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AUTISTIC REPRESENTATION IN TELEVISION:
A preliminary survey investigation

by

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Introduction

Nielsen (2019) estimated that 120.6 million homes in America have a television set. With the invention of online streaming services such as Netflix and Hulu, viewers can watch television at the touch of a finger. Matos et al. (2012) investigated how portrayal of violence on television affects physical aggression in school-aged children. The results of the study indicated that watching violence on television directly affects not only physical aggression, but verbal aggression as well. Boukes and colleagues (2015) analyzed how news broadcasts affect the public's opinion of government affairs and spending and found that the way human-interest stories are presented can impact the public's perception of the government. These studies indicate that what is seen on television may affect an individual's actions and opinions.

In recent years, autistic¹ characters (and/or characters who have been interpreted as representing individuals with autistic characteristics) have grown in popularity with the creation of television shows such as *The Good Doctor* and *Atypical*. Little research has been done on how these characters affect perception and understanding of individuals on the autism spectrum and whether these characters are accurate portrayals of autism. The purpose of this study is to examine the connection between an individual's relationship with the autistic community and their knowledge of autism, and how that relationship might influence their perception of authentic autistic representation in television. Specifically, this study examines the identification of television characters that individuals may perceive as autistic and/or demonstrating autistic characteristics, investigates the authenticity of these characters, and how one's relationship to the autistic community affects their perception of authenticity.

¹This paper intentionally uses identify-first language (e.g., autistic person) to recognize the preference of many in the autistic community. For more information regarding identify-first language, please see: Sinclair, 1999; Brown, 2011; Kenny et al, 2016.

Disabled Characters in the Media

Disabled characters have been oversimplified by the film industry and used as dramatic, emotional, and comedic effect against the protagonist of the story (Harnett, 2000). GLAAD (2019) examined disability representation in the media. They found that although the American Community Survey (2016) estimates the overall prevalence of people with disabilities in the US population as 12.8%, of the 879 series regulars on broadcast programming only 3.1% are people with disabilities. And of the few disabled characters, rarely are they actually portrayed by disabled actors. The Ruderman White Paper on Authentic Representation in TV (2018) found that 21.6% of disabled characters are portrayed authentically by actors with the same disability.

A study by Belcher and Maich (2012) investigated the portrayal of autistic characters in the media by analyzing twenty commercially published children's picture books, popular novels, mainstream television programs, and popular movies from 2006-2012. The researchers found that the entertainment industry tends to portray the autistic population as either less superior or less capable than neurotypical individuals because of their disability, or impressive and inspiring for overcoming their disability.

Autism

According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th Edition (APA, 2013), the diagnostic criteria for autism spectrum disorder (ASD) include (a) persistent deficits in social communication and social interaction across multiple contexts and (b) restricted, repetitive patterns of behavior, interests, or activities. As with any disability or condition, autism may be viewed from different perspectives; the two main models of disability are the medical model and the social model. The medical model is a deficit-based model and often focuses on minimization or elimination of symptoms and/or normalization of behaviors.

While the social model incorporates a neurodivergent perspective, embracing differences, instead of deficit and seeks to identify how to best support challenges and eliminate barriers to access and agency (Kapp, et al. 2012; Armstrong, 2015).

Common Stereotype of Autism

A common stereotype of autism is the *autistic savant*. First labeled the *idiot savant* by Down (1887) to describe those with both outstanding abilities, specifically in memory related tasks, and intellectual disabilities. Studies have estimated savant syndrome to be between 2-10% of the autistic population (Rimland and Serban, 1978; Hermelin, 2001). Many of television's portrayal of savants are described as having ASD-like symptoms by its actors or were written based on real life autistic individuals who were reportedly known to screenwriters (Desta, 2014).

