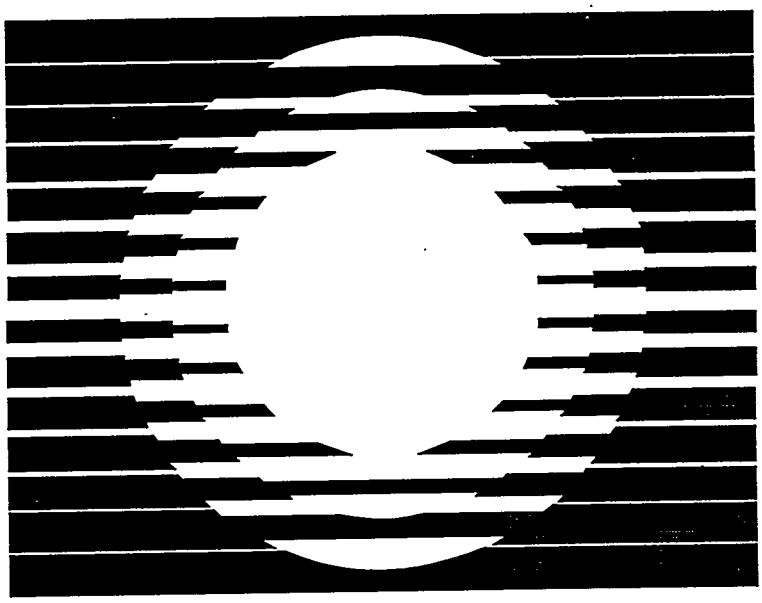
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PROCEEDINGS

NINTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH

1995

Robert D. Yearout
Editor

Volume I

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VOLUME I

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA at ASHEVILLE

JULY , 1995

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Foreword for the **Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on Undergraduate Research**
Union College, April 20-22, 1995

The Ninth National Conference on Undergraduate Research (NCUR 95) was held at Union College in Schenectady, New York. This annual celebration of undergraduate scholarly activity continues to elicit strong nation-wide support and enthusiasm among both students and faculty. Attendance was nearly 1650, which included 1213 student oral and poster presenters. In addition, thirty faculty and administrators gave talks describing their perspectives on undergraduate scholarly activity in symposia organized by the Undergraduate Research Network. Representatives from 280 institutions in 47 states, plus Puerto Rico and Washington, D.C., attended NCUR 95.

There were three plenary speakers at NCUR 95. Dr. Baruch Blumberg, the 1976 Nobel Laureate in Physiology and Medicine and currently Fox Chase Distinguished Scientist at the Fox Chase Cancer Center in Philadelphia, talked about his important discovery of the causes of viral hepatitis and the development of a screening test for the virus in donor blood. Donna Cox, Professor and Associate Director for Technology at the School of Art & Design at the University of Illinois, presented a fascinating video lecture on her work, which is at the interface of computer art and science. Julian Bond, a longtime, articulate champion of civil rights and now Distinguished Adjunct Professor at American University, gave his perspectives on the current state of minority issues in this country.

Perhaps the high point of NCUR 95 was ARTSFEAST, the Friday evening event which featured the work of undergraduates in the performing and visual arts. Over 50 students participated in this event, which included exhibitions of student paintings, drawings, and video art, student compositions by a professional brass quintet.

For the second year in a row, many student papers had to be rejected for presentation at NCUR due to conference size limitations. Thus, submitted papers for presentation at NCUR 95 were put through a careful review process before acceptance. Those of you who have been selected to have your paper appear in these Proceedings have been through yet a second review process. As a consequence, your work has been judged to represent an impressive level of achievement at the undergraduate level. We offer you our congratulations on a job well done, and we hope your work is the precursor of many fine contributions to come from future endeavors.

Tom Werner
Helen Madden
NCUR 95 Site Co-Chairs

Dr. Larry Wilson
Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs
The University of North Carolina at Asheville



The UNCA Editorial Board has dedicated the Proceedings of the Ninth National Conference on Undergraduate Research to Dr. Larry Wilson, former Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at The University of North Carolina at Asheville. In the fall of 1995, Dr. Wilson left UNCA to take on a new role as president of Marietta College in Ohio. His past support of the Proceedings and his commitment to undergraduate research has been greatly appreciated and will be missed.

Dr. Wilson received a B.S. degree in Chemistry from Baker University in Baldwin, Kansas (1958) and a Ph.D. in Chemistry from the University of Kansas (1963). From there, Dr. Wilson embarked on a teaching career at Ohio Wesleyan University where he went on to serve as Acting Provost, Dean of Academic Affairs, and Executive Assistant to the President. During the 1987-88 academic year, which coincided with the first year of the National Conference on Undergraduate Research, Dr. Wilson came to UNCA. Since then, he has served the University as Professor of Chemistry, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, and as Interim Chancellor since 1994.

While a member of the National Editorial Board and a reviewer for the NCUR Proceedings, Dr. Wilson's main support came in the area of finance. By dedicating funds from the UNCA Foundation to send students to the Conference, he also made money available to send the UNCA Editorial Board to review and process papers. This on-site processing made possible the September publication of the Proceedings each year. Without Dr. Wilson's support, the Proceedings would have come out much later in the year resulting in low sales and jeopardizing the Proceedings' ability to sustain itself. With the help of Larry Wilson, the Proceedings has become self supporting through corporate donations and sales as well.

The Proceedings Board wishes Dr. Wilson well in his new position and looks forward to seeing Marietta College participants at NCUR 10!

PREFACE

The 249 papers published in these three volumes are representative of the approximately 1200 papers and posters presented at the celebration of undergraduate research that was NCUR '95'. The faculty, staff and students of Union College are to be commended for making NCUR '95' such an enriching experience. The student authors deserve recognition for their hard work and for their persistence in seeing their research through to its final publications.

Special thanks are extended to Dr. Helen Madden, Ms. Kelly Buttridge and other members of the NCUR '95' Staff. Their help during the days of the Conference was invaluable. Many thanks also to the members of the National Board, who reviewed a large number of papers submitted to the Proceedings under time constraints. Their continued efforts to standardize has raised the Proceedings quality. This project would have not been successful without their assistance.

I would also like to thank the UNCA Editorial Board, who put in many long hours reviewing, checking and organizing papers, and Lisa Reeves, Patricia Roullard and Holly Beveridge, who did all of the cutting and pasting necessary for these volumes. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Katherine Whatley and Lisa Reeves for their support, encouragement and mentorship during the entire process of organizing the Proceedings.

To all the students who submitted papers to the Proceedings go thanks for their participation and congratulations for their achievements. Your enthusiasm and achievement will serve as role models for the next group of student researchers-who we look forward to meeting at the Tenth National Conference on Undergraduate Research at the University of North Carolina Asheville.

Robert D. Yearout
UNC at Asheville
July, 1995

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NINTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH**

Number 1 1995

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Botticelli's *Primavera* and the Role of Women in the Renaissance

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The large panel painting that has acquired the name *Primavera* by Sandro Botticelli, *circa* 1480, has been interpreted in many ways. This painting reflects the values of Florentine society during the Quattrocento, especially in regard to the marriage agreement and the customs surrounding that sacrament.

Primavera is a mythological scene that occurs within a large garden. Richard Cocke comments on the exterior setting in his article for Apollo (October 1992). Cocke relates that the garden setting recalls the courtly, northern-inspired frescoes of earlier generations. Mirella Levi D'Ancona devotes a book to the symbolism of the foliage and flowers in the garden. She suggests faithfulness and fertility as two of the themes of this painting.

A definite correlation between a figure's gender and placement within the painting exists. Nine figures populate this scene. Six are female and three are male. The male figures appear on the outskirts of the garden. Mercury turns away from the other figures in the painting. He remains physically and emotionally isolated. Cupid maintains a distance between himself and the other figures as he hovers overhead in the trees. Zephyrus, the West Wind, pushes the nymph Chloris into the garden in the act of raping her.

At one level *Primavera* can be seen as an epithalamium or visual poem in celebration of the marriage. The work also contains many images referring to the expected position of women within that society. The painting presents how women's behavior should be modified in order to conform with the accepted *mores* of the time. Physical appearance is emphasized. All of the women portrayed are young, beautiful and adorned in exquisite fabrics and jewelry. The three Graces were traditionally shown nude or clothed in diaphanous material. In De Beneficiis 1.3:2, Seneca described the maidens as either wearing no clothes or transparent attire. Botticelli unites the composition and achieves visual harmony by portraying Chloris in the same costume as the three Graces. Flora can be identified by her attribute of flowers. They appear as decoration in a wreath around her neck, as well as in the pattern of her garments.

Margaret King in her book, Women of the Renaissance, discusses the importance of clothing. Sumptuary laws limited the style, quality and cost of female dress. The material adornments on a woman's body expressed the status of her husband or father. Clothing and especially jewelry indicated a family's social status. The

wealthy Medici family could afford to adorn their women in gowns of fine material. In *Primavera* this display of wealth is reflected in the clothing of the female figures.

While emphasis is placed on women as objects, men are shown engaging in actions. Zephyrus reaches for the young nymph Chloris with the intention of violating her. Cupid aims a flaming arrow at one of the three Graces. Mercury stirs the clouds with his caduceus to ensure the fertility of the garden. The circumstances of a woman being valued for her body and the portrayal of men controlling women are evident in this painting, as will be shown below.

Lillian Zirpolo supports the view of women being depicted as subordinate to men. She discusses this subject in detail in her article that appears in Woman's Art Journal (Winter 1991-1992). In Quattrocento Florence, it was expected that a bride conform to the wishes of the families in the liaison and that she submit to her new husband regardless of her feelings. Zirpolo argues that in the *Primavera*, this vision of marriage for the sake of the families and the emphasis on the bride's submission are expressed by the rape scene. Chloris, is pursued by Zephyrus whose intention is to ravish her. According to myth, Zephyrus' action of taking the nymph by force is compensated by his marriage to her. Subsequently, he changes her name from Chloris to Flora and allows her domain over the flowers.

Zirpolo discusses how the idea of rape within the context of marriage was deemed acceptable during the Renaissance. Zirpolo points out that Renaissance women were expected to be chaste when entering a marriage. The painting was meant to convey lessons to a new bride regarding the importance of chastity, followed by submission and procreation. Zirpolo relates how noblewomen of the Renaissance were bound to chastity. The paintings in the adjoining room provided the Medici bride with symbolic encouragement to chaste behavior.

Women in the Renaissance were expected to adopt certain characteristics and modify their behavior according to the guidelines of a patrilinear society. If a woman did not conform to certain male expectations she would have had to face the possibility of being ostracized by her community. Women were not given a choice regarding their future. They married a man chosen by their father. If a woman's father was deceased, a brother or other close relative would make the decision. If a family could not provide a sufficient dowry, entering the convent became an option.

Guido Ruggiero in The Boundaries of Eros explains that marriage defined the life of a woman at the time. Women entering into marriage, especially in the higher strata of the social levels, enabled a family to increase its social status. If a woman married into a noble family she would acquire the title of nobility. If a woman was already noble, marrying a man from a wealthy family would also be to her advantage. The union would allow her family access to his family's property or possessions. A woman was seen as little more than a pawn in the competition between upper class families to elevate their social standing and gain more capital. In the case of the Medici marriage, which the *Primavera* commemorates, land and political alliances were gained. Zirpolo relates that the

Medici family was able to secure the support of the bride's family against the pope and the King of Naples. They were also given access to iron mines in Elba that were controlled by her family.

Constance Jordan, in her book, Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models, discusses in detail the role that women played in regard to their social, political and spiritual position within society. In Renaissance political terms, a woman may be described as a *persona mixta*, meaning her natural and political self is balanced by her spiritual one. A woman's identity is determined through her husband. She is recognized as inferior and subordinate to him. But she is held accountable for her actions just as he is. As Jordan has indicated, she will be subject to salvation or damnation depending upon her behavior.

Francesco Barbaro's treatise of 1415, entitled Directions for Love and Marriage, further emphasizes the inequality within a marriage. According to Barbaro, women symbolized a peaceful conquest in regard to gaining more material possessions for a household. A wife's first and foremost duty was to be moral. She was obliged to obey her husband and mirror the actions that he performed. A wife must never question her husband's authority and must walk in his shadow. The ideal wife was seen as an extension of her husband rather than her own person. Above all else, a woman was expected to be silent. For a woman to express an opinion other than that of her husband was unacceptable. Women were perceived as being naturally weak in mind and body. Zirpolo also refers to Barbaro's treatise in her article. Barbaro reveals that men held focused on controlling all aspects of women's lives. He instructs men to teach their wives moderation in all activities. A man was encouraged to control his wife's demeanor, behavior, speech, dress and lovemaking.

Women were also viewed as the objects for regeneration. The emphasis on woman's bodies as vessels and the need to control a woman's sexuality is also mentioned by Barbaro. He identifies expressing sexual desire with the act of speaking. Barbaro associates silence in a woman as a sign of sexual modesty. Mirella Levi D'Ancona elaborates on this theme in her book, Botticelli's Primavera. She interprets the Three Graces as symbolic of chastity. D'Ancona, traces their depiction as beltless to traditional practices. The linen belt of the bride was unfastened by the groom when he took her virginity.

Juan Luis Vives in his book, De Institutio Foeminae Christianae, published in 1523, stressed the importance of chastity in a woman regardless of her social class. He encouraged women not to think in the same terms as men. Vives was implying that it was not socially acceptable for women and men to think about the same subjects. Women were supposed to be concerned with maintaining their chastity and honesty. They were allowed to contemplate only religious subjects, while it was socially acceptable for men to discuss abstract humanist ideas.

Love within a marriage was deemed secondary to other formalities. Ruth Kelso in Doctrine for Lady of the Renaissance describes how a woman is supposed to be prevented from "falling in love". She is restricted in her words, actions and experiences.

Fathers and husbands would have liked to rely solely on force, practical imprisonment within the walls of the home and constant watch over every action, word and thought of their female charge with the hope that inaccessibility would preserve her from contact with any male outside of her immediate family.

Primavera can be interpreted in terms of the figures' relationships with each other are as reflected in how they interact. The mistreatment of women by men becomes evident in examining the action that occurs in this scene. Zirpolo discusses the physical appearance of the figures involved in the rape. She describes Chloris as having the appearance of an animal. The nymph is not tall, slender or graceful like the other female figures. Chloris' stance resembles that of a frightened and trapped creature. I would like to point out the position of her hands. One is raised in a gesture of alarm, while the other seems to grasp desperately at Flora's costume. They reinforce the brutality of this act. Zephyrus has taken on the role as hunter and Chloris becomes the hunted.

These two are the sole pair of figures who focus upon one another in the painting. Chloris and Zephyrus are the only male and female figures that connect mentally and physically. All of the other female figures are isolated from the men. In this painting the context of rape remains the only situation when men and women relate to each other.

Cupid's gesture of aiming an arrow at one of the three Graces mirrors the action of the rape. His blindfold functions as a symbol of love's ambiguity. It emphasizes the blindness of love while alluding to the darkness of sin. The fact that Cupid cannot see the woman he is about to wound further reiterates the idea of violence. The man is depicted as predator and the woman as prey.

The three Graces appear as one body with their linked hands and circular position. However, the wistfulness of their faces suggests sorrow. None of the women make eye contact with each other. As individuals, the women seem to be lost in their own private thoughts. They remain emotionally distant from one another. Their isolation from one another suggests loneliness within circles of women. The extent of control that men possessed enabled them to dictate all dimensions of a woman's activities.

Mercury turns away physically from the Graces. He also seems emotionally distant. His gaze is directed upwards, as if he is preoccupied with the concerns of a male world. He does not attempt to form any type of connection with the other occupants in the garden. Although the figures in this painting are placed in close proximity to each other, a definite isolation between the men and the women is evident.

As scholars have noted, men and women occupied entirely different places within the same society. This painting provided the bride with instruction that emphasized female passivity and isolation. The message is conveyed by presenting a woman only as an entity through which regeneration is possible. The male power structure and the encouragement and acceptance of violence directed at women is clearly depicted.

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Information and Decoration in Seventeenth century Netherlandish Maps and Views

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During the Netherlands' "Golden Age," cartographic and topographic engravings flourished. Most of these works would today be considered examples of 'craft,' or simple informational tools. However, they were often highly embellished and exhibited as decorations in the homes of the rising middle class, despite their seemingly utilitarian purpose.

This research investigates what role these works played in daily life, why they were so popular, and why they were elevated from 'information' to the status of art objects. To that end, a body of representative maps and views from the Sponenburgh Collection has been analyzed in relation to the social, political and economic conditions in the Netherlandish states in the Seventeenth Century. The results of this inquiry suggest not only the characteristic Dutch love of realism, but a change in the perceived value and status of information with the coming of the Enlightenment.

A virtual exhibit based on this paper is available on the World Wide Web at http://nemesis.willamette.edu/collections/sponenburgh/infodeco/.

BACKGROUND

Seventeenth century Netherlandish maps are particularly remarkable, as a group, because of the way they were historically used. Maps are usually classified as something distinct from art, falling under the realm of "craft," or even, "science." However, maps in this period and place were prominently hung upon the walls of homes as decoration, in the same manner as paintings. Concurrently, topographical prints, which appear like landscape drawings to the modern eye, were employed as scientific documents. The reason for this unusual phenomenon lies not only in the nature of these prints, but also in their cultural and historical setting.

A quick study of the paintings of Vermeer and his contemporaries will reveal the prevalence of maps hanging on the walls of Dutch households in the Seventeenth century. According to Svetlana Alpers, "the Dutch were the first who seriously produced maps as wall-hanging -- this being only a small part of the wide production and use of maps throughout the society." (120) Cartography was just beginning to emerge as an actual profession. The scientific inquiries of the Scientific Revolution led to innovations in cartography, such as Mercator's projection, as well as to improved engraving processes, which added to the accuracy of the maps available. Among the best cartographers of the time were men of the Netherlandish states.

In the Seventeenth century the Netherlands were winning independence from Spain, in the flush of the Scientific Revolution and the coming of the Enlightenment, and were the major world economic power. Netherlandish ships prowled oceans all over the world, trading grain, spices, and other luxuries. The Netherlands had perhaps the most to gain from accurate maps. The Netherlandish sailors and merchants were, of course, customers to the cartographer and his ever-improving stock, but the bulk of Seventeenth century Netherlandish maps and views were not intended for them, but rather for the rising bourgeoisie.

IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE

The Scientific Revolution radically changed the understanding of the nature of knowledge. "It was a dynamic conception, consisting above all in a shift from a contemplative to a utilitarian and activist goal."(Baumer 31) This popular rethinking of knowledge was based in part upon the writings of Francis Bacon, whose writings swept Holland in the seventeenth century in a trend known as Baconianism.

Many prominent Dutch thinkers, including Constantijn Huygens and Robert Hooke, embraced and expounded upon Bacon's writings. Particularly attractive to the Dutch was the emphasis on observation and experimentation, as opposed to the abstract, mathematical bias of other contemporary philosophers. This "new knowledge" was specifically based on observations recorded in both words and pictures. (Alpers 73)

This emphasis on Baconian experimentation and empirical knowledge supported and enhanced the already solidly founded Dutch tradition of visual realism in art. "Observation of worldly phenomena is the keynote of the new Dutch culture: not only in painting, which is well known, but in the sciences, anatomy, astronomy, microscopy, optics and technology at which the Dutch excelled." (Baumer 43) An outgrowth of this phenomenon was that pictorial realism was considered as solid a source of knowledge as a written description of the same phenomena, placing pictures, including maps, in an entirely different role than they had in non-realistic traditions, such as Italy's.

DUTCH REALISM

There seems to be a huge gulf between these topographic views and contemporary Netherlandish landscapes, such as Jan Vermeer's "View of Delft," but in fact those landscapes owe much to the tradition represented in this collection of maps and views. The similarity in motifs between contemporary maritime prints and the illustrations of ships which lie in the coastal waters of most of the maps is striking, and suggests that there was some overlap between cartographers and "artistic" engravers. (There is at least one example of this: Claes Jansz. Visscher, the cartographer behind the map featured in Vermeer's *Art of Painting*, was also a landscape artist.) City maps were very common, and usually showed the city from the side, detailing the structure in a manner similar to "View of Delft." The ships which decorate empty space on the maps are drawn mostly from life. The subjects of prints echoed subjects of painting.

INFORMATIVE DECORATION

Maps were highly decorated and embellished, sometimes with scenes similar to that in the flourishing trade of traditional art engravings. In light of these decorations, the maps use as decorative prints enters the realm of plausibility, but that still is not a sufficient explanation of their popularity.

Close examination of the Sponenburgh maps shows some exhibit an unusual relationship between information and decoration: all are decorated, but some contain little usable information, and instead present decoration which masquerades as information.

For example, the map of Suffolk, which is the most ostentatious of the collection, devotes fully one fourth of the picture space to embellishments, cartouches and illustrations. The remaining picture space is filled with the outline of the county of Suffolk, small stands of trees, hills and small drawings indicating the relative placement of various towns. There are two different drawings, apparently representing two sizes of towns, though there is no legend indicating precisely what selection criterion was used. The labels fill a higher share of space than is proportionate to their informational content, especially when compared to the possible informational content in the site depictions and detailing. It is difficult to tell whether

the many stands of trees that cover the map are actually based on forest tracts in Suffolk, or on the cartographer's whim. The map gives a basic idea of the layout of the various cities, but not of geography, or of passage between places. (The lack of roads, however, is common to maps of this century, because knowledge of the roads was held to be a military secret.)

The map of Ireland is a "plane chart," using none of Mercator's cartographic innovations such as loxodromes or stretching the projection to conform with the curvature of the earth. Latitude and Longitude are indicated by a legend along the sides of the chart. Interior waterways are excellently detailed, and most regions are labeled with clan names as well as place names. Shoals directly off the coast are indicated by stippling, but there is no other information to aid the mariner, including a complete lack of directional markings. Ireland itself only takes up half of the print, and the rest of the land area depicted is not very detailed, including only rivers and some drawings of hills, which are, like the Suffolk map, unlabeled. Thus, only a small proportion of the map contains usable information, and the rest of the space is filled with information that only appears at first glance usable. There has been some attempt made to increase the aesthetic properties of the map: a border is drawn in, simulating a picture frame, the map is brightly hand-colored, and the text which labels major regions is extremely ornate. The map of Portugal is done in an almost identical style, though it was drawn by a different artist.

The maps of Ireland and Portugal are similar to the Suffolk map in the quality of information presented, though they are not as ostentatiously decorated. The coloring of the maps appears to have been done with very similar tools, since many of the same colors are used to delineate boundaries and color decorations, including an orange color with a particularly waxy texture. All have a drawn "frame," similar iconography for site representation, and present a similar quality and quantity of information. The pictorial similarities with the Suffolk map and also with the French map of Orange by Jacque de Chieze suggest that this cartographic style was widespread, and popular.

DECORATIVE INFORMATION

Because of the Baconian trend explained earlier, many informative pictures were made. They seem decorative because of the modern bais against informational drawings, having mostly shunted informative picturing onto the shoulders of photography.

Some of the maps of this period exhibit the Dutch comfort with pictures that were both decorative and informative, and exhibit a high quality of information and decoration in the same work. Examples of this in the Sponenburgh Collection are the maps of Edam and Delfshaven, the view of Wimpole Hall, and the Maes Estuary chart.

The maps of Edam and Delfshaven are at first glance picturesque: animals stand in the fields, the variety of vegetation in the town gardens is sketchily described, and each house is drawn individually. This deceptively decorative wrapping provides a great deal of usable information. Even though the representation of each feature is done by illustration rather than an abstract symbol, the illustrations are not portraits, but icons. The layout of the major buildings, streets and canals is clearly depicted. The streets are unlabeled, but the city plan is so clear, and the town so small, that labels are probably not needed, and this map could be used by a traveler to find any of the marked landmarks. The size of the maps would make them portable, allowing for uses other than sitting immovable in a library or on a wall. It is probable that these maps were part of a larger set of city maps. More obviously decorative elements, such as cartouches, are small, minimally embellished, and mostly contain useful information such as the shield of the city and the legend of the map. This does not make them non-decorative, however, because the overall illustration is so reminiscent of a

landscape drawn from above and the animals and vegetation which dot the landscape are so charming.

Jan Kip's engraving of Wimpole Hall, done after Leender Knyff's painting, escapes the feeling of landscape only by the sheer precision of information in the garden and the presence of writing. Unlike many contemporary landscape scenes it is all drawn from a single viewpoint, with very obvious use of one-point perspective, including shadows consistent with a single light source. It seems to have been made as an architectural and garden design plan. The engraving is a copy of a painting which was probably mostly done from life and intended as a documentary piece. However, at least one detail, a gate, was drawn according to proposed renovations that never occurred. (Jackson-Stops 40) Many tiny figures, human and animal, were included for scale. The garden arrangements are meticulously detailed, and have been used for restoration by the National Trust, which presently owns the property. Though it is the most traditionally decorative appearing work in the group, it also contains a great deal of useable information, which is consistent with the Dutch view of pictures as a viable informative source.

The best example of this co-existence of information and decoration can be found in Joannes Van Keulen's maps of the Maes Estuary. This map was probably actually intended for navigational purposes. The style of the map is similar to modern navigational maps, with the exception of indicating cities with small icons of cities, which we have seen to be a common practice at the time. Unlike modern maps and the other maps in the collection, it is not colored, and the distinction between water and land is made by place names, and the lack of detailed information on the land portions of the map.

The map contains a great deal of information useful to the navigator: water depth and harbors conducive to anchorage are indicated by numbers and anchor symbols, respectively. Shoals are indicated by stippling. Distance is indicated by a scale. Also, this map makes use of Mercator's innovations of loxodromes, aiding in exact navigation according to latitude and longitude. The cartouches and illustrations which decorate the map are large and particularly fanciful, but appear to only take up space that would have been undetailed: open sea and land.

This work has the most strictly informational content of any of the prints, and is the most "useful," yet it also includes the most grand decorative elements, both in size, style and subject matter. Of all the works in the collection, this work is the best example of the Dutch attitude that saw pictures, including maps, as "a significant form of acquiring knowledge."(Alpers 102)

AUDIENCE AND MARKET

Many of the works which appear informative are not particularly, while many of the works that seem dominantly decorative are in fact excellent sources of information in the particularly Dutch tradition. This is probably because of the Dutch view of the proper sources and importance of Knowledge. In the case of the faux-informational works, their decorative ability and use is probably a result of middle-class folk want to display their knowledge, since it was important to the culture, and also, in the case of the maps, because the Dutch were so proud of their world-trading exploits and their newly won ownership of their own land, which would make land more important.

Maps of countries and cities, views of famous estates and sites were bought by prosperous burghers and nobles to add to their collections (Kammermeisters) of curiosities and knowledge. "Most art buyers in Holland preferred subjects within their own experience - landscapes, architectural views, still lifes, everyday scenes. These various types, we recall, originated in the latter half of the sixteenth century; as they became fully defined, an unheard-of specialization began. The trend was not confined

to Holland. We find it everywhere to some degree, but Dutch painting was its fountainhead, in both volume and variety." (Janson 577)

CONCLUSION

The synthesis of the traditional Dutch tendancy toward realism and the increased status given to information at the end of the Scientific Revolution produced artworks that were an unusual hybrid of information and decoration. These hybrids flourished because of their adaptability as both tools and decorative objects, and are a reflection of the increased importance of information to the Dutch at this time.

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The Inter-Relation of Spectacle and View Painting With Emphasis on Canaletto and Guardi

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Beginning during the Renaissance, the government of Venice experienced a serious decline in its power as a leading merchant nation. At this point, the city's government heightened its use of spectacle and pageantry to improve the city's image and boost its sagging morale. People from all over Europe flocked to Venice, now more than ever before and caused the industry of tourism to grow larger than it had ever been. A significant portion of this increase was largely due to the concept of the Grand Tour, simultaneously developing in England These wealthy travelers provided a great market for authentic souvenirs of Venice, and this spurred a new kind of landscape imagry in Venice called "view painting." The two artists who defined the concept of view painting in Venice during the 18th century were Giovanni Antiono Canaletto and Francesco Guardi. These view paintings showed much innovation at the time because they were, in essence, portraits of Venice, in all of its costumes They portrayed everything from grandiose harbor scenes to meager work yards. One subject type of subject, depicted often by both Canaletto and Guardi was that of spectacle and pageantry particular to Venice during that time.

This employment of spectacle and pageantry was very significant. True, it had always been an important institution throughout Europe, but as the showy ornate styles of the 18th century developed, spectacle as a tool for the government was put to use in ways never seen before. It was used to impress foreign dignitaries with the beauty, wealth, and power of a monarch or government and even to reassure the locals of the power of their ruler (whether it existed or not). Frederic C. Lane said, "Pageantry was a vital means of communication, not so much of information, which spread like wild fire by word of mouth...but as a means of communicating attitudes and feelings...the shared experience of public ceremonies strengthened social solidarity" (108). Spectacles existed in several different fashions. Most often, they took the form of processions to celebrate or commemorate certain events, such as a royal birth, holiday, or military victory, giving the aristocrats a chance to flaunt their position. Sometimes they were musical concerts, showing off the excellence of the talent in the domain. They were even as novel as the launching of a hot air balloon, in which case, the spectacle was the demonstration of a new scientific discovery. Often rulers used these occasions opportunities simply to boost the morale of the masses.

Spectacle became especially important in Venice after the Renaissance because it helped to boost tourism which took over as an important money-making industry for the city after its decline. For hundreds of years before the Renaissance, Venice's prime location on the Adriatic Sea made its ports some of the busiest in the world. It was close enough to bridge trade routes with European countries to the Near East and also to shuttle religious pilgrims to Jerusalem to visit to Promised Land (Links 62). Venice led the trade market and was considered a world power with which not to be reckoned. One guidebook writer said, "Their policy was simple: never take sides, and always have the best ships in Europe" (Links 57). But because of changes in government and new trade routes being developed by other European nations, Venice gained competition in trade that it had never before experienced, and it was not able to withstand the pressure. Its government began to take sides with other world powers and lost. "By 1500 she was the best hated state in Europe," stated Links (62). Eventually though, tourism as a source of revenue pulled through for the Venetians, and with its spectacle and purported wild atmosphere, it became a meeting place for pleasure hunters from all over Europe (Wittkower 304). Because of this increase of foreigners, Venice became an more even more international city, and artists and craftsmen of all types in turn gained much more patronage. Therefore, the atmosphere of spectacle and gaiety which drew people to this city on the water became an indirect yet important facet of the city's economic system: they brought tourists, which in turn, kept Venice afloat during its transitional state after its decline as a world power.

power.

Many of the Europeans visiting Venice during this time were English people on their "Grand Tour" of the continent. The grand tour was a concept which began developing in England during Elizabethan times. Trease describes it, saying, "Originally intended to supply young aristocrats with a proper background for statecraft and diplomacy--occasionally for espionage--the Grand Tour developed into an event of considerable cultural and educational significance, and finally by the middle of the 18th century, into a social convention" (cover flap). Some people even made touring somewhat of a profession, traveling over Europe for years at a time. Certain cities were considered imperative to see, and Venice was one of these cities.

With their dreamy impressions of the streets of water and captivating atmosphere, most Grand Tourists' accounts of Venice were very charming, though not always. One traveler on his Grand Tour went so far as to describe Venice as "the brothel of Europe" because of the open merry-making taking place around him (Hibbert 126). At any rate, Venice was a definitive point of interest among these Grand Tourists. The magical and festive atmosphere attracted these people like a magnet, and curiosity lured them to see the grand ducal ceremonies aboard the *Bucentaur*, the Duke's ceremonial boat, the royal processions over pontoon bridges, and especially the annual *Carnivale* festivities before Lent. The combination of ceremonies among the streets of water was something entirely unique to Venice, and this served to its advantage. People wanted to see something other than their own ordinary environment, and Venice provided one of the most pleasing, interesting, and unique outlets for this desire.

Because of the great expense occurred during travel, people embarking on these trips were generally monied aristocrats. Because only they could afford the expense of leaving the home and work place for such an extended period of time, paying boarding and travel fees for themselves and their servants, and the transporting of excess baggage and souvenirs back home. One tourist returned home with an incredible 878 separate pieces of luggage (Trease cover flap)! Since they usually had more money to spend than does the average tourist backpacking through Europe today, the souvenirs that they bought were much more substantial and costly than the 20 cent postcards and straw gondoliers' hats sold in Venice now. They wanted something more authentic and permanent. Often they would invest in valuable regional specialties, such as Bohemian crystal, *Limoges* china, or Venetian glass. Another popular item particular to Venice was the view painting or *Vedute*.

Vedute is the Italian term for a view painting, which is a factual, topographical view of a particular place. It is different from a typical landscape (*quadraturista*), imaginary view (*vedute ideale* or *vedute di fantasia*), or the caprice painting (*cappriccio*) (Wittkower 325). One art historian described *Vedute* saying, "View painting is a late offshoot, often combining landscape elements with the work of the trained architectural designer as well as the *quadraturista* or scene painter" (Wittkower 325). They are basically objective records of actual scenes combined with some aspects of genre and landscape painting, such as perspectival devices and attention to the details of everyday life. With history painting being the most important and prominent subject matter of the day, view paintings were not highly regarded by the most fashionable artists and critics, either in- or outside of Venice. They were considered copying, with a lack of invention and imagination (Levey 119). It is worth mentioning, that in all of Ruskin's famous volumes on Venice, there is barely a mention of view painting and its artists. This illustrates their lack of credibility in the art world during that time. Despite their lack of crediliby, view paintings served the needs of the tourists. The majority of the commissions for the view painters came from English people on tour, with Canaletto being their painter of choice. View paintings refreshed the visual sense of the Englishmen because with view paintings they were not so involved with serious historical subject matter. One historian commented on the function of view paintings, saying, "The view painters are marvelous tribute to the 18th century's rational use of art; their pictures had a definite purpose, a purpose the English did not find in the contemporary history painters, whom they therefore ignored" (Levey 96).

The beginnings of view painting can be traced back to the mid 17th century, to the fanciful paintings of artists such as Carpaccio and Tintoretto. Tourism was just beginning to really grow, and the art produced to support it became more important than ever before. One historian has written, "For many centuries, then, the business of Venice had been Business. Now it became Art" (Links 63). The most well-known painters of this new style were two native Venetians, Giovanni Antonio Canaletto (1697-1768) and Francesco Guardi (1712-1793). Before, Venice

had only been used as a sentimental backdrop for earlier Venetian painters, but the work of Canaletto and Guardi changed this fact. They portrayed Venice as it had rarely been seen before--as it truly existed. They showed the water, the architecture, daily life, and special occasions for the express purpose of portraying true Venetian life, and nothing else. Though the subjects of these two artists were similar, their styles grew to be very different. Being the leaders of the style, there was not much competition for the two; but Luca Carlevaris can not go without mention.

Carlevaris was one of the first native painters of Venice. He was a learnéd man with a background in mathematics and architecture. His artistic career began with the Italian *capricci*, which were paintings of imaginary landscapes or buildings, and evolved into what is now considered view painting. What proves to be of most importance about Carlevaris is that he wanted his images known outside of Venice (Levey 101). Levey says, "Carlevaris gives us the first really conscious expression of painting Venice to emphasize the importance and grandeur of Venice (101). Unlike other view painters who followed him, he was actually patronized by Venetian aristocrats. His compositions became the standard and were even copied by Canaletto (Levey 104). He was considered a model by view painters to come.

Canaletto, named the "most celebrated view painter in Italy" by Levey, was a professional artist from the very start of his career in his teens (118). He began as a set designer for theatrical productions, where he was known for his complicated architectural sets. Shortly he changed his career to that of a view painter which proved to be a successful career move for Canaletto. Wittkower stated that Canaletto was not "a chronicler, concerned with the factual, rather than the poetical aspect of the scene recorded. It was precisely this, the poetical quality, the responsiveness to the mood of Venice, to her light and atmosphere, that Canaletto knew how to render" (327). During his life, he studied in Rome, where he sketched the ruins, and after his fame when he became known to the English tourists in Venice, he spent ten years (1746-1756) painting in England. Eventually he returned to Venice to fill more commissions to the English, who adored his portrayals of Venice which eventually made him famous. The in 1763, just five years before his death and after almost a lifetime of effort, he was allowed entrance into the Venetian Academy.

Drawing on his work with theatrical sets, Canaletto's detailed style had an assured sense of architectural perspective. His work was initially dark but grew to be warmly lit, atmospheric, fluid, and smooth, which was in keeping with the trends of the times (Wittkower 327). Wittkower maintains, "it is this that helps to convey the impression of a dispassionate festive dignity and beatitude" (327). Canaletto used a traditional, fluid, even application of paint to preserve form, but the quality that Canaletto is most remembered for is the way in which he captured Venetian life (Wittkower 328). "His excellence lies in painting thing which fall immediately under his eye (Levey 110). Continuing, Levey states, "Not only bricks and mortar but life itself is grasped--and felt to be going on with a serene assurance" (levey 113).

During his lifetime, Guardi was not as well-known as Canaletto, and he never attracted the attention of foreigners that Canaletto did either. He worked in two studios without recognition, and then he even studied under Canaletto. He got started with view painting by trying to copy Canaletto's works, but he was not very successful and eventually rebelled against Canaletto's style (Levey 126). As Guardi's own style developed, he painted with a more loaded paint brush, a technique which he learned from the styles of the modern masters (Wittkower 328). He replaced symmetry with asymmetry, and the light airiness, characteristic to Guardi's work, became a precursor to the Rococo style, just beginning to develop in other parts of Europe, as well as in Italy (Levey 134). Levey says, "Guardi's love of movement, of pale tones and luminous skies, is based less on naturalism than on the heightened Rococo of his century: its love of lightness, elegance and grace" (Levey 134). As he grew older, his style tended toward the coming Impressionist style of France (Levey 134). He too, like Canaletto, was accepted into the Venetian Academy late in his life at the age of 72.

One main difference between the styles of Canaletto and Guardi is the nature of their two styles. Canaletto painted very objectively, while Guardi was much freer with his interpretations of scenes. Levey says, "From the first Guardi intended to interpret Venice rather than reproduce it" (130). Wittkower gives a long explanation comparing the two, saying

> While Canaletto is primarily concerned with the skillful manipulation of architectural prospects and therefore remains inside the great Italian tradition of firm compositional structure, Guardi drifts more and more towards so free and personal an interpretation of the material

> world that its structure appears accidental rather than essential to his dreamlike visions. While Canaletto objectifies even the poetry of Venice, Guardi subjectifies even factual recordings. While the former, in a word, is still a child of the Renaissance tradition in so far as the thing painted in an intrinsic part of the painters' performance, the latter steps outside that tradition in so far as the thing painted seems to have no more than extrinsic value (328).

One of Canaletto's paintings depicts one of the most common forms of spectacle of eighteenth-century Venice which were ducal visits to churches and *Scuola* in Venice. It is called *The Doge Visiting the Church and Scuola di S. Rocco*. The Duke would visit churches and *Scuola* to bestow his blessings, which gave occasions for much spectacle. The *Scuola* was a religious confraternity, of which there were five large ones throughout the city of Venice. These groups provided wonderful opportunities for painters to exhibit their work. Here *Scuola di S. Rocco* displays the work of the Academy for the Duke's visit. It is a grand festival with a canopy raised to shield the Duke from the sun. He walks through the throngs of people with a golden parasol held over his head by a servant, to further protect him. Canaletto's style in this work is characteristically clear and descriptive, with care given even to the smallest details, such as the glass on the table in the right bottom corner, the crippled boy in front, and the potted plants on the roof of the building next to the church. It is this concern with detail, which most viewers probably only subconsciously notice, that causes the true Venice to sparkle and gives Canaletto his reputation for showing both the factual and poetical aspects of Venice.

One traditional spectacle unique to Venice was the Annual Regatta. It was always held on the Grand Canal on the second of February, which was the feast day of the Purification of the Virgin (Baetjer and Links 166). Canaletto's portrayal of this, called *A Regatta on the Grand Canal*, shows one of the famous festivals, which always drew crowds of people. At the left is a *macchina della regatta*, which was a temporarily erected structure built upon a barge or floating platform, specifically for the regatta (Baetjer and Links 166). Since the regatta was usually associated with *Canivale* also, Canaletto has depicted the people in their fanciful costumes. Even the boats are decked in gilding and feathers and lined up for the race as far as the eye can see. All about, there seems to be a festive atmosphere, created by the masses of people gathered to watch the race. Again, as characteristic of Canaletto, he has given careful attention to the detail and clarity of composition for which he is known.

Between 1766 and 1770, Guardi painted a series of 12 festival paintings. They were probably commissioned by a member of the Mocenigo household, who wanted them modeled after a set of engravings by Gianbattista Brustolon (Gowing 540). Ironically enough, these engravings were based on drawings by Canaletto (Gowing 540). The festivals depicted vary in type. One painting named *The Doge Goes to Salute on 21 November to Commemorate the End of the Plague* shows the Duke visiting the church *Santa Maria della Salute*. A special pontoon bridge had been built for the Duke so as to provide direct access from his palace to the *Salute*. As said before, processions of the Duke were the most common form of spectacle in Venice. Here, it can be assumed that, Guardi rendered the subject, for the most part, objectively. The composition is simple with the church in the center and the people crowding around wherever possible to see the action taking place before them. There is little movement in this particular painting, which is atypical of Guardi, but light plays off of the surface of the church and the backs of people, which remains consistent with his style.

Another subject of spectacle portrayed twice in the series is the festivity on Ascension Day. One painting is called *The Doge in the Bucentaur at San Nicolo di Lido on Ascension Day*, and the other is *The Bucentaur Departs for the Lido on Ascension Day*. The *Bucentaur* served as the Duke's ceremonial boat and is shown in these paintings donning exquisite decorations for the occasions. The wispy manner that Guardi used for painting things such as oars and masts gives both pictures the sense of movement which is a hallmark of his work. The compositions are free, the skies billow with clouds, and the buildings in the backgrounds appear to be floating on top of the water.

One of Guardi's most fantastical renderings in this series is called *The Doge Takes Place in the Festivities in the Piazetta on Shrove Tuesday*. It portrays the celebration going on the final day before Lent, and it shows 18th century spectacle at its height. The structure in the center is a temporary stage constructed, especially for the occasion. Acrobats have formed a human pyramid for the Duke with all of Venice present to watch. Supposedly, after an acrobat was to have slid down one of the wires connected to a building out of sight, he would then

present poems to the Duke, who observed from his balcony. Guardi depicted this almost ludicrous event with much movement and lightness. The fact that there was a need for such a series of paintings to be commissioned shows the importance of the role that spectacle played in the lives of the Venetians. Such scenes, in the mind of one patron at least, apparently exemplified the character of Venice.

