Additionally, this paper will focus on the effect of women[8]. This study seeks to unravel women's response to the ongoing chaos of the external world as they begin to immerse themselves beyond the traditional bounds of home. It starts with an analysis of Western homes and then explores a connection of hoarding with Egypt where a less Westernized cultural context shapes notions of domesticity. I will delve into my personal experiences in Egypt, where I grew up, later in the paper. In this research paper, the correlation between external overstimulation and hoarding behaviors of women is explored through threefold subthemes: urban overstimulation, influences beyond overstimulation, and personal connection.

Urban overstimulation is typically characterized by excessive noise, crowding, and fast-paced environments, particularly evident in Western culture[9]. Nowadays with the growing prevalence of sensory overloads, the impact on individuals has become increasingly evident. Factors such as high population, social stress, and environmental unpredictability further exacerbate mental health issues[10]. This analysis will mostly focus on the impact on women, considering the traditional gender roles within Western society. In what ways might this overstimulation push women to hoard as a means of responding to their environment?

One of the most crucial aspects of urban planning is testing the psychological response of the market. Mazda Adli's investigation "Urban Stress & Mental Health" explores the relationship between urban living, elevated stress levels, and the increased risk of mental illnesses including anxiety, schizophrenia, and depression. The high population and lack of personal space within the city suggest a backdrop where mental health issues emerge and persist. This intense urban stress often encourages individuals to withdraw from public spaces and seek refuge in their private comfort. Furthermore, the article highlights the significance of greenery, community spaces, and parks - spaces that evoke tranquility while pushing the conventional approach of building into oblivion[11]. Sadly since this is not feasible and contradicts with current realities, many choose to escape the chaos by retreating into their spaces. This preference towards isolation promotes hoarding, which is more prominent in the elderly to whom the home is viewed as a sanctuary escape. However, the impact extends beyond age as women who were once marginalized by society are more prone to the negative effects of outside clutter. Adli reinforces this concept of struggle because of unfamiliarity, noting "Extra risk may be associated with growing up in an urban area – as opposed to first living there as an adult"[12]. The study suggests that the impact of urban overstimulation on hoarding lies in the obvious answer of people's need to disassociate themselves from a stressful environment by accumulating necessities within their homes and thus creating a sense of refuge. This act of retreating, or a form of "hibernation", reduces their need for interaction with a noisy world, but at what risk?

Adli's in-depth study into overstimulation, further examined by Stanislav Kasl and Ernest Harburg in their journal article "Mental Health and the Urban Environment" reveals how women uniquely respond to environmental stresses which often overlook the societal pressures towards women.

1 | Randy O.Frost, 2010, 17-43
2 | Hoarding | English meaning - cambridge dictionary. Accessed November 14, 2024.
3 | Mazda Adli, 2011, 1-3
4 | "What Is Hoarding?" Hoarders.com, Accessed 26 Oct 2024
5 | Ceci Garett, 2:00-4:20
6 | Mazda Adli, 2011, 1-3
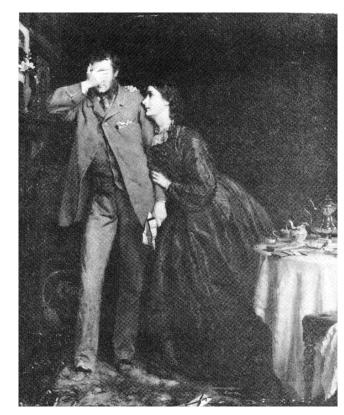7 | Lloyd, Kasey, and William Pennington, 2020, 121-136
8 | Jo Little, 1987, 335-342

9 | Ostfeld, Adrian M., and David A. D'Atri, 1975, 15-28.
10 | Ostfeld, Adrian M., and David A. D'Atri, 1975, 15-28.
11 | Mazda Adli, 2011, 1-3
12 | Mazda Adli, 2011, 1-3