Some autism advocates suggest that executive producers and writers simply utilize the “cute” aspects of autism for entertainment and comedic purposes (Netzer, n.d.). Able-bodied actors, directors, and writers insist they have researched autism extensively and authentically, only to come up with a character whose entire narrative is based on their outstanding abilities (Draaisma, 2009). The extensive use of savants-like characters and other autistic tropes (e.g., limited interests, difficulty making friends) in television is concerning for two reasons: the exclusion of authentic autistic representation, and the spread of misinformation about autism that may be perpetuated by the prevalence of autism stereotypes in the entertainment industry.

History of Autism in Television

The first portrayal of an autistic character in television can be seen on the crime drama *Quincy M.E.* (1978), where an autistic boy, Timmy, escapes from an institution for *mentally retarded*² youngsters. Dr. Quincy must convince Timmy's parents that their son is not

²*Mentally retarded* was the language used in the episode at that time.

intellectually disabled, but suffering from a *treatable form of autism*. Timmy is characterized by having a short attention-span, being unable to follow directions, and primarily non-verbal. It was not until *Degrassi: The Next Generation's* Connor DeLaurier (2008-2015) that the main characters had an ASD diagnosis. Connor was characterized as a gifted student with social difficulties and obsessive tendencies (e.g., wore the same shirt every day, differences in friendship), and was later diagnosed with Asperger's Syndrome³.

Recently, shows such as *Atypical* (2017-) and *The Good Doctor* (2017-) have portrayed the lives of autistic characters who have disclosed their diagnosis. *Atypical* follows Sam Gardner as he navigates family, love, therapy, high school, and work. Unlike many autistic representations, Sam's fixation is not on math or science, but on art. *The Good Doctor's* Shawn Murphy is a young, genius surgical resident characterized as being inappropriate with patients, but able to decipher medical complications other surgeons cannot solve because of his autism. Shawn is one of the few savant characters on television who has an autism diagnosis.

Dr. Spencer Reid from *Criminal Minds* (2005-2020), as described by the actor who portrays him, Matthew Gray Gubler, "is an eccentric genius, with hints of schizophrenia and minor autism, Asperger's Syndrome. Reid is 24, 25 years old with three PhDs and one can't usually achieve that without some form of autism," (Thomas, 2018). Dr. Sheldon Cooper from *The Big Bang Theory* (2007-2019), is a child prodigy and theoretical physicist with a genius level IQ. Dr. Temperance Brennan from *Bones* (2005-2017) is a world-renowned forensic anthropologist and best-selling author with three PhDs. Some autistic activists argue that writers do not label their characters as autistic to evade responsibility for their portrayal (Desta 2014; Netzer, n.d.). *Bones* showrunner Hart Hanson stated that although Temperance Brennan was

³Asperger's Syndrome was one of three diagnoses falling under the umbrella of Pervasive Developmental Disorders, otherwise known clinically as autism spectrum disorders in the DSM-IV (APA, 2000).

based on an autistic individual he knew in real life, being on network television stopped him from giving her a diagnosis (Star-Ledger, 2010). *The Big Bang Theory* co-creator Bill Prady says they did not give Sheldon Cooper an autism diagnosis because they did not want the responsibility of portraying autism accurately (Star-Ledger, 2010). If these are the autistic representations portrayed on television, how do they affect perception of autism spectrum disorder?

Methodology

The Institutional Review Board of Portland State University, Portland, Oregon approved this study. The survey was open for responses from March 13, 2020 until April 10, 2020 via Qualtrics XM, a secure survey system managed through Portland State University.

Participants

This survey was aimed at individuals on the autism spectrum (e.g., autistic, Asperger, neurodivergent), professionals and students who work with the autism community, family and friends of the individuals in the autism community, and individuals with no relationship to the autism community. The survey was sent to autism- and professional-related listservs in the community (e.g., Facebook groups of professionals/students in speech-language pathology, autistic-led organizations). The survey was also shared on the researcher's personal Facebook account.

Survey procedures

The survey consisted of four sections (Appendix A). The first section included demographic information: age, gender identity, education level, setting in which they live, and relationship to individuals on the autism spectrum (individual on the autism spectrum/neurodivergent, family member and/or close friend, professional or student who works

with the autism community, and individuals with no relationship). The second section instructed respondents to rate statements that pertained to current diagnostic criteria, treatment, and prognostic aspects of autism spectrum disorder. Respondents were instructed to mark each statement as either "Agree", or "Not Sure", or "Disagree". The statements used in the survey are a modified version of Stone's Autism Survey, which has been shown to be stable across time and internally consistent (Stone, 1987; Campbell et al., 1996).