The rise in importance of spectacle and pageantry, which had been developing during the 18th century period, proved to be extremely important in the newly restructured Venice. It attracted tourists from all over Europe, especially those Englishmen on the Grand Tour, which greatly boosted the economic situation in Venice during its decline as a world power. As the merchants of Venice sought ways to please and accommodate the needs of the tourists, the new style of view painting developed. Though it was not a style well-looked upon during its advent, the work of a famous view painter today is of great importance, both as an aesthetic object and an historical artifact. Canaletto and Guardi led off the field of view painting with their charming portrayals of the true Venice. Many of their paintings involved spectacle and pageantry, which illustrates the importance of the phenomenon during the 18th century. They were the masters of their art and made it possible for the Venice of the 18th century to be remembered for all of time to come.

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Mantegna and the *Parnassus*: a Renaissance Humanist Allegory of Marriage

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A fifteenth century Italian Renaissance artist, Andrea Mantegna, worked for a time for the humanist woman of letters and art patron, Isabella d'Este. Students of Mantegna's work have discovered that Isabella commissioned Mantegna to create a painting entitled *Parnassus*. Now in the Louvre, its title was given to it in the seventeenth century. The theme, however, is not *Parnassus*, but is instead based on Renaissance interpretations of narratives from ancient and contemporary accounts, and is one that is here perceived as an allegory of Isabella's marriage to Francesco Gonzaga in 1490. This paper will examine the theme and its allegorical rendition as a Renaissance humanist symbol of idealic love with personal references to Isabella's marriage to Francesco.

Mantegna was a northern Italian painter of the Quattrocentro. Born near Padua around 1431, he was both adopted and educated by Francesco Squarcione and, as his benefactor, helped Mantegna in obtaining contracts at an early age.[1] He also married into a famed artistic family, to the daughter of artist Jacopo Bellini.[2]

Isabella, a well-educated woman for the Renaissance, determined to build her own humanist study, a *studiolo*, in a secluded tower in the Gonzaga family palace in Mantua; it was a library for the study of literature and poetry. These were unusual occupations for a woman in a Renaisssance court; it was also unprecedented for a woman to have such a study.[3]

Mantegna had an early desire to paint for her, but to establish his credibility, he needed a recommendation from Isabella's teacher whom she respected.[4] Mantegna's commission included two works, the *Parnassus* and *Pallas Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue* for the *studiolo*. The *Parnassus* was probably begun in 1496 and completed on July 3, 1497.[5] The focus of this paper is the *Parnassus*.

As the images in the painting are critical to our understanding the theme, I will first describe them and then discuss their interpretation. The allegory is set in a valley between the two mountains shown as a northern Italian landscape.[6] The love pair, Mars and Venus, stand on a natural rocky bridge; behind them is a marriage bed with a red, blue and white coverlet, with one bed post of an apple tree, with a single apple in it. Behind this is an arbor with apples only to the left side, that side on which Mars stands.[7] To Mars' right is a small putto, identified as Anteros, the son of Mars and Venus, holding a bow in his left hand with a quiver filled with arrows suspended from a strap over his shoulder. He blows an arrow toward Vulcan, who at the extreme left, stands before a rocky cave and his forge. In the lower foreground nine Muses clasp hands, forming an oval chain, and sing and dance. To the left, Apollo sits on a tree stump while placing his left foot on a smaller stump; he plays the cithara, and to the extreme right, Mercury leans on the winged horse, Pegasus. Two bound scourges lie on the ground to the left, and two rabbits peer out of holes near a spring issuing from the center foreground rocks, while a squirrel is to the right.

Mars is dressed in a red tunic with blue lappets under a golden muscle cuirass with a red belt and sandals with a drape suspended from his right shoulder; for armor he wears a helmet with a double red crest, gold greaves and carries a long lance in his right hand.[8] He entwines his left arm around that of Venus, at the same time looking directly at her. Venus, on the other hand, is completely nude but for an orange bandarola and golden arm bracelets. She holds an arrow with a gold tip directed towards the ground, a direction that is important, as, having taken the arrow from her son, Cupid, she prohibits his shooting her lover, Mars. Her stance mirrors that of Mars, but, instead of looking at him, she looks heavenward. The typology echoes that of the figure of Venus, made just a few years earlier by Botticelli for his

Birth of Venus, of 1486.[9] Both artists modelled Venus after a Roman copy of a Greek work, once in a Renaissance collection, now in the Vatican. Both artists had, no doubt, either directly seen or known the antique work through drawings.[10]

According to an account in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,[11] the infamous pair, Mars and Venus, had an illicit love affair, one which shamed the cuckolded Vulcan, the husband of Venus.[12] Shown to the left, before his forge is Vulcan, god of the forge, fire, and volcanoes. Zeus had forced Venus to marry him as a punishment for her refusal of Zeus's hand in matrimony. Vulcan was crippled and ugly, bearded and unkempt, but he adored Venus. Venus nonetheless abandoned him to flee to the arms of Mars.[13] The sight of the love pair, evokes Vulcan's angry response[14]: he gestures awkwardly,[15] his thumb and forefinger raised depicting a pair of cuckold's horns.

The putto to Mars' right is Anteros, the half-brother of Cupid; he directs an arrow through a reed aimed at Vulcan's genitals. A faint line, once golden extends between the pipe and Vulcan's genitals.[16] In Greek mythology, Anteros differs in temperament from Cupid, as he is present where destruction occurs.[17] Here Anteros' action against Vulcan might signify the fending off of sensuous or lustful love represented in the figure of Vulcan and rejected by Venus who here might be seen as making her own choice, that of a more divine and aesthetic love.

In the foreground Apollo sits on a tree stump with his left foot poised on a small stump. He sings and plays the cithara for the Muses.[18] As god of fine arts, law, medicine, and prophecy,[19] Apollo would be expected to wear a laurel wreath about his head -- the prize awarded in artistic as well as athletic competitions -- but no wreath is seen; instead it may be alluded to in the grove behind, one in which quinces are at the left and laurel to the right.[20] Holding a high position among the gods, he had been rejected by his love, Daphne;[21] she was then transformed into a tree, doubtless, explaining the two tree stumps on which Apollo sits and places his foot.[22]

The nine Muses wear classical dress of pink, blue, green and white. Each Muse is one of the Greek divinities of music, poetry, history and the arts that inspire learning and the arts. Apollo is said to have been their patron.[23] Apparently, originally, all were shown singing, and at one point, an owner had a restorer close all of the mouths. None bears an attribute and cannot, therefore, be identified with a particular function.[24] They are seen depicted as classical nymphs, based on their presentation as nymphs in Virgil's *Eclog* (VII, 21). Each is seen from a different view.[25] Some are frontal, others in profile, some in three-quarter view, while two have their backs to us.[26] This group is likely to have been modelled on antique sculpture either seen or known through drawings by Mantegna; the prototype must have been similar to that in this late Roman relief showing dancing maenads (Turin Museum). This drawing entitled *Dancing Muse* depicts one of Mantegna's preparatory drawings, and a second, also a *Dancing Muse*, was used as a transfer drawing for the painting. The latter figure can be seen in the painting as the Muse at the extreme right.

Lightbown proposes that the principle theme of the painting is the exaltation of the arts and the debasement of sensual love. But while it presents a glorification of the arts, what seems more significant is its linking of the two leading families, the Gonzaga and d'Este, in the marriage between Francesco and Isabella, here seen in the love couple, Mars and Venus. It symbolizes the exaltation of their love as one that is divinely inspired. Furthermore, the figures in the lower half of the painting may then be seen as analogous to divine love in the inspiration of the intellect toward learning. This divine love is alluded to in the figures of Apollo, the Muses, Pegasus and Mercury, all assimilated in humanist thought with the inspiration of the mind in learning in the arts and sciences. I contend, therefore, that the *Parnassus* not only contains imagery displaying humanist concepts of the divine love toward which the mind aspires, but is also an allegorical allusion to Isabella's love marriage to Francesco.

The first indication of personal imagery may be seen in the colors used. Red, blue and white were the colors of the Gonzaga and d'Este families. The union of the colors in Mars' costume and the love pair's bed with its fruitful bedpost and fruited tree behind Mars is an important reference to the union and aspirations of the two families. And as if these were insufficient, contemporary accounts imply that Isabella was used as the model for the representation of Venus. Representing a Renaissance woman, even one of great literary talents like Isabella, in the nude figure of Venus might seem unacceptable, but according to these same accounts, she, along with others in her court, indulged in risque jokes and would in no

way be offended or embarrassed by the painter's suggesting her as Venus. Her friend Niccolo da Correggio reported that the *Parnassus* illustrated a portrait of Isabella.[27] Correggio insinuated that Mantegna had fallen in love with Isabella and painted her beauty for his own pleasures.[28] The account does not, however, tell us that he used Isabella as a model for Venus. In comparing the Venus figure with a portrait of her by Leonardo and one by a lesser artist, Lorenzo Costa (in the Windsor Coll.), one does see a close resemblance between the two. It is also possible that Isabella's portrait was the model for two of the Muses.

The setting provides another clue to the interpretation as it offers an ideal locale fostering humanist learning. Based on reports from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*,[29] the scene takes place between the Helicon range and Mt. Parnassus, as this was the place that Apollo had chosen with the Muses to pursue the arts and sciences. This location can be associated with Isabella's secluded *studiolo*, a haunt on Mt. Helicon also used by the Muses. It contained a spring, called Hippocrene, that was created by Pegasus' striking the ground with his hoof.[30] Here one finds an important union of elements for our interpretation: a secluded setting, a reference that may allude to Isabella's *studiolo*, the spring in the foreground, a symbol of the fertility of her marriage, and the constellation of Pegasus, which we will see below has important personal implications; all are brought together in the company of divine love, represented in Mars and Venus. In essays by Ficino, the humanist philosopher and a near contemporary of Isabella, dual concepts of Venus are proposed:[31] Venus Urania, the heavenly Venus and Venus terrestrial or earthly Venus. The former symbolized divine love and the latter, human love; the former used intelligence, the latter, reason. Both are impelled to contemplate the intelligible splendor of divine beauty, seen in the physical nature of Venus and union of intelligence and reason aspiring to divine love.

Born from the sea on a cockle shell,[32] (Homeric hymn "To Aphrodite"), Venus's birth was viewed by humanists as an allegory of the birth of beauty in the mind of humanity through the fertilization of matter by divinity.[33] Zeus wanted Venus for his wife, as did most of the gods, but Venus refused them all.[34]

It is obvious here that Venus, or shall we say, Isabella, has the upper hand as she has rejected Vulcan and chosen Mars; but here she is also shown as more important than Mars, for she aligns with the central axis of the picture as well as the bridge on which the couple stand, and she stands directly above the spring, here not only as a symbol of divine inspiration but fertility in love. Mars is to the right of center, doubtless an allusion fostered by Isabella, expressing her more than equal status to her husband, Francesco.[35]

The Renaissance author, Plutarch, in addressing marriage provides us with evidence uniting the Muses with Venus and Mercury in the context of marriage the following passage: "The Muses may assist and accompany the goddess Venus in your regard, for it is no less their office to bring good accord and consonance to a marriage, by means of the discourse of reason and the harmony of philosophy than to accord a cithara or a lyre. This is why the ancients desired the image of Venus to be placed adjoining that of Mercury, as wishing by this means to give men to understand that the pleasure of marriage must needs be maintained by good and wise words."[36] Thus, Plutarch conjoins the physical marriage with the wisdom of reason, implied in the figure of Mercury.

As he stands in the lower right corner, the large figure of Mercury leans with his right elbow on Pegasus. He wears a pink and yellow drape about an almost nude body and wears a red winged hat with dark green winged boots, holding his caduceus in his right hand and a pan pipe in his left.[37] The winged caduceus is a symbol of peace and concord, toward which the humanist was drawn. But it was also a symbol of music as Mercury is credited with inventing and giving the cithara to Apollo. The pan pipe, in his left hand, called a syrinx, was a symbol of eloquence and music, but love as well.[38] as Pan, pursuing the nymph Syrinx with whom he had fallen in love, lost her as she changed into reeds. Pan then took the reeds and fashioned them into the pipe.[39] While Mercury, for the Romans was god of commerce, travel, and thievery, for the Renaissance, he was the god of eloquence and rhetoric,[40] and in the painting, therefore, implies the use of eloquence and rhetoric fostering wise words in marriage.

The divine, winged horse, Pegasus, was also associated with the Muses by Plutarch. In the painting he has sixteen gems strung on his trappings, consisting of ruby, sapphire, and crystal beads, each believed to be a star in the constellation of Pegasus.[41] For Plutarch, Pegasus was a symbol of poetic inspiration, since he would carry poets and writers to Helicon and Parnassus, the mountains that inspired the imagination, [42] as well as creating the spring of inspiration mentioned above. In addition, both Mercury and Pegasus are joined illustrating the

attachment of poetry and rhetoric, never separated in the Renaissance. For Isabella, however, Pegasus with Mercury, Mars and Venus offered more important personal allusions. Isabella was married to Francesco February 11, 1490, the date on which the planets Mercury, Mars, and Venus were aligned with the signs of Aquarius and the constellation of Pegasus.[43] This personal combination of images gives emphasis to the importance of her union with Francesco and the alliance of the two most important families in Northern Italy.

Thus, our study of the images, contemporary reports, and ancient literary references discloses a complex of allegorical allusions to Isabella's marriage to Francesco Gonzaga as well as a picture of Renaissance humanist court literary erudition. I contend that while the painting presents a glorification of the arts, its linking of the two leading families, the Gonzaga and d'Este, in the marriage between Francesco and Isabella, here seen in the love couple, Mars and Venus, is the central theme. It is the exaltation of their love that is divinely inspired and is analogous to that act of the mind in the spheres of learning in the arts and sciences as it aspires to divine intelligence (or love) represented in the lower figures of Apollo, the Muses, Pegasus and Mercury. The personal allusion to Isabella's love marriage to Francesco is underscored by showing Isabella in the figure of Venus and depicting the alignment of the constellation on the date of her marriage.

Notes

[1] Frederick Hartt, History of Italian Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1994) 394.

[2] Evelyn-Lincoln, "Mantegna's Culture of Line," Art History 16 Mar. 1993: 38.

[3] Ronald Lightbown, Mantegna (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1986) 186, 188.

[4] Lightbown, 180.

[5] Lightbown, 189.

[6] Lightbown, 194.

[7] James Hall, ed. "Putto," Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (New York: Harper and Row, 1974) 256.

[8] Michael Vickers, "The Source of the Mars in Mantegna's *Parnassus*," The Burlington Magazine Mar. 1978: 152.

[9] Hartt, 394; Lightbown, 195.

[10] Lightbown, 195.

[11] Ovid, Metamorphoses Trans. Rolfe Humphries. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961) 4:170-193.

[12] Homer 8.266 ff.

[13] Ovid, 4:184-185.

[14] Hartt, 394.

[15] Hartt, 394.

[16] Hartt, 394.

[17] James Hall, ed. "Cupid," Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (New York: Harper and Row, 1974) 87-8.

[18] Hartt, 394; Lightbown, 196.

[19] Jane Davidson Reid, ed. The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300-1990s Vol. 1,2. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 162.

[20] Lightbown, 198.

[21] Ovid, 1:452.

[22] Reid, 182.

[23] James Hall, ed. "Apollo," Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (New York: Harper and Row, 1974) 27.

[24] Reid, 671.

[25] Lightbown, 199.

[26] Hartt, 394.

[27] James Hall, ed. "Venus," Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art (New York: Harper and Row, 1974) 318.

[28] Lightbown, 201.

[29] Ovid, 1:469-76.

[30] Lightbown 194.

[31] Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, Humanist Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (New York: Harper & Row, 1967) 1326.

[32] Hartt, 336.
[33] Hartt, 336.
[34] Reid, 112.
[35] Lightbown, 195.
[36] Lightbown 200; Hall, 318.
[37] Reid, 563.
[38] Hall, 248.
[39] Ovid, 1:690-712.
[40] Hartt, 394; Lightbown, 197.
[41] Lightbown, 197:54; P. Lehmann, *Samothracian Reflections* (1973) 70, 132-9.
[42] Lightbown, 197.
[43] Hartt, 394.

COMPLEX IMAGERY THROUGH COMBINATION DRAFTING

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Background

The term 'handweaving' generally refers to the interlacement of fibers to produce a fabric or texture. The tools of handweaving range from the historic wooden hand manipulated loom to the most mechanically advanced hand-operated automated looms. While hand-controlled techniques are the most flexible and allow greater artistic freedom, loom-controlled techniques are exponentially rapid but lack flexibility. The problem is to add some flexibility to the loom-controlled process without a significant loss of speed and allow for greater artistic freedom as well.

Loom-controlled weaving operates using systems similar to those of the computer. As with computers, loom weaving requires an operator, input, central processing, and output. The operator directs the weaving by determining the binary mathematical model to be employed and then provides input. Both weaving and computing build on preset and variable programs as influenced by the operator. The input of information for loom-controlled weaving can be as complex as computer programming.

Binary mathematical models are based on the works of a 19th Century British mathematician, George Boole, who devised a system of symbolic logic called Boolian algebra.[1] Addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division operations are controlled by logic gates which are binary in nature and possess two types of entities; either open or closed, up or down, with or without, zero or one.

In the case of a computer, the model is the particular binary program to be employed (e.g.: Word Perfect, 5.1). Input is entered through the keyboard or other input device. Central processing is performed by the 'system unit' primarily composed of the central processing unit which directs activities through the read only memory (ROM) and read-and-write memory (RAM). ROM information cannot be altered and RAM holds the particular program being used, which can changed by the operator. Memory chips (once called cells) hold information in the form of binary digits. Output is displayed on a video monitor, a printer, or both.[2]

The accomplished handweaver, using loom-controlled techniques, uses a binary model called a 'draft' or program which can vary in complexity from simple to complex. The level of complexity is set by the degree of interlacement desired. Interlacement basically is the binary crossing of threads, in which the crossing of 'warp' threads with 'weft' threads produces a fabric. The basic process result is called 'tabby,' which is the basic weave; horizontal threads interlace with the vertical threads in an over-one, under-one sequence in a binary mode. For each weave structure there is a specific order of interlacement. The draft specifies the order of interlacement through a complete program which includes specifications for the threading draft, the tie-up, and treadling order.[3] The threading draft is analogous to the ROM in a computer because it can not be changed after it is set up. The tie-up is similar to the RAM because it can be changed, and the treadling order directs activities.

In order to weave fabric, the weaver programs the loom in the same way that a computer is programmed. The loom must be programmed in two places, the harnesses and the tie-up of the treadles (foot peddles). A standard loom normally has four to eight harnesses with between 250 and 1000 heddle cells per harness and six or more treadles. The harnesses' heddle cells are programmed with mathematical sequences which follow strict systematic rules. These sequences govern the movement of groups of fibers in the cells in response to the treadle tie-up programming. The harnesses are tied to treadles in a predetermined order and the treadling order is set to lift the harnesses' cells in sequences governed by systematic rules. The programming of the harnesses and treadles must be completely error free in order to produce the desired image, just as a computer program must be error free to produce the desired results. By programming both the harnesses and treadles the artist has control of the images produced. Once the loom is programmed, it will produce the image and fiber structure much like keyboard functions on a computer. The images will be consistent horizontally and vertically.

Problem Statement

Loom-controlled weaving has limitations. The horizontal fiber (weft) spans the width of the vertical (warp) from edge to edge, following the interlacement, in a pattern dictated by the preset harness-treadle combination. The harness threading cannot be changed as the weaving progresses. While the treadle tie-up program can be altered, it still produces a consistent image across and does not permit variations or asymmetrical arrangements. The great body of work on loom-controlled weaving is entirely predicated on this limitation.

Significance of the Problem

The artist cannot combine two mathematical systems in the harnesses using traditional techniques. In effect, the artist needs to run two programs at the same time. The artist can use a vastly slower hand-controlled method, and basically "sew" the images in place across the horizontal plane of the fabric. However, the images produced by this method are far less accurate and complex than the preprogrammed, loom-controlled images.

Project Statement

This researcher pursued the development of a method which permits the images obtained through the combination of mathematical models to be woven without resorting to hand-controlled techniques.

Contribution to the Fine Arts

The new method provides artistic freedom to the weaver and enhances loom-controlled weaving. Innovations in pattern development and uses of color, previously accomplished with unpredictability, are now attainable. Theoretical applications can be altered to produce a whole new spectrum of work in which the potential for imagery is increased.

Handweaving is one of the oldest art forms. While weaving can use "low-tech" equipment, its structure of fabric and imagery is grounded in mathematics and subject to theoretical rules. With theoretical analysis the artistic potential can add vitality and growth to the medium. Innovations in computer technology continually provide opportunities for enhanced artistic application in the field of handweaving. Computer programs are expanding the art form of weaving and creating new avenues of artistic expression. Computer technology also is preserving the historical knowledge of weaving, protecting it for future artistic weavers.

METHODOLOGY

The project was conducted in three stages: research, computer drawdowns, and weaving to produce woven final projects.

Research

An extensive review of the pertinent literature by this researcher did not discover any information applying to the concepts developed in this research.

The researcher reviewed the existing theories and weaving systems. Using the available background material, this researcher analyzed the possible systems that have the potential for combination.

Based on the limits imposed by the loom available and the researcher's desire to demonstrate the new concept using a widely recognized system, Overshot was the one chosen over other four harness systems as described in Frey.[4] As a system it meets these criteria: requires only four harnesses and a maximum of six treadles, uses a simple ground fabric, produces bold designs, large body of patterns are available, and it is widely recognized by handweavers.

Although Overshot appears to be an ancient weave and common to many countries, it is only here in the United States that it is found in an abundance of patterns many of which date from colonial times. It has extremely varied pattern possibilities and is simple, handsome and effective. Overshot produces a pattern by arranging floats of a heavier yarn on the surface of a lighter weight tabby foundation fabric. An excellent detailed description of Overshot can be found in Atwater.[5] Several dozen Overshot patterns were chosen from the literature for possible use in the research. In order to visualize any weaving system, including Overshot, a drawdown must be constructed.

Computer Drawdowns

The drawdown is a graphic representation of a specific threading and treadling combination. A drawdown is always done to "prove" a pattern prior to actually weaving it, much in the way a writer makes drafts or a painter makes sketches in preparation for the final item. In the past, this representation was laboriously done by hand with pencil on graph paper. Errors were not uncommon. Computer software now exists that increases the speed and accuracy of the drawdown. Computer drawdowns are essential to the success of this new method. The software used in this research is Fiberworks PCW Version 3.0 Standard and Enhanced.[6] The program, once mastered, is fairly simple and generally well suited to the research requirements. The selected drafts were entered into the program, viewed, errors corrected and a drawdown made of each one. The drawdowns were printed and two were selected based on their appearance in combination. The patterns chosen with details and examples are contained in Appendix I. A working threading draft was printed and a final thread count was obtained.

Instrumentation

All of the pieces developed and woven for the research were woven on a counterbalanced, four harness - six treadle, 20 year old replica of the Pennsylvania loom, a 19th century "Early American" loom. The loom was made from a pattern printed by the Smithsonian Institution Press[7] by Mr. David Barrows.[8]

The combined draft concept requires an unorthodox treadling order. The treadling order must be written down in an easily understood format. In order to accomplish this a new Treadling Sequence Form was developed that provides space for all of the specialized information necessary for combined imagery.

Weaving: Preparation and Execution

The final stage included; selecting the type and color of the yarn, warping and dressing the loom,

developing the treadling method, weaving, and finishing the items. For detailed description, see Appendix 2.

RESULTS

Several handwoven pieces of substantial size that demonstrate the feasibility of the theory and system as developed in this research were produced. Each finished piece consists two or more Overshot patterns combined into a single entity drafted and woven in accordance with the principles developed by the researcher.

The limits of loom-controlled weaving have been expanded by the development of this system. Multiple patterns can be combined and threaded across the horizontal plane, creating previously impossible pattern arrangements. Intricate treadling produces accurate and complex images that permit the combined entity to display an entirely new and vigorous interpretation of loom-controlled weaving systems. Detailed procedures and results, and several challenges encountered, are set forth in Appendix 3.

This project was brought to a successful conclusion with the completion of the art works that demonstrate the potential and beauty of the theory and system developed in this research. They are supplemented by a color slide of each piece and a monograph that both documents the steps taken in the development of the system and permits the replication of the results. The original works remain in the possession of the researcher. They are available for viewing, should it be required.

CONCLUSION

As this system developed, several tools and methods were found to be invaluable. The use of a computer, simple monitor, basic printer and the software (Fiberworks PCW 3.0 Standard and Enhanced[2]) expedited and enhanced processes that would have been possible but not practical due to the excessive amount of time and labor required using the traditional methods.

This project demonstrated that it is possible to create images obtained through the combination of mathematical models without resorting to hand-controlled techniques even when done on a nineteenth century loom. It shows that there is the capability of extending weaving beyond the traditional loom-controlled weaving upon which the great body of literature is based.

The project provides the basis for further research to expand the flexibility of loom-controlled weaving. On a modern loom with additional harnesses, it is probable that many diverse weaving systems can be successfully combined using the principles and techniques developed in this research. Future research would serve to greatly benefit the art form.

END NOTES

1. Computer Basics (Chicago, IL: Time-Life Books, 1985).

2. Ibid.

3. Madelyn van der Hoogt. The Complete Book of Drafting for Handweavers (Coupeville, WA: Shuttle Craft Books, undated).

4. Berta Frey. Designing and Drafting for Handweavers (New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1958).

5. Mary Meigs Atwater. The Shuttle-Craft Book of American Hand-Weaving (Coupeville, WA: HTH Publishers, 1986), pp. 123-151.

6. Bob Keates. Fiberworks PCW: Instruction Manual and Tutorial with Version 3.0 Standard and Enhanced (Guelph, Ontario: Fiberworks, 1992).

7. Smithsonian Institution. Plans for Making an Early American Loom (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970).

8. David N. Barrows. 116 86th Street, Virginia Beach, VA 23451. Repairs and restores spinning wheels and is internationally known for his expertise. He built four replicas of the mid 19th century Pennsylvania loom used in this study from the plans specified in end note 7. Three of the looms are currently in operation; Mr. Barrows', Ms. Hilgers' (the researcher), and Ms. Fisher's (Mr. Barrows' daughter). The fourth is in storage.

9. See end note 6.

APPENDIX 1

Description of Patterns and Development of the Combined Draft

The patterns chosen for the initial piece were the Flourishing Wave Border[1] and Johann Ludwig Speck's Design No. 33[2]. The threading for the flower motif from Speck's design and the threading for the entire right border from the Flourishing Wave were selected for inclusion in the first piece. The combined draft was laid out, reading from left to right, right border mirror image, four flower motifs, right border as drafted. The original drafts were entered into the program separately and drawdowns were printed. The drawdowns were taped together side by side and assessed for appearance. In response to the initial combination of the drafts three threads were added to the draft at the beginning and end of the center multiple motif. The addition of these six threads served to make the transition from the center motifs to the border more harmonious. The flower image was lengthened to produce an attractive oval shape and match the first and last half flower to the corner blocks. Drawdowns were made of the revised patterns and taped together. The overall effect was pleasing and the draft and treadling alterations produced an effective entity.

END NOTES FOR APPENDIX 1

1. Marguerite Porter Davison. A Handweaver's Pattern Book (Swarthmore, PA.: Marguerite Porter Davison, 1944), p. 185.
2. op. cit. p. 164.

APPENDIX 2

Selection of Yarns and Colors, Description of the Technique

The yarns and the palette of colors, while largely subjective, were selected based on their ability to demonstrate clearly the structure of the weave. Mathematical calculations, using the Weaving Calculation Sheet, were made for each finished piece to establish the amount of material required to complete the project and stay within the research budget.

The fibers chosen for this piece were Harrisville Shetland Two Ply yarn, 100% wool in three shades of Magenta for the warp. The tabby was executed with the same yarn in Magenta. Harrisville Two Ply yarn, 100% wool, Lagoon Blue was chosen for the pattern weft. All fibers for all of the pieces were purchased from WEBS[1].

The warps were wound in the traditional manner. The first warp was wound in three colors. An eight dent reed was sleyed double for a sett of 16 e.p.i. The harnesses were threaded according to the combined threading plan with the three warp colors alternating. Thin contrasting threads were sleyed and threaded with the first thread of the right border and the last thread of the left border.

The weaving began and ended with two inch tabby headers. The initial piece consisted of a left image, a multiple center image and a right image. The left and right images mirrored each other and were treadled the same, while the center image was treadled differently. Using the new Treadling Sequence Form, the treadling was written down row by row, with each row containing the treadling for the three different areas of the piece arranged in columns reading left to right. Each column contains the treadling for a separate area of the piece and each row on the treadling form equals one row of the woven pattern. Tabby shots are automatic for the experienced weaver and thus are not noted on the Treadling Sequence Form.

With this new method the shuttle is removed from the warp where each image ends and the next image begins. In this piece the shuttle is removed from the warp a maximum of twice in any one row. Because Overshot is limited to four blocks of two harnesses each, (harnesses 1-2, 2-3, 3-4, and 4-1) which overlap each other by one harness; there are occasions when combining Overshot patterns, as this system does, will result in all patterns requiring the same treadle in the same row of the pattern. In this case, the shuttle travels from edge to edge without being removed from the warp; it is woven as Overshot is normally woven. In the initial project, the first four rows of the pattern are common shots where treadle four is depressed raising harnesses 2 & 3. The shuttle enters the shed at one edge and passes through the shed to the other edge of the warp. The shed is closed and the row is beaten into place. In every row where the treadling is different for sections of the warp, the treadle for the first section is depressed and the shuttle passes through the shed to the contrasting thread where it is removed from the warp and the shed closed. The treadle for the next section of warp is depressed and the shuttle is entered into the shed at the contrasting thread, passed through the shed to the next contrasting thread and removed from the warp and the shed closed. The treadle for the third section of the warp is depressed, the shuttle entered into the shed and passed to the next contrasting thread or to the edge of the piece as the pattern dictates. When the shuttle exits the shed at the end of row, the shed is closed and the row is beaten into place. When the warp thread and the contrasting thread are down, the shuttle is withdrawn from and entered into the warp in the space created in the warp. Each pattern shot is accomplished in this manner with the shuttle entering alternately from the left and right edges. Alternating tabby shots are thrown across the entire warp between pattern shots as in traditional Overshot. The weaving continues in this manner, following the treadling sequence sheet until the piece is completed.

END NOTE FOR APPENDIX 2

1. WEBS, America's Yarn Store, Service Center, Service Center Road, (P.O. Box 147) Northampton, MA 01061-0147.

APPENDIX 3

Principles, Procedures, Challenges, and General Information

The treadling is unorthodox and the treadling sequence must be carefully followed. The use of a written, row by row form is necessary. Marking threads of a contrasting color that are sleyed and threaded with the transition threads at the pattern join will greatly facilitate the insertion and removal of the shuttle at the appropriate points in the warp.

As the weaver becomes accustomed to the method and confidence increases, the speed with which the weaving progresses approaches that of traditional loom-controlled weaving.

Principles

1. Mathematical models using the same tabby can be combined in one threading draft.
2. The combined draft is threaded normally and treadled differently according to the needs of each pattern in each row of the drawdown.

Procedures

1. Select the mathematical models to be combined.
2. Use the computer and make drawdowns of all selections.
3. Print the drawdowns (at the same e.p.i.).
4. Piece the drawdowns together and assess.
5. Adjust the images in threading and treadling as desired.
6. Repeat #3,4,5, until a satisfactory final combined drawdown is constructed.
7. Print a threading draft and thread the loom using marking threads.
8. Write out the treadling; row by row, for each model
9. Weave the piece.

Problems and Challenges

There are some minor problems and challenges with this new system. They can be easily solved or avoided.

1. Close attention must be paid to where the patterns join in the combined draft; Odd/even alternation of threads has to be maintained, the join must be unobtrusive and harmonious. Drafting a "transition pattern" that treadles like one or the other of the existing patterns can be useful.
2. Long floats at the join do not necessarily show up on the drawdown. Some adjustment when weaving and treadling is imperative. Usually a thread, used consistently, at the join can be caught on these occasions and used as a tie-down without altering the image. If the long floats occur on the back of the piece only and will not affect the use of the piece they can be ignored in the weaving.
3. The selvages are poor due to the loss of the weaving rhythm which is a result of the shuttle not being thrown all the way across the warp on each shot. Using floating selvages and a temple will help to alleviate this problem.
4. Close attention to where the shed changes and the shuttle enters and exits the warp is necessary to avoid errors that are glaringly evident in the finished piece.
5. The drawdowns should be previewed to assess the front and the back of the pattern being considered; one side may be a better choice for the piece being developed and too long floats, if noted, can be modified.
6. Adapting the treadling of images to conform with other parts of the draft may alter the diagonals of one or both images. The weaver must and decide on the acceptability of these changes.
7. Any thread that is shared where the patterns join must be treated consistently throughout the weaving as belonging to one or the other pattern.

The Effects of Advancing and Retreating Colors on Objects in the Picture Plane

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The basis for my research project was to complement the creative aspect of my personality with an acceptable outlet. As an engineering student, I am constantly developing my problem-solving skills. The enormous pressure of the engineering curriculum led me to seek a creative outlet which would emphasize a synthesis between the creative genius and analytical problem-solving. I had some previous experience in art and knew of its beneficial aspects, even though I have had very little formal training. Fundamentally, I found through the process that my engineering studies were enhanced when I exposed myself to creative problems. Thus, two to three hours of study time followed by one to two hours of artwork created an ideal combination which greatly enhanced my ability to study and learn.

The problem posed was to develop a methodology involving application of hard or soft pastels in the execution of realistically rendered portraits. Pastels are composed of pure ground pigment held together with a binding agent. Pastels, then, have all the descriptive color qualities of watercolor or oils, but are in a dry rather than liquid form. After some experimentation with both hard and soft varieties, the soft was chosen for application because of greater blending flexibility and ease of layering. Since time constraints were involved, pastels offered significant time savings over liquid media, considering the added time needed for drying was not necessary for the chalklike pastels.

Two distinct methods of approach were identified ; the primary approach emphasized using primary colors (red, yellow , and blue) and mixing any other colors needed on the surface of the paper. The alternative method also utilized primary colors , but in addition called for the use of black , brown, and white in conjunction with the primaries. A strong experimental scheme was developed by using self portraits and two models, splitting the project into segments where a combination of approaches could be studied.

What we see via the human eye is a complex system involving physics of light waves. Frans Gerritsen illuminates this process in Theory And Practice Of Color ;

> " The frequencies of light energy vary between 8E14 and 4E14 lambda per second. The wave length of light energies varies between 380 and 760 nm. Electron magnetic radiation whose wave length is less than 380 or more than 760 nm., does not produce the sensation of sight through the human eye. The radiation which is between 380 and 760 nm. is what we call light, actually light energy ; light itself is a visual sensation " (Color, p.28).

The color wheel as commonly referred to was developed by Sir Isaac Newton in 1607. What Newton did was connect opposite ends of the visible spectrum to form a wheel. Three separate kinds of color schemes were useful in project development. As Paul Zelanski and Mary Pat Fisher relate them in The Art Of Seeing;

> " analogous colors - hues lying next to each other on the color wheel are used. Blue and green are analogous colors, with minimal contrasts... related hues, hues that lie opposite each other on the color wheel have a jarring or at least exciting effect on the eye when they are juxtaposed. These high - contrast combinations are called complementary color combinations...A similiarly stimulating combination is a triad color scheme, in which three colors equally spaced around the color wheel are used together " (Seeing, p.152,153).

The first portraits produced were self portraits employing the primary method. The methodology called for applying a layer of color, then applying another subsequent layer on top of the old one. In order to increase vitality a zonal color approach was used. " Strong color combinations are necessary for strong color changes. Nearby complementaries combine to strengthen the color and at a greater distance they produce neutrality or blurring " (Seeing, p.136). An early discovery related to illuminated areas and shadows. Interestingly, an illuminated areas shadow turns out to be its complement colorwise. This result is consistent with the theory of complementaries, as each color reflects the other's complement to increase brilliance. Simultaneous contrast then becomes a primary beneficiary of the coordination. "Simultaneous contrast, or contrast at the same time, means the change in appearance of a color through the influence of a contrasting color in the immediate environment " (Color, p.130). A good example of simultaneous contrast is found in hospital operating rooms, where green surgical gowns are worn to complement the blood red. If you stare at a color and then look away you will see colors complement, as an afterimage. Thus having the previously described colors in the operating room will prevent this afterimage and ensure accurate vision by the surgeons.

These contrasts and mechanisms were the outgrowth of an effect of translucence, where a combination of multiple colors in succeeding layers all combine to form the resultant color. A strong three dimensional look was built on the theory of advancing and retreating colors. " Because of the ways our eyes see colors, warm colors tend to expand visually , seeming to come toward the viewer in space, while cool colors contract, seeming to draw back in space " (Seeing p.150). The apparent distance can then be adequately represented three dimensionally on a two dimensional plane with the appropriate warm and cool tones. The early self portraits employ complementary themes and have a good three dimensional appearance as the result of advancing and retreating colors.

Since little time could be invested in preliminary work and sessions were limited to three to four hours to complete a portrait ,this led to the development of the alternative method. This method differs from the previous in that it included black, brown, and white. Using only primaries had required patience and endurance, as all the secondary colors had to be painstakingly derived from the primaries. Significant amounts of fixing and reworking were necessary. Perceptually, a complexity was involved in the building of successive layers in the proper sequence so additional reworking could be lessened. The alternative approach seemed to be appropriate as it could be thought of as reinforcing the color with black, brown, and white to heighten the effects of individual colors. Complete mixing of primaries gives a resultant color of brown or gray - brown. The implications of adding non primaries are a hastening of this process and the unfortunate evidence of a muddy appearance. The overall effect was shown to have less contrast available simultaneously. In addition, it had little ability to complement colors to achieve warm and cool tones.

The project was then a series of twelve portraits including the primary and alternative methods, along with a synthesis of both methods. A fundamental concern early on was to depict an emotional overtone of the model. As stated by Frans Gerritsen," There are psychological color contrasts in the greatest distance emotionally between two colors as color tone; and further between warm - cold, active - passive, strong - weak, happy - sad, exuberant - retiring, quiet - noisy, aggressive - submissive, colorful - drab, young - old, feminine - masculine, romantic - businesslike, fashionable - timeless. There are also color associations which influence sound, taste, mood, and character " (Color, p.168). The human factor then is this emotional transference through color choices and associations.

The overall project was then split up using the three methods previously mentioned. As evidenced by my exhibit, the primary method produced results which are fresher and brighter than the alternative method. In any of the portraits, inclusion of non primaries diminished brilliance. In the emotional area, the primary method also had a significantly greater impact, which is no surprise considering the greater vividness evident. (For primary method see slide #3; for alternative method see slide #6; for combination method see slide #5.)

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Combined Aesthetics: A Case For Art School Curriculum Changes

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This research will compare the teleological, theoretical, and compositional motivation behind the education of Artists who study at institutions affiliated with Buddhism and the education of Artists who study at more conventional western institutions accredited by the National College Art Association. Examples of Artist's work will be presented with research identifying the resulting differences between these conventional aesthetic paradigms. An original series of art works will be presented as an experiment in combining the two aesthetics.

Today we are faced with environmental and social crises on a global scale. Consequently, "the new questions that are being raised in the art world today are no longer issues of style or content, but issues of social and environmental responsibility and of multiculturalism..."(Gablik,1991,p.4). This research proposes that art influenced by Christianity and Formalism (a modern movement emphasizing only the material qualities of art) hinders the artist's and viewer's ability to address these crises. The research also highlights Buddhism as the religion and aesthetic theory which aids the artist and viewer in facing the reality of these crises. These suppositions are supported by Eastern and Western nationals who practice Buddhism and often combine conventional elements from both Eastern and Western art. For example, Tsugio Hattori, a Japanese/American Buddhist, combines the organic brush stroke of Buddhist calligraphy with the geometric color fields common in Formalism.

Fundamental to this discussion is an analysis of the role of the ego in the creation and the viewing of art. The Buddhist artist very often de-emphasizes his ego or individuality when creating art. We may not know the name of the artist who originally created the Buddhist art of the past, but to the Buddhist, the art is an expression of the supra-personal state of awakening which the Buddhist has attained and not an expression of individuality. The Buddhist artist will attempt to connect with a universal theme often at the expense of ego. (Watts,1957,pp.31-32)

However, due to the Christian idea of a creator separate from creation and the aspirations of transcending earthly existence to a separate higher realm, many Westerners feel separate from the Universe and consider the body to be separate from space. "This has had a tremendous impact on our psyches,

from space. "This has had a tremendous impact on our psyches, fostering feelings of antagonism, hostility and a desire to conquer nature." (Tapies,1995,p.61)

For Buddhist practitioners, meditation provides a method of connecting the artist to the environment. "In meditation, body and mind are one, and the whole being, scoured clean of intellect, emotions and the self may be laid open to experience..." The ego may "suddenly fall away, dissolve into formless flux where concepts such as life and death, time and space, past and future have no meaning."(Matthiessen,1978,p.94)

As Christianity separates body and space, the theory of Formalism inhibits the artist from creating work with social content. Formalism sought to banish all that was not intrinsic to the medium, emphasizing the material aspects of art. Frank Stella claims that in Formalism "what you see is what you see" and nothing else is present. Formalists sought to remove signs of life from art.(Sandler,1988,p.46)

The influence of Formalism on Western art and art school curriculums, has denied a social role for Western art. However, Buddhist artists such as Masami Teraoka often equate personal creativity with social responsibility. Teraoka's subjects are often social, such as AIDs, pollution and feminist concerns. Teraoka claims, "In my work I take the best and worst of both cultures and juxtapose them in a coherent statement." (Hopkins,1989,pp.125-7)

Buddhism also emphasizes a spiritual rather than material message. Paul Jenkins, practicing Buddhism, sought to create "artless art growing out of the unconscious."(Suzuki,1953, p.vi) Jenkins was influenced by "Carl Jung who criticized Western man for not experiencing God in his soul and Christianity for being too dependent on outward forms."(Elsen,p.51)This emphasis on form relates to the materialism found in Formalist theory.