The study conducts surveys to assess the stress levels in different homes and the main take from the study is that men's results depicted lower stress levels if they had a wife at home taking care of their kids. The authors suggest that traditional studies often fail to recognize the unique stressors faced by women in urban areas, including social expectations, caregiving roles, and limited access to resources; a gap prominent in their research. That is because women were often viewed merely as supporting figures, whose roles were defined by hindering or facilitating the lives of men[13]. Some of those overlooked factors are social expectations: excess pressure linked to appearance, professional success, and social status. Secondly, the expectations of women to efficiently balance work and personal life and achieve success in both domains[14]. Unsurprisingly, this immense pressure leads to chronic stress that denies any form of self-expression and/or relaxation. This sense of inadequacy encourages the accumulation of objects as a symbolic substitute for personal fulfillment, counteracting the lack of validation from the outside. From a psychological perspective, hoarding additionally serves as a coping mechanism or a boundary that provides a momentary sense of relief. In this sense, hoarding acts as a protective layer, almost like a second skin, shielding individuals from the chaotic nature of the outside world. This chaos stems from women taking on roles beyond the domestic sphere. Lynn Nead's Chapter in the book "Looking On, Images of Femininity in the Visual Arts and Media" (edited by Rosemary Batterton) highlights how women's traditional responsibility was to solely provide the man with comfort and care[15]. The chapter depicts Geroge Hicks' paintings 'Women's Mission: Companion of Manhood and The Sinews of Old England' (figures 1 & 2) portraying women comforting the man as he receives bad news and cheerfully standing by him as he heads off to work[16]. The historical shifts, reflected in the paintings, underscore societal expectations of women confined to the domestic field. This perhaps explains the basis for the increase in hoarding today as women maneuver the compounded stress of balancing domestic demands, modern careers, and societal expectations.

Figure (1): Women's Mission: Companion of Manhood[17]

Figure (2): The Sinews of Old England[18]

Expanding on the compounded pressures, a third driver of hoarding emerges: the overwhelming need to conform and mimic the overstimulation of the ever-changing outside world. Susan Lepselter, a cultural anthropologist, examines this broader explanation of hoarding in her journal "The Disorder of Things". Her work explores how the popular media reinforces the societal need for control and links hoarding to a larger cultural context: consumerism. Lepselter defines consumerism as the preoccupation of society with the acquisition of goods[19]. Just as individuals accumulate material belongings, society is overrun by consumerism, creating an overpowering product-filled environment. Hoarders frequently mirror this behavior in reaction to a society that places greater value on material possessions. Hence, this internal struggle with the overstimulation of possessions is mimicked within the societal struggle of material excess, consumerism, and pollution. This mirrored dynamic between external consumerism and internal hoarding is vividly captured through Henry Tayali's painting Destiny analyzed alongside an image of hoarding in the article What is Hoarding? by a cleaning company (figures 3 & 4). In Tayali's artwork, each protagonist engages in an activity, while the intensely packed and haphazardly juxtaposed buildings in the background further intensify the sense of urban chaos. The viewer's eye is drawn in multiple directions rather than focusing on one aspect evoking a sense of overwhelm. The bright colors are deliberately used to depict the overcrowding of thoughts leaving viewers with feelings of anxiety resulting from the horrors of the noise pollution. This chaotic clutter is mirrored in the image of hoarding (figure 4) where the visual clutter similarly generates feelings of anxiety and minimal comfort[20]. In the image, one can discern distinct piles of cardboard, newspapers, and various random items, each contributing to the overall sensory overload. However, a notable difference lies in the muted color palette of the photograph illustrating how the possessions obstruct sunlight from entering the space, further exacerbating the feelings of confinement and despair[21]. Although Tayali's artwork is from older times, it nonetheless resonates with themes of our contemporary life. The suffocating portrayal of the excess in people, items, buildings, and more is mirrored in today's overcrowding and intensified sensory overload (figure 5). The drawing depicts this dynamic by adjacently juxtaposing both aspects to emphasize their similarities. Since women are traditionally taught to conform to their surroundings (e.g. moving from their father's house to their husband's) many women create a similar intensified environment within their own homes through hoarding.

This internal mimicry of external noise and clutter provides a paradoxical sense of belonging, and validation from societal expectations, and resolves their fear of falling behind. Moreover, this reflects women's agency toward domestic ideologies as hoarding becomes a form of resistance and a coping mechanism - an act of conformity to societal norms of consumerism while claiming a sense of individuality within their space

Figure (3): Density by Henry Tayali[22]

Figure (4): What is Hoarding[23]

Figure (5): My Sketch of Hoarding x Overstimulation[24]

13 | Kasl, Stanislav V., and Ernest Harburg, no. 3 1975, 268–82
14 | Sumra, Monika K., and Michael A. Schillaci. no. 3 2015
15 | Rosemary batterton 1987, 73-81.
16 | The Megdalin in Modern Times: the mythology of the fallen woman in Pre-Raphealite painting. Lynn Nead
17 | Geroge Elgar Hicks. Figure 1
18 | Geroge Elgar Hicks. Figure 2