The third section pertained to the character and television show each respondent chose as their autistic example. Respondents were asked to check all characteristics that were portrayed accurately or inaccurately. Respondents were then asked to respond to short-answer questions concerning stereotypes, the type of narrative the character was given, and whether the character demonstrated success. If a respondent had not watched a television show with an autistic character, they were directed to the final section of the survey. The final section consisted of a grid of nine characters that are typically associated with characters on the autism spectrum. Respondents were asked why, if they did not think of any of these characters during the survey, they did not identify these characters as displaying autistic characteristics.

Analysis

The total number of surveys returned was two hundred and three. Seventy-eight questionnaires were incomplete and excluded from the study. Descriptive statistics of demographic information and multiple-choice answers was gathered. Correlations were performed on relationship to the autistic community and opinion on whether: most autistic individuals have special talents or abilities, autism is a neurodevelopmental disorder, autism occurs more commonly among higher socioeconomic and educational levels, children on the autism spectrum demonstrate attachment with caregivers, and medication is an effective

treatment for the main features of autism. Correlations were also done on relationship to the autistic community and authentic characteristics identified; relationship to the autistic community and television character identified; and opinion on the diagnostic, prognostic, and treatment aspects of ASD mentioned above and authentic characteristics identified.

A thematic analysis of two short-answer questions was conducted following the six-step procedure demonstrated by Braun and Clarke (2006). Themes related to stereotypes perpetuated were identified as high intelligence, social behaviors, behavioral and/or sensory needs, difficulties with relationships, restricted interests, style of speaking, lack of spectrum representation, gender/race/status, educational experience, and no stereotypes. The second thematic analysis was on respondents' answers to why they identified the characters displayed in section four as autistic or demonstrating autistic characteristics. Themes identified were high intelligence, style of speaking, behavioral and/or needs, differences in nonverbal communication, differences in social communication, difficulties with relationships, rigidity, and restrictive interests.

Results

The final number of respondents was 125. The majority (27.2%) of respondents were between the ages of 25 and 34. The majority (90.4%) of respondents identified as female. The majority (45.6%) of respondents had a master's degree, with all respondents being somewhat college educated. Representative of society, 18 respondents identified with more than one relationship to the autism community totaling the number of respondents in each category at 146. The most common overlap was those who were family members and/or friends and professionals. The majority (43.2%) of respondents were professionals who work with the autism community. Family members and/or close friends of the autism community was 26.7 %, and

17.1% of respondents had no relation to the autism community. Students made up 8.9% and 4.1% identified as individuals on the autism spectrum.