Robert Moskowitz, an American influenced by Buddhism, claims, "even though I think my art is rooted in Western traditions, much about Western culture has been disappointing to me --mainly the intensity and speed associated with the sense of time in the West, which is related to materialism..." In our haste, we often damage the environment and lack the sensitivity required for mature social planning. For Moskowitz, "the idea of focusing...becomes a form of meditation."(Rifkin,1989,p.60)

Antoni Tapies believes that social values stem from religion and that good or bad behavior stems from the prospect of heaven or hell rather than by following nature's example.(Tapies,1995,p.62) In our concern for the afterlife, we lack the discipline to focus on ideal models for society and the environment.

Thus, we in the West have two negative cultural factors which are keeping us from acting responsibly towards the environment and society: the religious context of Christianity and the influence of Formalism on education in art schools. In the West we view education as taming natural forces whereas traditional Eastern education was a practice of following nature.(Tapies,1995,p.62) This represents the need for greater dialogue between Eastern and Western concepts of aesthetics, and for both to exist in the pedagogical context.

Kaji Aso is an instructor of Eastern art principles at his own private studio and an instructor of Western art principles at the School of the Boston Museum of Fine Art. He claims that the Western ideal of, "I think, therefore I am", is an expression of the ego controlling natural forces, whereas the Eastern version, "I doubt, therefore I am", is an expression of humility in the face of nature. Aso claims "the energy of life, or ki, has to fill the entire space" in painting. "This experience is more important", for the viewer, "than an expression of existence through accuracy of color and proportional data common in the Western approach to representation."(Aso,1995,p.62)

"An [art] work requires the viewer's aesthetic consciousness and spiritual education." Tatsuo Miyajima claims, "in this way the viewer and the author produce something together." The attitude in Western art is that the author's personal analysis and expression move in only one direction, toward the viewer. In the West it is now common to view all human beings as artists, sanctifying the production of art as the highest purpose. Miyajima feels that the opposite is true in the East; all artists are human beings, making art's purpose a medium for relating humanity.(Cooke,1991,p.108)

Art education in the West does not reflect these ideas through the structure of its curriculum. "Art schools... have not wavered in their commitment to Formalism as the core of studio art education," emphasizing the material aspects of art. (Risatti,1993,p.12) If art truly has the power to influence the way that we perceive our environment, it is imperative that art education reflect the ideals of Buddhism. The world has about forty years to achieve an environmentally sustainable economy or descend into a long economic and physical decline, according to the World Watch Institute in Washington.(Gablik,1991,p.6) Tatsuo Miyajima concludes, "our problems are all connected. Any single problem will, in the end lead to the crisis of continued existence on the earth. The ability to solve such problems hinges on the spiritual maturity of human beings."(Cooke,1991,p.108)

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Attitudes Toward the Vietnam War in the United States: Sevier County, Tennessee as a Case Study

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During the twentieth century, the United States chose to involve itself in one of the most controversial wars ever, the Vietnam War. The debates that the Vietnam War created are still raging among historians today. Authors like to make their own hypotheses as to the causes of the war and the importance of America's involvement. Unlike previous wars which won strong American support, the Vietnam War split the country into two opposing sides: prowar and antiwar. Although both views were prevalent throughout the country, most of the focus has been on the minority, i.e. the conscientious objectors, not the majority of patriotic citizens. The number of protestors were quite small despite the vast amount of literature written on their ideas, actions, and views.

Popular magazines during the Vietnam War such as Time, Newsweek, and Life provided much attention to the protestors. On the topic of the Vietnam Moratorium Day which was a day set aside for public protesting to the war, a nine page article covering the activities contained one small sentence which read, "Millions of people could, and did, pass the day without being touched by the Moratorium" (Graves, ed., 32-41). Life's "Students in a Ferment Chew Out the Nation" devotes nine pages to students against the war yet the article states, "The activists are only 10% of the students" (Thompson, ed., 24-33). What this implies is that 10% of the students who spoke out against the war received publicity in Life, while 90% of the students who were either for the war or chose not to become involved in the debate received no voice in the magazine. Life's 1965 article "Vox Vietnik Fires a Volley of Protest" seems to sum up best what was actually occurring in America and America's feelings. In the article, four half-page to full page photos are shown of protestors, but a tiny sentence within the caption reads, "Lest Peking or anybody else interpret the protests as reflecting the majority view in America, anti-Vietnik groups across the country planned counterdemonstrations, parades, and blood donation drives" (Thompson, ed., 40B-40D). While some prowar ideologies were surfacing in popular magazines, there were places in the country where such vocal was not necessary. One example of an area that was not implanted with conscientious objectors and antiwar sentiments was Sevier County, Tennessee. As groups in certain areas of the nation held demonstrations, many in Sevier County supported not only their soldiers, but all soldiers participating in the Vietnam War.

As a result of the Vietnam War, 56,231 Americans died, 300,000 were wounded, and 2.6 million were lucky enough to return to the United States unharmed (Millett, ed., 54-81). Although exact figures for the number of residents from Sevier County who served in the conflict are unknown, by taking the number of Sevier County soldiers killed (15) (Atchley, 1), the estimated number of Sevier County citizens during the war (26,000)

(Vickers, ed., 14), the number of Vietnam veterans of Tennessee (167,187) (Vickers, ed., 14), and the estimated population of Tennessee during the war (3,700,000) (Vickers, ed., 14), an extrapolation can be drawn which places around 700 Sevier County soldiers in the Vietnam War. This number seems insignificant compared to the entire number of soldiers serving in Vietnam, but it does not diminish the strong support for the soldiers involved.

The Sevier County News Record, the weekly paper which was distributed to Gatlinburg, Pigeon Forge, Sevierville, and Seymour, did not cover the war on a weekly news level, but chose to display only the names and brief summaries of the soldiers participating in the war. The section called "News of Our Servicemen" had been created much earlier, but began to discuss Vietnam War soldiers in the late 1960s. Titles such as "Ogle in Vietnam" and "Awarded Bronze Star" began to appear in this section of the paper in the mid-1960s. Aside from this part of the paper, the Sevier County News Record did not find it necessary to continuously report the occurrences of the war or give publicity to the protestors of the war from around the country. Instead the paper focused on events within the county such as birthdays, weddings, business openings, and high school sports (Sevier County News Record, 6 March 1965 to 1 April 1973).

Evidence can also be found in this newspaper that the residents of Sevier County were supportive of their soldiers. On January 12, 1967, a front page notice read, "Is He In Vietnam?" succeeded by a short article that announced that any soldier from Sevier County who was stationed in Vietnam could receive free newspapers (Sevier County News Record, 12 January 1967). This was followed up in 1969 with a letter to the editor from Mrs. Hugh Howard whose husband and son both served in the war. In her letter she stated, "News from home means so much to the fellows! Also, the thoughtful thing you do as another service, printing the names and the mailing addresses before X-mas" (Sevier County News Record, 24 July 1969).

Another service that the paper contributed was the announcement of those killed in the war. The paper did not list the deaths in the obituaries but ran them on the front page of the paper with a photo. The statements underneath would give background information, the soldiers' duties in the war, and the funeral arrangements. The following week the paper would run the same information on the second page under the title of "In Grateful Memory" (Sevier County News Record, 17 July 1969). This painful time was felt all over the county. Dannie Carr, one soldier killed in Vietnam, was buried on July 13, 1969. The following week the paper wrote, "On the 13th, the American flag was flown amid black streamers throughout the county IN TRIBUTE to the greatest sacrifice an American can make for his homeland" (Sevier County News Record, 10 July 1969). Incidentally, Dannie Carr, was not a man of well-known background; rather he was the son of a small community pastor.

Sevier County was not ignorant of the global developments relating to the war. In 1971, the courts found Lieutenant William Calley guilty of murder for his participation in the My Lai incident. This spurred much protest in the county, because most residents felt that Lieutenant Calley was only doing his job. They believed that whether he was guilty or innocent was not the issue, but that many groups in the county felt that it was necessary to stand behind the American soldier no matter what he had done. They felt that he had only followed the orders of his country. The article "Newport Draft Board Resigns, Protests Calley's Conviction" discussed the VFW and the American Legion's protest, as well as the circulation of petitions around county schools (Sevier County News Record, 8 April 1971). This example shows how the war touched the lives of many who may not have been directly involved in the war but felt that it was their duty to stand behind their country's actions.

Interviews conducted with 22 Sevier County residents further illustrated the prowar theme within the county during the war. Those interviewed included a sample of men who served under the four branches of the armed forces, young men who were draft age, family members of Vietnam War soldiers, college students during the war, and shop owners of the period. Most interviewees discussed sending care packages, letters, and tapes to family and friends serving in Vietnam. No protesting was mentioned except in two interviews, and both people stated that the incident was not tolerated and quickly suppressed. During the war most antiwar activities within the country were occurring on university campuses, but this was not so in and around Sevier County. Carson Newman College saw no evidence of protesting and the University of Tennessee officials posted signs stating that anyone caught in public protests would be suspended from classes and forced to undergo a hearing before the disciplinary board. The majority's reasoning for the county's widespread support for the soldiers was the family tradition of going to war, i.e. the fathers and grandfathers of the Vietnam soldier lived in a rural area and thus could not afford college which allowed for a deferment. These men had no choice but to serve in World War I, World War II, and the Korean War, which would lead their sons and grandsons to fulfill their duty as healthy, young American citizens and go to war for their country (interviews conducted by author).

The United States has fought many battles and participated in many wars since its founding. All have been supported up until the twentieth century. Although the Korean War attracted some doubts as to the necessity of America's involvement, it was the Vietnam War which elicited the most negative feedback. This feedback was aimed not only at the government for its choice in involving the U.S., but also at the soldiers for their participation, regardless of whether it was by choice or not. Many areas of the country were affected by the students, professors, soldiers, priests, and others who opposed the war. The numbers, however, are a minority compared to the estimated population of the United States which fluctuated around the 200,000,000 mark at the time of the Vietnam War. The literature, both at the time of the Vietnam War and present, distorts the image of the United States as a fragmented country broken in two by the issue of America's involvement in the war. This was far from reality. Because the majority of people who supported the war and the soldiers rarely did anything illegal to gain publicity, their ideas were neglected in literature and continue to be overlooked even today. Authors need to explore this side of the issue which deserves attention as well.

Many parts of the country supported the soldiers who went to fight, not because they believed that the government had chosen the best option, but because they believed the soldiers were doing the right thing under the circumstances of the time. Sevier County, Tennessee is one example of a group of people in the southeast who supported their friends and family who participated and stood behind their country. The reasons for this spirit come from tradition of patriotism and a twentieth century conviction that Tennessee must back the United states in all of its decisions, whether they be good or bad. Further local studies are needed before we conclude that antiwar sentiments were widespread in the United States. This study of Sevier County indicates that the work of revision may, in the end, clarify the extent of pro-government and patriotic feelings throughout the country during the war years.

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Aristocracy and Grace in Pindar's *Olympian Odes*

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The lyric poet Pindar, who was born in 518 BC and died around 430, viewed an illustrious sect of Greek society from his own lofty angle. A self-proclaimed descendant of colonizing Theban nobility, the musician and poet from adolescence aligned himself and his art with an aristocratic class whose birth, prosperity, and physical prowess attested to divine approval. Pindar's Odes, highly-stylized choral lyrics, or epinikia (victory odes) celebrate the Pan-Hellenic good life of athletic champions who, apart from their activities as merchant princes, tyrants, and members of the ruling class, box, wrestle, sprint, hurl the javelin and race mules with a zeal that "comes from the gods alone"(P.1.41). But for Pindar the games are only the beginning, points of departure on a quest to exalt human greatness in general, and confirm an innate hierarchy ever-present in earthly oligarchy and traditional religion(Norwood,34). This hierarchy, as manifested in the *Olympian Odes*, locates human, semi-divine, and divine areta or excellence along a scale on which men are measured lowest, man-gods, or demi-gods occupy the middle position, and gods the top. Each category or level along the structure, when analyzed according to the themes of power, birth, and physical prowess, and synthesized together, offers a window into the complex inner workings of the human and divine system at work in Pindar's poems.

At the peak of Pindar's hierarchy stand the gods. From the outset of his poetic career at age 20 he lauds them as " the end and beginning of man's work", "sweet and free from pain"(P.10). Their presence in the Olympian Odes is ubiquitous, and regardless of athlete, contest or region they are invoked and praised. Their function, as the supreme rulers and paragons of enlightened sovereignty, is, according to Pindar, to make "men brave and wise according to the divine fate"(O.10): only through them can men prosper. The poet calls upon Zeus to "grant reverence" to one foot-racer, "future victories" to another(O.13), for "his thunderbolt is the fit emblem for every victory"(O.10). Zeus is entreated to inspire more song(O.10), sound a welcome(O.4), and preserve the soil(O.6). As an exemplar of physical prowess he is credited with, counseling the tides(O.9), ravishing women(O.9), and driving his own "tireless chariot"(O.4). Poseidon, too, is portrayed as an embodiment of physical power. He propels chariots(O.1), weds nymphs, and grants assistance in a mule-chariot race(O.1). Apollo snatches unborn children, offers child support, and destroys the Giants(P.8). Even the normally cerebral Muse is a physical force, shielding the poet and dealing out arrows(O.1).

Perhaps even greater than their physical ability is the god's unapproachable legal sovereignty. Because of their superiority in birth, power, and knowledge of fate, they hold full sway over the actions of men. Not only do they assist their noble endeavors, but punish their insolent ones, since " a god can bring down any whose heart is high/ and to others he will give unageing splendor"(P.2). Throughout the Olympians men are congratulated for their prowess but reminded of their subservience to the greater powers. For Pindar, the sphere of the gods provides a supreme model for aristocracy. Zeus, who is exulted as the supreme law maker, is considered the final authority in determining the destinies of men(Bowra,45). The pre-eminence of Zeus, as illustrated by his physical and legal sovereignty, hardly suggests a heavenly democracy, in which all divinities are given equal vote, but an unquestioned oligarchy. Atop the heavenly hierarchy, the chief god clearly reigns, " Zeus who disposes of this and that/Zeus the lord of all"(I.5).

On the next tier of greatness, beneath the greatest gods, Pindar places the half-divine man-gods, or demi-gods. Still far less powerful than the chief gods, demi-gods represent a noble, but not unapproachable bridge between gods and men. Although their prowess and power locates them in the divine realm, their mixed-breed or earthly birth offer lofty but attainable models for mortals. Among them, the most frequently mentioned is Heracles. In addition to his numerous demonstrations of athletic prowess, Heracles enjoys special prominence as the mythical founder of the Olympian games. His frequent appearances in the poems (15 times in 14 Odes) indicate his unique relevance to both human and divine affairs. To Pindar he represents the model competitor, whose ascent

from earthly birth to physical heroism to heavenly marriage illustrates the possible fruits of divine favor. Among his amazing works of prowess, Heracles conquers the Giants(N.8), topples Troy(N.4), and carries cattle on his back. When he strangles serpents in the cradle he demonstrates that his talent is natural and therefore god-given. For this reason Pindar admires Heracles not only as the quintessential competitor and victor, but as a mediator between gods and men, between the impossible and the mundane. As the son of a divine father and mortal mother, Heracles more than satisfies Pindar's aristocratic prerequisites for noble blood and breeding, and displays all traits essential for an earthly hero, among them piety, generosity, and compassion.

Slightly below Heracles, but above earthly men are other semi-divine heroes. They are former earthly soldiers mostly represented by Homeric heroes like Achilles, Ajax, Odysseus, and Telamon. These warriors, although of various birth and talent, fulfill Pindar's ideal for prowess and areta, or peak excellence. Therefore he locates some of them on the Isle of the Blessed, which he identifies in Olympian 2 as a reward for a righteous life(O.2). In relating their acts of heroism and prowess, Pindar is also quick to check their greatness relative to the gods. This is especially evident in the case of Odysseus, whose deception of Ajax prompts the poet to remind earthly men that "the wave of Hades rolls over all alike"(N.7).

Mortal men occupy the lowest level in the Pindaric conception of order. Although it is somewhat ironic that the patrons, the prime reasons for the poems themselves, should occupy the lowest seat on Pindar's ladder of greatness, still this irony is consistent with the poet's hierarchical world-view. Pindar found earthly supremacy in his poetic subjects and patrons, who were at once regional tyrants, descendants of local heroes, star athletes, and pious worshippers. In praising their excellence, or areta, the poet respectfully confirms their earthly power, noble heritage, and physical prowess as innate, unchanging stamps of divine approval.

Perhaps the foremost quality or prerequisite for a Pindaric subject is that he be an embodiment of power. Merchant princes and tyrants of Acragas and Syracuse occupy a central position in the Odes and exercise such dominion that they are not only praised for their own victories, but invoked in the causes of other competitors, subjects, and relatives. As in his descriptions of the gods the poet is concerned with government-citing the Syracusan tyrant Hieron as one who "wields the scepter of law in Sicily"(O.1)-, with power- describing Theron as " the bulwark of Acragas-and birth-lauding him as "the choicest flower of auspicious line of men"(0.2). The athletes, in their physical and regal prowess, imitate and thereby honor the divinities. Success, therefor, is not only a personal reward, but an act of religious service. To illustrate this relationship, the poet mingles the athletes with gods whose qualities are exemplified on an earthly scale. Olympian 1 begins: "water is supreme, but gold, like fire burning in the night, gleams brighter than other wealth; so if you long to tell of athletic contests, dear soul, don't look for any star beaming brighter than sun, nor dare to praise a festival more glorious than Olympia. From there comes songs of praise for poets to sing of Zeus as they arrive at Hieron's wealthy home." As the focus of the ode shifts from water to gold, and from Zeus to the Syracusan tyrant Hieron, the poet deliberately confuses themes of necessity and splendor. This clever metaphorical movement produces a tyrant who, by the same technique as gold is with water, is paralleled with Zeus. Likewise in Olympian 2, when the poet seeks to name the supreme god, hero and man, he mentions Zeus, Heracles and Theron, each the epitome of power in their respective class.

Another attribute essential to Pindar's earthly hero is noble birth. Just as the poet traces his own lineage to noble ancestry, so he does for his patrons. Ancestors of the athletes are ancient kings(O.12), gods(O.6), and heroes(O.8), whose Olympic victories throughout the ages confirm the sanctity of the family as testimony to the world of the essential worth of noble blood(Bowra,101). In the case of Pindar's subjects, noble birth extends beyond athletics to government and war, thereby widening the poets range of comparison from the athlete(Heracles) to the warrior(Ajax) and the lawmaker(Zeus). Although the poet concedes that "few indeed have won without toil the joy that is a light of life above all labors"(O.10), he steadfastly refuses the worth of hard work without natural talent: "That which comes from nature is always best/but many have toiled to win fame by means of training; for anything whatsoever without god is no worse quelled in silence... it is not all of us who can prosper in a single path of work"(O.9). This conception of innate, god-given excellence, aside from confirming the status of nobility, allows no room for socio-economic change and upward mobility. Therefore the athlete strives not in hope of social improvement but rather in expectation of a unveiling of his natural grandeur.

Along with noble birth Pindar celebrated the wealth and prosperity which it fostered, as "the conspicuous star" and "truest light of man"(O.2). Like noble blood and athletic prowess, it was a testament to divine favor, and, aside from hiring trainers and purchasing chariot mules, had the power to create friends(P.5) and inspire song(O.1). In

the case of Theron of Acragas, it is the result of his ancestors' prowess, for whom "time brought wealth and glory to judge their native merits"(O.2.10). Later in the same poem, wealth acts as an incentive "to prompt a man's soul to keen and eager pursuits"(53) and "adorned with virtues provides opportunity for all things"(52). Pindar's emphasis on wealth extends to his own frank attitude towards patrons' payment. Even to the revered Hieron, the poet candidly suggests "If a god should give me the luxury of wealth, I could indeed find fame's peak"(P.3).

Although each is blessed with his own distinctive skills and capabilities, gods, heroes, and men necessarily interact within the aforementioned framework. Each category, although it contains a structure of its own, falls into the framework of a greater aristocracy, universal in scope. Since the gods occupy the supreme perch, sovereigns (although revered in their earthly sphere) are essentially servants of the divinities, whose function, far from self-glorification, is to draw attention to the supremacy of their masters, the gods. For this reason, the poet defines man as merely "the shadow of a dream...but when Zeus sheds a lightness, shining light is on man, and life is sweet as honey(P.8). When Pindar warns that "some are great in one thing, others in another, but the crowning summit is for kings"(O.1), the poet mingles the micro and macro-structures of earthly aristocracy and heavenly sovereignty, thereby exalting his patron and promulgating the change-resistant tenets of his conservative politics and traditional religion. The result is a doctrinal brand of poetry, which transcends its initial subject and serves as a social, political, and religious map of Pindar's world.

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Elizabeth Murphy-Moss, The *Afro-American (Baltimore)*, and the 1963 Cambridge, Maryland Civil Rights Movement

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INTRODUCTION

Originally this project sought to examine the career of Elizabeth Murphy-Moss and her association with the *Afro-American's (Baltimore)* coverage of the 1963 Cambridge, Maryland Civil Rights Movement. When Murphy-Moss refused to grant an interview, the focus of this project shifted to comparing and contrasting the styles (coverage of the Cambridge movement) of this traditionally conservative African-American paper with a liberal white paper, the *New York Times.*

AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN WHO COVERED CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES OF THE 1960'S: THE MISSING BLOCK OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN JOURNALISM

The Civil Rights era stands alone as a period when African-American women did not play an integral part of the journalistic community. Before the 1960's and from 1970's onward, African-American women have traditionally participated in journalistic endeavors. A historical examination, however, does not account for these courageous women's efforts during one of this nation's most critical times - the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's.[1] Continued historical analysis of African-American women journalist during this time period will be critical to accurately chronicling American journalism history.

In 1947, the newly created *Ebony* magazine named Era Bell Thompson international editor, and she held this position until 1964.[2] She wrote issues concerning every continent of the world, but particularly of Africa. Thompson's stories ranged from progress reports of newly formed African republics to safari hunting.

In the early 1970's, Ethel L. Payne, joined the Sengstacke Newspaper chain as a correspondent in the Washington bureau. The only African-American woman assigned to report the Vietnam War, she spent ten weeks there between the years 1966 and 1967. Her stories covered the activities of the African-American soldiers from the Da Nang to the Mekong Delta. Payne also traveled and reported on the political and civil issues of major Asia.

She also accompanied Vice-President and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon to various African and European nations, wrote a firsthand account of the Nigerian civil war in 1969, and reported on the World Council of Churches Assembly at Uppsala, Sweden, in 1968.[3] Historian Marion Marzolf writes, "The Black press was born of a spirit of protest, said Payne, and it has continued to exist because `We have great social problems . . . Newspapers have an important role in this to explain the issues-jobs, housing, employment, and the criminal justice system.'"[4]

Another African-American woman, Elizabeth Murphy Moss, greatly affected American journalism. A member of the oldest African-American publishing family (the weekly *Afro-American, Baltimore*) in U.S. history, she began her career at the tender age of eleven. Historians believe Moss, the daughter of John

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1. Mills, Kay "A Place in the News, p. 175.

2. Wolseley, Roland, E., "The Black Press, U.S.A.," p. 258.

3. ibid, p. 259-260.

4. Marzolf, Marion "Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalist," p. 90.

Henry Murphy, may have been the only African-American female correspondent during World War II. She wrote many articles from England on African-American soldiers and their segregated troops.

Additionally, Moss has held the titles of managing editor, vice-president, treasurer, and editorial supervisor of the entire firm. She also has a national reputation for her spirited and often outspoken column, "If You Ask Me." She signs this weekly column with her pen name -*Bettye M. Moss.*[5]

Limited opportunities existed for women during the Civil Rights era, but several African-American women made significant contributions to the world of journalism.[6] Although their journalistic sisters remained confined to writing for the society and religious pages; Era Bell Thompson, Ethel L. Payne, and Elizabeth Moss Murphy set themselves apart as trailblazers of the African-American press.

THE *AFRO-AMERICAN (BALTIMORE)* NEWSPAPER

The *Afro-American (Baltimore)*, established in 1892, has traditionally maintained a policy of conservatism in its editorial opinions and news writing style. During the Civil Rights era, however, the editorial opinions clearly reflected the anguish and frustration of the African-American community. While the editorial pages expressed a more radical opinion of current affairs, the paper's news writing remained traditional, standardized and objective. The paper continued to emphasize the coverage of "hard news" as a mechanism to inform and mold public opinion. This point is evident in the general layout of the paper and the word usage of its writers.

The front page of the paper carried local and national stories of the day. Also, it addressed political and economic issues that affected the African-American community. The next section, categorized by regions, centered on like issues in major cities.

A particularly unique feature among African-American newspapers, the *Afro-American (Baltimore)*, has consistently reported on political and economic events in several African nations. As early as the late 1800's the paper sent correspondents to several African regions to keep African-Americans abreast of conditions in the motherland.[7]

The editorial pages printed opinions from all regions of the country. The content here differed greatly from the unbiased writing of the "hard news" stories. Many news stories covered in the 1960's focused on volatile civil-rights issues. Interestingly, the reporters covering these stories were African-American citizens who had personal interests in the success of the Civil-Rights Movement. Their objectivity proved essential in maintaining a high level of professionalism. Also, many underground papers began to emerge in the African-American community that expressed and promoted extremely radical solutions to the country's problems. Under great social pressure, the *African-American (Baltimore)* exhibited admirable journalistic integrity.[8]

The paper regularly contained at least seven columns where writers could inform and influence the African-American community. Such columns as *Capitol Spotlight*, by Dan Day focused on issues relating to African-Americans and the Washington, D.C./U.S. Government legislature. *From the Work Bench*, by Clarence Mitchell, dealt with personnel issues like how to find a job, new laws regarding African-American employment issues, and job performance tips.

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[5]. Snorgrass, J. William "Black Women in U.S. History," volume 10, p. 602.

[6]. Weaver, David H., "The American Journalist," p.29.

[7]. Wolseley, Roland, E., "The Black Press, U.S.A. - 2nd Edition, p. 100.

[8]. Penn, I., "The Afro-American Press and Its Editors," p. 186.

One of only two named women columnists, Ruth Jenkins, wrote a column titled *Sob Sister* from the Richmond, Virginia bureau. She reported on both the political and social events of that locale. The other female columnist and the paper's vice-president, Elizabeth Murphy-Moss, wrote a column called *If You Ask Me*. She primarily focused on social happenings around Baltimore, Maryland. Sometimes, however, she would report on current political issues. Other columns centered on the family, fashion, and hospitality. Additional sections of the paper devoted space to education and military news, socialite functions, professional entertainment news, local and national sports news, and births and deaths.

THE 1963 CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND INCIDENT

In the summer of 1963, Gloria Richardson and the Cambridge, Maryland Non-violent Action Committee (CNAC) conducted anti-segregation protests. These demonstrations drew the direct attention of the Kennedy administration and the nation.[9]

Cambridge Maryland, merely 75 miles from the nation's capital and Baltimore, had a long history of voting rights for African-Americans. African-Americans always had the right or opportunity to vote since attaining it in 1869. Unfortunately, the segregation laws proved as rigid as those found in the deepest south. As a result, the city had a disproportional and impoverished African-American population.[10]

The Cambridge Movement inspired the first grass-roots civil-rights organization outside the deep south. It was also the first of such an organization headed by an African-American woman, and the first group to spotlight only economic and Jim Crow injustices as the basis of its civil rights protest. Other organizations championed the lack of African-American voting rights as the primary basis of civil rights complaints. Also, CNAC, a fundamentally secular organization, received little endorsement from the local African-American clergy.[11]

After several months of violent protest, boycotts, and arrests, Governor J. Millard Tawes called in the National Guard to "create a climate for a peaceful settlement" and declared the city under marshal law.[12] Richardson and her group responded by holding a massive demonstration at the county courthouse. This sort of "strike and retaliation" continued between officials and CNAC for most of that summer.

Finally, on July 22, 1963, Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division, convened a conference in Washington, D.C. The participants of the discussion sought to bring a peaceful and equitable end to the civil unrest in Cambridge, Maryland. The following attended the conference:

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, Head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency Robert Weaver, State Attorney General Thomas B. Finon, State Attorney Deputy Robert C. Murphy, Brigadier General George M. Gelston, Maryland Governor Tawes' top aid Edmund C. Mester, and civil rights leaders *Gloria Richardson* (the only women present), John Lewis, Reginald Robinson, and Stanly Branche.

THE *AFRO-AMERICAN (BALTIMORE)* AND THE 1963 CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND INCIDENT

Gloria Richardson

The *Afro-American (Baltimore)* gave timely coverage of an important Civil Rights incident, the 1963 Cambridge, Maryland Civil Rights Movement, which occurred in its own back yard.

Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge Movement, came from a conservative and wealthy family. She received her education at

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[9]. Crawford, Vicki et al, "Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers & Torchbearers 1941-1965, p. 134.

[10]. ibid, p. 124.

[11] ibid, p. 124.

[12]. ibid, p. 130.

the prestigious African-American college Howard University. Her relatives, the St. Clairs, had connections in Cambridge and Baltimore social circles, politics, and commerce. Her grandfather, H. Maynadier St. Clair, became the second African-American to serve on the Cambridge City Council in 1912.[13]

She left her elite social position to spearhead a grass-roots organization focused on the plight of impoverished African-Americans. She once commented, "Regardless of my background, I experienced the same kinds of things that all other Blacks did in Cambridge. My father died because he could not go to the hospital most of the time. Most people had to travel to John Hopkins segregated clinic (75 miles away in Baltimore, Maryland). I was not able to get a job of any kind since I didn't want to teach. I could not go into the restaurants if I wanted to. So I was a victim as well as the rest of the Blacks in Cambridge."[14]

Would a traditionally conservative newspaper, targeted at the educated upper-middle class African-American population, prove fair in its coverage of one of its own who had stepped down from high society to mix and fight for the poor?

Front Page News

An evaluation of the paper's coverage amount and placement of the Cambridge issues help answer this question. Except the week Bull Connor jailed Martin Luther King, Jr. in Birmingham, Alabama and fire-hosed protestors (April 20, 1963), the *Afro-American (Baltimore)* consistently put Cambridge issues on the front page. The stories usually ran long measuring between 21 and 70 column inches on page one and continuing on a second page. Only a few of the front page stories fell below the fold. Many led the paper in the flush-right position.

The most impressive coverage of the Cambridge Movement appeared, July 27, 1963, with a 7" x 5" double photo of Richardson and President John F. Kennedy. That issue of the *Afro-American (Baltimore)* devoted 80 percent of the front page to articles on the Cambridge Movement. Headlines such as "JFK for D.C. March, Cautious on Cambridge," "Demonstrations in Cambridge Off for Negotiations," "JFK Warns Maryland of Dangerous Situation," "Text of JFK's Remarks on Cambridge, Maryland and Civil Rights" littered the front page for that week's issue.

Similarly, the white liberal *New York Times* made Cambridge civil-rights events front-page priority. Since the *Afro-American (Baltimore)* publishes weekly and the *New York Times* daily, the dates do not exactly match. Many photographs and description of events, however, do coincide.

The *New York Times* ran the following articles on its front page during the summer of 1963: "Martial Law Is Imposed in Cambridge, Maryland, Riots" - July 13, 1963, "Maryland Troops May Stay 90 Days - Cambridge Finds Prospects Dim - Peaceful Racial Protests to Resume" - July 14, 1963, and "Pact Is Reached for Racial Peace in Cambridge, Maryland - 5 Point Accord is Signed by Negroes and City Officials - Mayor Pledges Aid" - July 24, 1963.

The most famous photo of the Cambridge Treaty appeared on the front page of the July 24, 1963 issue of the *New York Times*. A 7" x 5.5" photo of Richardson, Robert F. Kennedy and Cambridge Mayor Calvin W. Mowbery had the following caption underneath: "SIGN CAMBRIDGE AGREEMENT: Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy is flanked by Mrs. Gloria H. Richardson, chair*man* of Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee, and Mayor Calvin W. Mowbery of Maryland city at announcement of agreement on dispute." The *Afro-American (Baltimore)* ran the same picture and gave the photo credit to the *New York Times*.

The front page coverage of the 1963 Cambridge incident in both papers proved notably comparable. The *Afro-American (Baltimore)* gave more front page inches to this news event that occurred in its own region and helped to highlight African-American involvement on both sides of the issue (as national guardsmen and protesters).

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[13]. ibid, p. 121.

[14]. ibid, p. 122.

Also, minor language differences appeared in the journals. For example, the *African-American (Baltimore)* used rather genteel words in describing Richardson's initial arrest, and the *New York Times* used the word *Negro* (an unpopular term at the time) instead of Black or colored.

Editorials

The editorials and opinion columns, however, seemed extremely biased in Richardson's favor. From the social elite to the hopelessly impoverished, all sectors of the African-American community seemed to support her grass-roots efforts. For example, on August 10, 1963 the editor of the *Afro-American (Baltimore)* ran a piece titled, "Governor Tawes, Vacationists, And, `Go It, Gloria!'" "We are not writing any editorial about Governor J. Millard Tawes and his failure to take more energetic steps to compel Cambridge, Maryland and the whole Eastern Shore to integrate its schools and its public facilities.

"Of course we utterly disagree with his position that he lacks the authority to issue an executive order to end statewide segregation in public employment or in publicly licensed institutions," said the editor. "Five other governors have found it . . . So, the picture of Governor Tawes leaving Cambridge to stew in its juices, while he takes a more or less summer outing to the governor's conference in Miami, is something quite commonplace (among politicians). When he has friends on both sides of a dispute, a politician goes fishing or gets lost!

"Cambridge's integration leader is Mrs. Gloria Richardson, a 41-year-old Howard University graduate, and a mother of two," said the editor. "Here, in an accompanying photo, is a brave woman in blouse, shorts and tennis shoes, standing up to a whole town, which does not know what to make of this kind of revolution made by the little people."

CONCLUSION

The previous examples clearly show the editorial pages and opinion columns fully supported the efforts of Richardson and her group, but that the "hard news" coverage of the emotionally-charged Cambridge Movement remained objective and professional. After extensive research of the *Afro-American's* treatment of Richardson and the Cambridge Movement, the only plausible conclusion affirms the paper's reputation for accuracy and integrity.

Evidence suggests that although Richardson withdrew from her established social background, this did not influence the movement's coverage by the mostly conservative *Afro-American (Baltimore)*. The paper followed the example of the white liberal *New York Times* in its accuracy, integrity and professionalism.

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Convergence Theory and the Adoption of Health Innovations by Students from Developing Countries

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The purpose of this study is to determine the means by which students from developing countries change their health and hygiene habits after coming to the United States of America. The convergence theory of communication of innovations has been applied to studies about rural populations in developing countries. This study attempts to show that when students from developing countries adopt new methods of health care in America, they are motivated to do so through a convergence of information and understanding. This convergence is similar to the Convergence model of communication. The study uses interviews with students from developing countries at The College Of Wooster campus and tries to determine the pattern of information transmission and assimilation that creates the motivation for change. The results reveal a strong convergence type pattern in the sources of information sought by students when making decisions about innovations in health care. The characteristics that distinguish a convergence pattern from a linear model of communication emerges from the data gathered through interviews. The study opens up new areas of investigation provides useful information about effective communication for the spread of health education.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The background for this study is derived from several field investigations reported by anthropologists about studies made in developing countries. Studies found that health care campaigns that aimed at spreading the use of preventive methods or other remedial methods for common ailments in rural areas of various developing countries, were often unsuccessful due to cultural barriers of unusual forms. Rogers (1962), Micozzi (1983) and others have found that media campaigns that do not have an interactive feature are not as successful as those that involve interpersonal communication between the potential innovators and those bringing the innovation to the rural area. An understanding of the culture specific beliefs of the potential innovators is essential so that the message can be designed to appeal to the beliefs of the people and so that the innovation is compatible to the practices of the people.

Brown (1981), detailed the Convergence approach which proposed that the traditional linear theories of communication that assumed a direct relationship between source-message-channel-receiver, were unable to explain the manner in which attitude change is brought about. Brown proposed that attitude change occurs through a process of diffusion whereby changes and innovations spread from one group to another over time. He proposed the convergence model by which there is a two step flow of information. Information first flows from mass media to the opinion leaders and from them to the rest of society. The Convergence Model is thus a model of communication that relies on social or group interaction for the spread of new ideas.

The present study was conducted in order to investigate the method of adoption of health care innovations by students from developing countries after they came to the United States.

METHOD

Several in-depth interviews with students on the College of Wooster campus were used by this study to assess health care practices and beliefs. The students in the interviews were of the age group of 18 to 20 years. There were nine students interviewed, of whom, two were male and seven female. Of the nine participants, three were from Kenya, three from India, two from Pakistan and one from Malaysia. Of the nine interviews conducted, eight participants agreed to be recorded while the ninth preferred that the researcher took notes during the interview.

INSTRUMENT

The interview questionnaire was the instrument of data collection used in the study. It was designed in keeping with the information that it sought to extract. The questions were designed so as to follow a logical progression from the previous history of health care practices by the participant to their attitudes about the practices they used before they came to the United States. The questions then went on to probe the issue of health and hygiene changes that may have been made by the participants after they came to the United States. Finally, the questions

steered towards the main aim of the study which was to gain an understanding of the pattern of communication that was most effective in bringing about changes in health practices.

VARIABLE SPECIFICATION

The dependent variable in this study was attitudes towards health care. Attitude towards health care may be defined as the beliefs held about the health care methods relied upon by the subject. It also includes notions the subject holds about alternative methods of health care. The independent or exogenous variables in the study were numerous as attitude change is not only a function of external influences. However, in order to maintain the focus of the study, only those variables that were most pertinent to the study were included. These variables were primarily external stimuli in the form of information about alternative means of health care. Information about the subject's method of health care, access to information about alternative and current means, external motivation to change, such as personal experience of the two kinds of health care methods and family or friends were the exogenous variables most expected to show up as determinants of change.

THE TWO-STEP FLOW OF INFORMATION

The linear model of communication assumed a single stage of information transmission in which the mass media sent out messages that influenced the public. However, the convergence model subscribes to a two-stage flow in which the information transmitted through the mass media flows to the opinion leaders and from them to the rest of society. (Rogers, 1962) In the context of this study, the interviews reveal that there is another form of two-stage flow of information. The students tend to gather the initial information from books and magazines and in some cases from television and radio. They then look to opinion leaders for additional information. However, the information from the opinion leaders is actively sought by the students. Also, the nature of the information sought from the opinion leaders is different from what they have already got from the media. The potential innovators seek information about first-hand experience on the part of the opinion leaders. In that sense, these leaders are advisors and innovation leaders rather than opinion leaders alone. In the case of the students in the study, media and books were important impersonal and primary sources of information. At the evaluation stage of the adoption of change, interaction with opinion leaders, friends, peers and relatives became more important. Thus, the diffusion of change in the present study followed a two-stage pattern. The convergence model emerges from the interviews and shows that purely linear sources of information are not enough to create a change in health and hygiene habits amongst students from developing countries.

The results of the study show that students from developing countries do change some of their health and hygiene practices once they come to the United States. These changes are not of a drastic nature as most of these students are familiar with the practice of Western medicine. However, changes are made in terms of the students' attitudes towards health care. The adoption of these innovations follows some general stages as the students familiarize themselves with the new ideas and internalize them. The role played by the linear media such as books, magazines, television and radio is significant yet not instrumental in creating change. Information derived from the linear media is cross-checked against the personal experiences of peers, relatives and friends before decisions are made about the adoption or rejection of innovations. Finally, the innovations adopted by the students were not very varied. Some students rejected an innovation, such as the use of toilet paper, that others adopted. This study did not focus on the reasons for adoption or rejection. However, the students that did reject the use of toilet paper believed strongly that their habits were more hygienic and that it was unhealthy to use toilet paper. Thus strong cultural beliefs were exhibited by some. In general, the results were satisfactory as they did show a clear convergence in the steps followed by the innovators. The theoretical basis of the paper was confirmed by the results and areas for further research and investigation opened up.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study provided an insight into the manner in which college administrations may be able to find out about the culture specific health beliefs of their international students. It is important for administration to be able to understand the cultural barriers that prevent international students from making a smooth transition into American society and the manner in which this may affect their health and performance. Health beliefs are often an important part of the cultural "baggage" of an individual and these beliefs may be linked to religious or social beliefs specific to the country of origin. For foreign students in the United States, often a transition has to be made from an indigenous herb based medical system such as Homeopathy or the Chinese herb doctors, to the Western system of medicine. The interviews revealed a tendency amongst international students to regard the chemicals in the antibiotics prescribed by American doctors to be unnecessarily strong. Thus, for many students who believed in using home remedies or herbal treatment before they came to the United States, the idea of using antibiotics for even minor ailments is difficult to accept.

Researchers like Price (1994), have found that it is important to understand the culture specific beliefs of any ethnic or foreign group before they can be provided with effective health care. Thus while the purpose of this study and that of colleges in general is not to change any of the practices or beliefs of students from developing countries, it is important to understand the motivations for change in order that effective health care may be provided.

The purpose of providing effective health care to students from developing countries can best be achieved by a system that recognizes its own culture specific beliefs as well as those of the students to be served. Thus, the first step would be for health workers such as the nurses and doctors in college health centers to examine their own cultural assumptions about health and the practice of hygiene. Thus, for example, the study revealed that one student had decided not to visit the health center unless in dire need of medication even though in her own country she did visit a physician for general medical problems. This was because she felt that her American peers were hypochondriacs and tended to visit the health center for the most minor ailments. If the student health center were aware of these attitudes towards the American practice of medicine, they may be able to dispel the negative feelings that arise in students who feel that the health center is only present to dispense medicines to hypochondriacs.

The second step would be for the health workers and health center to familiarize themselves with the cultural beliefs of international students, specifically their attitudes towards health care and hygiene. An understanding of these factors would enable the health centers to be more responsive to the needs of students whose beliefs and previous experience of indigenous medicine may prevent them from accepting Western medicine in the way that it is practiced in America. Some female international students tended to show a tendency to rely on other females, both American and from their own countries for advice on the use of new cosmetic and hygiene products. An interesting example was that of the acceptance of the use of tampons after coming to the United States. Some of the students expressed that they would never use tampons because of the standard warning contained in the package which warns the user of the chances of death due to "toxic shock". None of these students had contacted the student health center to clarify the actual dangers of their experiencing the dangers of toxic shock. If the student health center were able to make students feel comfortable about bringing their fears to the nurses, these students may have been able to better understand the terms in the warning flyers and then decide whether or not they were going to adopt the use of tampons.