19 | Susan Lepselter, no. 4 2011, 19–47
20 | Henry Tayali. "Destiny." 1966
21 | "What Is Hoarding?" Hoarders.com. Accessed 26 Oct 2024
22 | Tayali, Henry. Figure 3
23 | Hoarders.com. Figure 4
24 | Sketched by canditate

One of the first thoughts that comes to mind when mentioning hoarding is internal struggle and past traumas. While overstimulation and the intensity of the urban world have significantly contributed to the increase of hoarding within domestic spaces, the more profound causes reside within the intrinsic self. Whether that be from past experiences, emotional attachment to objects, or memory hoarding often stems from personal factors[25]. Within the ongoing exploration in Western society, objects typically serve as tangible representations of safety, control, and /or identity anchoring individuals to their possessions.

Returning to whether we control our possessions, or they begin to control us, Frost reflects on the notion of objects in his chapter "The Value of Possessions in compulsive hoarding". Frost's research focuses on the emotional attachments that individuals form with their possessions, highlighting how these connections drive hoarding patterns by uncovering the underlying emotional motivations behind the behavior. The study suggests that for women, the primary motivation behind hoarding is a desire for control, with many possessions providing a sense of comfort, identity, and security[26]. Similarly, Joelly Nathan analyzes the correlation between identity, hoarding, and their notion of home in her dissertation "How Do Individuals Construct a Sense of 'Home". She suggests that hoarding enables individuals to transform their homes into an extension of their skin, as depicted in her description of her aunt: "Due to being a victim of anorexia, my aunt's walls are encompassing in as her skin is on her bones. Her physicality is mirrored by her surrounding inhabited space". She believed that having everything closed in around her provided a sense of control, even if others might perceive hoarding as a loss of control over belongings[27]. For hoarders, the concept of the domestic home has evolved significantly, transforming from a functional into a personal and symbolic space, intricately shaped to provide feelings of familiarity. In a sense, the home ceases to be a space for living but rather an archive of identity capturing experiences, memories, and a sense of oneself. For women in particular, this transformation provides stability in an environment where they often feel powerless and unheard. They no longer feel the need to prove themselves as their surrounding archive of identity offers the validation that society often denies. Another reason emotional attachment strongly influences hoarding in women is that they are often regarded as being more in touch with their feelings and empathetic by nature, making them more prone to forming deep emotional bonds with possessions.

Moreover, they often struggle to part with objects, regardless of whether they hold significant meaning or not. Some organizations, such as the Grant a Smile government initiative, have strategically exploited women's empathetic nature in their marketing campaigns. By employing ethos-driven advertisements, they specifically target women, recognizing that they are not only more likely to hoard but also more responsive to emotional appeals. The advertisement flyer (figure 6) uses emotionally resonant language such as "aid healing [...] improve mental health [...] coaching sessions [...] nonjudgemental approach"[28]. This empathetic tone can be quite effective in encouraging individuals to seek help as it conveys a genuine commitment to supporting hoarders in improving their well-being. The flyer introduces an intriguing analysis point: ironically, adjusting to open, uncluttered spaces might prove challenging for individuals accustomed to clutter and congestion. Therefore, encouraging a better relationship with their surroundings requires addressing the emotional sides of hoarding. This requires a holistic approach that offers a dual focus on cleaning the mind and space.

Figure (6): Grant A Smile Advertisement[29]

While most attachments in hoarding are tied to shaping identity, some are ironically rooted in pleasant memories. It is only at this point in this research that a more positive perspective on hoarding is considered. Returning to Frost's analysis of the perception of objects, his chapter "Stuff: Compulsive Hoarding and the Meaning of Things" examines a different case study that responds to alternative reasons for hoarding. Frost shares the story of Irene, a woman who attaches meaning to seemingly insignificant objects. She explains her ability to form positive attachments to possessions as opposed to typical ones that result from traumatic experiences. Irene defies this assumption by demonstrating no signs of social anxiety as she maintains a wide circle of friends. Through examining the items in her space, the reason behind her hoarding behavior becomes evident: her strong emotional connection to every possession is rooted in her positive interactions. For instance, she would hang onto a receipt simply because the delivery guy was nice[30]. This fresh perspective on hoarding introduces a new dynamic to the concept of cluttered space. For Irene, the clutter surrounding her is not just clutter, they are rather tangible reminders of pleasant experiences filling her with emotions of gratitude and joy - emotions not typically associated with a mess. Regardless of this alternative perspective, the clutter is still a clutter. The accumulated mess reduces the space's functionality, hindering ordinary activities like cooking, cleaning, and sleeping. Therefore, it could be argued that the domestic space is transformed into a storage repository of memories functioning almost like a physical manifestation of a living brain.