Figure 1. Television characters identified by survey respondents

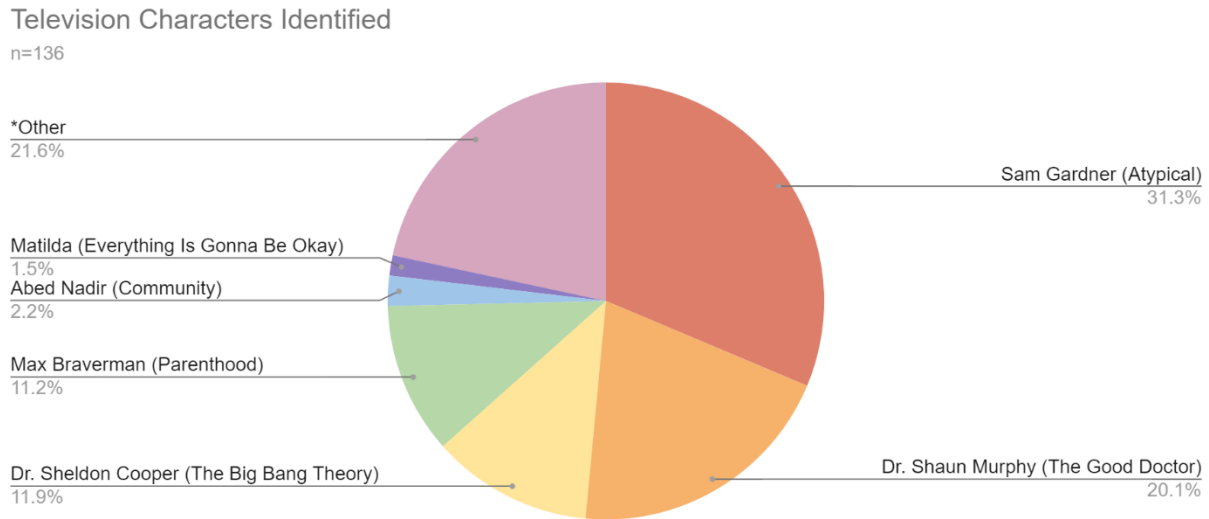


Figure 2. Relationship to the Autism Community and Television Character Identified

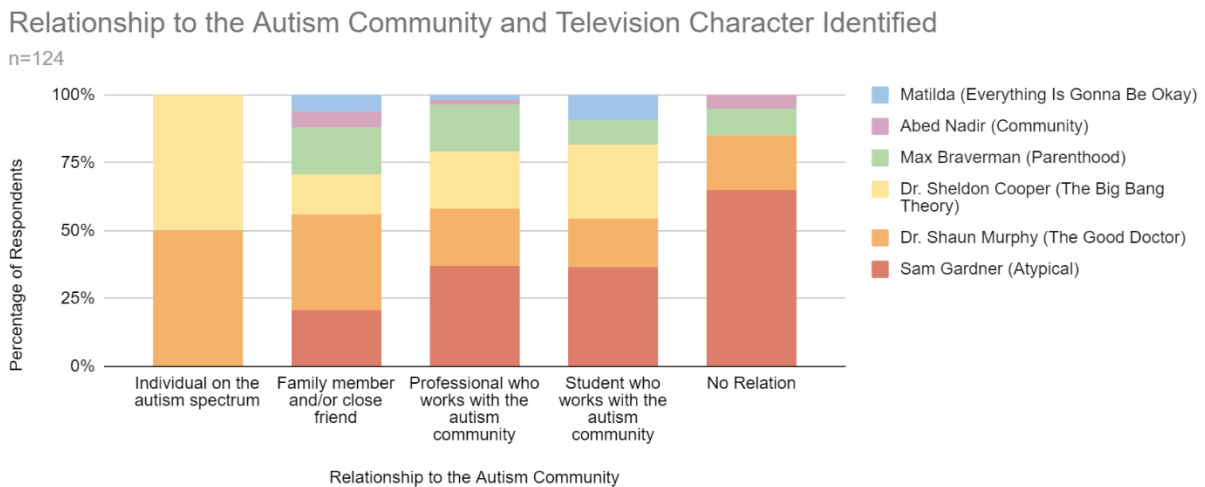


Figure 1 displays television characters independently identified by respondents as autistic and/or demonstrating autistic characteristics. The total number of characters identified was 136. The character identified most frequently (30.9%) was Sam Gardner from *Atypical*. The “other” category refers to characters that were identified by less than one respondents and those who

identified movie characters. Figure 2 displays the individual’s relationship to the autism community and their identification of the top six characters (Sam Gardner, Dr. Shaun Murphy, Dr. Sheldon Cooper, Max Braverman, Abed Nadir, and Matilda). Of the 146 respondents, 124 identified the top seven characters.