The third step towards more effective health services would be for the health center to identify the changes already made by the students in their adaptation process after coming to the United States. This study can be said to be an in-depth analysis of the adaptation already made by the students. The results did show that students from developing countries face questions about themselves and their hygiene practices that an American may not be able to understand or even imagine. This causes a gap to develop in the services that the health center can provide. If students feel that the health center knows the kind of changes they are faced with, they may be able to approach the health center more easily.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

The results of this study were extremely productive, yet they could have been even more informative if the interviews could have been more specific. For future studies of this nature, it would be advisable to design the interview to ask more specific questions that involve the participant in analytical thinking about their practices. Also, the interview should focus more on the theory, in the case of this study, the convergence model so as to get answers that either directly support or refute the principles of the model.

A test run of the interview run on a small group of participants, before the final interviews are conducted, would help the researcher to discern at an early stage what necessary information is missing and should be specifically addressed in the final interviews. This was not possible for the present study due to time constraints.

The problems faced by international students in America are varied and often difficult to understand. This study attempted to understand the health and hygiene changes that are made by students from developing countries in their attempt to become acculturated into the new society. The convergence model was found to best fit the pattern of change. Several further studies can be conducted into the area of convergence as well as students and the most effective models of communication for creating awareness and changes in students.

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Predictors of Girls' Math and Science Attitudes and Aptitudes

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A study, conducted for the Mid-Continent Girl Scouts, measured girls' science and math attitudes. These variables were also examined for socialization effect. Data were collected from 206 Girls Scouts in the Kansas City, MO area. Hill et al.'s Science Career Predictor Scale was used to measure attitudes; results contest its factor structure. Drawing from the science and math curriculum and career literature, an open-ended questionnaire was developed to capture potential science and math aptitude. Responses demonstrate that females discriminate between science and math in both attitudes toward the subject and their ability to perform.

Recently Rosser (1988) called the study and practice of science into question as she examined the effects of science research and science education which have been developed largely from a male perspective. "If women do not become involved in science and its public policies we become not a gender at risk, but part of a species at risk" (Rosser, p.150). While many have debated girls' inability or lack of interest in science and math curricula, few steps have been taken to decrease the feminine deficit in these areas or to look at the underlying causes.

Early studies show girls lacked aptitude in science and math. Likewise, males also score significantly higher on tests measuring logical theory (Baker, 1987). However, these barriers may be the results of sex, role stereotyping, perceptions of differences between male and female which begin at birth, and sex-based socialization practices which continue for a lifetime (Rosser, 1988). The effect of such socialization is particularly evident in the results of traditional science and math aptitude measuring instruments as they rely upon learned knowledge. If girls are not interested in and/or not taking science and math courses, then it is difficult or impossible for girls to acquire that knowledge. This argument has been supported by Linn and Hyde (1989) who conclude that "when science processes are separated from science knowledge, gender differences occur only on knowledge"(pg. 22). Several researchers feel that women are socialized away from the technical areas long before they reach senior high school or college. Consequently, they do not enroll in large numbers in the technical prerequisite courses in high school. This factor accounts for women having lower level of math literacy and lower levels of computer literacy (Campbell, 1991, pp. 251-252).

Thus, the first barrier to girls' success in math and science courses is their lack of knowledge. This deficit is not necessarily due to lack of ability. It is our view that this knowledge deficit may be in part founded on social construction. Generally, society provides less motivation for exposing girls to higher level courses (e.g., high school age girls are not encouraged to take math and science courses). At a more micro level, gender-based expectations are also evident in the home. A corresponding barrier exists as teachers and administrators conclude that boys do better than girls in science and math. As a result, these courses are then configured to boys' interests rather than girls'.

The expectations of science for female students appear to be different from that of male students. Female students do not think that science is necessarily a set of right answers; they do think that science should be a study that provides answers to the problems of society - so that the quality of the lives of people will be enhanced. It remains a dominant image of science that it is an impersonal pursuit of correct solutions --and the female students seem to be rejecting that idea(Larson, 1994, pp. 44-45).

As a result, girls' experience(s) in learning math and science in traditional curricula and pedagogy does not parallel how science and math is present in their lives. One conclusion is that girls' ability in science and mat h is directly related to their exposure in these subjects. Further, whatever exposure they may have may be artificially lowered by the way the material is presented. It appears that socialization of females to math and science issues appears to be more responsible for low aptitude and attitude than is actual ability to perform in these content areas. Ineffective socialization, however, is not restricted to how science and math issues are presented instructionally. Contributing to this negative socialization are the attitudes of peers, teachers, and parents. Female peers with their own lowered esteem and curriculum and career choice biases may ridicule their friends. Teachers may unknowingly contribute to girls' withdrawal from science and math by not presenting prominent female scientists as role models or by dismissing science and math professions as "correct" career choices for female students. Parents or other adult care givers, whose own perceptions of appropriate career choice may be skewed negatively by the historically traditional identity of females as wives, lovers, mothers, and

children rather than by academic or professional success, may also influence girls away from science and math. Thus, any negative effect initiated in one relationship may be sharpened or enhanced in other significant relationships. To balance the effect of socialization, we suggest that rather than testing girls' knowledge of science and math, a better course would be to test girl's potential to do well in science and math.

Working as a corollary to socialization effects are the effects of some demographic influences. It could be argued that certain socialization practices are tied to type of school (public, private) and to school environment (urban, suburban, rural). Hill et al. (1990) did find differences between students in rural and urban locations as well as interaction effects indicating that "socioeconomic factors" or "differences between rural and urban school environments" were evident (pg. 301). This is a particularly sensitive issue as many school systems perceive themselves to be faced with suburban flight by Caucasian families in search of more effective learning environments. Finally, while not often regarded as a demographic characteristic, grade level does serve to situate individuals in unique learning settings which may positively or negatively affect science and math socialization.

PROJECT OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this project was to find a way to tap the potential of girls in science and math without relying on traditional measures of science and math aptitude. Without such an instrument, continued research in this area will only validate previous findings—that girls have lowered interest in science and math and do not pursue science and math studies or careers. A measuring instrument was envisioned that would identify girls' varying potential in science and math.

During Spring and Summer 1994, data were collected from 206 girls as part of the Mid-Continent Council of Girl Scouts Focus on Math and Science project. The Mid-Continent Council serves the greater metropolitan Kansas City, MO, area including urban, suburban, and rural areas of Missouri and Kansas. Data were collected from members of 48 troops; 18 participants were not troop members.

Of 206 participants, 15.4% were from urban locations, 65.9% from suburban locations, and 18.3% from rural locations. Of the participants, 82% self-identified as African-American or other ethnic group. Participants represented over 77 schools and ranged from the 5th to 12th grades with most participants reporting their grade level in the middle school levels of 6th, 7th, 8th or 9th. Most participants, 81.7%, attended public schools; however, a greater percentage of suburban participants attended private schools, 6.31% There were no significant differences in type of school or school environment with respect to race or ethnic groups could be taken to reach out to this population.

As a pilot project, this study used Hill's Science Career Predictor Scale (SCPS) with a new instrument, the Science and Math Potential Indicator, to assess girls' attitudes about science and math and girls' potential aptitude in these areas. Each of these instruments is detailed below.

HILL SCIENCE CAREER PREDICTOR SCALE

The Science Career Predictor Scale (SCPS) was developed by Hill, Pettus and Hedin (1990) to assess eight factors: teacher/counselor encouragement, participation in science related hobbies and activities, academic self-image, science related career interest, parental encouragement and support, perceived relevance of mathematics and science, community support, and mathematics and science ability. The SCPS is unique in that it taps the attitudes and perceptions of middle and senior high school age participants; other measurements of science and math interest or success have typically relied upon grade achievement reports. In summarizing, the three studies, Hill et. al. concludes that the contemporary barriers were different for females than for other minorities. In the case of females, the critical variable identified was lack of science career interest, which is primarily related to socialization. In order to overcome this barrier, continuing efforts must be made to challenge both existing sex stereotypes and the masculine image of science. This will have to be, at a minimum, a three-front effort challenging the attitudes of teachers (and counselors), parents, and the students themselves.

SCIENCE AND MATH POTENTIAL INDICATOR

A review of science and math instructional literature indicated many characteristics needed for students to succeed in math and science: technical orientation, critical thinking, problem solving, curiosity, challenge, creativity, logic, confidence, abstract logic, spatial ability, inquisitive nature, analytical thinking, and assertiveness. From this review of the literature, we condensed these attributes down to six basic characteristics needed for students to excel in math and science. They are: 1. learn from observation; 2. confidence to learn; 3. abstract thinking; 4. future orientation; 5. spatial ability; and 6. creativity.

The objective became to develop questions that would measure these characteristics, and , thus, tap girls' potential in science and math studies. The challenge became to develop these areas into question format grounded in a perspective females could relate to and which did not rely upon acquired knowledge or knowledge specific to a particular grade level(Baker & Leary, 1995).There has been anecdotal evidence that situating stimuli within the female perspective does make a difference in the attitudinal response and interest level of females as well as comprehension by females(Rosser,1986). Each question was developed attempting to find application of science and math as these principles could relate to the life of middle and high school age girls.

An open-ended response format was chosen to give respondents the fullest opportunity to respond because they allow the volunteering of information, by respondent revealing what they think is important. It also allows the respondent to determine the nature and amount of information to give. Moreover, the questions were developed to appear interesting to girls of a wide range of ages, grades, and demographic characteristics. Finally, each question could not assume prior knowledge or experience.

An initial 10% random sample of the written responses to the six open-ended questions was used to develop the coding scale. The coder made an initial attempt to find the common themes among the written responses which evidenced attitude, interest level, and likelihood to use science and/or math concepts as it was believed these elements spoke to a potential aptitude in science and math without relying on learned knowledge. Further coding adjustments were made to distinguish description from analysis, and for level of detail or intensity of response. Written responses could receive multiple codings to reflect their depth and complexity. The trial coding scheme for each question was then used by three coders to code the written responses on another random 10% of the questionnaires. After independent coding, the three coders came together to discuss differences and reach consensus on the coding scheme. Two coders worked independently to code the remaining open-ended written responses; coding discrepancies were resolved satisfactorily by discussion. Variables were created for each open-ended question to represent the total coding given to each of the six responses. A seventh variable, Total Potential, was created by summing the six subscales.

RESULTS

Analysis of Variance was used to examine the effect of demographic variables on girls' response to the SCPS items. Because socialization of attitudes toward math and science may accrue due to several different characteristics, race, school environment (urban, suburban, rural), and school type (public, private) were used as independent variables (in addition to the grade level tests completed and reported above) in predicting math, science, and general interest scores. In predicting math interest scores, school environment and grade produced main effects, account for 2.67% &7.23% of the variance respectively. Students in urban locations had higher math scores than suburban participants, both were higher in math interest scores than rural participants. Grade predicted math interest scores in the expected direction. Science interest scores were predicted by the main effect of grade. Science interest scores were relatively high for 5th and 6th grade participants, and then dropped sharply for 7th grade participants. The upward direction began again in the 8th grade and continued in the expected direction. The interest scores for the general items were as predicted with significant effects for school environment, school type, and grade. Suburban participants had higher general interest scores than both urban and rural participants while public school participants reported higher general interest scores than private school participants. General interest scores were relatively low for the 5th grade participants, increased dramatically in the 6th grade and then remained steady through the 9th grade participants. Scores again increased in the 10th through 11th grades. Using all of the items as a total interest score, grade was the only significant predictor accounts for 13.041% of the variance. The general trend was for scores to increase as grade level increased; however, two significant drops were noted in the 7th and 9th grade levels.

The first set of predictive models tested the ability of demographic variables--race, school environ-ment, public/private school designation and grade level--for their effect on the aptitude potential variables. Learn Observation, Abstract Thinking, and Creativity did not produce significant models indicating that demographic variables had no effect on those written responses. However, four significant models were produced: Confidence to Learn produced a significant model with grade level accounting for 1.97% and 4/26% of the variance; Caucasian participants had higher Confidence to Learn scores while urban and suburban participants had higher scores than rural participants; future Orientation produced a significant model with grade level accounting for 2.79% of the variance, with increase in score with respect to grade level in the expected direction; Spatial Ability produced a significant mode with grade level and race accounting for 6/15% and 2.76% of the variance respectively and increase in score with respect to grade level was in the expected direction with Caucasian particip. s having higher Spatial Ability scores than non-whites. The Total Potential Score produced a ...al significant model

accounting for 2.94% of the variance. Caucasian participants had higher Total Potential scores than participants of other race and ethnic groups.

RELATIONSHIP OF SCPS TO SMPI

In examining the relationship of attitude to aptitude potential, regression analyses tested the ability of the reconfigured Science, Math, and general SCPS subscales to predict science and math potential as captured by the open ended written responses. Learn Observation produced a significant model with the Science subscale accounting for 1.7% of the variance. Confidence to Learn produced a significant model with the Science subscale accounting for 2.5% of the variance. Abstract Thinking produced a significant model with the Science subscale account for 3.8% and Math account for 2.0% of the variance. Future Orientation produced a significant model with Science and Math contributing 7.7% and 2.1% to the model. spatial Ability produced an overall significant model; however, none of the subscales produced significant main effects indicating that the variables contribute to the model in an interactive fashion. The Total Potential score produced a significant mode. both the Science and math subscales of the SCPS produced significant effects account for 6.4% and 3.8% respectively.

DISCUSSION

The attitudes that the SCPS attempts to collect may be more susceptible to external influences than we realize. Beyond the traditional influences of teachers, parents, and peers, elementary and high school age females may develop peer based attitudes attributable to factors other than those captured by the SCPS.

Also, the revised Science/Math/General subscale may be a more effective structure of the SCPS as it segregates math from science. While certainly the two curricula are related, elementary and high school age females may respond to each differently thus confounding the use and results of the SCPS.. The open-ended responses to the SMPS clearly demonstrate that females discriminate between science and math in both liking of the subjects and their ability to perform.

In examining the revised Math/Science/General SCPS subscales with respect to demographic variables, both expected and unexpected results occurred. For the math interest items, urban participants had higher math interest scores than suburban participants than rural participants. These scores may indicate that the urban schools are performing better than believed. also unexpected was finding that public school participants had higher general interest scores than private school participants. Once again, this may indicate that the public schools from which participants were sampled may be more effective than give credit for. As expected, participants demonstrated increased science, math, and general interest scores as they progressed through grade levels. This counters the notion that as girls mature and are given other learning and activity opportunities they lose interest in science and math.

The subscales of the SMPI also provided both expected and unexpected results. Confidence to Learn was higher for urban and suburban participants than rural participants. This may be explained in that urban and suburban participants had more opportunities to avail themselves to the application of science and math content. Race was significant in predicting Confidence to Learn, Spatial Ability, and Total Potential despite the efforts of school systems in this sample to overcome previous practices in which schools were regarded as separate and unequal. Grade level predicted scores in Future Orientation and Spatial ability. This is expected in that participants were likely to be thinking more about the future as they matured and that Spatial Ability is a skill that also improves with maturation. The inability of grade to predict the other SMPI subscales and the Total Potential score suggests that science and math potential exists in these participants regardless of age or grade level. The questions and coding procedures were developed to avoid weighting answers in favor or grade level. This was assumed to be a critical feature of the SMPI as it attempts to measure potential aptitude, not current level of learning.

While the revised SCPS subscale structure did predict girls' responses to some of the open-ended questions of the SMPI, variance accounted for was minimal. However, these effects deserve our attention. Learn from Observation was predicted by science interest scores. This suggests that math is considered to be a conceptual activity that cannot be "seen" and that practical application of math principles should be heightened in the classroom. Confidence to Learn was predicted by science interest scores, but not by math. Even though subjects mentioned both science and math in their responses to this open ended question, science interest may be a better predictor in both, while math does not have that reciprocal effect. Abstract Thinking was predicted by science and math interest scores. This was expected as conceptualizing and building a house requires both types of skills. Future Orientation was also predicted by science and math. this suggests that how one might use math in the future is minimized or concealed to female students. Spatial Ability was not predicted by either science or math interest scores. The question expected to tap into the logic which is the foundation for both science and math. Likewise, Creativity was not predicted by either science of math interest

scores. This was unexpected as the question clearly attempts to identify participants' inventive potential which should parallel interest in science. Finally Total Potential was predicted by both science and math interest scores.

Examining these patterns of the predictive power of the science and math interest scores to predict the potential aptitude we find that science interest scores were predictive in five of the seven models, while math interest scores were predictive in only three. In each model where math interest was significant, science was also significant and accounted for more variance than the math interest score. It is believed that these results further substantiates the claim that questions about students' interest in science and math should be separated rather than integrated.

Clearly more work needs to be done. Studies which explore the link between science and math attitude and aptitude should facilitate more effective pedagogical techniques, particularly those aired at female students. The importance of studying the attitude-aptitude link is essential to identifying two populations which require special attention in the approach in which science and math information is presented. First, identifying girls with positive attitudes and high aptitude potential who could be encouraged to pursue higher-level science and math courses and experiences which lead to science and math career choices. Second, identifying girls with low attitudes and low aptitude potential could be targeted for pedagogy which helps decrease the deficit. While all students do not strive for science and math careers, a working knowledge of both subjects is essential for their ability to function as critical consumers in society.

However, to achieve both ends, we can no longer rely solely upon school curriculum to combat the effect of negative socialization practices. As stated before, it will take a three prong effort of school, family. and peers.

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Tourism And Environmental Effects Utila, Honduras

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ABSTRACT

The relatively small tropical island of Utila is situated just 35 miles off the north coast of Honduras, a mere 15 minute flight. Historically Utila has served as a fishing and boatbuilding community settled by British descendants. However, recently the island has begun to attract international tourists. The number of tourists is doubling each year and in response Utila is beginning to experience environmentally related problems. Tourists are degrading the surrounding coral reef systems, they are straining the island's potable water and sewer systems, and they are forcing the island's settlement nucleus to expand across fragile mangrove swamps. If tourism continues to develop as the island's primary economic activity, these environmental problems will have to be resolved.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a case study to examine the rise in tourism on Utila, Honduras with special focus on the environmental impacts that tourism is bringing to the island. After giving a brief history of the island, I will discuss the coral reef system, mangrove swamps, potable water, and some conservation plans to help Utila better prepare for the increase in tourism.

Utila is the third largest and westernmost of the three principle islands in the Bay Island chain situated off the north coast of Honduras. Utila is approximately 16 square miles. The Bay Islands were initially settled by British privateers and ex-slaves from the Cayman Islands, thus English remains the language of the Bay Islanders, despite the fact that the islands are now Honduran and the mainland speaks Spanish. Historically, the islands were noted smuggler's hideouts, coconut export centers, fishing grounds, and wood shipbuilding centers. However, most recently the islands have begun to experience tourist oriented growth - principally focused on scuba diving the islands' coral reef systems. Utila has only recently begun to experience this tourist growth, while the other Bay Islands have been tourist oriented for almost two decades.

On Utila, tourism development has been relatively limited to the southeastern corner of the island where the town, East Harbor, is located. East Harbor is the settlement nucleus of the island and it is here that most residents live and almost all of the island' economic activities are located. Over the past year, tourism on Utila is growing faster than any other economic activity. In just two years the number of scuba operations has grown from one shop to 8 and plans are being made to open even more. Hotels have increased from 3 to 14, now giving the island the capacity to hold approximately 200 visitors. Restaurants have also been increasing in number. These new tourist operations are

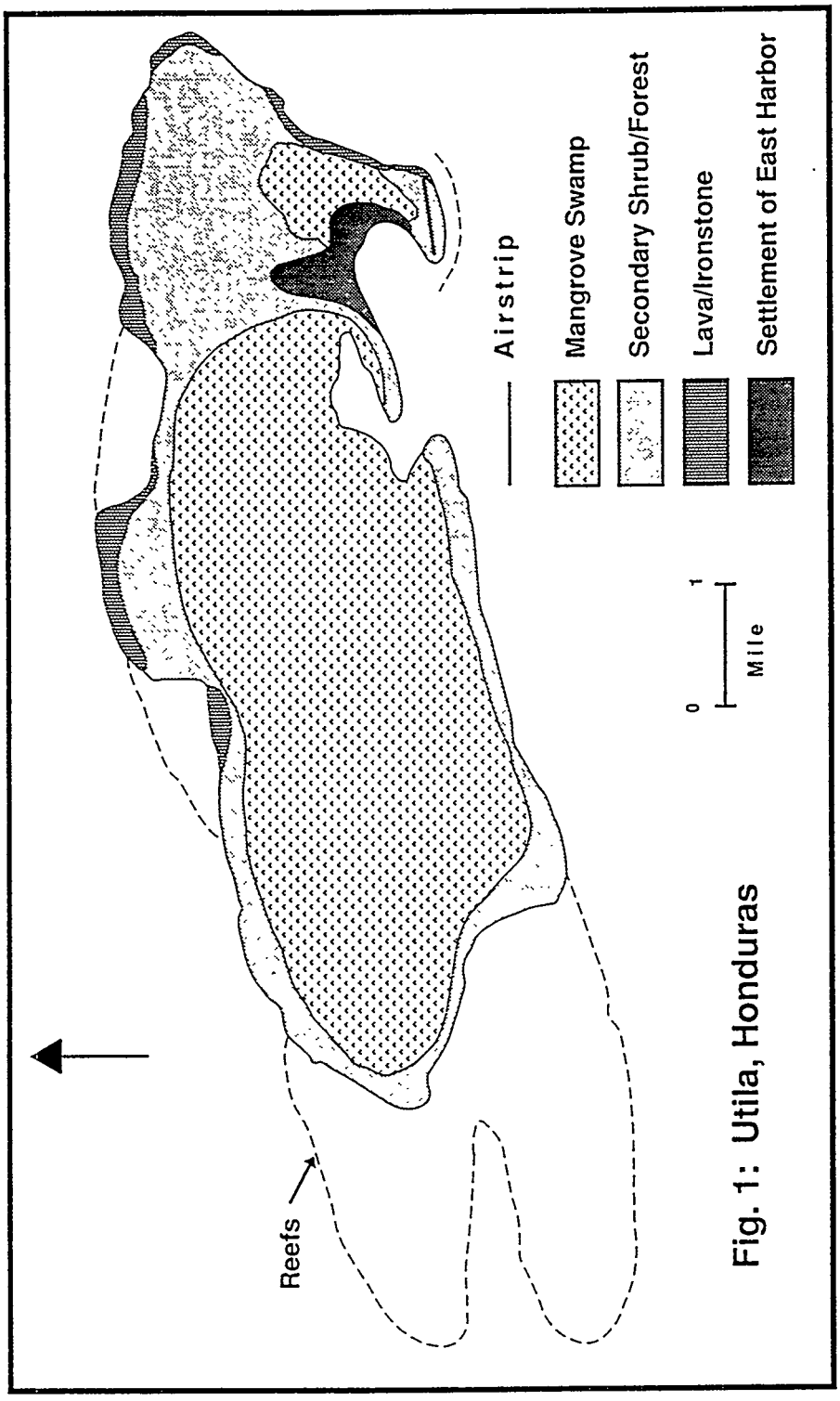


Fig. 1: Utila, Honduras

obvious of the switch Utila is making from a fishing and boat building economy to tourism.

TOURISTS AND TOURISM

First the typical Utila tourist and tourism will be addressed. Utila, unlike the majority of the Caribbean Islands, attracts a rather untraditional tourist. The majority of tourists in the Caribbean are North American and expect lavish accommodations and services. However, Utila attracts young Europeans - usually students on a budget. This is one reason tourist development on the Island has been and will be economically and socially different from most other Caribbean resorts. Because the average stay abroad for most young Europeans is about 100 days - dividing that time between several Central American countries, they spend much less money in one place so that the longer stay is possible. Hotel and guest house owners on Utila face situations of slow client turnover because the typical tourist does not want to pay much but wants to stay for several weeks. Most hotels and guest houses are additions to private homes and generally only accommodate a few rooms; the largest hotel/guest house has only ten rooms and almost always rates are negotiable.

In recent months the number of guests has outgrown the number of accommodations and tourists are sleeping on porches and the local government has been forced to pass a law to prevent this from continuing and force tourists into some type of rooming arrangement.

There are two ways to access the island. There is a small dirt airstrip near East Harbor and a shallow water port. The airstrip services four regular flights a day from La Ceiba in a 9 passenger plane. There are small supply boats that come to the island from the mainland and from nearby Roatan (The largest Bay Island) a few times a week. Boats cost about five US. dollars for a one way (three hour) trip, the plane is $17 each way and takes about fifteen minutes to get to the mainland.

The main tourist attraction on the island is the surrounding coral reef system. One can scuba dive and snorkel this reef system very inexpensively and can even become dive certified on the island in just 4 days. Diving enthusiasts around the world recognize the Bay Islands as some of the best diving in the world. Another attraction that Brings tourists to the island is the sense of going somewhere that has not yet been discovered by the rest of the world. Many young people today look for exotic places to vacation that have not been over developed so that there is still adventure, and they have found that in Utila. An example of this is the fact that the town still does not have 24 hours of electrification.

CORAL REEF SYSTEM

The coral reefs of the Bay Islands, although similar to and Belize, are distinctive in several ways. The reefs are generally long, almost continuous and usually narrow. The advantage of this is that almost every dive site is on or adjacent to a coral wall. The disadvantage is that the reef is sparse in total area and easily damaged by diver overpopulation , local pollution and dredging. All of these problems are increasing with the rise in tourism.

Fortunately, Utila is still not well known to have a problem with the number of people scuba diving, however, pollution has already begun to take a toll. In August of 1994, dive masters were asked if any degradation of the waters or reefs had been detected with the increasing numbers of tourists. Most said that as far as the reef was concerned the dive operators had been very strict in enforcing rules, such as the hands-

off policy. However, pollution had increased to a very critical level. For example, at a reef formation on the western edge of Utila, Once 20 feet down swimming was hindered by the large amount of garbage in the water. Most dive masters lamented that 3 years ago the site had been crystal clear. It should be noted that the western end of the island is downwind from East Harbor and the persistent trade winds will continually carry debris and garbage from the settlement to the reefs in this location.

The Bay Island Conservation Association BICA (a small grassroots organization) has been hard at work to try and slow down and prevent any reef damage that may occur due to the increase in tourism. They patrol areas to make sure that local environmental laws are being upheld. They also hold the independent dive operators responsible for the actions of the divers they take out. BICA has also placed approximately 14 anchor buoys around the main diving sites so that when the divers go out they can tie-off onto the buoy and avoid dropping an anchor onto the coral reef. Currently there are several areas around Utila that are under consideration as marine sanctuaries, due to BICA's efforts.

MANGROVE SWAMPS

The interior of Utila is comprised primarily of low lying brackish mangrove swamps. East Harbor, is built on a landfill over swamp and the town's growth will continue to expand across the surrounding swamp. In order to build more hotels and restaurants for the tourist industry, lagoons and swamps have been filled to increase the amount of land available for development. The islanders see this as a good situation because it increases the amount of living space, and it also is a place for their solid waste disposal - which is increasing due to tourism. In speaking with a local resident and restaurateur, it was discovered that a large number of the tourists complain about the smells, and unsightliness of dumping garbage into the marshes. However, the locals reply that tourists do not realize that most of the town is built upon solid waste landfills and drained marshes. If it were not for landfill there would have been little room for tourism infrastructure. Even though tourists complain about the way in which solid waste is disposed, tourists still remain a large contributor. The locals have always been practicing this method of waste management, and there has never been a problem before so why should one come up now. For one year the Peace Corps agreed to dispose of the island's garbage under the agreement that Honduras would take over after one year. The Peace Corps were forced to quite when the Honduran government did not meet its requirement.

POTABLE WATER

Potable water is also a problem on Utila and tourism will increase this problem. Because the island depends on cisterns and a small aquifer for water, the amount available depends on climate variables and the ability to store water. When the cisterns run out there is no more until it is recharged, the small artesian aquifer can meet 1/10 of the island's needs. There is no water purification facility on the island.

Except for one small intermittent stream in the southeast, Utila has developed virtually no obvious surface runoff patterns. This causes a problem in sewage disposal. With an increase in the number of people on the island comes an increase in sewage. Since no one on the island uses any type of septic treatment, the sewage is drained directly into the bay. Most residents still use outhouses. The local clinic is already witnessing higher than average cases of dysentery among the local population and some tourists who swim in the bay.

CONSERVATION THEORY

The intrinsic value of the island's important natural sites seems reason enough to protect and care for such areas, but in view of the need for economic development on the island, it is not surprising that conservation efforts lag behind economic incentives. The belief is that conservation and development of natural resources could contribute to the economic development of the island. This belief is based on the theory that, for most Caribbean islands, tourism expansion is the most promising means to economic progress, and that the region's natural sites can help sustain the tourism industry. Well laid out plans for the use of these sites and for the while environment should result not only in a strong basis for tourism, but also in a more pleasing environment for the people of the island.

IDEAS FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Coral Reef System

In order to maintain the integrity of the coral reefs the dive operators should continue to be pressured by BICA to follow regulations. BICA should also continue to educate the Utila population on how to manage solid waste disposal so that it is used for appropriate landfill and not discarded into the bay.

Mangrove Swamps

In order to conserve and protect the mangrove swamp areas on Utila the first step will be to evaluate the remaining area by determining the quality. The areas will by categorized as either low quality areas or high quality areas. Based on this determination development will be limited to the low quality areas.

Potable Water

Utila must move toward a municipal sewage treatment plan. Deep bore wells should be built in order to increase the amount of water available for consumption. Both of these actions will require money and energy that Utila does not have; therefor, the Honduran Government must be approached to help develop these water resources. If these ideas are to be implemented on Utila, BICA must play a role in leading the population to call on the Honduran government for help.

BICA already has a very good report established with the local people and it is very respected and trusted on the island. For this reason it will be necessary for BICA to facilitate changes on the island. BICA must also continue to educate the public in hopes of changing habits and attitudes toward the environment by working with local groups and the local government.

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Before Black was "Black": The African American Experience in the American Colonies, 1607-1700

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This study explores the experience of African-Americans through the early years of American colonization. It is based on an analysis of cases drawn from the colonial court records of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, North Carolina and Virginia.[1] Evidence indicates that early in the century African-Americans enjoyed a status essentially equal to that of European-Americans in all the colonies. But in many aspects of their lives, that situation had changed 1690s.

Court records clearly indicate that Blacks used the justice system just as Whites did, to claim rights, affirm legal proceedings, seek release from servitude, and bring complaints against those who violated their rights. This data allows us to construct a modest representation of Black life during the first half of the 1600s, and to see the changes that occurred by the end of the century.

The early colonial judicial system in many ways provided due process of the law to everyone, despite skin color. For instance many Blacks went to court to file suit for their freedom from unjust servitude, just as Whites did, and - like Whites - they often won that freedom. In 1673, Andrew Moore "a servant Negro," petitioned Virginia authorities for his freedom from the services of Mr. George Light. Moore proved that he had come into the colony for only five years to serve Mr. Light, and that his time was completed. The court freed Moore from his indenture and ordered Light to provide him freedom dues.[2] In a similar suit, Thomas, the Black servant of Joseph Commander, requested that the court discharge him from the services of his North Carolina master in 1680. Thomas was also able to present papers that supported his claim that he was only to be indentured and that his time was complete. Mr. Commander was then forced to release Thomas. It was ordered that he, "be discharged emediately from his said Masters service," and given dues.[3]

Such cases were common in the early colonies, and the records reveal no significant differences between how Blacks and Whites were handled in them. Nor did the courts appear to discriminate in punishing offenders. Take, for example, the judgment handed down to the two servants of Stephen French in 1679. Both were convicted of fornication with a Negro named Maria in Essex County, Massachusetts. "Robert Corbet, white, and George, a Negro," both received the same punishment: twenty stripes and court costs. Even when Blacks filed petitions with the court requesting prosecution of those that they felt had violated their rights, unbiased and equitable penalties were given to offenders. A good illustration is the 1672 Massachusetts ruling regarding the petition of Angola, a "free Negro." Angola was a home owner who had his property burglarized by three individuals. Once they were caught, Angola asked that the court prosecute, and each of the men received stiff sentences of twenty lashes, jail time, and court costs.[4]

In addition, there were petitions filed for settlement of disputes between Whites and Blacks in the colonies. The 1653 controversy involving a "Neager maide servant" of John Barnes and a White man, John Smith, is a typical example. The two were equally reprimanded for quarreling in public. Twenty-seven years later, Goodman Wolland accused "the Negro boy of Daniel King" of insulting him on a Boston street. The boy denied the charges, and once taken to court the case

was dismissed for lack of witnesses.[5] Such cases illustrate the variety of disputes that Blacks brought before the courts, and how each case was litigated in an impartial manner.

Utilization of the court system by Blacks was not just limited to settling disputes. They were also brought into court to testify in other cases besides their own. It is clear from such cases that "Black" evidence was as good as "White." For instance, in 1679 a Massachusetts woman, Bridget Oliver, who was suspected of witchcraft, had a "Negro named Wonn" testify against her.[6] Thomas, the Negro servant of John Harvey, testified in a North Carolina case involving a dispute over the livestock belonging to an estate. Thomas testified that, "he heard the Honorable Thomas Harvey Esq. and William Mitchell, that was the overseer at the plantation," discuss how many cattle there were and what other animals belonged to the estate.[7] Blacks were also key witnesses in more serious crimes. A typical case involved a 1680 Massachusetts warehouse arson in which a "Negro named Mingo" testified.[8] These case exemplify how the testimony of a Negro was considered acceptable evidence against Whites as well as Blacks.

Blacks in the 1600s also enjoyed an economic independence, at least those that were free or fortunate enough to obtain their freedom. Various cases indicate that Blacks owned businesses and land, though little information is given on the individuals or on how they acquired their property. In several instances Blacks were quite prosperous. Note, for example, Bostian Ken, "a free Negro" from Boston, Massachusetts, who not only owned considerable property, but in 1656 bought the freedom of Angola, then slave to Captain Robert Keayne. Interestingly, there is more to Angola's story than the purchasing of his freedom by another Black man. After Ken bought his freedom, the most extraordinary set of circumstances occurred. Angola was given a fifty-foot square piece of land by Governor Richard Bellingham, after he had rescued the Governor from a sinking boat. By the time Angola died in 1675, he had paid his obligation to Ken and had moved from being a servant to a free Negro with a house, land and many other possessions.[9]

Consider also the business dealings of two Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Blacks: a "Negro named Thomas," who was the owner of a chair making establishment, and Zippora Potter, also a former slave, who bought a twenty-eight by sixty-foot piece of land with a house in 1670.[10] For most Blacks brought into this country, whether slaves, servants, or free, assimilation into the newly colonized society seemed to progress at a level similar to that of most white immigrants during the earlier years of the century. Out of the 215 cases that I found involving Blacks, every one that concerned requests for release from servitude occurred before the 1690s. Likewise, all but one of the cases involving Blacks giving testimony in court or owning property or businesses came before the last decade of the century.

As the century went on, there appeared to be a real change in the social status and treatment of Blacks among the colonies. Punishment became more harsh and oppressive. For example, Robert Seary, "a Negro" in New York, escaped from prison in 1682 and stole a boat to run away. When he was caught and convicted, the jury sentenced Seary to receive ten lashes of the whip.[11] Three years later in North Carolina, complaint was made against "Mingo a Negro, for running away from the house of Daniell Akehurst Esq. and carrying away several goods belonging to him." Mingo was "banished out of the county completely."[12] In a similar case just seven years later, "a negro man named Dick belonging to Henry Norman" committed several misdemeanors. He was whipped thirty-nine lashes and banished from the county.[13] In 1698 "a Negro" was accused of stealing a boat. Unfortunately the records never mention the name of the accused, but he was convicted and sentenced to receive "31 stripes on his bare back."[14] Three years previously, two Blacks who stole a cow were forced to draw lots to see which one died, and which one received a severe whipping.[15]

Although these offenses were similar in nature, the punishments handed down became progressively severe over the years. Even crimes as serious as murder were handled more leniently earlier than in the final years of the century. Take for instance a 1684 defendant,

"Robert Trayes, a Negro." Trayes wounded the leg of Daniell Standlake by shooting him. Standlake eventually died because of the wound. The jury decided that Standlake died "by misadventure," so Trayes was sentenced to pay the deceased's father £5 or be whipped.[16] This is in complete contrast to the sentence given to Peter, "a Negro slave belonging to Mr. Thomas Vandermulen." In 1698 Peter was indicted for murdering Elizabeth Baker, a white woman, and was ordered to be hanged by the neck until dead.[17]

Also the practice of remanding slaves and servants to their masters for punishment without the benefit of a court hearing or trial become more common by the end of the century. In 1698 in North Carolina a complaint was made that "two Negroes and one Indian belonging to James Coale" had robbed their Master's house. The court ordered that the men be apprehended and "convey[ed] to their Master" for punishment.[18] Thomas Norcome apprehended "three sturdy runaway slaves," from North Carolina in that same year. The court ordered that the slaves be kept until they be delivered "to their respective Masters" for punishment.[19] A year later, John Stepney brought before the court three men he suspected of being "runaway slaves." It was ordered that the slaves be held until their Masters were located, and then remanded to their custody.[20] In each of these cases, not one trial was held and no jury was convened to here testimony. The slaves were automatically considered guilty and immediately handed over to their Master's for punishment. Earlier in the century the courts would hand down any and all penalties.

In conclusion, it is clear that Blacks in the early colonies used the justice system in a variety of ways to protect their rights and freedoms. Through the early part of the seventeenth century, they were generally treated much as Whites in doing so, but by the end of the century distinctions based on color became increasingly common. Exactly how that freedom was lost, how Black became "Black" in early America, remains a mystery.

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[3]NC/HC-I:36 1680. For other examples see, VA/GCR:413, 1675, NC/HC-1:132, 1694.
[4]WMQ:227, 1672.
[5]Ibid., 1653 and 1680.
[6]Ibid., 228, 1679.
[7]NC/HC-2:479, (date undetermined).
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[9]WMQ:235-236, 1656 and 1675.
[10]Ibid.,236, 1670.
[11]NY/ARS-2:437, 1697.
[12]NC/HC-1:364, 1685.
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[14]Ibid., 2:216,1698.
[15]CSP-14:541, 1695.
[16]WMQ:233, 1684.
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[20]NC/HC-2:361, 1699.

Brevard, North Carolina as Home Front
A Study of Small Town in America During World War II

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The thesis of this paper is that the current image of the American home front during the Second World War as portrayed in scholarly literature a popular periodicals is not an accurate depiction of the situation in small towns like Brevard, North Carolina.

A graphic advertisement found in the June 30, 1944 issue of The Woonsocket Call contained both a tense statement and a distant question. "I died today . . What did you do?"[1] The United States Government, via agencies such as the War Advertising Council, wanted Americans during the Second World War to perceive that every aspect of their life was in some way connected to the war being waged overseas. And indeed it must have been hard to forget the War with so many loved ones gone to fight and so much war-time propaganda being published by the United States Government. Yet was life at home really that different from pre-war conditions? Much of the historical evidence for home front conditions is based on accounts of 'Rosie the Riveters' who joined the defense industry to help their men abroad, but the big defense industry jobs were centered around urban areas and sea ports. Isolated small towns[2] did not often have the kinds of factories that received defense contracts, so contributing to the War effort, in that manner, was not an option.

Nonetheless, the modern student of history reads and views a very amalgamated picture of life in America during the Second World War, browsing through the textbooks and general audience publications of today, it is hard to find evidence that life in small towns during the Second World War was any different from life in urban and seaport areas. This overall picture must be a representation of life in places such as Newport News, Virginia which had shipyards, and Detroit, Michigan whose Ford plant immediately quit producing passenger automobiles and began the manufacture of Army vehicles. In these industrial centers life was changed dramatically by the defense industries that developed and by the large influx of workers that migrated in looking for the high-paying defense jobs.

In isolated small towns, however, it seems that life really was not affected to the extent or in the same ways that the War changed urban areas. Brevard, North Carolina is just such a small town. With a current population of around 5,000, Brevard's population in 1940 was 2, 953 [3] The only major manufacturing industry at the time of the War was the Ecusta Paper Corporation which had been opened by a German immigrant in 1938.[4] Agriculture was the other important industry in Transylvania County.[5] Brevard is 38 miles from the closest small city of Asheville, North Carolina and the closest cities of substantial size are Atlanta, Georgia and Charlotte, North Carolina, both of which are hours-long drives even today in the age of the modern interstate.

Brevard will serve as a case study for small town life in America during World War II Life in Brevard during this period can be viewed from several different perspectives. In studying social change it is important to use sources that reflect how the people perceived life changing.[6] In reviewing the sources that will be employed, Brevard can be viewed in contrast to the image that is portrayed by our media of the Home Front, to other areas of America, and even against itself when critically studying the variance in answers discovered during the oral interviews. This study will establish a contrast in small town and urban life in America during the Second World War, and takes issue with the media's portrayal of the Home Front and its affects on life in America . . .

When war came it made profound changes in American life. Millions departed for the services. Millions more left their

> pleasant hometowns to live in drab rooms in hostile war-boom cities. The stream of women entering the labor force rose to a flood crest of 18 million Well-fed Americans had their menus curtailed by food rationing. A populace accustomed to going everywhere by car had to get used to gasoline rationing A populace inured to waste was asked to save tin cans and rendered fats and to put up with citywide dim-outs to conserve power.[7]

This quote is the introductory paragraph in the "Fighting the War on the Home Front" section in a Time-Life Series on the History of America. This is the conventional presentation of how American lives were affected by the Second World War. Brevard, North Carolina does not completely fit this mold.

Of course there were certain things that were uniform to all areas of the United States since many national mandates and policies were instituted by the federal government. Each draft board was expected to draft a certain percentage of residents into the service, and the Office of Price Administration(OPA) homogeneously set price ceilings and rationing limits Still, different populations can perceive these policies differently.