Not all emotional attachments to possessions are rooted in identity or comfort from positive memories; for many, hoarding is a trauma response typically driven by avoidance or fear. Jennifer Hanzlick, a hoarding researcher, advocates for the concept of "looking beyond the clutter" in her TED talk, "Humanizing Hoarding". She calls for the need to shift from judging the stigmatized to understanding them and maybe even resonating with their experiences. Through the implication of a logos-based approach, Hanzlick reveals the shocking statistics of the presence of hoarders within the United States: found in 2.6% which is an estimate of 5.6 million citizens. The compelling number does not hook the listener, but it emphasizes the disorder's severity. Hanzlick subsequently encourages the remainder of the citizens to adopt a compassionate view towards hoarding rather than criticizing it.

She does so by sharing a touching story about a woman who hoards clothes for the shocking reason of her fear of being in a laundromat. This fear comes from a previous assault that is triggered whenever she enters that space. This suggests that many individuals hoard merely as a coping mechanism to avoid unresolved trauma. Moreover, this reinforces the point that gendered experiences and societal pressures are actively pushing women towards hoarding behaviors. Hanzlick reinforced the need for empathy as hoarding has been framed within the context of personal history and emotional scars[31]. Ironically, while women tend to avoid small, confined spaces to protect themselves from domestic, physical, or sexual abuse - associating the home with danger - for many hoarders the notion of home transforms into a sanctuary of safety. Imagine the empathy Hanzlick received from the audience upon sharing the poignant story. Consider how much more empathy and understanding hoarders would receive if their trauma was acknowledged and if the need to avoid the horrors of the real world was recognized. Since women are disproportionately victims of assault and forced to endure harassment daily, it is unsurprising that hoarding is more prevalent in those who fear the real world: women. In these cases, the home becomes a clutter of perceived necessities that limits one's relationship with the outside pushing its intrinsic function into oblivion. Ultimately, this reframing of hoarding as a trauma response emphasizes the significance of empathetic interventions.

25 | Johannes Endres. 38-39
26 | Frost, Randy O., Tamara L. Hartl, Rebecca Christian, and Nicole Williams, no. 8 1995: 897-902.
27 | Joelly Nathan, 2016: 15-19.
28 | "Why a Trauma-Informed Approach to Deep Cleaning Is Essential." Grant A Smile CIC. Accessed 27 Oct 2024
29 | Grant A Smile CIC. Figure 6

30 | Randy O.Frost, 2010, 17-43
31 | Jennifer Hanzlick, 2015: 5:15 - 9:00.

At this point in the paper, I will shift to a first-person perspective to explore my connection to urban clutter in Egypt and its impact on me. I will be exploring the rapid and ongoing increase in the population of Egypt, a country that does overstimulation like no other, and its effect on the women there. This analysis will compare the gender dynamics of Eastern society with those of the West. The crowded streets of Egypt have prompted a distinct response compared to the rest of my research. From my observations, many individuals, particularly women, tend to respond by accumulating as little as possible.

As of today, Egypt's accelerating population has reached 120 million, and that is just like trying to fit an ever-expanding crowd into a room that was never designed to hold it. Understandably, this surge inevitably requires an increase in resources, particularly buildings, and urban infrastructure, to accommodate the growth. However, this rapid development comes with unwritten rules that only those experiencing the clutter firsthand understand. For instance, traveling between 4-6 pm can be nearly impossible due to the overwhelming traffic. It's no surprise that this kind of chaotic environment, marked by constant overstimulation, takes a significant toll on mental health[32].

It is crucial to declare that when I speak about Egyptians, I am referring to individuals who share a similar social background to mine since much of this research and analysis is based on my observations. I cannot speak to the experiences of those who live outside the city, adhere to more traditional lifestyles, or belong to different socioeconomic groups. Ironically, while hoarding due to urban overstimulation is more prevalent in Western countries, Egypt's chaotic and fast-paced environment has had a significant impact on me as someone who has lived in both cultures. Per my research and observations, Egyptians have responded strikingly different by intentionally creating the opposite atmosphere within their homes. As the streets have grown more chaotic over the past decade, minimalism has peaked as an interior design theme. Enduring the overcrowded and uncontrollable nature of the outside world, many have decided to adopt the "less is more" approach in the comfort of their own space. This suggests accumulating essentials, using limited materials, and allowing the space to carry out its core domestic function(s) deviating away from hoarding[33].