Figure 3. Characteristics Portrayed Authentically

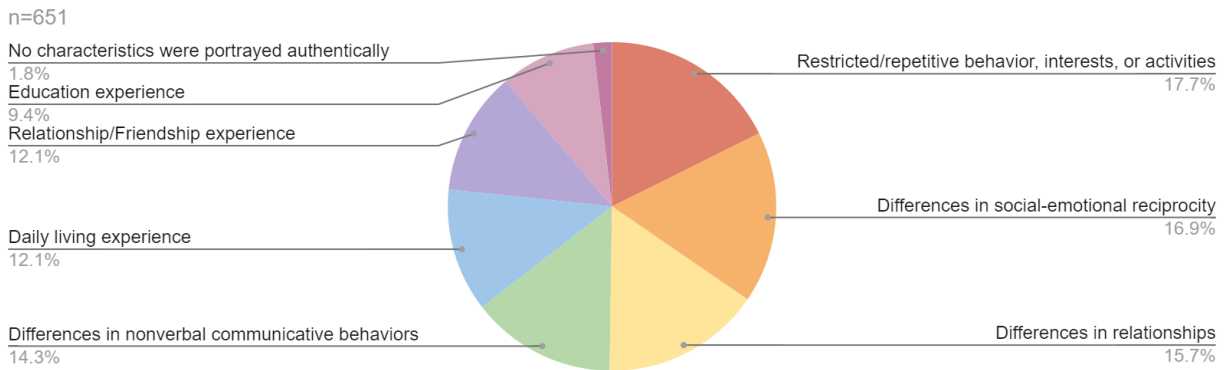


Figure 4. Relationship to the Autism Community and Authentic Characteristics

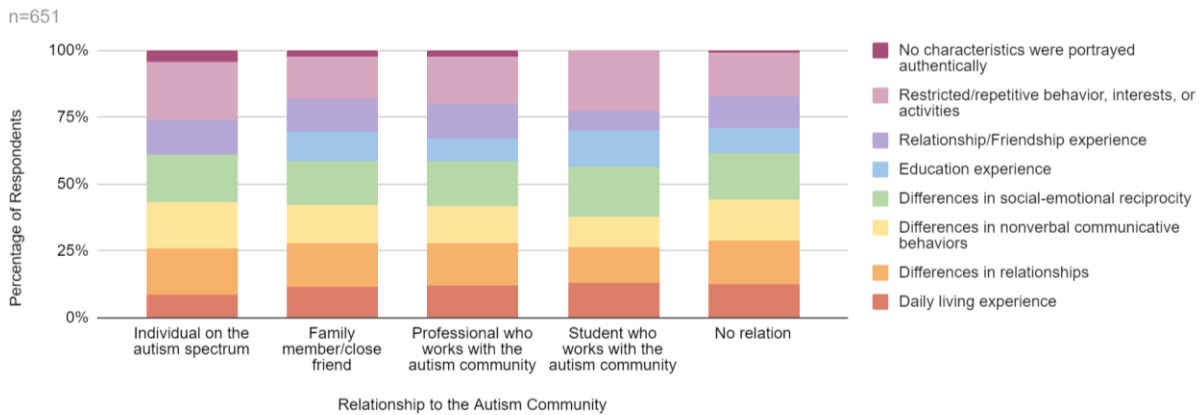


Figure 3 displays characteristics respondents believed were portrayed accurately. Six-hundred and fifty-one total characteristics were identified, the majority (17.6%) being restricted and repetitive behavior, interests, or activities. Figure 4 displays how each relationship to the autism community identified authentic characteristics. Only 12 (8.2%) believed no

characteristics were portrayed authentically. One (8.3%) was an individual on the autism spectrum, four (33.3%) were family members or close friends, six (50%) were professionals who work with the autism community, and one (8.3%) individual with no relation to the autism community.

Eighty-two (65.6%) respondents reported the character they identified had a narrative purpose outside the profit/education of a non-disabled character. Ninety-one (72.8%) respondents reported the character demonstrated successes that a non-disabled character would. Ninety-five (76.0%) respondents believed the character and/or television show perpetuated stereotypes about autism. The majority (23.2%) reported high intelligence and gifted abilities were stereotyped, followed by social behaviors (15.2%), behavioral/sensory needs (11.2%), difficulty forming relationships (8.8%), narrowed/focused interests (5.6%), style of speaking (4.8%), lack of spectrum representation (4.8%), gender/race/status (1.6%), and educational experience (0.8%).