The demand for soldiers in 1941 was so high that almost everyone knew someone in their family who had either enlisted or been drafted into the service Opalie Browning[8], a housewife during the War, said she had many relatives in the War "One of my two brothers enlisted in the Navy for the whole four years. The other one was drafted but was rejected cause he had a club foot. Three out of four of my brothers-in-law were drafted -- two in the Army and two in the Navy."[9] Spaulding Billows, who was 14 when the United States entered the War, had a similar story. He said that although he had "no brothers or sisters in the War, lots of cousins -- at least a dozen" were in the War.[10] Whether you lived in the small town or the urban metropolis it seems a rather accurate description of life to say that you knew someone in the War.[11]

The location of Brevard precluded a large exodus of people to the defense plants Without a large city nearby, many people were reluctant to leave their home to go far away to get defense work. Spaulding Billows' family did leave Brevard to go to work in Oak Ridge , Tennessee, but he stayed behind and continued his schooling.[12] His wife, Dottie, said, "My whole family was working on the farm, but I knew a lot who were 4-Fed[13] and went to Newport News, Virginia to build ships."[14] Some residents did not know anyone who left for defense work.[15] The opportunity for defense work in Brevard was limited mostly to taking over the jobs left behind by the servicemen that went to War, including work with the Ecusta Paper Corporation. According to Excel Lidy, the plant began production of foreign currency paper and wadding for shells[16], in addition to continuing the production of cigarette papers [17] Without an influx of workers looking for defense jobs, Brevard did not experience the shortage of housing that other areas faced.[18]

The issue of women entering the workplace is directly related to the opportunity for defense jobs. No one interviewed knew of any women who left Brevard to work in the defense industry, although Lib Lidy did remember that women began to work at Ecusta during the War; "Back in the beginning," she stated, " Excel (her husband) worked in a department that was all men, but it ended up almost all women as did several other departments at Ecusta."[19] Mary Penelope's experiences were different:

> When my Mother went to work it was not because of the War. She went to work because my Daddy had his accident and he couldn't work at that time, so she had to work. I don't think Mother would have gone to work just because there was a war. All the other women in my family worked already before the War; they had worked since they got out of high school so they were working people.[20]

Since few men left the area for defense jobs, there were fewer jobs for women tot take cover. None of the Brevard women interviewed began working during the War, although those that were already working maintained their employment

The Life excerpt quoted earlier mentions food rationing as a hardship of the War Another Time-Life publication includes that "The shortage that hurt people most involved a staple -- meat . Housewives is almost every US city found themselves with meat ration coupons to spare, but nothing to buy."[21] Since Transylvania County was overwhelmingly an

agricultural county, many of the residents of Brevard either owned a farm or were related to someone who did which meant they did not have to use their rationing coupons to obtain meat or poultry products.[22] Others simply planted gardens or were able to purchase the goods they wanted from the stores. The farmers in Transylvania County, coordinated by the community AAA Committee, wholeheartedly agreed to follow the Food for Defense program in order to increase agricultural production in the county beginning in 1942, a policy which allowed the county to be self-sustaining agriculturally.[23] Individuals did not seem to be adversely by the food rationing. Most everyone interviewed mentioned sugar as the thing that was most missed during the War. Nancy Caldwell, a grade school student during the 1940s, recalled that "food was rationed, especially sugar. You had to really stretch it. . . I ate cereal a lot -- maybe that's why the sugar really stuck."[24] Others remembered similar stories; "You didn't get sweet cookies every week, that's for sure!" stated Helen Abercrombie.[25] Overall, though, people did not seem to be affected by the food rationing mandates. Lois Mylan, a housewife and mother of two during the War indicated that "we seemed to have what we needed in food. . . because the children were little we got more sugar than we needed so we could share with other members of the family."[26] The agricultural nature of the area surrounding Brevard meant that there was less demand on the grocery stores which provided and adequate supply of foodstuffs for those that did have to purchase food at the store using their rationing coupons.

The media also portrayed gas rationing as something that greatly affected Americans Once again this rationing measure did not seem to have a significant impact on Brevard. When asked about the changes in transportation in Brevard during the War, Rose Times recalled that "the only thing we had was Gertha Shipman's bus that went to Asheville. It went in the morning and came back in the afternoon. Unless you had a car, but they were hard to get and most people didn't have one."[27] Over and over again those interviewed said that no one had cars, thus gas rationing did not affect them.[28] Most people walked to school and work in Brevard so that cars were not necessary. Mary Penelope said that most people who had cars did not drive them except on rare occasions; 'even before and after the War the people who had cars didn't use them -- they walked to work. Cars were a luxury back then.[29]

Probably the most controversial point in the Life quote mentioned earlier was that the "populace [was] inured to waste." [30] At least in Brevard, the people seemed to see the War as subsequent to the Depression. Pat Montgomery recalls that rationing and conservation did not have a big effect on her life because she was raised in the Depression. At least in Brevard, the people seemed to see the War as subsequent to the Depression. Pat Montgomery recalls that rationing and conservation did not have a big effect on her life because she was raised in the Depression.[31] One person interviewed was not even sure what was rationed during since it did not impact her family's life.[32] Even before the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor,[33] Transylvania County had drives to collect scrap aluminum. In A Democracy At War: America's Fight At Home And Abroad In World War II, William L. O'Neill maintained that, "rationing, an inconvenience to some, meant real sacrifice for others -- such as small businesses that depended on the drive-in trade. . . Labor and other kinds of shortages would also devastate small businessmen and farmers."[34] Again, rationing did not seem to have this sort of affect on small businesses in Brevard, Pat Montgomery worked in her family's camera and photography shop which was opened in 1925. Although film was hard to get because of its military uses, she said that their business continued to prosper and actually may have an increased as their was a demand for taking pictures of men in uniform before they left and photos of newborn babies to be sent to their fathers at war.[35]

Although Brevard did not have "dim-outs to conserve power,"[36] it did practice air raid drills. Mary Penelope recalled that "you were supposed to have black-out shades, but we didn't; We just turned out the lights and played in the dark."[37]

The picture that is painted of America during the Second World War by general audience media publications does not seem to fit what the residents of Brevard remember to be true. Although there obviously was an increase in servicemen going to War, women taking their places at work, and nationwide rationing mandates, these things did not seem to have a great impact on the residents of Brevard. Those interviewed maintained that the gas and food rationing had very little impact on their lives, especially since they were just coming out of the Depression. Brevard did not have many of the problems that were experienced in large cities such as shortage in housing, dim-outs to conserve power, and the financial devastation of small businesses. The Home Front that the media has portrayed is not the home front known to Brevardiers, which may mean that it is not the home front of many small towns in America If Brevard is characteristic of small towns and is not accurately described by the generally accepted

views of life on the home front, then perhaps it is time to reevaluate how this time period is presented to the general population.

[1]Quoted in Mark H. Leff. "The Politics of Sacrifice on the Home Front in World War II," The Journal of American History 77(4) (1991): 1308.
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[3]Jule B. Warren and L. Polk Denmark, The North Carolina Atlas (Raleigh, NC: Warren Publishing Company, 1952), 5.
[4]Transylvania Times 1994 Summertime Magazine (Brevard, NC), Summer 1994, 17.
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[6]Oral interviews of Brevard residents during the War, war-time coverage of news in the Transylvania Times, and other printed literature from Brevard will be employed. Published interviews of small town and urban area residents, present-day general audience publications writing about the Home Front, national media coverage of the War, the newspapers of other small towns during the period, and published letters from people at home to the troops abroad will represent the other set of documents used in this essay.
[7]William E. Leuchtenburg and the Editors of Life, New Deal and Global War, The Life History of the United States Series (New York: Time Incorporated, 1964), 102.
[8]All names of individuals interviewed by the author are pseudonyms.
[9]Opalie Browning, interview by author, 9 October 1994, Rosman, NC, transcript, author's possession.
[10]Spaulding Billows, interview by author, 15 October 1994, Brevard, transcript, author's possession.
[11]Every individual interviewed by this author stated that they indeed knew someone in their family that went to War.
[12]Spaulding Billows interview.
[13]4-F was the designation given to those who were deferred front he service due to physical, mental, or moral disabilities.
[14]Dottie Billows, interview by author, 15 October 1994, Brevard, transcript, author's possession
[15]Helen Abercrombie, interview by author, 6 October 1994, Brevard, transcript, author's possession and Mary Penelope, interview by author, 17 October 1994. Brevard, tape recording, author's possession.
[16]Excel Lidy, interview by author, 18 September 1994, Brevard, tape recording, author's possession.
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[18]Ronald H. Bailey, The Home Front: USA, World War Ii Series (Alexandria, VA.: Time-Life Books, 1977),164.
[19]Lib Lidy, interview by the author, 18 September 1994, Brevard, tape recording, author's possession
[20]Mary Penelope interview.

[21]Bailey, 162.
[22]Helen Abercrombie interview and Dorothy Oxford interview, interview by author, 15 October 1994, Brevard, transcript, author's possession.
[23]"Farmers Go to Bat in Defense Foods Program: Glazener Reveals Proposed Increase in Farm Production Above Quota -- Need More Eggs," Transylvania Times, 11 December 1941, 1 and 12.
[24]Nancy Caldwell, interview by author, 16 October 1994, Brevard, transcript, author's possession.
[25]Helen Abercrombie interview
[26]Lois Mylan, interview by author, 29 September 1994, Brevard, transcript, author's possession.
[27]Rose Times, interview by author, 9 October 1994, Brevard, transcript, author's possession.
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[29]Mary Penelope interview.
[30]Leuchtenburg and the editors of Life, 102
[31]Pat Montgomery interview
[32]Dorothy Oxford interview
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Giving the Poor Access to Open Space: Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System

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Frederick Law Olmsted, the great nineteenth century American landscape architect, is best know for his work on large parks that recreated country-side scenery. The most famous of these parks is, of course, Central Park. A less well recognized but just as important accomplishment of Olmsted was his work on park systems—a series of city parks connected by parkways.

The Boston Park System, which Olmsted worked on from 1878 until his retirement in 1895, was the landscape architect's most notable park system. The main feature of the Boston Park System was the Emerald Necklace—a chain of parks that started out on the southern shore of the Charles River in western Boston and followed a river south to Jamaica Pond. A parkway connected the park to the Arnold Arboretum, which was connected by another parkway to the gem of the Emerald Necklace, Franklin Park.

Franklin Park was a five-hundred acre park that, like Central Park, was designed to recreate a country-side landscape. Franklin Park featured a large open meadow in its center and woods along all four sides of the park to block out the view of the city. Olmsted firmly believed that exposure to nature could relieve the stress of urban life and restore the nerves of city-dwellers. Passive observation of an entire natural landscape, Olmsted contended, would allow people to absorb the positive and moral influence of nature. While small gardens, public squares and playgrounds could hold natural features, they could not reproduce a natural landscape.

When construction of Franklin Park began in the suburb of West Roxbury during the early 1880s, the surrounding area was dotted with only a small number of farms. Olmsted however, recognized that the rapid expansion of Boston would bring development to the area. The establishment of Franklin Park preserved a large tract of open land for future generations to enjoy. As the size of Boston grew over time, Franklin Park insured that there would be a place within the city where people could enjoy and be refreshed by nature—a green oasis within the growing miles of concrete and steel.

This concept was fine for the Bostonians who during the end of the nineteenth century moved into the suburban neigborhoods which held these parks. But what of the poor who could not afford to move out of downtown Boston? They claimed that the parks were virtually inaccessible to them. Inner-city residents and politicians feared that they would have to pay for suburban parks that only the suburban rich could enjoy. The problem of accessibility became the most contested issue over the development of parks in Boston.[1]

Inner-city politicians argued that the proposed country-side parks were inaccessible to their constituents. The anticipated growth of the city did not change the fact that Franklin Park was three and a half miles from the Boston Common and five miles from Charlestown and East Boston.[2] For the people who still lived and labored in the old downtown area, it was too long to walk to the park every day. At a public hearing on parks in November 1869, F.S. Merritt, a member of a city government committee researching the feasibility of a public park, noted that

> what we wanted was breathing places where the children might play and exercise in the fresh air. If a park was laid out miles away few of the poorer people would ever see it.[3]

Park officials and other supporters of the country-side parks pointed to the rapidly developing public transportation system as solving the problem of accessibility. Supporters

contended a trip to the park from downtown Boston would be affordable even for the poor. Phinehas J. Stone, in a minority report to the park commission, noted that "for the trifling sum of six cents, one may have all the pure country air he can desire."[4]

Opponents to the country-side parks, however, contended that many of the working poor could not afford the benefits of this growing transportation network. In a common council meeting in October 1869, Mr. Wells, representing an inner-city ward and an opponent of the suburban parks, pointed out that even though a proposed park site in Dorcester would have had three railroad stations near its location, a round-trip fare to and from the park would cost twelve cents, "which poor men could not afford."[5] Depending entirely on the transportation system was not going to give the poor easy access to the proposed country-side parks in the suburbs.

As a result of these debates the Boston Park Commission in 1877 developed a park system that took into account the interests of both the suburban and inner-city residents. Their plan included an urban and suburban park system. The suburban park system was designed mainly for recreation; the urban system was designed mainly for health concerns. The Commission wanted a network of parks that would somehow be truly accessible to every Bostonian. Beyond explaining that the suburban parks were designed primarily for recreation and the urban parks were built primarily for the improvement of health, the Park Commission did not go much further in explaining why or how these were the primary roles of the respective parks.[6]

Working under these broad stipulations, Olmsted had to make his parks, parkways, and other open spaces not only desirable and enjoyable for everyone, but also accessible to all the classes of Boston. Following the suggestions of the park commission, Olmsted built a number of small parks and playgrounds in downtown Boston. He designed five inner-city spaces for the park system. They were the Charlesbank, located on the shore of the Charles River on the northern side of the Hub; Charlestown Playground and Charlestown Heights, both in Charlestown; and North End Park and Wood Island Park, both in East Boston.[7] This paper will examine the Charlesbank in detail.

Olmsted strongly believed that his country-side parks should be visited by the poor. He realized, however, the benefits of the country-side park would not relieve the stresses of urban life for a person who could only visit the parks on infrequent occasions. The landscape architect therefore combined the small open spaces, whose clean air, safety, and convenient locations provided daily relief from the hazards and strain of urban life for those who lived in inner-city Boston, with the more substantial spiritual and social influence of nature in the larger country-side parks. This plan allowed everyone, regardless of where they lived, to have equal access to green grass and fresh air. His plan for the Boston Park System articulated what the people of Boston wanted: open space accessible to the everyone—especially the poor. Olmsted showed them how they could do it.[8]

In order to provide *regular* relief, Olmsted's open spaces had to be easily accessible for the poor. The open spaces had to be close enough to them so that they could get to the spaces without taking public transportation or taking a long time to walk. By placing these open spaces in the lower class neigborhoods of Boston, Olmsted hoped that every Bostonian would be within easy walking distance of open space. The inherent advantage of these small spaces over the large country-side parks was that they were small enough to fit into any inner-city neighborhood. One could not, on the other hand, build a five-hundred acre park in downtown Boston. These small spaces provided the convenience the poor needed in order to enjoy the daily pleasures of open air. Olmsted noted that "smaller grounds...may be evenly distributed, with a view to local convenience."[9]

Unlike the parks of the Emerald Necklace which were intended to serve the entire Boston community, Olmsted designed the five small open spaces specifically to serve the people who lived nearby.[10] Because of their relatively small size—they ranged from ten to almost one hundred acres[11]--they could not support visitors from all of Boston. Most of the patrons came from poor neighborhoods that surrounded the playgrounds. For Olmsted, the primary objective of these spaces was to improve the physical health of the poor by providing them with a chance to engage in healthy exercise and to breath clean air on a regular basis.[12] Many of these open spaces were placed in the most unhealthy sections of Boston to reach those who were at risk of succumbing to disease. In designating land for the site of the Charlesbank, the Park Commission required that it be built "near a part of the city much

occupied by extensive industrial establishments, and having a large tenement-house population."[13] The commission chose to place the Charlesbank in a district that had one of the highest death rates in Boston.[14]

Olmsted wrote that the Charlesbank would be used at night by those who were "confined during the day in close and heated buildings, streets, and yards."[15] His observation that people would visit the Charlesbank at night indicated that Olmsted envisioned people using the facility to recuperate their energy every night after returning from an exhausting day of work. The Charlesbank and the other open spaces allowed people to replenish their mental and physical strength on a daily basis, instead of only getting this sort of replenishment on occasion, if at all.

The Charlesbank gave visitors a chance to participate in a variety of relaxing activities that could help relieve the stress of urban living. Placed on the banks of the Charles River, the two hundred feet wide and 2,000 feet long, ten acre Charlesbank held a promenade that commanded a beautiful view of the river. For the more energetic, there were a women's and men's gymnasium.

The two gymnasiums gave people a chance to participate in active, yet relaxing exercise. No sports or other competitive games could be played at the gymnasiums. Although certainly more vigorous than quietly observing nature in a country-side park, Olmsted intended exercising in the Charlesbank to be essentially relaxing. It was very important to Olmsted that the exercise practiced in the gymnasiums were safe, relaxing, and non-competitive. He wrote that the men's gymnasium was not to hold "games or feats likely to attract crowds in which it would be difficult to maintain order, and which would interfere with the comfort of women and children on the promenade."[16] Olmsted wanted to keep competitive activities out of his open spaces because he designed them to be an alternative to the competitiveness of the urban world, not an extension of it. Crowds, even if they gathered to enjoy a sporting event, were still a potentially stressful and uncomfortable gathering of people. While the exercise might have been physically rigorous, Olmsted still wanted it essentially non-competitive.

The inherent nature of the two gymnasiums, however, were to have competitive recreation. This was something that Olmsted never seemed to fully resolve. Although the gymnasiums lent themselves to vigorous activity and even competition, Olmsted wanted to place his ideal of passive recreation on the gymnasiums, but he could not make park-like behavior match perfectly with gymnastic facilities. He did not seem to be as comfortable designing these small open spaces as he did with the country-side parks.

His attempts to temper activities at the gymnasiums indicated his attempt to make the Charlesbank as much like a country-side park as he possibly could. He wanted people to enjoy the Charlesbank in the same way he intended people to enjoy Franklin Park: passively. Olmsted tried to incorporate as many natural features into his design as he could. The Charlesbank had an area that had "slopes of a natural aspect, and is to be planted in the character of a natural grove."[17] Olmsted used these natural features as a protective shield between the Charlesbank visitors and the city. The groves of trees screened and purified the air coming from the city and blocked city buildings out of view, "giving a certain degree of sylvan seclusion to the promenade, and smothering the roar of the streets to those upon it."[18]

Olmsted, however, seemed painfully aware that these open spaces provided only incomplete relief from urban stress. He felt that these open spaces could not recreate a natural landscape. A visitor could not gain the positive influence of nature in the Charlesbank. A person could walk from one end of the open space to the other in only a matter of minutes. Olmsted intended his Franklin park visitors to think they were in the country-side, not the city. Franklin Park held five-hundred acres of land; a person could get themselves lost in the park. The Charlesbank only held ten acres. Even though it provided relief from urban life, a visitor to the Charlesbank did not forget that he or she was still in downtown Boston.

As discussed at the beginning of this paper, Olmsted felt that the positive and moral influence of nature was critical to completely relieving the stress of urban dwellers. Olmsted felt that everyone needed the positive and moral influence of nature. As the Charlesbank and inner-city open spaces could not recreate a natural landscape, they could not provide this sort of moral influence. Olmsted therefore saw these open spaces as a supplement, noat a substitute, to the parks of the Emerald Necklace. While not visiting these parks everyday, Olmsted felt the poor could visit them on occasion. By using the inner-city open spaces on a regular

basis, and the larger parks on occasion, the poor could get physical relief almost everyday and more substantial spiritual relief from time to time. Olmsted felt this plan gave the poor the best chance to have a frequent and meaningful enjoyment of nature.

This plan also tried to ensure that the park system did not degenerate into a sort of park segregation system: the poor having the small open spaces and the rich having the big parks. As the poor used the large country-side parks—even if it was less frequently than the suburban residents—the parks became parks for the people, not parks for the rich. Olmsted's plan of the Boston Park System was a remarkably resourceful, fair and democratic design.

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Greco-Turkish Exchange of Minorities: Experience and Intellectual Response

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In July 1923, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State concluded a treaty of peace with Turkey, ending a state of warfare that had been going on in the Eastern Mediterranean since the turn of the century. The treaty signed in Lausanne recognised the independent state of the Republic of Turkey. However the diplomatic deliberations leading to the Peace Treaty lasted almost eight months and obviously many other issues were discussed in these eight months apart from Turkey's independence. One of the most controversial decisions concluded at the Lausanne Conference read as follows, "As from the 1st of May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek Territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish government or of the Greek government respectively"1. On January 30, 1923 as part of the Lausanne Conference *The Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek - Turkish Populations* was signed. This was going to be the first compulsory exchange of minorities of history - as opposed to the voluntary ones that had taken place in the Balkans in the preceding decade. In the following years, as hundreds of thousands of people struggled to settle in lands they were seeing for the first time, among people whose language they did not speak, their despair inspired diplomats, relief organizations, politicians, anthropologists and historians. In the course of this particular research on the Greco-Turkish exchange of minorities an aspect of the event has been revealed to the author; an aspect that demands attention. In light of the memories retold by the refugees themselves, it became quite evident to me that the accounts written by various historians after the exchange told more about the political affiliations of the scholars themselves than the experience of the refugees; these historical studies offered much more information when read as intellectual responses rather than 'definitive' historical accounts. It will be suggested in the paper that these authors, failing to extricate themselves from the political climate of their time and place, presented an inaccurate and politically biased picture of this unfortunate event. For the refugees' views the paper will depend on the original refugee memoirs published by the Center for Asia Minor Studies, on Renee Hirschon's recent anthropological study, and finally on the interviews I was able to carry out myself.

The diplomats undersigning *The Convention* on January 30, 1923 were convinced, as many scholars have repeatedly expressed, that by agreeing to the compulsory nature of the exchange they were ratifying a process that was well in progress. By the time negotiations started in Lausanne hundreds of thousands of people had already fled from Asia Minor to Greece. In this sense *The Convention* was indeed ratifying what had already taken place in the area. However by decreeing that the remaining minorities of Greece and Turkey were to leave as well, moreover by insisting that the minorities thus exchanged were not be allowed to return to their old homes, the diplomats in Lausanne were going beyond a mere ratification of the status quo. Lord Curzon, calling *The Convention*, "thoroughly bad and vicious"2, nevertheless asserted that in exchanging Turkish minorities for Greek ones, "compulsion would very probably be found necessary". What was this overwhelming necessity that made thoroughly bad and vicious deeds unavoidable? It was the belief that ethnic heterogeneity, for various reasons, led to bloodshed, instability and unrest in a nation state. This perception was visible in the policies and statements of the various Greek and Turkish governments in the twenties. The overwhelming presence of this conviction can be observed, for instance, in the way Greece and Turkey settled the incoming refugees. Gonatas, the Greek prime minister during 1922-1923, says, "We settled the rural refugees particularly near the borders of the state in order to consolidate the frontier populations..."3. Gonatas saw in the incoming expatriates the opportunity to secure the territorial intergrity of the northern provinces once threatened by the multiethnicity of the population living there. In Turkey, on the other hand, a long statement published by the Turkish delegate at the Lausanne conference right after the signing of *The Convention* decreed that, "Keeping in mind that an undue diversity of linguistic and cultural habits impedes cultural and political progress, the number of refugees who speak a non-Turkish language settled in a Turkish village is not to constitute more than twenty percent of the total population of that village"4. It is obvious from

these statements that political schemes in the Turkey and Gereece after the Lausanne Conference were directly shaped by a fear of ethnic heterogeneity. Yet one should note that this fear of ethnic diversity was by no means peculiar to Greece and Turkey. In the statements of the foreign observers ethnic homogeneity similarly appears as a blessing. Writing in 1927 such a foreign observer comments on the Greek government's refugee settlement policy saying, "The Republican Government proved itself to be far-seeing, for the refugees were solidly placed in Greek Macedonia, more especially along the frontier, thus preventing the recurrence of that eternal Macedonian question which for so long had troubled Greece"5. The political community was convinced that multi-ethnicity had been a source of evil in the region and the incoming refugees still waiting to be settled were quite handy in healing these ancient political problems. Apart from this fear which was more or less a consequence of the chronic Balkan and Greco-Turkish wars of the early twentieth century, there was also the racial assumptions which were in vogue in political culture at this time. Again it should be noted that these assumptions were by no means peculiar to Greece or Turkey. Neo-conservatism was a European phenomenon since late nineteenth century. One of the best illustrations of this phenomenon in the context of the Greco-Turkish exchange of minorities is the the *Greek Refugee Settlement*, a 1926 publication of the League of Nations:

> Among these brothers by race, there is a complete identity of feeling, aspirations, and religious traditions... Among the Greeks of Asia Minor, for instance, there are some who, having lived more immediately beneath the yoke in distant provinces of the interior and in the midst of Turks and Kurds, have the characteristics of Asiatic peoples. They are backward, submissive, and timid... Entering the Pontos... we find... the most dissimilar specimens, from the rough, heavy, and dull-witted type to the subtlest of Greeks.6

The depictions are quite manifestly ethnocentric; they suggest that backwardness is contagious, that Turks and Kurds suffer from the disease and that there are subtle Greeks and dull-witted Greeks and most importantly that people, regardless of their religion, language and location, are bounded by the transcendental bond of race; all Greeks are brothers. The depictions reflect the ethnocentric tone of early twentieth century European political culture quite accurately. Side by side with the Near Eastern diplomats' fear of ethnic heterogeneity, these relentless racial classifications were a significant element of Near Eastern diplomacy frequently determining the course of events in the region.

Looking at the two well-known studies of the exchange, written by Stephen Ladas and Dimitri Pentzopoulos, one is struck to see the shadows of the dark political morality of early twentieth century Europe. While their works are invaluable for their coherent presentation of an otherwise overwhelming amount of diplomatic and statistical material, in their critical assessments of the exchange they display an ethnocentrism difficult to account for. Ladas, writing about a decade after the exchange, quotes the above cited description of the refugees from the League of Nations publication, calling it "worth quoting... with regard to the characteristics and traits of the refugees coming from various regions"7. Pentzopoulos writing about thirty years after the incident similarly reproduces in his study this extract about subtle Greeks and dull-witted Greeks. While Pentzopoulos sets out to present the various views on the Greco-Turkish minorities as objectively as possible, his study comes short of that claim. His discussion of the Hellenizing effect of the refugee influx, which he recapitulates in his concluding chapter, is deeply influenced by the assumptions of the period he sets out to describe. In line with the political climate that demanded ethnic homogeneity in 1923, Pentzopoulos dictates thirty years after the tragedy, "The elimination of national minorities through the agreed transfer to the state to which they feel nationally akin is conducive to greater political stability"8. Pentzopulos, convinced that the nationalist sentiments of the pre-1922 Greece were shared by the Greek minority living in Asia Minor, elaborates on this political stability; "The Anatolian Greeks, although liberal in thought, were certainly loyal citizens and the majority of them are still trusted and faithful members of the Greek nation"9. Concerning those refugees who were overt in expressing their dissatisfaction with their new life in their new country, Pentzopoulos adds, "Many of the refugee quarters around the main cities have been infected by the microbe of Communism". Pentzopoulos views communism as an enemy and nationalism as a given. Consequently his analysis suffers from strong political biases that obscure his presentation of the of the Asia Minor Greeks. Reduced to faithful Greeks and infected Greeks the refugees are reconstructed and simplified by Pentzopoulos so that they can fit more conveniently into the scheme devised by the diplomats of the nation states represented at the Lausanne Conference. The political preferences of the Greek refugees are discussed solely in the context of national unity, territorial integrity, and Greek progress. Ladas, on the other hand, similarly oversimplifies the cultural make-up of the incoming refugee population, by assuming the historical continuity of ethnicities, Hellenism in particular. Ladas, trying to

demonstrate that Greece gained more through the exchange than did Turkey says. "Indeed, the restoration of the unity of Hellenism within a continuous free land constitutes a historical fact of great significance. It is analogous to a similair event in the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire".10 In support of that Lausanne spirit which condemned one-and-a-half million people to exile, Ladas bases his assessment on the stories of the past rather than the realities of his days, recognising the validity of the ethnicities assigned to the refugees, disregarding the self-image of the uprooted people themselves. Although there are no such extensive accounts of the exchange written by Turkish historians, one can nevertheless come across analogous responses in what has been written. In a recent article published in the Turkish journal *Tarih ve Toplum*, Mehmet Canli, a Turkish historian, concludes, "In the long run Turkey benefitted from the exchange... Although at first there resulted an economic turmoil with the removal of the non-Muslim merchant population,... ultimately this all led to a thorough Turkification of Turkey as industry and commerce passed onto Turkish hands"11. I think in the passages I have cited so far an overarching conviction is that people's identities and affiliations are shaped essentially by their ethnicity rather than personal, geographical or economic circumstance. Based on that assumption these historians go on to claim that the Hellenization of Greece and the Turkification of Turkey that resulted from the exchange were not only nominal but thoroughly real.

However the refugees' experience as told by the refugees themselves suggests that geography and language determine one's affiliations in a directness which ethnic bonds do not. The refugees I was able to speak with invariably talked about their lives before the exchange. In their old age these people went to incredible pains to travel back to their old homes which they had left when they were very young. An eighty-five year old Turkish refugee from Yanya described his frustration at not being able to spot his house in the fourty-eight hours he was allowed to remain in Greece. Similarly an eighty year old Greek refugee from the Black Sea coast of Turkey related in excitement how he and his other refugee friends spent their summers in north-eastern Turkey. Renee Hirschon, writing about the refugee settlement of Kokkinia in Greece, describes how even after fifty years the refugee Antonis hung a picture of Nigde, his home town in Turkey, on the wall his barber shop and how in a drawer he kept the titles, in Arabic script, to the properties which his family had owned12. The refugees' attachment to their old homes is accompanied by an attachment to people who speak his language or come from the same city. This particular attachment quite strongly challenges the view that certain people are 'brothers by race' as the League of Nations explained in 1926 and as historians of the exchange quoted in their works. The Turkish refugee from Yanya related how once they had migrated to Istanbul, he managed to find himself Greek friends among the Greek community of Istanbul who had been held exempt from the exchange, and how they spent their time talking themselves away in the small cafes near Pera. Hirschon also describes the refugees' reluctance to get assimilated to Greek culture. A refugee describing the first few days of his forced migration says, "What wonderful people they were! Callous, very callous, the people of Patra... we heard them welcome us, 'Whatdo you want in our country, sons of Turks?"13. Apart from the differences between the refugees and the rest, there was the differences between the different refugees. The Turkish refugees from Yanya found themselves educationally much more advanced than the other refugees and expressed their dismay at being viewed as just refugees rather than as refugees from Yanya. Similarly the Greeks of Izmir, the Greeks of Istanbul, the Greeks of the Black Sea coast all thought of themselves as different. Indeed the Greeks from the inner parts of Asia Minor, whom the League of Nations observers in Greece found somewhat too submissive, did not speak a word of Greek. The difficulties encountered and retold by the refugees are valuable. Their words are the only clue to the true nature of the Hellenization and Turkification that took place in Greece and Turkey after the Lausanne Conference.

It is telling that a discussion of the refugees' self-perceptions have been excluded from the studies of Ladas and Pentzopoulos. Without such a discussion one can not proceed to assess *The Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations*. Without such a discussion recounting the nationalistic gains reaped from an ethnocentric political agreement becomes not only tautological but also academically distasteful.

Why have certain historians chosen to present the aftermath of the Greco-Turkish exchange of minorities the way they have? Writing on Greek historiography a modern scholar Alexander Kitroeff comments, "If history was at the core of official ideology, historiography was the handmaiden of political practice"14. If indeed this is the case, if historians were a panacea that Greek and Turkish politicians turned to as they struggled to attain their goals, then the fictions of the Greco-Turkish exchange of minorities may prove to be much more interesting than its realities. The historical studies produced before and after *The Convention* are valuable as documents from an era of ethnic constructions and

unrelenting nationalism, produced at a time when ethnic disputes between the two nation states of Greece and Turkey reached a peak. Beside being more accessible than the experience of the refugees, which can never be really recovered from the past, the confident yet biased accounts produced by historians undeniably tell more about the intellectual and political trends that brought about the internationally approved uprooting of one-and-a-half million people, after all the refugees have simply suffered the consequences of ethnic strifes whereas the authors of these fictions have possibly participated in their production.

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Henry VIII: His Conscience in The Divorce From Catherine of Aragon

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Historians and biographers for the past four hundred years have described King Henry VIII of England as a bloodthirsty tyrant who sought to be rid of his enemies, and often his wives, in the most expedient manner possible. With two divorces and two executions to his credit, it is no wonder that this is the image that has been passed down.

His first divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, set the stage for his reputation, and the instigation of this divorce is usually placed upon Henry's shoulders for the sole reason that he lusted after a pretty young lady of his court, Anne Boleyn. It is said that he was so enslaved by his passion for her that he set aside his lawful wife, murdered innocent men and women, and even began the reformation of the English Church by breaking away from Roman Catholocism. "It is difficult, therefore, not to wonder whether, if Henry had never become infatuated with Anne Boleyn, we should ever have heard about that famous scruple which 'pricked' his conscience" (Plowden 90).

In reality, Anne had only a minor role in the motivation for the divorce. Henry, as powerful as he knew himself to be, would never have caused the religious schism that occurred simply for the love of a woman. As a matter of fact, the legal proceedings to begin the divorce process began before he became involved with Anne. There is evidence for the interpretation that Henry divorced Catherine because he truly felt that, in marrying her, he had committed a sin due to the fact that Catherine was the widow of his older brother Arthur. It was his punishment, he said, for this sin that, from this marriage, he had but one living child, and that child was unfortunately a daughter, the Princess Mary. His conscience would not allow him to remain married to Catherine, and, because he was the king, he could not ignore it. In order to save England from the anticipated chaos that would follow the accession of a female to the throne, he was convinced that he must remarry and beget sons. Henry's conscience, therefore, was the vital point in the motivation for the divorce from Catherine.

During the early years of their marriage, Catherine had experienced numerous pregnancies, some of which ended in miscarriage, some in stillbirths, and some in live births, though only Princess Mary would survive infancy. The most tragic event in Henry and Catherine's marriage began as the most joyous. On January 1, 1511, they celegrated the birth of their son, whom they named Henry and presented to the kingdom as the new Prince of Wales. Before the festivities for the heir to the throne were over at the end of February, the cild was dead and buried in Westminster Abbey (Pollard 140). Two other sons were stillborn in September, 1513, and June, 1514 (Pollard 141). The only child to survive infancy was the Princess Mary, but Henry still longed for the male heir that he desperately wanted to secure the continuation of his dynasty.

While some modern scholars, looking back especially at the successful reigns of female rulers Elizabeth I and Victoria, cannot understand why Henry could not have left his throne to a daughter, put in the proper context of the sixteenth century, it makes perfect sense. At that time,

the only English precedent was one that Henry VIII did not want to follow. Henry I had tried to leave his throne to his daughter, the widowed Empress Matilda, in 1135, but this led to nineteen years of civil war when her cousin Stephen instead took control of the kingdom (Pollard 144). This was not a favorable precedent that would convince Henry VIII to pass the crown to his own daughter.

Matters for Catherine did not improve when, during one of her many pregnancies, Henry began to turn to other women for sexual gratification. This was a common practice in his time among kings, commoners, and even priests, and was not seen as an impediment to a clear conscience. As a result, while Catherine had been unable to provide him with the son he longed for, but, in 1519, one of his mistresses, Elizabeth Blount, presented Henry with a healthy son (Ridley 14). What he had been unable to get within the bounds of matrimony he had received illicitly, but is was a son nonetheless and proof that, for him, a male child was possible.

It was at this time that Henry began to seriously doubt that there was any blessing from God on his marriage, and he saw the birth of his illegitimate son as a sign from above. It is a possibility that, because of the birth of Henry Fitzroy, he concluded that there was a curse upon his marriage, but not on him personally. There were no sons for him and Catherine, and it was not likely that there ever would be; but he himself had a son, which placed the blame for the lack of a legitimate heir on the marriage.

In the sixteenth century, children were seen as gifts from God, and a childless couple or a couple whose children died were seen as receiving punishment for their sins (Warnicke 49). There is absolutely no reason to believe that Henry did not subscribe to the religious ideas of his time, and, in fact, there is every reason to believe that he had no doubt that his lack of a son was due to divine punishment (Scarisbrick 152). His conscience, as developed within the system of the medieval Roman Catholic Church, told him that this was so. Retha Warnicke says that, "The king did not invent the connection between divine favor and successful childbirth; it was a pervasive view among literal-minded Christians and non-Christians in his society, and ... it must be assumed that he seriously shared those beliefs" (49).

Once Henry's conscience told him that there had to be a divine reason why he had no sons by Catherine, he began to look at his marriage and the Bible to determine why they were being punished, and, in the Book of Leviticus, he found what he knew was the answer. In Leviticus 20:21, he found that the Scripture clearly says, "If a man takes his brother's wife, it is impurity; he has uncovered his brother's nakedness, they shall be childless" (Christian 106). While this argument had originally been mentioned when the idea of Catherine marrying her brother-in-law was first discussed in 1502, Henry only belatedly came to believe in the Levitical argument as the cause of his punishment from God (Scarisbrick 191-192). Even one of Henry's harshest critics and one of Catherine's staunchest supporters, the historian Garrett Mattingly, said of Henry's faith in the truth of the verse, "He must have believed it; it was impossible for him to think of himself as acting from any but the highest and purest motives, of playing any but the noblest and most heroic role" (244). According to J.J. Scarisbrick, because of the verse in Leviticus, "The divorce, which came into the open in early 1527, was therefore due to more than a man's lust for a woman. It was diplomatically expedient and ... dynastically urgent" (152).

Once Henry began to assert that his marriage was invalid due to Biblical text, his critics charged him with following scripture to suit his own purpose. However, Henry's belief in the sanctity of marriage in general cannot be denied. When Martin Luther wrote against the sacrament of marriage

as taught by the Catholic Church in his Ninety-five Theses, Henry felt himself obligated to reply. "'You admit no sacrament unless you read its institution in a book!' Marriage, wrote Henry, was the first of all the sacraments to be instituted, because the first man, Adam was married" (Ridley 128).

Even while he attempted to obtain his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Henry continued to defend the marriage sacrament, even to go so far as to chastise his sister Margaret, the Scottish queen, for her abandonment of her legal husband (her second) to live in sin with another man (Byrne 65). In the letter, which is still extant, he had Cardinal Thomas Wolsey lecture her for her improprieties. "Your Grace should soon perceive how synystrally they seduced you with damnable delusion, which persuaded you to an unlawful divorce from lawful matrimony, directly against the ordinance of God, and utterly repugnant with man's law" (Byrne 67).

From this letter and other statements from Henry himself, it is clear that he valued the marriage vows between husbands and wives and that, if he had not felt that there was a justifiable reason why his own marriage was invalid, he would not have considered setting aside Catherine, no matter how strong his love for Anne Boleyn had grown.

Still, it is this love affair that gets most of the credit for leading Henry down the wrong path, where he is more than willing to set aside his lawful wife; most of Catherine's supporters paint a picture of Henry as a man led on a leash to the altar by Anne. Anne herself is usually portrayed as a whore, a witch, and a shrew who knows what she wants (to be crowned queen) and is cunning enough to institute a plan whereby Henry will fall in love with her and insist that they be married. Mattingly says of Anne's interest in Henry, "Having started the King in pusuit, she had calculation ... and nerve enough to continue to evade him. To be denied something was a bewilderingly new experience for Henry; ... no wonder he mistook the tumult for the pangs of an awakened conscience" (247).

In this context it is difficult to see Anne as a normal young woman of Henry's court and a maid to Queen Catherine who was capable of falling deeply in love with Henry and reciprocating his feelings. Retha Warnicke, who has broken with the stereotypical view of Anne and her relationship with Henry wrote, "Continuing to view Anne in the same condemnatory manner in which she was portrayed by hostile contemporaries, a few writers have more than merely hinted that if she had acted properly, she would have turned her back on his love" (57-58).

The overall view of Anne is colored by the vision of the sainted Catherine as the victim of Henry and Anne's love and desire for each other instead of seeing Catherine as a flesh and blood individual. She is seen as the devoted wife, patiently waiting for her husband to come to his senses. While Catherine could indeed have been this woman of virtue, that does not mean that Anne was an ugly, shrewish, and viscious woman as she was portrayed in the propaganda perpetrated by Catherine's allies, nor that she set Henry up in order to be crowned Queen of England. It is interesting that the same historians that conjecture her calculated move from a member of the lower aristocracy to the throne also mention what an intelligent man Henry was reputed to be. A.F. Pollard described him as "endowed with the iron will, the instinctive insight into the hearts of his people" (33). Therefore, it is hard to imagine that Henry could have been fooled by such a plan no matter how deeply in love he though himself to be.

It is also inconceivable that Henry searched for and found the text in Leviticus merely to get out of his first marriage, in order to enter a second with Anne Boleyn, as is the common view provided by history. Proceedings to test the validity of his marriage began in March 1527,

meaning that it was necessary to have begun the arrangements well in advance of that date (Pollard 152), yet the first documentary evidence of Henry's association or relationship with Anne does not appear until May 5 of that year when she attended formal ceremonies for the arrival of French ambassadors (Warnicke 56). Warnicke said, "Evidence of Anne's presence during the entertainments at Greenwich for these diplomats has, in fact, survived only in a French manuscript, an indication that the ambassadors spoke with her and were impressed with her knowledge of their country and its language" (56).

Correspondence regarding Anne's possible marriage to Henry came even later, "while the first allusion to the connection between the King and Anne Boleyn occurs in the instructions to Dr. William Knight, sent in the following autumn to procure a dispensation for her marriage with Henry" (Pollard 152). Considering the discrepancies in the dates, it is highly unlikely that Henry began the proceedings to divorce Catherine on the strength of his desire to wed Anne Boleyn.

It is unfortunate that history is often clouded by the emotions that have been passed down through the centuries with the events that they represent. Because of this, the general perception of Henry VIII is that of a murderer and a wife hater. He turned an entire country away from what was then the only true church in order to marry his mistress. Looking closer at historical documentation, however, a clearer view is available into the conscience that motivated him. He could not have decided to divorce his wife of nearly twenty years simply because he desired another. Instead, his conscience, which was shaped by the teachings of the Catholic Church and English society, told him that his marriage was cursed and therefore he must get out of it, and this idea is backed up by the evidence that he began the divorce proceedings before he ever became involved with Anne Boleyn. Perhaps history ought to take a second look and reevaluate Henry VIII to find out what kind of man he really was -- a man of conscience.

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A Curse of Memories on the Town of Wheatland: The Hop Fields Riot of 1913

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On Sunday, August 3, 1913, the small farming town of Wheatland, California, came to national attention as the stage for one of the most controversial labor struggles in American history. Four people died in a gunfight between protesting migratory workers and a sheriff's posse. The incident contained all elements necessary to make this labor struggle a mythical event in American labor history. It involved a multiethnic work force speaking more than twenty languages, a radical labor union, an employer who disregarded all standards of decent working conditions, a police force siding with the employers, and a court sending workers to prison as martyrs. The "Wheatland Hop Fields Riot" also had two immediate results. On the one hand, this event established a radical labor union, the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), as the primary representative of these agricultural workers. On the other, it brought the despicable conditions under which migratory workers had to perform to the public's attention.