On the contrary, if I compare my home to my grandma's, it could not be further from minimalism. However, that is not to say she suffered from hoarding or tolerated a mess, it was simply filled with a significant number of possessions, reflecting a different approach to living. But if Egypt was urban overstimulating back then, why is there a prominent difference in the functionality a woman gives to her home? This roots back to the gender dynamics and the duties of women in the non-Western home. In my grandma's time, a woman's role was often confined to being a supporting character, first in her father's house and later in her husband's limiting her identity and hindering any sense of autonomy. It was even more stifling in her mother's era, my great-grandmother's generation, where women were not allowed to leave the house unless in groups further limiting any form of self-expression, freedom, or control[34]. In response and perhaps as a quiet form of protest, my grandma carried her possessions with her from her old house to her new house using them to preserve and hold onto a sense of identity. She would often tell me "Every smile, tear, and memory I have been tucked in the pages of these photo albums" each one an archive of her life. Nowadays, with generational shifts and the adaptations of more Westernized perspectives on equality, women no longer need tangible possessions to preserve their identity. This shift can also be attributed to the rise of digitalization in recent times. With photography and other media being primarily digital, the need to physically store memories is less common now. This transition from physical to digital preservation of memories mirrors the broader cultural shift and the evolving roles of women, highlighting how the changing nature of memory-keeping reflects deeper shifts in misogyny. While efforts have been made to stride towards equality, some gaps remain. Even if a woman has more avenues to express her identity, she may still lack control over her environment. In a country where the mayhem of the outside world feels uncontrollable, women would often seek to reclaim that sense of control within their own homes. Moreover, this has led to an alternate function of the home. Although it was once a space filled with possessions to preserve identity, modern homes have become a sanctuary - a place to counter overstimulation and regain control by collecting the necessary - a reaction opposite to hoarding. This transition reflects the evolving dynamic between women, their spaces, and their sense of self.

In summary, this essay has explored the extent to which urban overstimulation affects hoarding behaviors among women from diverse cultural contexts. Through the analysis of various studies, papers, cultural talks, and personal narratives, it is evident that while the reasons to hoard may vary, the chaos of urban life has a significant toll on its rise. For women, the influences - whether correlated to overstimulation or not - are deeply connected to societal pressures, gender dynamics, and traditional domestic roles. My perspective in this paper has explored the difference between these gender and societal dynamics of the Western and non-Western cultures. Urban overstimulation, societal pressures, and overcrowding contribute to stress, especially for women who have historically been confined to their homes. To cope, women sought control and refuge from the chaos, sometimes leading to hoarding as a form of self-expression. In cultures where women are marginalized, hoarding can be a way to assert their place in a world that expects them to serve men. The contrast between external disorder and internal accumulation shows how societal pressures and environmental stress force women to conform. Some influences on hoarding go beyond urban life, such as emotional attachment, trauma, or a desire to preserve memories. Women often struggle to part with objects, accumulating more than their space allows. Trauma can also drive women to seek safety at home, particularly if they feel vulnerable in public spaces. Additionally, hoarding can preserve memories, as each item holds emotional significance tied to past experiences. In a non-western culture, rapid population growth has led to a different response to urban overstimulation. Instead of hoarding, many women have embraced minimalism to manage the external chaos. Minimalism, or owning as little as possible, contrasts with hoarding and allows women to regain control over their homes. This is a shift from previous generations, where women accumulated possessions to preserve their identity in a society that limited their expression. The change from hoarding to minimalism in Egyptian homes reflects evolving gender roles and women's need for control amid urban chaos. This research has revealed that hoarding not only limits the functionality of a house but transforms it into something more significant: a place for preserving identity, a retreat for safety, a refuge for control, or a symbol of self-expression.

The scope of this paper is limited by focusing only on certain social classes within Western cultures and not addressing factors like the history of hoarding or the distinction between collecting and hoarding. Beyond Egypt, many non-Western countries have more defined gender dynamics, offering rich opportunities for further investigations. All in all, hoarding often dismissed as mere clutter, is far more than that—it is misogyny, inequality, trauma, and a quiet form of resistance against a world that seeks to control a woman's identity and space.

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32 | Lionel James, 98-104.
33 | Hala Mahmoud, 1156-1176.
34 | Farha Ghannam, 1-31.

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