Related to knowledge of autistic characteristics based on current diagnostic criteria, and treatment and prognostic aspects of autism spectrum disorder, 67.2% of respondents accurately disagreed that autism more commonly occurs among higher socioeconomic and education levels. Twenty-eight percent were unsure and 4.8% agreed. Sixty-one-point six percent of respondents accurately disagreed that medications (e.g. antipsychotics, mood stabilizers) is an effective treatment for the main features of autism, 34.4% of respondents were unsure, and 4.0% agreed. Sixty-four percent of respondents accurately agreed that children on the autism spectrum demonstrate attachment to their caregivers, 28.0% were unsure and 8.0% disagreed. Thirty-two-point eight percent of respondents disagreed that most autistic individuals have special talents and abilities. Twenty-eight-point eight percent were unsure and 38.4% agreed. Of those who

agreed with the latter, 20 (35.7%) were professionals who work with the autism community, 19 (33.9%) were family members and/or friends, eight (14.3%) were students, seven had no relation (12.5%), and two (3.6%) were individuals on the autism spectrum.

Pearson's r analyses were performed to determine the relationship between variables in the data set. No correlation was found between participants' relationship to the autistic community and identification of the top seven characters: ($r(1) = -.22, p < .001$) or between participants' relationship to the autistic community and which characteristics were portrayed authentically ($r(1) = -.02, p < .001$). No correlation was found between participants' relationship to the autistic community and opinion on diagnostic, prognostic, and treatment aspects of autism: most autistic individuals have special talents or abilities ($r(1) = .04, p < .001$); autism is a neurodevelopmental disorder ($r(1) = -.13, p < .001$); autism occurs more commonly among higher socioeconomic and educational levels ($r(1) = .07, p < .001$); children on the autism spectrum demonstrate attachment to their caregivers ($r(1) = -.06, p < .001$); medication is an effective treatment for the main features of autism ($r(1) = .10, p < .001$).

No correlation was found between which characteristics were portrayed authentically and participants' opinion on diagnostic, prognostic and treatment aspects of autism: most autistic individuals have special talents or abilities ($r(1) = -.03, p < .001$); autism is a neurodevelopmental disorder ($r(1) = -.01, p < .001$); autism occurs more commonly among higher socioeconomic and educational levels ($r(1) = 0, p < .001$); autistic children demonstrate attachment to caregivers ($r(1) = 0, p < .001$); medication is an effective treatment for the main features of autism ($r(1) = -.01, p < .001$).

Discussion & Conclusions

Of the top seven characters identified as autistic and/or demonstrating autistic characteristics by survey respondents, only four had a disclosed ASD diagnosis. Those survey respondents with a personal or working relationship to the autistic community identified fewer characters *without* a diagnosis than those who have a personal or working relationship, or identified as an autistic individual. This might indicate that those who have a relationship with the autistic community may feel more comfortable identifying autistic-like characteristics than those who do not, as some respondents with no relationship stated they did not feel comfortable speaking on a character's autistic traits because of their lack of knowledge about autism. Decreased comfort related to knowledge about autism points to a greater need for authentic autistic representation in television to support the general public's understanding and perception of autism.

Autistic individuals reported more frequently that no characteristics were portrayed authentically than respondents in other groups, who otherwise rated authenticity of representation similarly. The view of the autistic individuals who participated in the survey is consistent with previous studies that indicated disabled characters are fundamentally underrepresented in the media, with the majority of autistic characters being portrayed as inspiring geniuses despite savant syndrome's rarity (Belcher and Maich, 2014; Draaisma, 2009; Hermelin, 2001). This finding may indicate that individuals on the autism spectrum are less likely to view characters as authentic than those who are not on the autism spectrum.