Long before the beginning of the twentieth century, the mythical small farm, worked by an independent settler who had acquired the land in the race for virgin lands, was anything but a valid description of California agriculture. In 1870, 0.2 percent of the California population owned half the agricultural land (McWilliams 1939, 23), and many farms were large scale businesses. Due to the seasonal fluctuation of the farmers' demand for workers, the labor force on the large mono-crop farms consisted mainly of migratory workers who moved from south to north with the harvest. Whenever a crop was to be harvested, the employers contracted workers for the few weeks of the season. When the harvest was finished, the workers moved to another job. Labor was the only cost the employers could control, and naturally the farmers tried to suppress any unionization attempts. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) had attempted to organize California farm workers in 1911, but failed in part because they only wanted to unionize white workers (Foner 1965, 260). The I.W.W., a union formed in 1905 as an attempt to replace the "conservative" AFL, did not favor any particular nationality, and it also sent organizers into the fields instead of establishing fixed union locals, which made little sense in a situation in which workers were anything but placebound (Foner 1965, 261).

In Wheatland, the hop ranch of Murray, Ralph, and Jonathan Durst was the state's largest single employer of agricultural labor in 1913 (Parker 1915, 11). For the 1913 harvest, advertisements called for at least 3,000 workers and promised employment to every worker who would arrive by August 1. The farm was described as "[t]he type of place you would like to go and take your family on a summer vacation." The Durst brothers promised the "going rate," which at the time was one dollar for one hundred pounds of picked hops. About 2,800 workers arrived at Wheatland for the harvest, even though Ralph Durst later admitted that only 1,500 workers were really needed. He had advertised for more workers in the hope of driving wages down, a practice used in past years (Foner 1965, 262). In 1913, the "going rate" of one dollar was only paid to workers who stayed for the whole month of harvesting. The Durst brothers paid ninety cents and designated ten cents as a "bonus" for those workers who would not leave before the end of the harvest. Of course, since other farms paid a dollar from the start, this "bonus" was in reality money that should have been paid. The hop farmers, according to investigators of the Immigration and Housing Commission, made about $100 to $150 per day from forfeited "bonuses" (Parker 1972, 177-78).

Even if wages had been up to the levels of other employers, the workers would have had sufficient reason to protest the situation at the Durst ranch. In a later report, Carleton Parker, the head of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing, called the nine toilets provided for the 2,800 workers a ". . . vicious sanitary abuse. . . ." The U.S. Army,

certainly not known for its sanitary luxury, provided a minimum of ten times this number of toilets for its soldiers. No provisions were made for garbage disposal; a surgeon who came to see a sick child saw the remains of a sheep that had been rotting in the sun for four days. A dangerous dysentery epidemic plagued the camp, and cases of typhoid and malaria were noted as well, all due to poor sanitation (Parker 1972, 181-84).

The situation in the fields was no better. No drinking water was available, and the wells were more than a mile away from the place of work. Some workers tried to bring water with them, but it rarely lasted for very long. A worker reported that ". . . [he] carried water to the field in a demijohn and it would only last about 3 hours and it took an hour to go to camp for more water." The temperature in the fields reached 110 degrees in the shade. Durst told an investigator that the water wagon could not reach the fields because of hop vines growing in the roadways. Nevertheless, a stew wagon and a lemonade wagon were able to reach the fields. The lemon concession owner was the ranchers' cousin. He was supposed to give water to the workers, but he only did so if stew or lemonade was purchased. The lemonade was later proven to be made mainly from citric acid, and workers complained that it ". . . almost cut the insides out of [them]" (Parker 1972, 183-86). The workers also complained that the Durst brothers had abolished the positions of the so-called "highpole men," who used to lower the vines for the women who could not reach as high as the men (Foner 1965, 262).

After two days of working under these conditions, the multiethnic crowd of workers was very receptive to the call for protest made by the I.W.W. members among them. On Saturday night, August 2, the workers held a meeting to discuss possible steps to improve their situation. Many workers found an outlet for complaint at the meeting, but they also displayed a spirit of unity. The crowd sang songs and poked fun at the ranchers. Ralph Durst drove by the meeting, and after listening to the workers' complaints, he agreed to receive a grievance committee in order to reach some compromise. The next day the workers sent a committee, headed by Richard "Blackie" Ford, to Durst. A list of demands included a raise of wages to $1.25 per one hundred pounds of hops and the abolition of the withheld "bonus." The workers wanted drinking water delivered to the fields twice a day, movable toilets in the fields for women, better toilets in the camp, the reinstatement of the highpole men, and lemonade made from lemons instead of citric acid (Foner 1965, 263). Durst agreed to some of the demands, but refused to raise the wages and reinstate the highpole men. After the workers refused Durst's offer, tempers flared, and Durst apparently slapped Ford across the face with his gloves. Durst then fired the whole committee and Deputy Sheriff Lee Anderson was called to the ranch, but no arrests were made (Eldridge 1974, 177).

The workers held another meeting Sunday afternoon, at which Ford appealed to the workers not to give up the fight. When a posse of deputies arrived in two of Durst's cars, the meeting was about to end after more than three hours of agitation and singing. Accompanying the sheriff's group were Ralph Durst and District Attorney Edward T. Manwell. At the time, the workers were singing the famous I.W.W. song "Mr. Block" (Dubofsky 1969, 295). Sheriff Voss and District Attorney Manwell tried to arrest Ford, and completely ignorant that 2,000 dissatisfied workers required delicate negotiating skills, Deputy Sheriff Daken fired a shot in the air to "sober the crowd." It prompted a battle between workers and police, resulting in four deaths. A Puerto Rican worker killed District Attorney Manwell, and in turn was shot dead by Deputy Sheriff Daken. The other two victims were Deputy Sheriff Eugene Reardon and an unknown English hop picker, killed by a stray bullet. The posse fled the scene under a hail of rocks thrown by the workers (Foner 1965, 264).

Within hours of the gunfight, many of the workers fled the Durst ranch. According to novelist Jack London, who was in the area at the time, the fleeing workers looked like ". . . the refugees after the earthquake." He asked some of the hop pickers about the incident, and they called it ". . . an accident, a spontaneous, unpremeditated explosion" (Foner 1965, 264). The Marysville Appeal saw the situation differently. In an editorial on August 6, the newspaper characterized the incident:

> It doesn't take a seer to divine that the I.W.W.'s were responsible for the trouble at the Durst hop fields which resulted in the death of some of Marysville's best loved and most prominent men. The riot was deliberately planned and viciously executed (Marysville Appeal 6 August 1913, 4).

In the immediate aftermath of the riot, the governor of California dispatched three companies of the state militia to Wheatland. The soldiers remained there for a full week

after local residents appealed for extended protection. The authorities arrested about one hundred workers with the help of local deputies. Early media reports in the eastern United States concentrated on the violence of the event and only mentioned the causes of the riot in passing. The New York Times reported that after demands for higher wages had been refused, the workers ". . . began to talk of killing and burning," and that after Sheriff Reardon had attempted to arrest Ford, ". . . the strikers retreated a short distance and poured a volley of pistol shots into the officers" (New York Times 4 August 1913, 1). The Richmond Times Dispatch simply reported that District Attorney Manwell and three deputy sheriffs were killed in the Wheatland riot. Of course, two of the dead were workers, but the newspaper might have believed, consciously or not, that in a "riot" the dead should all be policemen (Richmond Times Dispatch 4 August 1913, 2).

Local officials immediately began a manhunt, especially for Richard Ford and Herman Suhr. About one hundred detectives from the Burns Agency were hired to support the effort. They were given ". . .'free license' to handle the prisoners as they saw fit . . . " (Foner 1965, 266). Richard "Blackie" Ford was caught on August 18 in Winnemucca, Nevada, and was brought back to Marysville. Herman D. Suhr was arrested a few weeks later. Burns detectives repeatedly abused him in jail. He was kept awake and beaten for a week, after which he confessed to having killed the men in Wheatland. He later repudiated his confession (Whitten 1948, 39). The Burns detectives abused another prisoner, Edward Glaeser. The sixteen year old boy was kept from his family for several months, and he was constantly pressured to sign a statement that would implicate Suhr in the shooting of Deputy Sheriff Reardon. Glaeser's uncle finally effected his release, after which he signed an affidavit stating that he had been unable to see anything of importance at the riot (Eldridge 1974, 180).

Four workers, Richard Ford, Herman Suhr, William Beck, and Henry Bagan were finally charged with murdering the District Attorney and the deputy. Judge E.M. McDaniel had been a personal friend of one of the victims, but he denied a defense motion that asked for his disqualification. After a lengthy search for a jury, the trial ran its course. Eyewitness accounts varied widely depending on the particular individual. The local newspaper could not have been more one-sided. After the prosecution made its case and called several witnesses, the Marysville Appeal immediately took the evidence as proof of facts and claimed that the prosecution had "proved" that Suhr had shot at the officers. This evidence came from the confession Suhr had made in jail, and despite all the publicity to the contrary, the Marysville newspaper took it as a fact that the confession had been made ". . . free and voluntary and that no force or duress, threats or violence had been used on the defendant." The headline read "'I took gun from an old man and shot at officers' -- H. Suhr" (Marysville Appeal 23 January 1914, 1). On January 31, 1914, the jury acquitted William Beck and Harry Bagan but found Richard Ford and Herman Suhr guilty of second degree murder. Never could it be proven that either Ford or Suhr fired a shot, but their role as agitators was enough to establish their guilt (Marysville Appeal 1 February 1914, 1). Five days later, Judge McDaniel sentenced the two men to life in prison.

Five days after McDaniel's sentencing, the Sacramento Bee published the first findings of an investigation carried out by the California Commission on Immigration and Housing. Carleton H. Parker, a professor of economics at the University of California and Secretary of the commission, authored the report to Governor Hiram Johnson. In a reaction, C.K. McClatchy, Jr., the journalist who had earlier exposed the Burns detectives' brutal treatment of prisoners, complained that while Ford and Suhr were sent to jail, ". . . nothing has been done in punishment or correction of the unsanitary conditions on the Durst ranch, the original cause of the trouble at Wheatland and the subsequent shooting." McClatchy scorned the Durst brothers for running their ranch ". . . much like a land tyranny of the medieval ages" (Sacramento Bee 9 February 1914, 1). Parker's report was submitted in its final form in March 1914, and the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations included some of the findings in its own report (U.S. Congress 1916, 4933). Governor Johnson had already declared that the "State would have stepped in had it known of the conditions" (Marysville Appeal 9 August 1913, 5), but it remains open to question whether this was an admission of ignorance or simply an appeasing statement to an angered public.

The I.W.W. came out of the Wheatland fight as the primary advocate of migratory workers' rights. The lesson learned from the riot was that the employers were not willing to give in to simple worker demands. Action, even if violent, seemed more successful in getting officials involved in attempts to improve the situation.The riot and the subsequent trial also gave the I.W.W. another secure place in labor folklore. Eight years after the tragic

incident, the case still generated creative responses. In a poem called "Wheatland -- 1921", Miriam Allen deFord attempted to voice the workers' feelings of bitterness.

> . . . .
> The dust is all whispering . . .
> . . . .
> It whispers till the heart is chilled-
> It whispers till Ford and Suhr can hear it in Folsom.
> A curse of whispering dust on the town of Wheatland!
> A curse of sleep on the town of Wheatland!
> A curse of hops on the town of Wheatland!
> A curse of memories on the town of Wheatland (deFord 1921, 24)!

The government investigations led to some important improvements in working conditions, but the situation of migratory labor did not greatly change in the long run. World War I with its anti-socialist hysteria led to the destruction of the I.W.W., silencing the migratory workers' main voice of discontent. Years later, new federal commissions investigated the working conditions of the migrants and came to the same conclusions as their predecessors. In 1951, the "President's Commission on Migratory Labor" was established. Varden Fuller, the commission's executive secretary, saw the irony of his work when he stated that

> . . . not least prominent among those newly stirred to interest in migratory affairs are the governmental commissions who are assigned to investigate and to report on 'the situation'. These investigations never fail to show the urgent need of public action, Yet, almost nothing is done.

Fuller gave the reason for the lack of action immediately, when he quoted the findings of the President's Commission: ". . .there is little political hazard if the job is neglected and left undone" (Fuller 1953, 11).

A decade later, the "Southern Regional Council" sponsored another study, this time led by Robert Coles, a psychiatrist. The study showed again that the migratory workers were a neglected group within the work force. Coles concluded that "[i]n effect, migrant farm workers comprise, by the hundreds of thousands, a vastly ignored sub-culture whose work is essential to our well-stocked tables, but whose lives are often simply not known to most of us" (Coles 1965, 30). In 1971, Senator Walter F. Mondale wrote the foreword to a book on migratory workers in the northeastern United States. He began:

> Too many farmworkers are present-day slaves, subservient to and dependent upon the fluctuations of economics, the whims of growers, the vagaries of weather, the march of technology, and the decisions of government. This condition is the predictable consequence of economic and political powerlessness (Friedland and Nelkin 1971, vii).

These findings could have been dated 1914, for they would have sounded all too familiar to the I.W.W. members who had tried, and temporarily succeeded in bringing the "hoboes and bindle-stiffs" to the attention of mainstream America. Its militant action, even if "respectable" citizens despised it, gave a sense of importance and belonging to the migratory workers. The songs of I.W.W. poets became a permanent part of American working class culture, even if the situation of migratory labor in the United States did not reach the level of decency promised by I.W.W. ideology and literature.

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Japan and the West: A Miracle or Japanese Innovation

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According to popular misconception, the emergence of Japan as a premier economic power rests in the nature of its "miraculous" industrialization following the visit of Commodore Perry in July of 1853. Although Japan was in many ways behind the west technologically, Japan had by that time three centuries of experience with the west beginning with the Portuguese discovery of Japan in 1543. Despite two centuries of self-imposed isolation beginning in 1639, Japan had gained valuable insight into western sciences and knowledge through the Dutch, and was intellectually prepared for the demands of western-style industrialization. This paper will investigate Japan's influence by the west in two areas: medicine and geography.

Although Japan is mentioned in *The Travels* of Marco Polo (16, p. 243-8), the earliest mentioned encounter between Europeans and Japanese occurs in Affonso D'Albuquerque's *Commentaries* (3, p. 14) recording his experiences during the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511. In this account Albuquerque noticed great potential for trade, observing that the Japanese sent two or three ships annually to Malacca. "The merchandise which they bring consists of silk and silken clothes, brocades, porcelain, great store of cord, copper, alum, gold and silver dust, and they likewise bring much gold in ingots stamped with the seal of their king..." (3, p. 14-5)

Due to the secrecy of Japanese merchants at the time, it was not until 1543 that Portuguese merchants were able to find Japan, and that quite by accident. A Chinese merchant vessel, bound for a northern Chinese port and carrying three Portuguese merchants, was blown off course and ended up off the coast of Kyushu. Within two years Portuguese ships were trading at several ports in Kyushu, exchanging commodities including silk and guns in exchange for gold (2). Christian activity in Japan began shortly thereafter with the arrival of the Jesuit Francis Xavier in 1549. Xavier established missions in several places including the city of Kagoshima (2,6,9). By the next century Spanish, Dutch, and English ships arrived, trading silk, spices and other products for Japanese gold and copper (7, 8,14,15,17). However, after nearly a century of European presence in Japan, in 1639 the Japanese government issued an edict of expulsion. This effectively isolated Japan from western influence with the exception of the Dutch.

This link to Europe proved enough however, to sustain the interest of Japanese scholars of western knowledge and to permit the importation of western

books and other works into Japan. One of the areas in which Japanese interest in western knowledge remained the strongest was that of medicine.

In 1555 the Jesuit physician Luis de Almeida arrived in Japan, setting up a hospital and initiating an investigation of local medicinal herbs. In addition to sending his findings back to Europe, Almeida imported western herbs. Thus by the 1580's over three thousand western medicinal trees and herbs were to be found under cultivation in Kyoto (18, p. 387). Almost immediately following the arrival of western medicine in Japan, some native physicians began training in western medical techniques. Eventually, the *Namban-Ryu-Geka* or Southern Barbarian School of Medicine was founded to support this education. Through this school several Nagasaki and Sakai Japanese trained in western surgical methods and established their own schools, including the Kurizaki school established by Kurizaki Dozen and the Yoshida school founded by Yoshida Jikyu. Students of the *Namban-Ryu-Geka* translated several western works and developed textbooks including the *Method of Wound Treatment* and *The Handbook of Surgery*, from the writings of the French surgeon Ambroise Pare (18, p. 388).

With the edict of expulsion western medical knowledge was forced to enter Japan solely through the Dutch, who fortunately had established one of the leading centers for medical research in Europe, at Leiden. This was not enough to guarantee the passage of western medical knowledge however. Due to the government's virtual imprisonment of the Dutch, only a handful of government interpreters were able to continue the learning of western languages, and this was restricted to spoken Dutch. In addition, western books were hard to find, since most were locked away in governmental libraries or held in the collections of rich lords.

In 1650 these difficulties were eased when the German scientific explorer and physician Dr. Caspar Schambergen arrived in Japan to serve as physician for the Dutch. Schambergen quickly impressed the Japanese, and within a short time four Japanese students were allowed to visit and study his technique. Schambergen stayed in the capitol for several months, giving lessons in western medicine (10, p. 44). Several of Schambergen's students including Kawaguchi Ryoan, Inomata Denbei, and Irako Dochu, founded what became known as the *Kasuparuryu*, or the Caspar-Style School of Medicine. This long-lived institution survived through the 1850's.

Schambergen's visit initiated a great surge of interest in western medical knowledge, complimented by the Dutch importation of medical texts instigated by Schambergen. Government authorities began investigating western medical knowledge, and in 1654 Mukai Gensho published a report entitled *Secret Outline of Dutch-Style Surgery*. A few years later interpreter Nishi Gempo was given a certificate of proficiency by the Dutch physician Constantin Ranst and began the *Nishiryu* or Nishi-Style School. In the 1660's, interpreter Arashiyama Hoan studied medicine under three successive Dutch doctors, receiving a certificate of proficiency in 1665. Hoan published a work entitled *Compilation of Various Foreign Methods of Treatment*, which soon became a standard text for studying Dutch medicine.

Perhaps the greatest event in the study of western medicine occurred when Sugita Gempaku and Maeno Ryotaku undertook the first translation of a western scientific work. In 1771 Sugita and Maeno acquired a Dutch copy of *Anatomische Tabellen*, a German anatomical text written by Johann Kulmus in 1731. Despite their inability to read the text, they noted the great accuracy of the

anatomical drawings. As Sugita noted, "I couldn't read a word, of course, but the drawings of the viscera, bones, and muscles were quite unlike anything I had previously seen, and I realized that they must have been drawn from life." (13, p. 21). Although neither knew a great deal of Dutch, they painstakingly translated the text, which they published in 1774 as *Kaitai Shinsho* (A New Book of Anatomy). This five volume work appeared in new editions for the next twenty years and served as the basis for the study of western medical technique for quite some time, breaking the hold of Chinese medical beliefs that had captivated Japanese physicians for many years. Soon Japanese physicians had so successfully absorbed western medical knowledge that they were able to undertake pioneering research of their own.

Fuseya Shoteki, a proponent of western styled medicine, began his highly accomplished experimentation in 1805. In one of his experiments Fuseya introduced India ink into a kidney, discovering that the urine turned blue while the ink remained in the kidney. From these experiments Fuseya published a theory on renal secretion. It was not until 1842, thirty-seven years after Fuseya's experiments, that William Bowman proposed a similar secretary theory in *The Lancet*. Fuseya also studied neurology, conducting neuromuscular experiments on frogs. Later he published the book *Dutch Medical Study*, which included descriptions of the heart, circulation, and neuro-muscular function. This work included other pioneering information gained from his research.

Another area in which western knowledge was adopted was in geography. Like medicine, the Japanese easily adapted western geographical knowledge, eventually making achievements of their own in exploration, surveying and navigation.

Due to the establishment of overseas trade in the early seventeenth century, Portuguese navigational works were quickly adopted by Japanese mariners, especially Portuguese pilot's books (1,3,4,13). These manuals contained descriptions of the conditions encountered along various trading routes, including the location of safe harbors, water depths, and distances. Many of these works were copied and collected in large compilations. One of these, published by Ikeda Yoyemon of Nagasaki, included copies of several pilot-books as well as information gained from the author's association with Portuguese pilot Manoel Goncalves(3). The book included methods for determining position, nautical and astronomical terms, details of determining the altitude of the sun using an astrolabium, as well as directions for various sailing routes to distant ports as far as India.

In addition to the acquisition and compilation of pilot books, many Japanese mariners also modified western maps to more accurately reflect local conditions. The most interesting surviving map of this type is found in possession of the Kadoya family, whose ancestor Kadoya Shichirobei drove a flourishing trade with Annam during the early seventeenth century (4). Although appearing to be a modified Portuguese map (due to its retention of the Portuguese heraldic emblem, etc.), this map is actually a Japanese copy made on imported vellum, with nomenclature written in Japanese. Unlike contemporary European maps, this map is characterized by a very detailed representation of areas frequented by Kadoya in his voyages .

With the edict of expulsion and the suspension of Japanese overseas trade, the need for detailed navigational works disappeared, although Japanese interest in more general geographical items increased. Books and prints depicting world maps became popular, accompanied by descriptions of the inhabitants and

sketches of national costumes. In the *Kwai-Tsusho-ko* published by Nishikawa Joken in 1695, the situation, inhabitants and products of all the countries known to the Japanese of the time was described, including the distances of these countries from Japan (2,4).

With the increased knowledge of European languages resulting from translation of western medical works, many Japanese began to read geographic works. Honda Toshiaki, a great proponent of western learning, urged Japan to perfect the art of navigation for the resumption of trade with the nations of the world (13, p. 92). Honda later published many works on western knowledge, including economics, astronomy, and navigation, in which he proposed ways for Japan to solve its problems by using western knowledge. One of his more interesting ideas involved a plan for the settlement of Hokkaido. Honda argued the island could be made as habitable as England, since it lay along the same latitude.

Another scholar of western knowledge employed geography for a more practical means. Ino Tadataka, a successful sake brewer and firewood dealer, dabbled in surveying as a hobby, aided by Japanese translations of Dutch works. After studying astronomy and surveying with the scholar Takahashi Yoshitoki, Ino became convinced he could now "make measurements without error." (13, p. 139). In 1800 he received an official appointment from the government and began a twenty-year project in which he carefully and accurately surveyed all of Japan. A Dutch physician was so impressed with the work that he risked his life to smuggle a copy of the survey back to Europe (10, 13).

Another pioneer of western knowledge was Mamiya Rinzo, who undertook an exploration of the island Hokkaido and southern Kuriles. In 1808 Mamiya made an expedition to Karafuto (Sakhalin), which had been a mystery to geographers everywhere. Although European explorers beginning with de Vries had sighted the coast in 1642, none had charted the coast to determine if it was an island or a peninsula. Mamiya determined this quite accurately, making the journey in a dugout canoe. He traveled up the west coast and encountered a point where the Amur river estuary could be seen on the mainland. Informed by natives that the northernmost tip of the island was six days distant, Mimaya confirmed the fact that Sakhalin was an island, returning to Edo in 1811 to prepare his report.

Thus by the mid-nineteenth century Japan had not only acquired a great deal of western scientific knowledge, but had made pioneering achievements of its own. These were by no means isolated events. Associated with a school that came to be called Rangaku, or Dutch studies, Japanese scholars began translating a wide variety of western texts on subjects from agriculture to military science. As one historian of Japan notes, "The Meiji leaders were consequently able to count upon a fairly large body of informed and intellectually sophisticated leaders at the middle and even lower levels of society to assist in the task of propelling the nation towards modernization." (11, p. 189). Thus it can be said that when Perry forced Japan to open in 1853, Japan was intellectually prepared to adopt western reforms and engage in rapid, effective modernization. Japan was so sucessful than in the next few decades Japan emerged as a major industrial power comparable to the United States, Britain, Russia, and France.

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Life in Stalin's Labor Camps: A Comparison Between the Treatment of Criminal and Political Prisoners

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Since its publication in 1973, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago[1] has been regarded as the standard account of the Soviet prison camp system, as have his novels One Day in the Life Ivan Denisovich[2] and The First Circle.[3] Sovietologists have used Solzhenitsyn's work as the proving ground for their research. Many historians have traditionally viewed Solzhenitsyn as the epitome of the prison camp survivor and as an exhaustive researcher, therefore they have assessed his scholarship as the ultimate authority on the subject. In short, his word has become gospel.[4]

However, in the wake of the collapse of Communism, a plethora of new documents and sources are becoming available. These materials will, in the coming years, provide us with an opportunity to reassess the validity of Solzhenitsyn's work on the gulag. But studying Solzhenitsyn's work is a monumental task. His scholarship alone constitutes a sizable mountain of material. Norman Podhoretz described the translated works as "about five-thousand pages, most of them closely printed, and all of them written with the kind of density that demands unflagging attention."[5] The present study focuses on only a small fraction of that body of work -- Solzhenitsyn's treatment of criminal prisoners and their relationship to political prisoners during the Stalinist period as discussed in The Gulag Archipelago. After analyzing Solzhenitsyn's work on this topic, the study examines recent assessments of that work. Having accomplished this we will be better able to determine the consequences of these new archival sources for the reputation of one of Russia's greatest writers. It is worth noting at the outset that Solzhenitsyn estimates that perhaps as many as 100 million people were imprisoned in the Gulag during the course of Soviet history.

Solzhenitsyn notes that Russian peasants have traditionally been very poor, forcing them to turn to theft in order to survive. On 7 August 1932, the Soviet government passed a law mandating a ten-year sentence for the theft of socialist property. This was a reaction to a wave of criminals snipping ears of grain from fields. Police caught tens of thousands of peasant perpetrators. Most of them were children who were sent out by their elders "because they had no hope of receiving anything from the collective farm for their daytime labor." In prison terminology, this became known as the "Seven-Eighths Law."[6] On the other hand, theft from a private citizen, as long as it was not accompanied by murder, resulted in a sentence no longer than one year, sometimes only six months. With such laws Stalin seemed to be saying: "Do not steal from me! Steal from private persons!" According to Solzhenitsyn, "thieves flourished because they were encouraged."[7]

Professional criminals were viewed by the Stalinist system as one of the "socially friendly" elements of society. While they were politically unstable, they were not "hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat." Criminals were not property owners, therefore they had no common cause with those who resisted the collectivization of property. To take advantage of this, the Cultural and Educational Section of the government made "a consistent effort . . . to explain to thieves the unity of their class interest with those of all the workers" and instill in them a distrust towards those who were anti-state and counterrevolutionary.[8]

Within the camps, thieves organized in a hierarchical network. This underground had its own leadership, honor code, language, and courts. The classifications within the hierarchy are probably used more often by historians as an organizational tool than they were ever used in the camps.[9] The distinctions are made here to illustrate the variety of criminals Solzhenitsyn discusses and to show their relationship to the political prisoners.

At the top of the criminal hierarchy were the "Central thieves." They had complete control over the camp districts and enjoyed special privileges. The Central thieves "lived in individual 'cabins' or tents with their own temporary wives." Their 'wives' were usually female political prisoners or students. They had their own servants to clean their living areas and empty their chamber pots. Their food was prepared separately, "using the little bit of meat and good fat issued for the common pot."[10] One step below the Central thieves were the criminals who did the managerial

work for the camp. They did the paper work for the commandant and assigned the work schedules. Those who were to remain behind during the work day were chosen by these thieves. Thieves who had at least a minimal education and were effective communicators were appointed instructors. They gave speeches to the political prisoners on how to live properly, meaning how to conform to the state. For this service, time was taken off their sentences. Finally, the lesser hoodlums were simply "used to beat up the work shirkers."[11]

The criminals' philosophy was not very sophisticated, but it fit into their way of life. There were three main elements to their manner of thinking. First, "I want to live and enjoy myself; and fuck the rest!" Second, "whoever is strongest is right!" Finally, "if they aren't beating you, then don't lie down and ask for it. (In other words: As long as they're beating up someone else, don't stick up for the ones being beaten. Wait your own turn.)"[12]

The criminals had their own system of seniority. The position as a ringleader was not an elected position, it was an earned status. These men were recognized as leaders the moment they entered the camp. The ringleaders may have been very intelligent, having a strong comprehension of the thieves' code of honor and philosophy, but they also had a substantial number of murders and robberies to their credit. If they were challenged, the disputant was dealt with harshly.[13]

This system was encouraged by the camp guards -- it made their lives easier. With this system in place the guards did not have to be bothered with punishing anyone, nor did they have to show themselves on the camp compound regularly. Criminals were permitted to perform their duties. Guards did this with full knowledge that the criminals would be much more sadistic than they ever could.[14]

The camp personnel had orders from the government to place criminals in positions of authority, particularly the ringleaders "so as to employ their already established authority." They were given positions as trustees, guards, and foremen:

> [T]he most inveterate and hardened thieves were given unbridled power . . . powers over the population of their own country, over the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia, power they had never before had in history, never in any state in all the world, power which they couldn't dream of out in freedom. And now they were given all other people as slaves. What bandit would ever decline such power?[15]

Given such power, escape was rarely an option for them. Most criminals spent more time in camps than they did in freedom. Camps became their home. In camps, they did not have to worry about starving or working. This phenomenon was enhanced by the fact that they might receive special privileges in camp. Only the stir crazy or those longing for a crime spree in the cities attempted escape.[16]

Guards made no full-blown effort to suppress the torment of the politicals; indeed, guards often encouraged such behavior. Criminals, for the most part, were substance abusers. Therefore, they traded with the guards whatever they stole in exchange for vodka or marijuana. Guards also traded them for food or easy work details. Between the mid-1930's and mid-1940's, "no one at all can recall a case in which a guard intervened in the plundering of a political." Remember, however, the guards were in almost the same depressing situation as the prisoners. They did not live an easy life themselves. Guards ate the same food as the prisoners, worked in the same miserable climactic extremes, and lived in the same clothes for months at a time.[17]

Criminals had their own courts within the camps -- praviliki. They were founded on the tenets of their own code of honor and traditions. The sentences they meted out "were merciless and were executed implacably, even if the condemned person was quite out of reach and in a completely different camp compound." A common punishment was jumping off the bunks onto the convicted person's torso, thus breaking his ribs, crushing his lungs, or bruising his heart.[18]

Politicals were not separated from the criminals, chiefly because the government knew the criminals would terrorize the politicals. Criminals provided a safeguard against politicals organizing and growing stronger. The system was devised "by people who had come to understand in Tsarist prisons the strength of possible political unity, of political protest, and its dangers for the regime." The government also kept the politicals with the criminals as added punishment for their indiscretions.[19]

The criminal prisoners were a hardy bunch, with very sadistic customs and games. "They had magnificent, well-fed muscles, bunched in rippling knots." Tattooing fulfilled "their artistic, their erotic, even their moral needs." Card games were a favorite way to pass their time, and they often played for very high stakes. For example, they could use their own eye as a bet; the winner earned the privilege of tearing out the loser's eye on the spot. Sometimes they even bet their own body; the winner won "the right to use the loser for perverted pleasure." If they ran out of items to bet, or were unwilling to subject themselves to mutilation, they simply staked something belonging to a political.[20] Even their songs were brutal, glorifying murder,

assault, and burglary.[21]

American attitudes toward Solzhenitsyn have undergone various transformations. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, he was regarded as a hero. After all, he was denouncing Communism and the entire Soviet system. He was further elevated by his receipt of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1970 for his novel Cancer Ward.[22] As Michael Scammell notes in his biography of Solzhenitsyn: "one almost never heard a word against him; he was lionized and idolized." Later, after his denunciation of the West for its lack of nerve in confronting the Soviet Union, this adulation turned to contempt and apathy. Now "he is more often denounced as embittered or ignored as irrelevant."[23]

Scammell's exhaustively researched biography presents Solzhenitsyn as neither a saint nor a megalomaniac. He believes the wavering attitudes towards Solzhenitsyn are a result of the West flowering him with too much adulation from the start. When he did not accept their applause, Westerners were offended and became spiteful towards him. Scammell also contends that much of the praise given to Solzhenitsyn was insincere. After his denunciation of the West, these insincere advocates had the perfect opportunity to let their true attitudes surface.

Scammell believes that The Gulag Archipelago constitutes a thoughtfully conceived history of the prison camp system. The initial response to the work was distrust and trepidation. Scammell maintains that this initial reaction was simply a response by those who had not read the work carefully and were focusing only on a few "snippets and extracts." To truly understand the work as a history, one must read the work properly and concentrate on its large scale view.[24]

Political scientist James F. Pontuso's recent study of Solzhenitsyn's Political Thought[25] argues that Solzhenitsyn's works are valuable sources of history. He lists three reasons for this conclusion. First, Solzhenitsyn has not been the only writer to expose the hardships of the Soviet prison camp system, and his works are similar, in many ways, to those of others writing on the subject. Second, the fact that historians were forced to search for new sources of information upon the publication of The Gulag Archipelago, demonstrates the comprehensiveness of Solzhenitsyn's scholarship. And, any final doubts concerning the validity of Solzhenitsyn's work were erased when the Soviet government, during the *glasnost* period, admitted that some of the atrocities he spoke of had been committed.[26]

Although Pontuso does not believe that historians should regard everything Solzhenitsyn says as gospel, he does think Solzhenitsyn deserves close attention as a historian. Solzhenitsyn has not been able to tell the whole truth, as he readily admits, but "no other scholar can lay greater claim to the truth."[27] Because of Solzhenitsyn's elevated status, survivors of the camps are willing to talk to him and allow him to tell their stories.

An even more positive view of Solzhenitsyn comes from literary scholar Robert Inchausti.[28] Inchausti contends that Solzhenitsyn's greatest achievement is as a moralist. His works are a combination of myth and mysticism, yet maintain historical veracity. Solzhenitsyn uses his life experiences and the experiences of others who survived similar experiences to educate his readers on the degradation a person suffers in the camps and he does this with the utmost historical accuracy.[29]

Noted conservative author and political commentator William F. Buckley, Jr. also praises Solzhenitsyn's work. In response to a request from the Library Journal for his listing of the top "ten to 15 . . . basic readings in modern American conservatism," Buckley included The Gulag Archipelago describing it as "the most important account in our time of [Communism's] effects on Russia."[30]

But not everyone holds such a favorable opinion of Solzhenitsyn. Poet and novelist Anthony James, for example, in his cynically titled article , "The Ikon and the Latrine Bucket: The World of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn,"[31] argues that Solzhenitsyn was elevated to such lofty heights as a result of the political circumstances of the era. Many critics were taken aback, James notes, by the emergence of a worthwhile work coming out of the Soviet Union after such a long drought. Right-wing elements in the West looked to Solzhenitsyn as a tool to be used for exploitation and propaganda. The Left-wing used him to validate their own misunderstanding of Soviet history and Communism. Consequently, his works became popular only as a result of political manipulation.

While James gives high marks to some of Solzhenitsyn's work, including One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich and Cancer Ward, he assesses The Gulag Archipelago more critically. James does not view Solzhenitsyn's best-known work as great literature, but he does reckon it to be a wonderful mixture of history, journalism, and biography.

Commentary editor Norman Podhoretz agrees with James that Solzhenitsyn has been over-idolized and given too much literary credit for his works.[32] However, Podhoretz does describe The Gulag Archipelago as being "among the very greatest books of the age." He claims that classifying this work as a history is extremely difficult; because of its innovative nature there is no historical work to which it can be

compared. Podhoretz gives Solzhenitsyn credit for his exhaustive research. Although Solzhenitsyn had limited access to research materials, he conducted 227 interviews with survivors, and later received access to restricted library collections, he managed to form an "entire history of the Soviet prison-camp system and to convey the experience of the many millions who lived and died" in the camps. Podhoretz says the writing of this work was "a stupendous feat of mind, spirit, creative originality, and stamina." Finally, he claims that "it will stand forever as one of the majestic achievements in the history of literature."[33]

Renowned Soviet historian, Roy A. Medvedev has a favorable, yet skeptical view of Solzhenitsyn's work. In his On Stalin and Stalinism he calls The Gulag Archipelago "an immensely important yet contradictory book."[34] Medvedev cites Solzhenitsyn frequently in order to support his conclusions concerning camp conditions and Stalin's dealings with the Okhrana. He also repeatedly questions the claims made by Solzhenitsyn respecting the West's knowledge of the camps and the number of deaths within the camp system.

The question of how many died in the camps is also raised in Medvedev's Let History Judge.[35] While Solzhenitsyn makes no claims concerning the total number of deaths, he does state that there were as many as 100 million people imprisoned in the camps. Medvedev believes that approximately 500,000 people were executed in the camps between 1937-1938.[36] J. Arch Getty has recently refuted the claims made by other historian concerning the number of deaths in the camps. He believes that there were 799,455 documentable executions in the camps between 1921-1953. However, he does not include the number of deaths which resulted from natural causes.[37]

Medvedev's careful skepticism contrasts with historian Adam Ulam's unwaveringly positive assessment of The Gulag Archipelago's validity. Ulam repeatedly states that the reader who knows Solzhenitsyn's work "does not have to be told" about the gruesome realities of life in the camps.[38] Robert Conquest also relies heavily on Solzhenitsyn's descriptions of camp life in his masterpiece The Great Terror.[39]

Ironically, it seems that historians have been less concerned with the issue of "historical validity' in Solzhenitsyn's work than have literary critics and political commentators. Historians seem to utilize Solzhenitsyn's descriptions of camp life more than his assessments of the magnitude of the Gulag system. In short, they draw upon the work more as a memoir than as an incontestable historical account grounded in primary sources.

Analysis of Solzhenitsyn's work is a complicated task due to a range of factors. First, as we have seen, his analysis of history is compromised by the literary qualities which are so much a part of all his work. Next, to question Solzhenitsyn is to cast aspersions on the integrity of one of history's great survivors and social critics. But, perhaps most significant of all when questioning the validity of Solzhenitsyn's work, is the fact that Soviet archives are just beginning to open up, and this process of intellectual openness has not been an orderly one.

It will be interesting to see how the world responds to Solzhenitsyn as the next generation begins to form its outlook. This new generation will not know what it was like to live during the Cold War and to mortally fear another country and another ideology. Such a post-Cold War climate may diminish the weight of Solzhenitsyn's impact. However, as the Soviet archives are opened to the scholarly community, Solzhenitsyn's reputation as a historian will hang in the balance.

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A New Frontier: Contemporary Film and the American West

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Throughout the twentieth century, Western movies have been the cornerstone of the portrayal of the American West. Who can picture the West without seeing the image of John Wayne or a good battle between the legendary cowboys and Indians?

However, these images have changed in recent years. The old Western image of violence without any consequences is not the prominent theme in recent feature films. This transition can be seen in several recent and successful Western movies including, "Little Big Man," (1970) "Unforgiven," (1992) "Dances with Wolves," (1990) "Tombstone," (1993) and "Wyatt Earp," (1994). Although these movies may not all be considered revisionist Westerns, they all contain revisionist elements.

This shift of themes in Western films may be the result of the change in perceptions of historians looking at the American West. These revisionist scholars, or New Western Historians, have attacked the myths of the West created by earlier scholars such as Frederick Jackson Turner. In his Frontier Thesis of 1893, Turner explained how the process of settling the frontier shaped the American character. He noted that:

> ...the advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines. And to study this advance, the men who grew up under these conditions and the political, economic, and social results of it, is to study the really American part of our history.[1]

Turner believed that this process made Americans more democratic, rugged, individualistic, and nationalistic. However, in constructing his thesis, Turner only focused on the exploits of white frontiersmen and gave little mention to women, Native Americans, Mexicans, or African-Americans.

Turner's thesis has been hotly debated by historians over the last century. In the late 1980s the New Western Historians held a symposium to discuss their view of the so-called frontier, and to dispute the Western myth created by Turner. Where Turner saw the West as a triumphant success, the New Western Historians see the West as a region dominated by tragedy and failure. In their opinion, the West did not provide a romantic or heroic way of life, but a place where migrators were faced with starvation and economic ruin. Many of the recent Western films depict a number of the themes popularized by New Western Historians. These themes include violence in the West, the destruction of the Western environment, the relations between whites and Indians, gender roles, and prostitution.

The most successful of these films, and the one which is the most thoroughly revisionist in nature is Clint Eastwood's "Unforgiven." Eastwood, for a long time, was considered one of the leading traditional Western celluloid heros, and was persecuted by critics as an "appalling" actor and director.[2] Now he is the one film maker who has created a truly revisionist picture and is hailed by critics and peers alike. In "Unforgiven," Eastwood dramatizes many of the New Western Historians' arguments.

This revisionist approach is apparent in the first few scenes of the film which depict Western prostitutes. They feel that the Sheriff, Little Bill (Gene Hackman) degrades them by sentencing the man who slashed a prostitute's face to a fine of

five ponies. This fine is not to be paid to the victim, but to Skinny, the owner of the saloon and whorehouse. The other prostitutes believe that their co-worker's face is worth more than five ponies, and that she should be paid, not Skinny, so they decide to take matters into their own hands.

Eastwood's prostitutes defy the myth of happy women who are hookers because they enjoy the work. These women are unhappy, they prostitute themselves because they have to in order to survive, and they are brutalized by their customers and belittled by their owners; indeed, they are treated as property. Few strong women emerged in traditional Western movies. But Eastwood departs from tradition. The women in this film, he states, are "the catalysts for this story."[3] They are depicted as strong and uncompromising. They resent being compared to animals and will not accept this latest denigration.

New Western Historians also make the argument that small farming on the frontier was often an unsuccessful venture. This theory is an important side in "Unforgiven." Eastwood's character, William Munny, is not a proud, independent, self-sufficient farmer, like those of Turner's thesis and the Jeffersonian ideal. Instead, he is a widowed pig farmer, and even the pigs are dying on him, leaving him and his children destitute. When Munny is offered half of a thousand dollar reward to find and kill the prostitute's attackers, he reluctantly accepts. He desperately needs the five hundred dollar reward that has been offered to him in return for the murder of the perpetrators.

Along with powerful women, and failing farms, the casting of Morgan Freeman as Munny's friend Ned is another manifestation of Eastwood's revisionism. Turner ignored African-Americans in the national composite, just as he did women. And in this picture, the man Munny trusts most, and believes to have the best aim, is black. Carrying this theme of the West's ethnic makeup even further is the fact that Ned's wife is Indian. On the other hand, the casting of minorities in the film may simply have been a Hollywood tactic, not to remain true to history, but to draw in a wider audience for the film.