The results of this study demonstrate agreement with autistic characters typically being portrayed as highly intelligent (e.g., savant-like), as seen in the stereotypes perpetuated section. This study also highlights respondent's knowledge of the diagnostic aspects of autism, where

disparity was greatest regarding autistic individuals having special talents or abilities. Individuals with no relationship to the autistic community and those who have a personal or working relationship both display agreement that autistic individuals have special abilities. This suggests a potential challenge, particularly in the professional population, as well as for family members and friends of the autistic community. While each individual certainly has unique and valued skills and gifts to contribute to society; as indicated above, a longstanding trope related to autism is that individuals on the spectrum have the “special” or “exceptional” skills (e.g., *The Good Doctor*), or - on the other end of the continuum - presents with extremely limited skills, which can lead to use of functioning labels that have been rejected by the autistic community (e.g., *Quincy M.E.*) and do not support a strengths-based approach to education and support. This finding indicates a need not only for authentic disability representation, but also understanding and working with the autistic population, as well as family education on autism.

Limitations & Future Research

There are several limitations to this study that must be considered when interpreting the results presented. The first being the sample of participants who identified as autistic. Although the survey was sent to list-servs in the autistic community, only six autistic individuals responded. It is important to note that the view of the autistic individuals in this study are not enough to infer about the autistic community as a whole. Secondly, this study originated within a Speech & Hearing Sciences Department and the survey was distributed to many professional list-servs in the speech-language pathology (SLP) community. This discipline is a female dominated field that requires a minimum of a master’s degree to practice, which most likely caused the research participants to be skewed female and all participants being somewhat college educated (American Speech-Language Hearing Association, 2019).

Although the survey was piloted amongst student researchers in the Autism and Social Communication Research Lab at Portland State University, it is possible elements of the survey were confusing to participants. Statements in the survey were based on the DSM-V (APA, 2013), a medical manual, and could cause confusion to those unfamiliar with diagnostic criteria terminology. The survey consisted of a section asking for characteristics portrayed authentically and inauthentically, and the latter could have been removed to shorten the length of the survey and reduce confusion.

Further studies should be directly aimed at the autistic community and, separately, individuals with no relation to the autism community to better understand the impact of autistic characters, specifically in authenticity and perception of autism. Studies should also be conducted regarding the impact of highly intelligent autistic characters and/or characters with autistic characteristics, specifically how it impacts expectations placed upon the autistic community and understanding of autism. These studies can advance knowledge of how the general public perceives autism, and whether the autistic community believes autism is being portrayed authentically.

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Appendix A

Please note: The survey intentionally uses identify-first language (e.g., autistic person) to recognize the preference of many in the autistic community. For more information regarding identify-first language, please see: Sinclair, 1999; Brown, 2011; Kenny et al, 2016.

What is your relationship to individuals on the autism spectrum? (select all that apply)

- Individual on the autism spectrum (autistic, Asperger, neurodivergent)
- Family member and/or close friend of an autistic individual
- Professional who works with the autistic community (Medical setting)
- Professional who works with the autistic community (Private practice)
- Professional who works with the autistic community (Educational setting)
- Student who works with the autistic community
- No relation
- Other

What age group do you fall in?

- 18 to 24 years old
- 25 to 34 years old
- 35 to 44 years old
- 45 to 54 years old
- 55 to 64 years old
- 65 to 74 years old
- 75 or older

What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

- No schooling completed
- Some high school
- High school graduate or GED
- Some college, no degree
- Associate degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's degree
- Doctorate degree

What is your gender identity?

- Male
- Female

- Non-binary
- Prefer not to say
- Other

Which setting best describes where you live?

- Urban area
- Suburban area
- Rural area
- Other (please describe)

For each of the following statements, click the box that best represents your view.

	Agree	Not sure	Disagree
Autism can be represented in different ways, with some people requiring more supports and other requiring less depending on the situation.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most autistic individuals have special talents or abilities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
With the proper treatment, most autistic children eventually "outgrow" autism.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Autism is a neurodevelopmental disorder.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Autistic children usually grow up to be schizophrenic adults.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Autism occurs more commonly among higher socioeconomic and educational levels.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Children on the autism spectrum demonstrate attachment with caregivers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Medication (e.g. antipsychotics, mood stabilizers) is an effective treatment for the main features of autism.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Coaching parents to support communication is one effective treatment of autism.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I have watched a television show that portrays a character on the autism spectrum and/or a character that I believe demonstrates features/characteristics of autism.

- Yes
- No

Please describe or identify the television show and the character to which you are referring in Question 7:

Please check what characteristics that you feel were portrayed **authentically** related to the daily experiences of an individual on the autism spectrum (choose all that apply).

- Daily living experience (e.g. portrayal of work, transportation, living situation)
- Education experience (e.g. interaction with peers, organization,, interests at school, classroom setting)
- Relationship/Friendship experience (e.g. close friends, romantic partner)
- Restricted/repetitive behavior, interests, or activities (e.g. specialized interests, patterns, sensory needs and sensitivities)
- Differences in social-emotional reciprocity (e.g., sharing of activities, physical space)
- Differences in nonverbal communicative behaviors used for social interaction (e.g. eye contact, body language, verbal and nonverbal communication)
- Differences in developing, maintaining, and understanding relationships (e.g. interest in peers, adjusting to various social contexts)
- No characteristics were portrayed authentically

Please check what characteristics you feel were **not** portrayed authentically related to the daily experiences of an individual on the autism (choose all that apply).

- Daily living experience (e.g. portrayal of work, transportation, living situation)
- Education experience (e.g. interaction with peers, organization,, interests at school, classroom setting)
- Relationship/Friendship experience (e.g. close friends, romantic partner)
- Restricted/repetitive behavior, interests, or activities (e.g. specialized interests, patterns, sensory needs and sensitivities)
- Differences in social-emotional reciprocity (e.g., sharing of activities, physical space)
- Differences in nonverbal communicative behaviors used for social interaction (e.g. eye contact, body language, verbal and nonverbal communication)
- Differences in developing, maintaining, and understanding relationships (e.g. interest in peers, adjusting to various social contexts)
- All characteristics were portrayed authentically

Are there any stereotypes about autism spectrum disorder that you feel were perpetuated by the television show?
Please describe.










Does the autistic character have their own narrative purpose other than the education of a non-autistic character?
Please describe.

Did the character demonstrate successes that a non-autistic character would experience (e.g. getting into college, dream job)? Please describe.

The table below displays characters that have either been identified in the show as autistic and/or media sources and fan communities (e.g., headcanon) have described them as displaying autistic characteristics. You may have identified one or more these in your response to Question 8.

Do you recognize any of the characters below as autistic and/or demonstrating autistic characteristics?

- Yes
- No

<p>Dr. Shaun Murphy <i>The Good Doctor</i> (2017-)</p>  <p>© 2020 ABC Entertainment</p>	<p>Tina Belcher <i>Bob's Burgers</i> (2011-)</p>  <p>© 2020 Fox Entertainment</p>	<p>Sheldon Cooper <i>The Big Bang Theory</i> (2007-2019) and <i>Young Sheldon</i> (2017-)</p>  <p>© 2020 CBS Interactive Inc.</p>
<p>Sam Gardner <i>Atypical</i> (2017-)</p>  <p>© 2020 Netflix, Inc.</p>	<p>Dr. Temperance Brennan <i>Bones</i> (2005-2017)</p>  <p>© 2020 Fox Entertainment</p>	<p>Abed Nadir <i>Community</i> (2009-2015)</p>  <p>© 2020 NBCUniversal Media</p>
<p>Max Braverman <i>Parenthood</i> (2010-2015)</p>  <p>© 2020 NBCUniversal Media</p>	<p>Dr. Spencer Reid <i>Criminal Minds</i> (2005-)</p>  <p>© 2020 CBS Interactive Inc.</p>	<p>Brick Heck <i>The Middle</i> (2009-2018)</p>  <p>© 2020 ABC Entertainment</p>

If you recognize them as autistic and/or demonstrating autistic characteristic, what characteristics do you recognize?

If you do not recognize them as autistic and/or demonstrating autistic characteristics, why not?