Finally, one of the unique aspects of "Unforgiven" which set it aside as a revisionist Western is its depiction of the negative consequences of violent actions. This can be seen in several scenes in the film. First, the purpose of the hired killers in the movie is to mete out revenge on two men who slashed a prostitute's face. These men cannot get away with destroying another person, even a prostitute; they cannot escape the consequences of their own violent actions. Second, William Munny is a man who Clint Eastwood describes as "living on the edge of hell...a tormented person."[4] His torment is caused by his memory of killing other human beings. They are the objects of his nightmares and his hallucinations. In more traditional Western films, such as "A Fistful of Dollars," (1964) a murder consisted of pulling a trigger, watching a man fall, and walking away. There was no punishment, and no regret, and certainly no painful, nagging conscience.[5]

Regret is pivotal to this picture. The accomplice regrets helping his friend cut the prostitute, Munny regrets his past murders, and he along with the Schofield kid regret killing the two men they had been hunting. Perhaps the factor which causes the deepest regret in these two men is that after shooting their victim (who incidentally, was sitting in an outhouse at the time) they must watch him suffer a long agonizing death. In other movies at the strike of a bullet, a man falls and dies instantly, but this is not the case in "Unforgiven." In this picture, men have their teeth shot through the sides of their heads, women live with ugly scars on their faces, and dying men beg for water.

Clint Eastwood did not set out to make a revisionist Western per se, but he was pleased with the opportunity to "de-mythologize the West"[6] and in turn, his own image. In an interview with Stuart Fischoff, he explains the importance of "Unforgiven" to him: "It sort of summed up my feelings about certain movies I participated in - movies where killing is

romantic." "And here," Eastwood further noted, "was a chance to show that it really wasn't so romantic."[7] Therefore, "Unforgiven" is, in a sense, the revisionist celluloid consequence of Eastwood's earlier celluloid transgressions.

Many critics rate "Unforgiven" as a masterpiece. They are impressed with Eastwood's transformation of the Western myth. The New York Times' Bernard Weinraub calls "'Unforgiven,' a Western with a difference."[8] Rolling Stone's Albert Watson says it is a "classic."[9]

A film made much earlier than "Unforgiven" though it too is just as revisionist in nature is "Little Big Man." While "Unforgiven" de-mythologized the West through a somber and dramatic plot, Arthur Penn's "Little Big Man" achieved a similar result using humor and sarcasm. "Little Big Man" shows the irony of the West by poking fun at the famous myths of the frontier.

The story of "Little Big Man" is told through 121 year old Jack Crabb, played by Dustin Hoffman. Crabb's family was killed by Indians, and he was adopted and cared for by the Cheyenne. Penn depicts the Indians as loving, caring people not savages. William S. Pecter of Commentary explains that in "Little Big Man the Indians are not 'merely good': they are also 'human beings.'" The film's translation of the word Cheyenne is human beings, and the Indians in the film constantly refer to themselves as this.[10]

In his film, Penn expertly contradicts the traditional picture of the savage Indian. Whenever Crabb leaves the tribe for civilization, he becomes uncivil or wild until he makes his way back to the Indian tribe where he is always more content and successful in life . All of Crabb's roles within the picture poke fun at Western stereotypes and demonstrate the irony of the West. This is the driving force behind the film. Upon his first departure from the tribe he learns to shoot a revolver, and instantly develops the quickest draw in the town. On another occasion, he becomes destitute and must manipulate others in order to survive. And after many members of his extended Indian family are killed in battle, he returns to town where he becomes a drunken beggar who must rely on others to support himself. Jack Crabb is certainly not the heroic, rugged, independent, self-sufficient, individualist of Turner's thesis.

While dealing with the myth of the savage Indians and the wild, individualistic frontier, Penn also disputes the myth of the "rugged frontiersman." He mockingly portrays famous frontiersmen such as Wild Bill Hickock, Wyatt Earp, and General Custer. He also indicates the reality of homosexuality on the frontier (though rather untastefully) through his portrayal of two gay Native Americans.

But, the most powerful aspect of the film is Penn's representation of the slaughter of the Native Americans by the U.S. cavalry. American soldiers mercilessly massacre the Cheyenne tribe. This scene is viewed through the eyes of Crabb who helplessly watches the slaying of his family. He later tries to take revenge on General Custer for this atrocity.

Critics applauded "Little Big Man" for finally telling the true story of the relationship between whites and Indians. Indians are not depicted as beasts who prey on white settlers, but as victims of the white man's greed. David Brudnoy of he National Review explains that "Little Big Man" is the "True Tale of 'Genocide.'"[11] and William S. Pecter describes the film as "nothing less than the history of the white man's decimation of the Indian."[12]

"Dances with Wolves," a more recent, and multi-Oscar winning Western, features a plot fairly similar to that of "Little Big Man." In this epic film, Kevin Costner also attempts to tell the story of the West "accurately." Like Penn, he wants to show the "genocide" of the American Indian.[13] However, his film is not as sophisticated or as realistic as Penn's.

"Dances with Wolves," like "Little Big Man," shows the American Indians as human beings with emotions besides anger and

the desire to kill. These Indians are not simply adversaries of cowboys as depicted in many earlier Westerns. They are strong people with a sense of humor, and are capable of befriending white men.

Costner delineates the plight of the Indian, and he portrays the wastefulness of the white man which contributed significantly to the Indians' suffering. He depicts how the Native Americans were starving for food and longing to find Buffalo, and points out how whites wasted Buffalo by killing them for their hides and leaving the carcasses to rot.

However, many observers do not think that Kevin Costner's film represented the real plight of the Indian. David Bald Eagle, a Lakota Indian notes that "'Dances with Wolves' is a typical Hollywood deal."[14] In the journal, The Nation, David Seals explains that Costner's film does not discuss many of the real problems Indians face such as intra-tribal conflicts, or "land speculators" and "whiskey traders" trying to con them.[15]

The press echoed the sentiment that "Dances with Wolves" was not as realistic as many first thought. David Ansen of Newsweek writes that "The romantic tradition is alive and well in Hollywood, embodied in the ambitious presence of Kevin Costner."[16] He along with Aims McGuinness of The New Republic explain that "Dances with Wolves" is really just a role reversal. Now the "Indians are the cowboys, and the cowboys are the Indians."[17] The film portrays violence in the same manner as earlier Westerns. Killing occurs without consequence, but this time the Indians are the good guys. Well, the Sioux at least, are the good guys-- the Pawnee, however, are much like the traditional Hollywood stereotype of savage Indians.

Two other recent Westerns, "Tombstone" and "Wyatt Earp" address an event that has become one of the most legendary confrontations in Western folklore and history-- the Gunfight at the O.K. Corral. George P. Cosmastos' "Tombstone" is a romantic film with many heroic tendencies. However, like "Dances with Wolves" it contains revisionist elements which give it a certain credibility with critical audiences. One of these elements is the portrayal of Kurt Russell's character, Wyatt Earp, who, like William Munny, is tortured over his past killings. Though Earp, unlike Munny, killed criminals as a peace officer, he is still haunted by the same sense of regret.[18]

Along with the common element of regret, "Tombstone's" characters differ from Frederick Jackson Turner's "rugged white pioneers." Like "Little Big Man," "Tombstone" features homosexuals. Turner ignores women, "Tombstone" depicts a very strong, intelligent woman in Josephine, and features, albeit briefly, a suffrage rally. Turner leaves Asians and Mexicans out of the national composite; "Tombstone" features Mexicans in its first scene and an Asian population facing racial prejudice.[19] Furthermore, in place of Turner's triumphalism, Tombstone offers a good measure of tragedy. The movie provides a sense that people living in the West are suffering. Val Kilmer's Doc Holliday is an alcoholic; while Wyatt Earp's neglected wife is addicted to painkillers.

However, while "Tombstone" addresses some revisionist themes, its approach is traditional. It is a film filled with quick-drawing, gun-slinging cowboys, and many of its scenes take place in a fun filled saloon much like those shown in earlier Westerns.

"Wyatt Earp," directed by Lawrence Kasdan and starring Kevin Costner, also recounts the story of Wyatt Earp and the gunfight at the OK Corral. However, the two films are extraordinarily different. "Tombstone" is an entertaining and heroic portrayal of Wyatt Earp, while "Wyatt Earp" takes a more careful historical approach. Richard Grenier explains:

> [unlike Cosmostos, Costner] seems to have turned his back on the meretricious and misleading mythology of the Old West, and nobly set out to create a work as rich and complex as life itself. He would show the world what the Old West was 'really' like.[20]

"Wyatt Earp" does give a more detailed look at the life of Earp and his family's settlement West. The film describes their

move to Tombstone, and their hopes to find prosperity in this quiet town. However the film shows that farming does not grant the Earps the wealth that they had expected, so they must continue to work as peace officers.

Unlike "Tombstone," the film tells the story of Earp's first wife and her death, and Earp's inability to deal with his loss, which leads him to become a drunk and a thief. Kasdan's version also deals more directly with Earp's second wife and her addiction to painkillers. Prostitution is also an issue in this film, however it is not handled in the revisionist manner that it was in "Unforgiven." Wyatt Earp's second wife, Maddie and his brother James' wife are both prostitutes. While this is accurate, "Wyatt Earp" depicts their careers as "'all good fun,'"[21] which the New Western Historians have proven not to be the case.

Many recent Westerns do continue to promote the more romantic view of the American West. These films such as "Bad Girls," "The Quick and the Dead" and "Young Guns" will always be produced by Hollywood. Nonetheless, Western movies have changed considerably in recent years. And movies such as "Unforgiven," "Dances with Wolves," "Little Big Man," Tombstone, and "Wyatt Earp" demonstrate a more accurate portrayal of Western realities. This new celluloid representation, while it does not perfectly parallel the New Western History scholarship, it does at least avoid perpetuating the most preposterously stereotypical Western images, thus presenting the public with a product which at least better approximates Western historical reality.

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Patterns of Crime and Punishment: Delaware County, Pennsylvania, 1790-1829

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Was crime very different in our nation's past than it is today? Constantly bombarded with images of violence and theft, we tend to think so. But was it really? This study explores that question by focusing narrowly on crime in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such an exploration is not easy, for the available records are scanty, many having been lost or destroyed. We must rely primarily on the remaining recognizances - documents that note the time, place, and reason for a person's arrest, and in some cases the final punishment, but which offer little further information. Any single recognizance thus tells us little, but enough of them taken together can provide sufficient information for a sketch, if not a complete portrait, of what crime was like in early Pennsylvania. This essay is based on an analysis of 600 handwritten recognizances from a nearly forty-year span, 1790-1829, and it focuses in turn on three categories of offenses: crimes against persons, crimes against property, and crimes against the state. In each area, the documents tell an interesting tale.

Crimes against persons, our first major category, included fornication, rape, abandonment, murder and assault. Fornication, sexual intercourse between an unmarried man and woman, was severely frowned upon by society at this time, in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, as elsewhere. Apart from the moral implications, a key concern was the conception of a bastard child. Lacking legal fathers to provide for their needs, such children typically became the responsibility of local authorities, and thus created an additional financial burden for the community. George Jeffers excited just such concerns among Delaware County officials who charged him and an unnamed women with "fornication and parenting of a bastard child" in February of 1825.[1]

Other sexually-oriented offenses included rape and attempted rape. The recognizances reveal few cases of attempted rape. Thomas Nude's prosecution was one example. In 1797, he was charged with "attempting to ravish" a Delaware County woman. What became of the case is uncertain. Actual rape cases were even fewer in number, and most appeared at the end of our thirty-nine year period. The small number is not surprising. Then as now, women probably declined to report the offense for various reasons, including concern over public embarrassment, fear of revenge from the accused, and - in the case of married women - dread of a husband's rejection.[2]

Cases of abandonment were also uncommon in Delaware County during this period. That is perhaps not surprising in a place and time where divorce was frowned upon, and desertion often left a woman destitute and a public charge.[3] Nonetheless, cases did occur. Martin Hartain, for example, drew the attention of Delaware County authorities in 1819 when he separated himself from his wife, Hannah, and left her "no support and maintenance."[4]

The most severe kind of "crimes against persons" is, of course, the act of murder. Relatively few such cases appeared in early Delaware County, but they tended to be especially savage. Patrick Gahleher, for example, bludgeoned a man to death in 1802 - killed him "by way of clubbing," in the language of the time.[5] Such brutality, it could be argued, would be expected in an age where "men learned pride, self-assertion, and expected to have their own way."[6]

By far the most common of crimes against persons in early Delaware County was assault. The offense accounted for nearly half of all cases recorded in the recognizances. Some were simple assaults, involving two people. Abraham Trimble and Charles Grantham, for example, fought with each other in 1796, after which both filed civil suits. Trimble testified that he "was afraid the said Charles would injure his person or property." Grantham countered that he feared Trimble would do the same to him. Women were sometimes involved in assault cases. In the same year, 1796, Ann Elliot complained against David Thomas for assaulting her. Delaware County authorities forced Thomas to post

a £50 bond assuring that he "shall keep the peace and be of good behavior."[7]

Occasionally assaults involved more than two people. The recognizances reveal, for example, that Tom Super, Hugh Wilson, Joe McCoy, Walter Cowden, and several others, grew angry over a regulation being enforced at the stone quarry in Ridley, Pennsylvania. The men forced their way into the quarry, and when the Constable appeared to warn them away, they abused him.[8]

Sometimes assault took the form of domestic violence, including the physical abuse of wives by angry husbands, or of children by angry parents. The Delaware County recognizances reveal frightened wives who appealed to authorities to have their abusive husbands reprimanded or removed from the home entirely. They were terrified, in the common language of the documents, that "he may willingly injure her person or property." Typical was the case of Jelse Cooper's wife, who went to authorities in 1801 because he had beaten and abused her. Authorities took a dim view of those who helped such abusers escape justice. In August of 1800, for example, Jonathan Worell was charged with "aiding and abetting" a wife beater.[9]

The Delaware County recognizances show an increase in all areas of crimes against persons across the thirty-nine year period from 1790-1829. Although in most areas the increases were small, there was one notable exception. No rape cases at all appeared in the early years, but they became much more common by the end of the period. Why that occurred is not entirely clear, but it may have been that authorities became more willing to prosecute the offense, and victims more willing to report it, as time went on.

The second major category that concerns us here is crimes against property. These included destruction of private property, receiving stolen goods, abetting runaway slaves, and larceny. Destruction of property could involve a wide range of specific offenses. Some people killed livestock, while others committed arson or in other ways destroyed the property of others. Typical were the cases of Robert Stifron and Mr. Kane. In 1799, Stifron had to post bond "for killing of a hog" belonging to a neighbor. Three years later, in 1801, Kane stood charged with "burning a wagon load of hay." What eventually happened to these men went unreported.[10] The recognizances reveal little in the area of receiving stolen property, though some cases were recorded. In 1796, for example, Tom Strand was charged with "hiding and secreting stolen merchandise," and in 1802 Ann Biers went to court for receiving stolen property.[11]

The harboring of runaway slaves constituted a crime in early Pennsylvania. Slaves were legally property, and aiding in the escape of a slave was a form of theft. Given that there were, in Pennsylvania, no "large concentrations of slaves comparable to that of the plantation South," it is not surprising that relatively few cases of harboring runaways appear in the recognizances.[12] Typical of the few recorded cases was that of Samuel Haykock. In 1801, Haykock unsuccessfully tried to help a slave escape and found himself bound to appear before Delaware County authorities for his offense.[13]

The most common crime against property was "larceny," the theft of personal goods or property. Some sense of the kinds of items stolen can be gained from the long list in Elizabeth Wilson's recognizance. After "entering at an open window into the dwelling house of John Moore in the township of Ridley" in 1796, Wilson stole a knife, a watch chain, and two pairs of "cotton stockings." She also took other items of clothing, including a shawl, "one white muslin apron," a cap and a silk glove, "one marceals peticoat," and a "pair of garters." Not satisfied with this haul, Wilson also took several handkerchiefs (one made of "spotted silk"), a "muslin sheet, one small piece of satin, some thread," and "one blue waist ribbon."[14] If she wore even half what she took, she was no doubt easily identified.

Often items stolen were more mundane. Bags of grain and livestock were common enough. Food items, including bacon, bread and pies, were also removed. In 1796, John Miller, "a negro," stole an entire wagon filled with "sugar, coffee and brush." If his conscience did not keep him awake at night, perhaps consuming his loot did. Rarely, a more luxurious item appeared in the recognizances. In 1797, for example, Thomas Brown was accused of stealing "a silver watch."[15]

Regarding the overall pattern for crimes against property in Delaware County during the 1790-1829 period, some observations may be made. Almost all crimes against property showed a modest decline. The single exception was larceny. Across these four decades, larceny increased by a substantial 30 percent. Why is unclear. The wealth of the general population of Delaware County may have significantly increased, and with it the temptation to steal. Or, conversely, over time, the proportion of poor in the population may have grown, prompting an increase in theft as a means of survival. It may also be that

larceny was not itself on the rise, but merely that Delaware County authorities became more energetic in prosecuting such offenses. That possibility is a sober reminder that drawing dependable conclusions is difficult, given the nature of the available sources.

Our third and final category, crimes against the peace and well being of the state, included a wide range of offenses. Disturbance of the peace, destruction of public property, forgery, perjury, counterfeiting, the illegal selling of spirits - all fall into this grouping because they were not offenses against the persons or property of individuals, but rather against the community as a whole. "Disturbance of the peace" covered a variety of transgressions, ranging from being a public nuisance or "an idle and disorderly vagabond," to public displays of drunkenness. Daniel McCambery and David Banks were good examples. In 1819, Delaware County officials charged McCambery with "drunken swearing and the shouting of death threats" in a public area. Some years later, in 1824, Banks was arrested as a vagabond and an "idle and disorderly person."[16]

Destruction of public property was another common offense against the state. It took many forms, including the "cutting down and removing of road marks," destruction of public landmarks, and damaging or defacing public buildings. The Greens offer a useful example. In 1819, Sam, Able and Sidwel Green were all three charged with "shooting and damaging a public school house."[17]

Forgery, perjury and counterfeiting were less common offenses against the state, but they did occur. James and Jonas Young, for example, were charged with perjury in 1802 after they falsified testimony in a civil suit. In 1825, William Smith faced arrest after forging another man's name to a document. Many years earlier, in 1797, Thomas Barttens was caught "passing counterfeits."[18]

Illegally selling spirits or beer without a license was more common. Among the residents of early Delaware County who faced prosecution for this offense in our period were William Blakely, William Sallard, and Daniel Harmoney. All three found themselves in trouble with authorities in 1799. Blakely was charged with "selling spirits by the pint." "Selling spirits without a license" was Sallard's offense. Harmoney had to post bond after being caught "selling beer by the quart." Such offenses were not limited to that year, of course. In 1824, for example, John Brewar was arrested for "selling spirits by the quart."[19]

Overall, offenses against the state decreased slightly across the 1790-1829 years in Delaware County. Such offenses constituted less than 10 percent of the 600 cases this study examines, so they were substantially less important - in quantity if not quality - than other kinds of offenses, especially assault and larceny. Assault alone accounted for half of all the cases, and larceny for another third. Clearly, in the broad view, Delaware County authorities spent by far the larger portion of their time dealing with these very ordinary problems. In this respect, at least, their concerns mirrored those of modern America. Such crimes still take up most of the time and energy of the police and the courts.

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A Place of Refuge: Poor Houses of Early Pennsylvania

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During the nineteenth century, the Poor House movement began in earnest in the United States. Scholars have begun to study that development, asking many questions. What sorts of people resided in poor houses during this period? How did they come to be there, and how long did they stay? What was daily life like for poor house residents? This paper addresses those very questions, focusing on the Poor House of Chester County, Pennsylvania, during the years from 1798 to 1902. To find the answers, I examined area newspapers from the period, a variety of secondary sources, and most importantly, several hundred pages of handwritten Chester County Poor House records which provided an account of the daily activities of the Poor House and its staff.

In 1789, the Pennsylvania legislature passed an act authorizing the erection of houses for the employment and support of the poor in the counties of West Chester and Lancaster.[1] Prior to this act the poor were looked after individually in the towns where they resided. They were forced, by law, to wear a large red or blue "P", for pauper, on their shoulder, with the first letter of the name of the city or county where they lived. Any pauper who neglected or refused to wear such a mark was sent to the house of corrections, to be "whipped and kept at hard labor."[2]

The Chester County Poor House began eleven years later when the Chester County Commissioners voted to purchase Stephen Harlan's 325 acre farm in West Bradford to be the site for the Poor House. Debora Harlan, Stephen's wife, refused to sign the deed until March 1, 1799, after which she received $30.00.[3] William Hawley was contracted to build the Poor House after visiting the Wilmington House to get an idea of the layout. His total cost was $5,925.00, which was paid by the county. The Poor House was built, but gradually began to deteriorate over the years.

In 1854 plans for a new building for the poor were presented to the Board. After careful consideration, the Board contracted David Taylor, an experienced builder in the area, for $31,000.[4] The main building was 140 feet by forty-three, with wings extending back. It was three stories high, with complete separation of the sexes.[5] There were sixty rooms for the poor and twelve cells for the insane. A portion of the first floor was set aside for the steward and his family. The residents were locked in at night, with an eight foot wall surrounding the grounds to prevent escape.[6] A hog house, slaughter house, shed and barn yard were also erected with the new institution. The total cost for the entire project was over $40,000.[7] The county only paid $30,000 of that amount, and there is no mention of who paid the difference. With the completion of the new building, the Chester County Poor House now became a "total institution" - a place, in Erving Goffman's words, "where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life."[8]

Over the years, the Poor House began to serve the mentally ill of Chester County more than the poor. Mental institutions were not common in America at this time. Most mentally ill people were cared for by their friends or families.[9] Others, whose families could not take care of them, often were placed in jails. In 1896 Chester County officials decided to erect an insane asylum to house these additional individuals. The total cost of the new building, erected 800 yards behind the Poor House, was $120,000.[10] The new asylum was constructed to protect the community from the dangerously insane, and as David Rothman notes in his important work, *Discovery of the Asylum*, such institutions were "a useful place for locking up lunatics, even without the prospect of a cure."[11]

The Chester County Insane Asylum had wings built around a central yard, forming an enclosed area within which the patients were permitted to walk. The basement, equipped with sufficient ventilation, was used as a smoking room.

The Asylum was built to accommodate approximately 200 patients, though it usually held more. As in the Poor House, the residents were separated by race and sex.[12] The building must have been poorly constructed because during its first year, John L. Smith, a member of the Chester County Board of Directors, reported that several of the oak doors had fallen down, and that others were in very poor condition and liable to crumble at any time.[13]

What sort of people were in the Chester County Poor House and Asylum? David Rothman has observed that "the eighteenth-century use of the term 'poor' encompasses a wide variety of conditions. When the colonists discussed the poor or legislated for them, they included widows along with orphans, the aged along with the sick, and the insane along with the disabled, without careful differentiation."[14] This approach certainly continued into the nineteenth century, at least at the Chester County Poor House.

Many kinds of people came to the Poor House. Some stayed only a few days, but others, depending on their circumstances, resided at the House for a much longer period of time. The sick and elderly were placed there when their families could no longer look after them. When the institution opened its doors in 1805, ninety-four paupers were delivered. Among those brought in was a 103 year old women, and sixteen others over the age of eighty.[15] Besides the very old, the young sometimes found a home at the Poor House. Orphans and abandoned children, who had no other family, were often taken there. Among the first of these was Samuel Thomas, aged eighteen months. He was found soon after birth on the side of the turnpike. His mother was never located so he remained at the Poor House. A favorite at the House, he became known as Sam Turnpike in the years to come.[16] The Poor House staff, in the absence of responsible friends or relatives, apprenticed such children to local businessman. Between 1800 and 1825, over 300 children were apprenticed out of the Chester County Poor House.[17] They went to work for various people in the community and labored at different locations all across the county. The apprenticed children learned trades, becoming carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers or butchers. Those not apprenticed, including most girls, learned domestic industry - cooking, sewing, cleaning, and so on.[18]

People of various colors and cultures came to the poor house. Some were immigrants who came to America in search of wealth and success, but had fallen on hard times.[19] According to Gerald Grob, the foremost scholar on the history of mental institutions in America, immigrants were often frowned upon, and "hospital authorities, whenever the need for space arose, always discharged foreign patients in order to make room for its own citizens."[20] Whether this happened in Chester County or not is unclear.

It is clear, however, that blacks, orientals (called "yellow" people) and even the occasional Native American found a place there at various times. The number of black residents never exceeded thirty at any given time, though it is unclear whether this was a conscious policy. The arrival of an Indian from Arizona in 1892 occasioned much comment in the local newspapers.[21]

Both men and women found a place in the Poor House, and even the infrequent traveler. The records indicate that the ratio of males to females remained constant over time at 3 to 1 in the Poor House. Most of the women came with bastard children and left after a short time, usually a few weeks, often to return periodically. Men rarely returned after leaving the Poor House because they were often just temporarily unemployed. The women faced very different situations, remaining at the edge of poverty raising children alone. Adding a very different element to the population of the Poor House, travelers in search of cheap accommodations sometimes visited for a few days at a time before continuing their journeys. They must have been a source of interesting information, and a break from the routine for those who worked there.

Insane people were also placed at the House, often permanently. One such individual was the "Kissing Bug," so named because he insisted on kissing everyone who came into his presence. The "Reptile Man" was another. He believed that snakes and frogs were living inside of his body. "The best way I could treat him," the physician at the asylum recalled, "was to humor him, so I said I could feel them too." The doctor eventually found a remedy. He filled a tub with dirty water, prepared a living frog, a dead frog, and some snakes, then gave his patient a drink to induce vomiting. While the "Reptile Man" was vomiting in the tub, Dr. Warren threw the animals into the dirty water. When the patient saw them swimming about, he proclaimed himself finally cured.[22]

Other inmates were more dangerously insane. Mary Poulson, a patient at the poor House, once alleged that Alfred Miller, a black man who lived above her apartment, had forced his way into her home. She took an axe and drove it into Miller's skull, killing him instantly. Witnesses said that after the initial blow, "Crazy Mary," as she was known, continued to chop at the dead man's

legs.[23] Two months prior to this attack, "Crazy Mary" had assaulted a young girl named Sallie Evans with the same axe. In that attack, Poulson had inflicted several wounds to the girl's face and back.[24]

Perhaps not surprisingly, there were instances of violent behavior among the residents in the Poor House itself. An article in the *American Republic* told the story of a mother and her child:

> The mad house is filled with human beings whom reason had dethroned. A fair and young mother screamed in agony from one of the cells, and her chains clanked harshly on the sympathy of human nerves. Her hands were red with the blood of her child. In a fit of madness she had taken the life of her innocent baby, and she laughed with a demonic scream as she held the dripping knife over the panting little one. To prevent the additional crime of self-destruction, human friends shackled her body with galling links of iron, and pinned her to the floor.[25]

In 1854 the steward, Thomas Baker, once came very close to death when he was attacked. Mr. Baker had the inmates working in the field cutting corn. When a young man refused to work, Baker kicked at him, enraging the worker. The young inmate stabbed the steward in the arm, lodging the knife in the bone just above the wrist. Before further injury could be inflicted, other inmates apprehended the unruly resident.[26]

Death came in other ways to the residents of the Poor House. In 1854 the institution was overtaken by cholera. In July, one out of every five residents died from the dreaded disease.[27] It was believed the cholera had been transmitted by George Walker, a laborer from Brandywine. When Walker fell ill, his doctor, Moses Marshall, sent him to the Poor House.[28] After the outbreak many of the residents fled the House in fear, but some died anyway, having already been infected. In the seven months before the cholera outbreak, fifteen residents had died at the Poor House. All were either very old or very young. But within a few weeks after the cholera struck, forty-eight people went to their graves.[29]

Life at the Chester County Poor House differed among its residents. The men were often sent to work around the community, while the women remained at the House. The stewards found it easier to preserve good order when the inmates were usefully employed, than when they had nothing to do. Those who did work received extra rations at meal time. The Poor House staff divided the residents into different groupings - private patients, indigent, workers, and non-workers. As late as 1924, the private patients and workers received more and better food than the indigent and non-workers - including butter on their bread and sugar for their tea.[30] Besides working outside the Poor House, the inmates also had various activities to keep them occupied within the confines of the grounds. In 1902, for example, a baseball team was organized by the Insane Department of the House. The team was made up of workers and insane inmates. In their first game, the main building attendants narrowly defeated the Department 16 to 15.[31] It is unclear whether the winners thought defeating insane inmates was much of a victory. Little is said about the treatment of the residents of the Poor House. It is known that the grounds were surrounded by walls, that the inmates were locked in at night, and that at least some of the insane residents were kept in chains and ankle-locks, but beyond this we have few details.

Overall, continuity marked this period in the Poor House's existence. With the increasing number of residents at the institution, in particular the insane, the Poor House grew and expanded during the century. Early distinctions between black and white, poor and private, and men and women, remained throughout our period. But above all, the mission of the House seemed to remain largely unchanged. Over the span of a century the Poor House and Insane Asylum of Chester County, Pennsylvania, maintained a persistent commitment to helping the poor and disabled, and to protecting the community surrounding it.

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Sassy Brown Woman: A Collection of Poetry

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REMEMBERING HOW TO ASK

By a
story
who begins
on the
other
side
of
burdened trees

and envelopes
golden
African
savannas
where
bold,
ebony
women
still remember
how to ask
direction
from even
the
humble
spirits
of
nest-eggs,

I
lie
comforted.

WRINKLES ARE RIVERS WHOSE BEDS ARE FACES

right here
is a marble
that I poked
scratch-first
into the loamy, yellow ground
that I plied
into grave furrows
whose sad lines bore no resemblance
to those which he wore

right here,
in the "back"
yard, as it was
though he never named it
so to me
for among us such was
understood--
wrinkles were rivers whose course
ran syrupy
all over his face
and made it sticky with
emotions

right here,
peering into images bounced back
from shiny, metal spitting cans
I wished I'd grow those furrows "real soon"
'cause when he was happy
he'd break out into cheeky grins
all over his face
which was yellower
than the ground which would turn my feet mealy

right here,
as I reached up to
yank on green elephant-ears

that dropped
blankets of fat, black worms
for me to gather
and tuck into the bucket
which he took to the lake

where he traded the fuzzy worms
for whiskered fish
who tasted as delightful as they appeared disgusting
we ate them fried
with red soda that was 6 for 80 cents
on sale
and sat greasily burping up our appreciation
for play-clothes... walking-sticks
cicada songs
sugar-cane licks
and warm nights brewing gently

right here.

THE FINGERS IN THE FIST

This dog been lyin' here too long.
We fools to think it's asleep.

Sista say
"Brotha's got to die,"
'cause she ain't down with his kind of black
Now, what's with all that?

Why "black" gotta be one shade of ink
Sloppin' over and Blottin' out all the "I"'s
to make one, big, no-shaped "we"?

It ain't like our hair got to kink the same curl
or our strut got to fan the same curve.
So, why work our mouths into just one voice
like we ain't got da nerve...

to be different?

THE SUGAR

Diabetes.

Mama wears this disease
like it's a cheap tote-bag...
it don't match a damn thing she wants to wear.

SPOOL-SENSE

Mama used to lace my head with freeways--
skeins of brown ribbon
with nubs of black thread poking through.
The little white kids at school would trace their fingers along the bared
paths
(deserted by ladder-loops of nappy, black hair)
and wonder why
the ends of my hair
would stick together
in nearly-but-not quite-invisible
queues of braid
while their own
would scamper
from the beckon of braid
(like cat-tossed salad of thread)
even when guarded
by a cuff of rubber
all's I knew
was that their small, white hands
wonder-drunk
upon my small, black
head of hair
marked my first
peek
at the frown of racial difference...
sunny-side
up.

The Ungrateful Art of Correspondence: A Love Affair

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Eufrásia Teixeira Leite was a woman surrounded, but unbounded, by conventions. Born of a marriage between two prominent families of Vassouras, Brazil, she refused the expectations of the upper-class, white daughter of an influential coffee planter family by finding instead her own life among the expatriots, bohemians, and aristocrats of late nineteenth-century Paris, France. Not even this Old World metropolis satisfied her, however. In the last decade of her life, she searched again for a home, and found herself back in Vassouras, but only on her own terms.[1]

VASSOURAS & THE HISTORY OF CAFÉ

Eufrásia's Brazil was indeed the "Golden Age of Coffee." What was once a crop grown for local consumption dominated the country's economy and way of life in a matter of decades, making its way from Rio de Janeiro to the north and south of coastal Brazil.[2] Brazil, for the majority of the nineteenth-century, was one of the world's largest coffee producers. In 1885, Vassouras county was the second leading producer of coffee in the main zone of Rio de Janeiro.[3] Still prosperous in the 1880s, Vassouras had peaked in the 1850s, fueled by the African slave trade of the 1830s and 1840s.[4] The economy began to look bleak, however, as the impact of the end of the trade was felt and a vicious cycle became apparent. Money was sunk into slave and land purchases as slaves grew older. More slaves were needed to work more land. Useless, infertile land was abandoned. And more land was needed to grow more coffee plants.[5] With the availability of land and labor rapidly diminishing as the success of coffee expanded, plantation society became rigid, closed and limited.

THE TEIXEIRA LEITES

That heirs were entitled to equal portions of the inheritance by law further facilitated the division of land. The common practice of marrying within or between affluent families became the solution to maintaining or enhancing wealth.[6] The passing on of property to family members and marriages within the family or with other wealthy families were characteristic of the Teixeira Leites, a powerful family clan. Their means of affluence initially came by way of several brothers who settled in Vassouras in the 1820s and established a lucrative business in moneylending.[7] In time, land ownership, elected and appointed positions in town leadership, and involvement in religious and social affairs gave them virtual control over town life.[8] By 1855, all of the parish's moneylenders were members of the Teixeira Leites. Several brothers served together as civic administrators, religious benefactors and judicial assistants.[9] Family members were planters and commissioning agents in the coffee business, allowing ample opportunities for business between relatives. The family was one entity, a single producing and consuming unit within which the daily aspects of life -- personal and business, private and public -- took place and flourished. The result was three generations of locally rooted affluence, where money, power, and status were all tied to family and land.

EUFRÁSIA TEIXEIRA LEITE

It was into this social context of wealth, visibility, convention and tradition that Eufrásia was born. Yet every decision she made appeared to be a renouncement of this society. Eufrásia lived in Vassouras until she was 24 years-old. In 1872, her father died, leaving her an inheritance of about 3,000 contos, equivalent to US$1,530,000 at the time.[10] This fortune immediately gave Eufrásia the financial independence which few women of her age and class enjoyed.[11] Shortly after her father's death and much to the disapproval of her uncle, the Baron of Vassouras, Eufrásia, and her sister, Francisca, left for Paris with the intention of making their home.[12] Paris found Eufrásia a beloved and lively socialite. Members of French and Brazilian nobility frequented her home, "the grandest of salons among the upper European aristocracy" (translation mine).[13] She wrote several dozens of letters a day, conducting business with banks and tried a hand in the European stock market.[14] As a result, her skill in investments multiplied her already large fortune, which she had inherited from her parents and later in 1899, her sister.[15] Her final return to Brazil in 1926 saw a changed woman, a recluse.[16] Eufrásia remained in Vassouras until her death in 1930.

If family members had thought this return signaled a willingness to conform to the conventions of their family structure, the idea was certainly shattered at the reading of her will. According to the 1916 Civil Code of Brazil, half the property of the deceased would be evenly divided among the children, in absence of which heirs could be instituted; the remaining half could be bequeathed as the individual desired.[17] As Eufrásia had no children, no husband, and no living parents or siblings, she had complete testimentary freedom over her entire estate. Heedless of the practice of willing property and assets to family members, another means of consolidating wealth and one from which she herself benefitted and came into wealth, her last will and testament gave almost all of her possessions to charity, reserving token bequeaths to a few family members and friends. The response was evidently an uproar. Complaints were taken to court. Six members of the Teixeira Leite clan officially contested the will on the grounds that the will was not the work of Eufrásia in her sound state of being; defending her will's validity were her two executors and her benefactees.[18] The attempt at nullification proved unsuccessful, since the facilities she requested for the poor, two schools and a hospital, were established and still stand today.

THE UNGRATEFUL ART

Of the little research conducted on the otherwise unstudied life of Eufrásia, contradicting references present a paradox. Several interpretations of her history exist, the most controversial ones focusing on her 12-year romance with the Brazilian politician, diplomat, abolitionist and writer, Joaquim Nabuco. They met in 1874 when Nabuco, then at 24 years, was on his first trip to Europe.[19] What ensued was a love affair sustained mainly by letters and visits when political affairs took Nabuco to Europe. The letters, transcribed in Catharino's Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, cover the last 10 years of correspondence, from July, 1876 to May, 1887.[20] While working with personal documents can be tedious, we can bear the grammatical mistakes, incomplete sentences, mispellings and language nuances, for they uncover elements of her character which legal documents deny. These private letters allow the unguarded Eufrásia to surface; we are seeing her as her intimate friends saw her. Although these letters are but scattered remnants of Eufrásia and Nabuco's history together, they are perhaps the most vivid testimonies to their love affair.

All but one of the surviving 27 letters were written by her; his one letter was apparently written around the time of their separatioin. One popular interpretation for this separation maintains that, as heiress of a slave-owning family, neither she nor her family would accept Nabuco's liberal ideas. She apparently tried to resolve this, the argument follows, by moving to France where the two could marry and live. But Eufrásia left Vassouras in 1874, turning her back on plantation society and familial expectations. She would not need family approval for marriage with Nabuco; after all, she had ceased heeding their counsel when she left for Paris. Second, she did not meet Nabuco until she was already in Europe, and so he could not have been the motive for her move.

It is clear from the letters that their separation was, if not entirely, then largely brought on by her refusal to marry him. Nabuco had complained several times of her unwillingness to commit to him. On her part, Eufrásia remained dedicated, from Nabuco's ascendancy into politics to his exile in Europe to his race for re-election after their separation. "Since we came together in Europe, I have lived in this feeling towards you. I did not have, did not want, and never thought to have another ... [I]n our history, as one calls it, I always ... resigned myself to accept the role contrary to my wishes," she wrote in February, 1886 (translation mine). She was

apparently referring to a well-defined social structure in which the woman's central role was to raise children and manage domestic affairs. These were the societal expectations against which Eufrásia had first turned in 1874. Marriage, in turn, signified a return to Brazil, which "would be very sad for [her]" (translation mine). Her January 1886 letter sadly restated: "you have always told me that you ... will not come [to visit] if I am not resolutely decided to be married soon. This, unhappily, I cannot tell you" (translation mine). Having come to Europe and fashioned a successful life of self-reliance, she knew, as reflected in 1876, that it would be "impossible ... to live in my country [and] to be happy there" (translation mine). She repeatedly refused his proposals for marriage and in April, 1886, Eufrásia and Nabuco made final their separation.

Marriage with Nabuco allowed Eufrásia two choices. To return to Brazilian society as Nabuco's wife was a revisitation of the role-playing of earlier in their relationship, and one she would not accept. The only remaining alternative would and had already begun to wage war against Nabuco's political career. She acknowledged in July, 1886, after their break-up, "... those who you attack will attack you too, and I am the instrument, I the pretext of everything they say" (translation mine). Allowing her presence to serve against Nabuco's political success was equally unacceptable. With these two choices thus rejected, Eufrásia opted for a life of solitude rather than deny either one a life's ambitions.

The lack of material available on Eufrásia and women of her class leads one to wonder if their histories will ever be told. Certainly, in visiting Vassouras today, it is obvious that the storymaking is and has been in its process; streets and townsquares bear names of men in local history; Eufrásia's is seen frequently and one of few female names. Her fame appeared to have been less a function of the achievements of the Teixeira Leite men and more one of her own role as both a representative of the genteel rebel and of the women in her class. The face of the town is a testimony to her presence. This study of her life is then offered as the untold counterpart to the already told histories of nineteenth-century, patriarchal Vassouras.

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[2] Stein, Stanley J. Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900: The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society (First published in 1958, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 121.

[3] "Quadro demonstrativo das taxas maxima ... da Camara Syndical dos Corretores de Fundos Públicos doo Rio de Janeiro" in Relatorio, 1906 (Rio de Janeiro: Imp. Nacional, 1906), table facing p. 28.

[4] Stein, Vassouras, p. 121.

[5] Stein, Vassouras, p. 29-30.

[6] Stein, Vassouras, p. 17.

[7] Stein, Vassouras, p. 121.

[8] "Supplemento," in Almanack Laemmert, 1855 (Rio de Janeiro: Laemmert, 1855), p. 135 - 138.

[9] Stein, Vassouras, p. 136 - 137.

[10] Catharino, Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, p. 76; all conversions are all approximated to the first decimal place or nearest whole number and are calculated according to Duncan, Julian Smith. Public and Private Operation of Railways in Brazil (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 183.

[11] Stein, Vassouras, . p. 147.

[12] Catharino, Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, p. 76.

[13] Catharino, Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, p. 75, 72.

[14] Catharino, Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, p. 75, 77.

[15] Catharino, Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, p. 75. Cited from an authorless article entitled "Casa de Hera: uma história de amor e solidão," which was found in the Biblioteca-Municipal in Vassouras.

[16] Catharino, Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, p. 73.

[17] The Civil Code of Brazil, trans. Josephy Wheless (St. Louis: Thomas Law Book Co.: 1920), Book IV, Tit. II, Chp. I, art. 1603.

[18] Rezende, Astolpho Vieira de, Eurico Teixeira Leite and L. Teixeira Leite Filho. O Estranho Testamento de Dona Euphrásia Teixeira Leite (Rio de Janeiro: Officinas Graphicas Almanack Laemmert, 1933), p. 3.

[19] Nabuco, Carolina. The Life of Joaquim Nabuco (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950), Vol. 4, p. 146.

[20] Catharino, Eufrásia Teixeira Leite, p. 105 - 120.

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EL PROBLEMA DE LA FE EN LA OBRA DE MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO

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Miguel de Unamuno fué uno de los escritores más importantes en la Generación del año 1898; compartió muchos pensamientos y aforismos con sus lectores; Unamuno obviamente fue un hombre exepcional y pragmático. En numerosas de sus obras Miguel de Unamuno expresa su manera de pensar sobre la religión y sus creencias, sobre el valor de la santidad, el valor de la fe, etc. Unamuno definitivamente tiene numerosos temas que son muy interesantes y que pudieran ser discutidos, pero en esta investigación el tema de la fe es el que voy a discutir.

Miguel de Unamuno nació en el ceno de una familia de una clase social media, el 29 de Septiembre de 1864 en la ciudad de Bilbao. Unamuno creció junto a una familia muy catolica, él completó sus estudios primarios y secundarios en su ciudad natal y después se marchó a Madrid en donde continuó sus estudios universitarios en la Universidad de Madrid en el (1880). En los años siguientes, Unamuno tuvo que afrontar serias crisis sociales y religiosas, ademas de enfrentar la pesada tarea que sus estudios universitarios demandaban. En el año de 1891 Unamuno se unió en matrimonio a la que fue su enamorada desde su juventud Concepción Lizarraga. Después de haber contraido matrimonio, Miguel de Unamuno y su esposa se mudan a la ciudad de Salamanca, la cual más tarde sería la cuna de sus nueve hijos. En este mismo lapso de tiempo Unamuno empezó a escribir prolíficamente para periódicos y revistas. Unamuno se convirtió en un escritor anónimo de dos o tres artículos, los cuales tocaban muy de cerca temas sociales. En 1897 Unamuno experimento una crisis espiritual muy fuerte la cual puso un fin indeterminado a su activismo social.

Miguel de Unamuno publicó su primera novela en el año de 1897, en esta su primera novela se puede observar muy claramente el cambio hasta cierto punto drâmatico en sus escrituras. Unamuno deja de escribir pequeños reportajes, y pasa a escribir piezas literarias con mucha más seriedad. En el año 1901 Miguel de Unamuno fué nombrado rector de la Universidad de Salamanca, posición que más tarde perderia en dos ocaciones como resultado de las criticas contra el gobierno español y sus representantes. Los ensayos y obras de ficción más sobresalientes aparecieron un tiempo después de haber perdido su posición en la universidad. Entre las obras más sobresalientes de esta época se encuentran: Amor y Pedagogia (1902), La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho (1905), Del Sentimiento Tràgico De La Vida (1913), Niebla (1914, Abel Sànchez (1917), Tres Novelas Ejemplares y Un Pròlogo y el Cristo de Velasquez (1920); tambièn San Manuel Bueno y Martir (1933).

Durante la primera guerra mundial, Unamuno demostró fuertemente su oposición en contra de Alemania y este punto de vista estaba en oposición con lo que el gobierno de España pensaba. Durante todo este tiempo la situación politica de

España se estaba deteriorando aún más. Bajo el regimen dictador, el parlamento fué disuelto y las medidas reaccionarias fueron implementadas. Estas medidas incluían un tratado con Mussolini, y el cierre del centro intelectual de Madrid. En este mismo tiempo Unamuno fué forzado a salir de su país, porque muchas de sus críticas habian sido hechas directamente contra Mussolini (1924). Durante su exilio, Unamuno vivió un corto tiempo en Paris, pero en esta ciudad él sintió la necesidad de estar cerca de su patría y por esta razón él decidió marcharse a vivir a un pueblo fronterizo francés. Desde este lugar Miguel de Unamuno podría estar en contacto "indirecto" con España, desde este mismo lugar el se mantendria al tanto de todos los eventos políticos de España.

El 14 de Abril de 1931, finalmente una solución a los problemas políticos llegó a España. La familia real abandono España y esto permitió que Unamuno regresara a su patría. Cuando este regresó, Unamuno se convirtió en un senador, fué uno de los que ayudaron a formar la nueva constitución del país. Debido a su agitada vida, su fin no podia haber sido uno de esos finales tranquilos. Indudablemente el fin de su historia tenia que ser un fin completamente conflictivo. Cuando la Guerra Civil estalló en su país, él estaba tan desilusionado de ésta, y por esta razón él toma la decisión de aceptar a Francisco y a la invasión nacionalista. Poco tiempo después Unamuno se da cuenta de que habia cometido un gran error al estar de acuerdo con Franco y sus seguidores, y para remediar su error, el decide denunciar públicamente a Franco y a todos sus seguidores. Al poco tiempo de haber hecho pública su denuncia, Unamuno fué arrestado, aunque por problemas con su salud fue encarcelado en su propia casa. La noche del 31 de Diciembre de 1936 Unamuno falleció mientras se encontraba con su unico compañero (un libro).

Si hubiera que resumir su obra en general bajo un único común denominador, podria uno decir que su obra está constituida principalmente por sus preocupaciones sobre la muerte y su propia inmortalidad. Miguel de Unamuno vivió su niñez y su adolesencia pensando en convertirse en un cura, pero pronto él empieza a experimentar una crísis religiosa, un periodo de duda y fe; cada uno de los cuales creaba un poco más desilución en el, tal y como lo demuestra su obra de San Manuel Bueno y Martir. Cada una de estas crísis estaba también acompanada por una gran depresión, pesadia, desilusión y hasta incluso pensamientos sobre un posible suicidio. Todo este trauma está representado en cada una de sus obras literarias. Sin lugar a duda esto todo por la influencia de cada uno de los eventos de sus experiencias en la vida. La manera en que Unamuno trata de simbolizar sus problemas de duda e inseguridad es dando dos puntos de vista totalmente opuestos en cada una de sus obras. Unamuno emplea una técnica conocida como dicomotomia, la cual implica el uso de dos objetos totalmente opuestos en la misma pieza literaria. El prototipo de los opuestos usados por este gran escritor son: racionalismo versus irracionalismo; razón versus fe; religión versus ciencia.

En una de sus colecciones más impresionantes conocida como "Rosario de Sonetos Líricos" Unamuno una vez más emplea la técnica en la cual èl presenta dos puntos de vista (sentimientos) totalmente opuestos, en esta ocasión él usa la razon versus el corazón. Pero en sus mejores obras literarias Niebla y San Manuel Bueno Y Martir Unamuno expresa su inseguridad sobre la existencia de un creador el cual es inmortal y de la relación del hombre hacia su creador. Indudablemente, estas obras son un vivo testamento que reafirman el gran problema que este escritor tenía en encontrar su propia identidad. Talvez es su gran obseción la cual lo induce a crear personajes ficticios, los cuales en cierto

momento también experimentan muchas de las crísis del propio Unamuno. En otras palabras, sus personajes aunque ficticios, tienen la tarea de reflejar a su propio creador el cual ha atravesado por muchas penas y sufrimientos. Sus personajes son como una salida o como un escape. La fe, en San Manuel Bueno y Martir es algo impresionante, es algo que el pueblo siente por San Manuel, pero que para San Manuel es una duda.

El sufrimiento experimentado por estos personajes es probablemente la única razón por la cual son mejores conocidos como personajes "agonistas". Sus intensas exploraciones de la personalidad humana frecuentemente toman la forma de la biografia de una obseción. Por ejemplo: Julia en Nada Menos Que Todo Un Hombre, Joaquín en Abel Sanchez y Augusto Perez en Niebla. Unamuno no solamente dedica todo su tiempo a sus conflictos personales como lo son la busqueda de su propia identidad y la busqueda de la inmortalidad "el contentamiento de vivir es lo primero de todo. Nadie debe querer morirse hasta que Dios quiera" (San Manuel Bueno y Martir, p.26). El también dedica parte de su tiempo para tratar con los problemas sociales que su país enfrentaba, tales como: la guerra civil y todas sus injusticias. Se podría decir que San Manuel de alguna u otra forma también se preocupa por los problemas sociales de su pueblo. Unamuno quiere una España con Fe, pero luchando con la razón, no una Europa simplemente racionlista, desprovista de fe.

La fe es algo que definitivamente incumbre como tema en San Manuel Bueno y Martir, un tema religioso. Su tema principal es: su lucha entre la fe y la razón. Don Manuel un sacerdote que ayuda a la gente y que empieza a tener dudas en la religión y aún así éste continúa ayudando a la gente para "darles alegría" (p.46) a su pueblo..."yo no puedo perder a mi pueblo para ganarme el alma..(p.30)". De este sacerdote, Miguel de Unamuno dice que es un martir verdadero, y Unamuno también muestra que el hombre no puede encontrar la felicidad escapando el sufrimiento. Pero aún así, éste le sugiere a sus seguidoras que hay que "seguir creyendo...y si ocurren dudas, callatelas...hay que vivir" (p.51). Miguel de Unamuno pregunta ¿Qué es la fe? Y la respuesta literaria podria ser algo en lo que se cree pero no se puede ver. En su libro The Agony of Christianity and essays on Faith, "la fe es el poder creador del hombre... la fe es la conciencia de la vida en nuestros espíritus" (Unamuno Miguel de, The Agony of Christianity and Essays on Faith. 1974, Princeton University Press (p. 148)". San Manuel Bueno y Martir lleva en si actitutes religiosas que de alguna u otra manera describen característicamente en alguna forma a Miguel de Unamuno. El objetivo que lleva Unamuno es de formular el objetivismo de San Manuel Bueno Y Martir y demostrarlo o compararlo con ese que España vivia en este tiempo: la fe versus la razón.

Como lectora de las obras de Unamuno, pienso que sus ideas demuestran definitivamente el ansia de ser inmortal, como lo hace en San Manuel Bueno y Martir "nadie quiso creer en la muerte de Don Manuel; todos esperaban verle a diario (p71)." Lo fundamental siendo el ansia de sobrevivirse en tiempo y en espacio. El ansia vital de inmortalidad que es definitivamente sostenida por la fe pero al mismo tiempo opuesta por la razòn.

Fe y Razón estan en lucha continúa. Y la constante pregunta de que hacer, si mantener la lucha entre el corazón y la razón, o entre el sentimiento y la inteligencia, no una falsa paz espiritual como era la de San Manuel Bueno y Martir y su amor por la gente "cuidad de estas pobres ovejas...que crean lo que yo no he podido creer (p.66)".

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The Great Language Debate
French, English, and Indigenous Tongues in Post-Colonial African Literature

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In 1962, a meeting of African writers was held at Makerere University College in Kampala, Uganda At this "Conference of African Writers of English Expression," a debate ensued concerning an apparently simple question: what is African literature? Before this question could be answered, several more basic questions had to be answered first who are "Africans?" What is an "African" story? What if an African writes about a non-African subject or character? What if a non-African writes in an African context? In what language should an "African" writer express him or herself (Ngugi 6)? Not long after, at the *Colloque sur la Litterature Africaine d'Expression Francaise* in Dakar, Senegal in March, 1963, Leopold Senghor and several of his contemporaries were asking and attempting to answer similar questions about French and the extent to which it should or should not be included in African writing (Bishop 29).

By the early 1960s, colonialism had spread throughout Africa, had entrenched itself in every element of African society, and had even begun to decline. Within eighty years, it had also caused at least two generations of African writers to question who they were and what they were doing. In the course of examining basic issues concerning African literature (namely, language, its use, and the ramifications of such use) this research will explore similarities and differences between the inclusion and non-inclusion of French, English, and indigenous African languages in the literature of former French and British colonies and the debates which this language issue has sparked Further, it will explore the extent to which conflict about language in post-colonial African literature informs the larger issue of colonialism as a whole.

Language is a communicator. While such a statement may seem self-evident, its implications are almost staggering:

> communication between human beings is also the basis and process of evolving culture. In doing similar kinds of things and actions over and over again under similar circumstances, certain patterns, moves, rhythms, habits, attitudes, experiences, and knowledge emerge. . . . There is a gradual accumulation of values which in time become almost self-evident truths governing [conceptions] of what is right and wrong. (Ngugi 14)

The ability of language to construct "truths" implies a very powerful force. Chinua Achebe believes his ancestors "created their myths and legends and told their stories for a human purpose . . [They] created their works for the good of that society" (Morning 29). This research addresses the issue of language because, as will be indicated, the social power of language can be converted into a power of cultural imposition. While French and English were obviously not the only European languages introduced into Africa, it is important to note that France and Great Britain divided the majority of colonial Africa between them. Since research about the presence of all European languages in African literature would be extremely broad in scope, this study limits consideration to the most prevalent colonial powers. Turning first to English, it is fair to state that Africans understood that English was, in fact, "the language of the ruling power" (Mazrui, JMAS 298). Among most Ghanaians, for example, English "was thought to be the language of all Europeans"--thus, an understanding of English was believed to be an understanding of Europe (302). As will be observed, such an understanding would prove vital to the few Africans who would progress successfully through colonial educational systems and form a sort of elite It is sufficient now to indicate that the attractiveness of learning English as a means of advancement coupled with the large scope of the imposition of English in Africa entrenched the language.

Chinua Achebe understands and accepts this He has written in English throughout his long career--perhaps a statement of his belief in the global dominance of English, especially as compared with the relative localization of many African languages The anti-colonial movement reached a climax in West Africa, Ghana and Achebe's native Nigeria were among the first colonies to declare their independence from the Commonwealth This area was at the heart of the British colonial empire Therefore, English was well-established as the ruling language Additionally, unlike other areas of the empire which had more homogenous language groups (Swahili and Bantu in East Africa, for instance), Nigeria had a loose collection of many languages representing several pre-colonial nations of varying size, such as Achebe's own Igbo As previously implied, English was an effective tool for teaching would-be elites about basic elements of the colonial system. More than that, however, English served as a tool for uniting groups within (arbitrary) colonial boundaries which would not otherwise be able to communicate In short, the language of the colonizer helped unify the colonized.

> to accept Nkrumah [the future leader of independent Ghana] as a fellow Gold Coast man was one thing; to accept him as a leader of the whole Gold Coast was quite another The fact that he had to speak in English made it easier for him to create the image of being above the linguistic and tribal divisions. (Mazrui, JMAS 306)

Achebe cites many examples such as this one to illustrate his belief that the question of the imposition of English in Africa is settled it is "spoken by Africans on African soil," so it "justifies itself" (Achebe, Hopes 93) This statement may also be applied to any number of indigenous languages, and Achebe intends this. In accepting the presence of English in African literature, Achebe does so in the hope that English may be used effectively to communicate African stories to a relatively broad audience. Carrying this to its logical conclusion, Achebe does not believe that English should be favored at the expense of other, indigenous languages--rather, that the several languages should be used in tandem in order to communicate with many readers. To this end, Achebe advocates a distinction between "national" and "ethnic" literatures A national literature is written for a national audience--extending throughout a contemporary nation (remembering that these nations were imposed on the African continent and, thus, infused with European languages). An ethnic literature, then, is intended for a smaller ethnic group which maintains its indigenous traditions and languages more fully. English (as the national language) and indigenous languages would serve equivalent purposes (Achebe, Morning 92-3). English is certainly useful, but it is not Achebe's own language. Igbo, while closer to representing his heritage, does not have a wide enough audience to communicate his ideas very far So, Achebe proposes "a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings" (103).

Where Achebe accepts the position of English in African literature, Kenyan novelist and essayist Ngugi wa Thiong'o asserts the prior importance of African languages Ngugi criticizes the tradition of "[accepting] the unsolicited gift" of European languages (5). Far from being a gift, he argues, the imposition of colonialism and the entrenchment of colonial languages allowed colonizing powers to serve their complex purposes. As previously indicated, Ngugi believes language is a "means of communication" which has obvious basic functions, but which also serves as a stabilizing force by allowing members of a culture bound by a language to share experiences and to hand down these experiences to successive generations. Language, then, becomes a cultural facilitator as these shared experiences "become the inherited basis" for future actions and thought (14-16). In this way, English becomes a weapon of the colonizers. Certainly, colonial administrators understood the implications of native Africans understanding English, such an understanding could (and did) lead to an understanding of colonial policies and, therefore, to an understanding of the extent to which these policies were damaging This is political power--a tool which colonizers did not want many Africans to have. Instead, English was presented as a reminder of colonial power:

> the new [colonial] school had the nature of both the cannon and the magnet. From the cannon, it took the efficiency of a fighting weapon But better than the cannon it made the conquest permanent The cannon forces the body and the school fascinates the soul (qtd in 9)

Directly responding to Achebe's argument in favor of the inclusion of English, Ngugi suggests that preserving European languages in Africa is, in effect, "paying homage" to them and "continuing that neo-colonial slavish and cringing spirit" (26) Ngugi concedes that African literature needs to ensure itself a broad audience However, he is unwilling to enter a bargain which wins readers at the expense of language He, himself, has abandoned English altogether,

choosing to write in his native Gikuyu as an expression of his support for African literature in African languages (Jussawalla 25). What he suggests is an adherence to indigenous languages which, he believes, will secure their presence and integrity. Ngugi hopes a renewed pride in indigenous languages will result from this secured presence, further resulting in translation--not to European, but to other African languages, allowing African cultures to "[communicate] with one another" (36). Such communication could conceivably reach as many readers as do European languages as translations spread throughout Africa.

Clearly, the debate concerning the inclusion of English in African literature is polarized, major writers align along either side of the debate. A similar debate exists where French is concerned, but its divisions are somewhat less clear. Between 1928 and 1940, West Indian and African students who were privileged enough to receive secondary education in France were plunged into a sort of cultural upheaval from which developed a new, vital Marxism and surrealism, among other ideas (Kesteloot 9). In this climate, colonial students were in close contact with African-American writers: Jean Toomer, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and others (56). These were the dominant figures of the Harlem Renaissance--a movement which saw African-Americans reasserting their own unique culture, not at the expense of the larger (white) American culture, but as an enhancement and enlargement. The power of their voice clearly impacted the colonial students--none more precipitously than Leopold Senghor.

At age seven, Senghor was sent to a Catholic mission school in his native Senegal, where he encountered French for the first time. After primary school, Senghor hoped to continue his studies in the seminary, but he was "dissuaded" from doing so, so he entered a lycee (Dixon xxvi). His desire to preach remained with him, and probably encouraged his later inclusion of religious references in his poetry. Perhaps it also fed his drive to define and apply "negritude"--several of Senghor's statements reflect a quality of idealism and even didacticism. He describes negritude in many, sweeping senses: "the struggle for liberation from the chains of cultural colonization," "a new humanism," even "the totality of values of the black civilization" (qtd in xxviii). As the Harlem Renaissance sought to expand African-American civilization on its own terms, so Senghor's negritude sought to establish itself as a "recognition of blackness and black cultural values" (xxix). Negritude as a literary movement and as a psychological perspective is still addressed in the 1990s, most likely because it is so simultaneously encompassing and controversial. The attractiveness of a philosophy which asserts a powerful "black" heritage in the face of a colonial ethic which seeks to overlay a white face cannot be denied.

While no clear, simple definition of negritude exists, Senghor himself presented the most direct statement of its relation to language at the *Colloque sur la Litterature Africaine d'Expression Francaise* in Dakar in 1962. Following Achebe, Senghor expressed his belief that Africa's "colonized situation . . . imposed the colonizer's language on us" (Bishop 28-9). Where Ngugi argues that writing in European languages is submitting to the weapons of the colonizers, Senghor quotes Jean-Paul Sartre's assertion that he and the other negritude writers "[turned] the colonizer's weapons against him" (29). Senghor actually goes further, suggesting (in the spirit of negritude) that French language can actually grow, swelled by expressions created by adapting French to African culture, thus producing a "cultural symbiosis" between Europe and Africa (Senghor, interview 62).

Since Senghor's position cannot be completely understood by defining it in plain literary terms, it is useful to turn to his poetry itself to gain a sense of the negritude he proposes. According to one translator and critic, Senghor's poetry is a "journey," taking the reader on an expedition through African heritage and experience (Dixon xxi-xxii). As Senghor tells his African story in relation to Europe, Dixon argues, he builds a case for Africa as a "contributor" to civilization rather than a passive "beneficiary" (xxii). Such a case would almost certainly need to be founded on very strong pride in African culture--a pride Senghor feels and wishes to express. His poem "Black Woman" (from Chants d'Ombre) seems almost awestruck in its celebration:

> Naked woman, black woman
> Dressed in your color that is life, in your form that is beauty!
> I grew up in your shadow.
>
> . . .
>
> In the shade of your hair, my despair
> Lightens in the close sun of your eyes.
>
> Naked woman, black woman
> I sing your passing beauty and fix it for all Eternity
> before jealous Fate reduces you to ashes to nourish the roots of life.

(Senghor 8)

It is, perhaps, sufficient to illustrate Senghor's sensuous description of his "femme noire" to understand his position on African expression in European languages Senghor, however, goes even further, expressing a love for France itself. Senghor readily admits French colonial imposition and its horrible implications, but he qualifies his hatred of colonial power in "Prayer for Peace" (from Hosties Noires):

> Oh, Lord, take from my memory France that is not France,
> This mask of meanness and hate on the face of France
> This mask of meanness and hate that I can only hate
> -- And I can surely hate Evil
>
> . . .
>
> Bless this shackled nation that brought me Your Good News, Lord,
> And opened my heavy-lidded eyes to the light of faith. (Senghor 71)

Senghor, then, hates the sin and loves the sinner His choice of French language indicates his desire to re-make the sinner's language to include a new story of civilization.

Criticism of Senghor and of negritude certainly exists, but it seems to fall short of clear rejection in the manner of English. One argument against it concerns its vagueness--that it is not sufficiently understood to be thought of as an ultimate expression of black culture. A further criticism is that negritude is not what Africans need to re-assert or rebuild their culture--that it "neither feeds the hungry nor builds roads" (qtd. in Bishop 162-3). The most direct criticism of negritude as a language issue is articulated by another Senegalese, Cheikh Hamidou Kane. Echoing Ngugi, Kane suggests that "to bring everything down to it [negritude]" is to re-submit to imperialism (163). Kane's novel L'Aventure Ambigue traces the journey of a young African student who finds in France not a recognition of a universal humanism or overarching unity between Africa and Europe, but a materialism which contrasts sharply with the soulful beauty of his native home. Unlike Senghor, Kane's characters see beauty in something that is clearly not French. When Samba Diallo (the novel's protagonist) turns to pray, his French companion is captivated:

> He rose, turned toward the east, lifted his arms, with his hands open, and slowly let them fall. His voice echoed in the quiet air Jean did not dare to walk around his companion in order to see his face, but it seemed to him that this voice was no longer his. Samba Diallo remained motionless. Nothing in him was alive except this voice, speaking in the twilight a language which Jean did not understand. (60)

The debate over English is clearly polar. The debate over French is less so--characterized by positions relative to the overarching concept of negritude, which is difficult to define and which is a "fluid" concept anyway (Bishop 148). What has caused this difference in attitudes about French and English? The answer is, even now, uncertain. While administrative policies may have differed between empires, they served similar purposes: to separate the European metropolitan power from the African "Other." However, education may provide a clue to resolving the language issue. As has been stated, language is powerful at least in part because it creates and communicates culture. It is extremely important, then, to understand the significance of something that seems obvious: Africans in European schools were taught in European languages. Young students like Achebe, Ngugi, and Kane became literate in English or French, thus gaining a foothold on understanding Europe a little better. The cost of such a gain is that they "abandon[ed] traditional education" (Mortimer 2-3). The stories they were told when they were very young were replaced by stories they read--another example of the power of language. Traditional African literature is, actually, largely orature--stories which are passed down by the spoken word. The power of oral literature is also what makes it so fragile. Because it is recorded in memory, not writing, it can be lost in a generation. This is the danger which the generation of colonial students faced as they read European stories on printed pages.

Given the danger colonial education posed to traditional African societies, what are its implications for exploring differences between French and English? Colonial education was not formally instituted until the 1920s, after the colonizing powers investigated the cost and efficiency of such a system (Rodney 241). Previously, education in the colonies had largely been provided by Christian missionaries--a service which Senghor experienced. Upon its institution by the government, education became mandatory, at least at the primary level. This means that the generation including Achebe, Ngugi, and Kane was formally trained by the colonial powers while Senghor was not. What formal education intended was an entrenchment of European languages and cultural awareness. While it certainly achieved that in many ways, it also had an unintended achievement. As colonial powers began to falter after World War II, they turned to the "elite"

officials they had all but created within their schools These elites' education had given them both a heightened awareness of European presence and, very possibly, a resentment of what that presence meant for their countrymen As much as European officials wanted to infuse their subjects with European ideas, the Africans "[carried] the village with them" (qtd in Mortimer 2) It is reasonable to suggest that such a sentiment carried over to the writings of someone like Ngugi. It is also reasonable to suggest that such resentment towards a compulsory system of education which, according to Rodney, "underdeveloped" Africa, informed the debate about English language.

What about French? As stated, Senghor was not trained in the French government's colonial education system. Senghor's education was, instead, largely driven by his desires--to learn French, to teach, to become a priest (Dixon xxvi) Where later students were forced to learn European languages, Senghor accepted French early His education allowed him to travel to France following completion of his baccalaureate, thus allowing him to meet the writers of the Harlem Renaissance at a time of great social questioning It can be argued, then, that Senghor's education, the nature of which allowed him much more freedom to explore and to dream than that of the next generation, facilitated the development of negritude, which is the most striking difference between the French and English debates. As stated, negritude is an "umbrella" concept--articulated enough to spark discussion but vague enough to quell the kind of debate to which the issue of English is subject Even its critics cannot deny the attractiveness (albeit very Romantic) of a concept which seeks to promote African culture as a great contributor. It is this concept which ties Senghor to France in a way that is, apparently, not so easy to criticize and is absent in African writing in English.

The conclusions, then, are unclear. Debates about the presence of French and English in post-colonial African literature are certainly different in character, but the reasons for such a difference are not readily explained. Certainly, negritude helps resolve the difference somewhat, but it is a cultural phenomenon. Examining and applying the debate in a more socio-political frame proves difficult Very few differences exist between French and English colonial policies and institutions--they both had extremely similar perspectives on Africa and extremely similar goals It may be that time will reveal more differences than are currently ascertainable It may be that the language debate cannot fully be explained because it is still occurring

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THE LIVES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE GERMAN CHILDREN DURING WORLD WAR II

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The children who lived during World War II are often forgotten, when looking at the people who endured this era. This research examines and compares the lives of the German children from the Jewish as well as the non-Jewish communities. By taking into account all the different experiences these children had during this time, this research discovers that while all their lives were different, they shared the same fears, hopes ad dreams.

Nearly one and a half million German Jewish children were killed during the Holocaust, while others were fortunate enough to be rescued through hiding or exile (Greenfeld, 2). In the meantime around five million non-Jewish children survived because they were evacuated out of the cities. Still others remained in their homes and often joined the Hitler Youth or the League of German Girls. A small number of children even tried to oppose the state and its regulations. Many books, articles, and films have documented the lives of these individual groups, making it seem as if their experiences were unique and not shared by other children. In order to see whether these portrayals are true, the lives and experiences of the German children have to be compared.

The number of Jewish children who lost their lives during the Holocaust is very high, considering that it makes up 20% of the total number of Jews killed (Eisen, 4). While looking at these figures, it also has to be taken into consideration that there were between ten thousand and one hundred thousand Jewish children who were successfully hidden from the hands of the Nazis (Greenfeld, 2).

In order to live through the years of war in hiding, most of the children not only lost their freedom but also their families and their identities. Among the hidden children two major groups can be distinguished: those who remained "visible" (Greenfeld, 3) and those who had to disappear from sight. Neither group was more fortunate than the other. Those children who lived out in the open had to "mask their identities with Christian names and fictitious stories of their past and origin" (Greenfeld, 3). They not only lost their identities but were always reminded of being outsiders. It was not easy for these children to make friends, since they lived with the constant fear that they might be discovered. The loneliness in which these children lived is therefore not surprising.

The majority of the hidden children were forced to disappear from sight. They often found refuge in convents and orphanages, or were even adopted or protected by courageous non-Jewish families. These families took great risks upon themselves in order to save one or two children. Even though some families required financial support, most of them required no payment at all (Greenfeld, 33). These children lived in a constant fear of discovery and even the youngest had to lie, from very early on. Although other children who surrounded them did not know they were Jewish, the hidden children never felt fully accepted or a part of the community. Therefore many of these children were marked for life by the loneliness which they experienced during these years. As one hidden child said years later "the worst kind of abuse a child can experience ... is neglect ... it is the closest you can come to the death of a child" (Greenfeld, 109).

Even though some of these children suffered abuse while others were well cared for, they still all together were more fortunate than those children who for months and sometimes even years had to live in basements, attics, barns, or underground passages. For these children the most important task to fulfill was to remain silent, since a cry or a laugh could have revealed their presence. Unfortunately they sometimes disobeyed these rules of survival, thereby endangering "their own lives and the lives of their families" (Greenfeld, 85). The adults were challenged to find new games in order to keep the children quiet and busy. It was difficult to explain to children that if they did not keep quiet there was "an enemy ready to punish them for crimes they never committed" (Greenfeld, 90).

Apart from all this, the children were also burdened with concerns for their families. Many children feared that while they were being securely

hidden, their families might not survive the war. Unfortunately many of the children later found this to be true, since a great number of them had lost their parents and families. Even for those children whose parents had survived, the liberation was not an easy time. After having lived years away from their families, many found it difficult to adjust again to family life. Some of them at the time of liberation could not even remember what their parents looked like, one of the saddest aspects of this successful hiding. One hidden child remembers well that "I couldn't visualize my parents anymore. I tried to picture them and I couldn't" (Greenfeld, 48).

Even though not all the stories of the hidden children are positive and fully successful, it still becomes obvious how important this project was. Though it was easier to hide a child, there were also cases of courageous and determined people who hid entire families. The best example of this is the hiding of Anne Frank's family, documented in her famous diary.

While Anne Frank's life might seem different to that of other hidden children, it is actually very similar. Even though she went into hiding with her entire family, she had the same fears of discovery as other hidden children, and she as well wished at times to "only once be able to laugh out loud ... because we had almost forgotten how to laugh" (Frank, 140). She also had to learn to comprehend that at the time, there was no bigger hate on earth than that between Germans and Jews. And while other hidden children were living for the day of liberation, there were moments in Anne's life in which she did not care anymore whether she lived or died.

Anne showed great maturity in her thoughts and in her writings. She often tried to make things better for herself and the people who surrounded her, by advising them to "think about the nice things which are still in you and around you, and be happy" (Frank, 204). This kind of advice did not always work though, and there were many moments of great desperation and anxiety in her life. It was often impossible for Anne to imagine that the world would come back to normal and that "this terrible war will be over, and we will be people again and not just Jews" (Frank, 249). Unfortunately Anne did not live to see this.

Apart from giving great insights into her thoughts, fears, and wishes, Anne Frank's diary also gives an account of her family's life in hiding. She writes about their food shortage, how they tried to stay physically fit through exercise, and how they continued on with their education. Anne is very open to talk about conflicts and confrontations they had, and her love to Peter. Like all the other children who had gone into hiding, the Frank's had lost their freedom and lived in constant fear. Less than a month before they were discovered they contemplated their own reasons for living.

Those children who went into exile with their families, seemed to have lived a far better if not at least more secure life. This can be seen very well in the books written by Judith Kerr in which she describes her own life in exile seen through the eyes of Anna. Anna belongs to a Jewish family who fairly early decides to leave Germany and move to Switzerland. Since her father can not find work there, they move to Paris and finally end up in England. As in all the cases of Jewish children, Anna and her brother Max are taught from very early on to lie. Because they are so young they do not comprehend why they have to leave Germany, and why they are not accepted by anybody there. It does not take Anna long to realize that they have not only lost their identity as Germans, but they have also lost their home, their country and everything that ever belonged to them. The only comfort she finds over and over again is in the fact that "we are still all four together" (Kerr, Warten 17). It is exactly this family bond that gives her strength and makes her carry on. Anna and Max yet also discover a great sense of loneliness when they are forbidden to play with other children in Switzerland, simply because of the fact that they are Jewish. Like Anne Frank, this Anna also wonders "what has happened to the people we left behind" (Kerr, Warten 29). It is these constant fears and worries that make these children's lives seem so similar.

Anna, Max and her parents are yet fortunate enough to live in freedom, not having to hide. Anna is aware of this privilege and therefore makes a point of living a better life than all other people, in order to prove to the world that the lies which the Nazis are telling about the Jews are simply that: lies (Kerr, Hitler 77). Her circumstances allow her to be a more positive person, and to have a positive attitude about life.

Completely opposite to Anna's life were the circumstances of those children who lived in the Warsaw ghetto and the concentration camps. It was here that even the children lost the little hope and dreams they had left, and saw no way of survival.

Even though many children died every day in the crowded streets of the

Warsaw ghetto, "there were always voices left in the darkness" (Bruckner, 13). It was in this ghetto that children had to learn to mature from one moment to the next in order to survive. To carry on living was not always easy, not only because they were alone and scared, but mostly because of the hunger they felt. Food was not easy to get, and hundreds of children died from starvation, while others even committed suicide (Bruckner, 44).

The children in the Warsaw ghetto died in other ways as well. Some perished because they were not able to run anymore, and others were taken out of the ghetto by the Nazis to go on a "joy-ride", which turned out deadly for all of them. It is sad to see that these children could build up so much hate against everything that was happening and surrounding them. As Bruckner writes in his book The Dead Angels, "we will never have peace again if the children already feel hate" (108). In this hate it can be seen that the children had lost all hope for the future. They could not imagine life without ghettos nor life after ghettos. Some of them could not even imagine heaven without ghettos, since that would mean that Jews would have to live with the Germans again. As one of the children in Bruckner's novel says, "I would rather go to hell than be with the Germans again" (47). The hate and the desperation which these thoughts portray are very strong.

As seen in the emotions of all other Jewish children, the children of the Warsaw ghetto also suffered from loneliness. Most of them where in the ghetto without their families, and therefore often had no one to turn to. "Hunger, sickness, and want were their constant companions, and death the only visitor in their homes" (Eisen, 20). Some of them tried desperately to hang on to the little life they had left to live, and they used all their energy to keep on going and make it possible for others to keep on going, too. The courage that these little children had could not be defeated. They had lived such short lives that they were not ready to give up.

As children they kept doing one thing that might seem astonishing yet comprehensible for the time: they played. The children in the Warsaw ghetto actually still had the energy left to play games. Even in these games their daily situation was reflected. They played mostly hide and seek, in which "the boys were the Germans and had to search for the girls ... who were lying quietly in their hide-outs" (Bruckner, 48). For the children from the concentration camps play was the only way of confronting the hostile environment that surrounded them, and they used play as an "enterprise of survival, a defense for sanity, and a demonstration of psychological defiance" (Eisen, 8). Their play did not only help the children, but also the other camp inmates. The adults sometimes made wooden toys for the children, thereby trying to preserve their humanity by showing compassion and solidarity for these children (Eisen, 48).

At the same time as they were playing games, the children were also very well aware of their situation. They tried hard not to stand out too much from the rest of the inmates, so that they would not be noticed. They sensed, and on occasion even knew, that they would not survive if they were noticed to be children. Therefore by the year 1943 only one Jewish child was to be found in the death camp Ausschwitz (Eisen, 16). Of all the people destined for extermination, children were less likely to survive. Generally four different groups of children who passed through the concentration camps can be distinguished: "those gassed immediately upon arrival, those murdered in their mother's womb or immediately after birth, those born ... who were left alive (a rare occurrence) and those who were tall enough to pass as adults" (Eisen, 16). The chances of a child surviving the war in a concentration camp was very small and in fact not very many did.

While all these Jewish children were trying to simply survive a terrible war, there were millions of children on the other side of the barbed wire who were trying to do the exact same thing. Even though those children were non-Jewish and therefore free, their lives were also threatened by the war. Millions of them shared a similar fate, the same hopes, fears, and dreams as the Jewish children.

Five million non-Jewish children were evacuated out of Germany's big cities and sent into hiding by the Reich. Ironically the same railroad tracks that were used to bring thousands of Jewish children to the concentration camps were now being used to get millions of children out of the Reich and into security. It did not matter if these children came from wealthy and educated, or poor and uneducated families. They were all treated equally. Even though it was a voluntary trip, most families liked the idea of having their children in a safe place, especially from 1942 on, when their only interest was simply to survive. Yet in many cases, the children did not like the idea of leaving their families, and they often had not even left the train station when "fear already started to find its place in their

hearts" (Larass, 57). This fear often only increased when they reached their destinations. Groups of them were sent with their teachers to stay in convents, boarding-schools, hotels, sometimes even castles. While some children were given into the care of host-families who truly loved them, others were sometimes physically and mentally abused. Wherever they were, they continued their schooling, with strict attention to Nazi ideals. All the children were intimidated by the adults they were with in such ways, that "none of the children dared to talk about their true feelings" (Larass, 146) in the letters they sent home.

In the same way as in the case of the Jewish children that went into hiding, the non-Jewish children also suffered extreme cases of homesickness and loneliness. They also feared for the well-being of their parents. It can be said that the bombs "did not only hit the people in the cities ... but also evoked devastation among the children" (Larass, 61). As soon as they heard about major bombing-attacks, the rumors started to spread and the children started to worry. Some of these children believe nowadays, that it was easier to deal with the death of their parents, than having to fear for their safety.

It is not surprising to find that these children also played games during their evacuation. In fact they played the exact same games as the Jewish children in the Warsaw ghetto. While the hate they expressed through these games came from the opposite point of view, it was just as strong as the hate which the Jewish children felt.

While it may seem that the non-Jewish children had a better fate than the Jewish children, this is not necessarily true. It is still not known how many non-Jewish children died at the end of the war, before ever making it home. After Germany surrendered, the Children's Evacuation Program also came to an end. The government completely forgot about the millions of children living in evacuation, and it was up to the teachers to ensure their safe return. A number of children ran away and tried to get home on foot (Larass, 166), while a large number starved before ever making it home. Some of the groups were simply abandoned by their teachers.

For those children who did make it home, the conflicts now barely started. They were faced with the fact that nothing they had been taught to believe was true anymore. For years they had learned to "hate anybody other than Germans" (Larass, 151), while now they heard for the first time in their lives about such things as concentration camps. Many of them tried to deny what had happened, and did not believe any of the stories they were told. But they eventually had to let the world created for them by the Nazis collapse over their heads, and had to realize that the Nazis had in fact "abused and raped their childlike souls" (Larass, 155, 157).

Of course not all non-Jewish children were evacuated. From those who were not, about five million joined German youth organizations such as the Hitler Youth for boys and the League of German Girls for girls. These organizations accepted children between 10 - 18 years of age. "Hitler did not want an intelligent youth, since he figured that with knowledge he would ruin them" (Wochenschau I, 206). Instead his ideal was to get a youth which, to speak with his own words, was "fast as a gray-hound dog, tough as leather, and hard as steel" (Noack, 52). These youth organizations thus influenced nearly all aspects of everyday life. Once the children joined the Hitler Youth or the League of German Girls, there was no turning back. If they refused to attend meetings or gatherings, they were arrested by the police (Wochenschau I, 218). The purpose of the Hitler Youth was to educate the boys in such a way that they would make good Germans who would defend their fatherland no matter what it took. The League of German Girls' purpose was to prepare the girls to become beautiful and fit women and mothers, who would someday have lots of little German children.

These organizations were of course not presented to the children in such terms. For the children the idea of comradeship and the feeling of belonging to a group were the most important and most convincing aspects of these organizations. It becomes obvious that many of the children were manipulated into joining, and once they saw their friends join they wanted to do the same.

Many children would later come to regret their decision to join such organizations. The cruelties which these organizations asked of their members are truly amazing. But the children did them without argument, partly because they were scared and partly because they were honestly convinced that they were doing a good deed for the Reich. They were manipulated into reporting their parents, family, and friends if their views opposed those of the Nazis. When asked why they would eagerly report their own father, one member of the Hitler Youth responded "I do not know why ...

but an order is an order" (Noack, 25).

The parents of these children were also put in a difficult situation. Many did not want their children joining such organizations, but realized that it was for the child's as well as their own safety to do so. This decision often tore entire families apart, as seen in Hans-Georg Noack's book The Webers. Here the oldest son becomes a determined Nazi, while the younger son who also joins the Hitler Youth refuses to conform to Nazi beliefs. The family soon realizes that they can not trust Karl-Heinz (their oldest son) since he has "brought ideas home with him, which seem unbelievable" (Noack, 49).

Unfortunately most of the children who joined the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls had to realize, that they had lived in a dream world full of hate. But by the time that most of them realized that "we should have never let it come this far" (Noack, 123), it was already too late.

It must be taken into account, that there were also children who tried to oppose the system while belonging to the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls. These children were very brave in "trying to avoid that foreign countries would get the impression that there were only Nazis left in Germany" (Wochenschau II, 105). They kept believing in the good of all people and hoped that through fliers, letters, and posters they could change the mind of their fellow citizens. While fighting hard to keep their freedom, these children took a big risk by saying and printing their thoughts and opinions. Most of them were eventually found, imprisoned, and even killed.

Every war, and especially the second World War confronts us with the unanswerable question about our humanity, our values, and our capacity for suffering. It has become very clear that the lives of the children who lived during this war were very similar. While they all suffered differently, they shared the same fears, hopes, and dreams, and they all kept a strong will to face the future. The children who endured the second World War should be admired for the strength they showed, never giving up completely, but always remaining with at least a glimpse of hope in their hearts for a safer and better future. Though all their individual experiences might have been slightly different from each other, they should not be ignored. As one of these children feared, "nobody will want to know about the children ... they will say that they never existed" (Bruckner, 148). It has to be made sure that this statement never comes true. Because all these children's lives were far too precious to be forgotten.

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Maria Moskvina's "My Dog Loves Jazz" and the Art of Literary Translation

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Historically translation has been used as a bridge between cultures with differing languages; a tool for better understanding. When the language is standard and simple, a linear exchange of words is sufficient. For every X in one language, there is an equal Y in another. Dog, for instance, is equal to the German *der Hund*, which is equal to the Russian *собака*. In this way, literal, or word-for-word translation reduces literature into a series of equations, with a dictionary as keeper of all solutions.

When the language of the original deviates from the norm, however, literal translation no longer is able to convey the full meaning of the text. This is the case in the translation of colloquial language, such as puns, folklore, and traditional proverbs or sayings. While literal translation of colloquialisms is able to transcribe the words, the original meaning and intent of the author is not only often misconstrued, but also completely eliminated from the new text. Lauren G. Leighton, who describes colloquial speech as "every verbal manifestation of irregular speech, including slang, argot, jargon, dialects, vulgarisms, the vernacular, and curse words," goes on to say, that "colloquial speech is a phenomenon of time, place, social class, level of education, cultural condition, and individual speech. It is the most extreme form of a language that presents the most challenge to the concept of equivalency." (Leighton:207)

While literal translation may be fine in instances of standard speech, translation of colloquial speech requires the use of literary translation. In the translation of Lewis Carroll's Alice in Wonderland, for instance, translator, Vladimir Nabokov is faced with a text which is comprised mainly of colloquial speech. In the original text, the Mouse begins to tell her "very long and sad tale," to Alice, who mistakenly hears "tail" rather than "tale." (Carroll:26) Carroll's pun relies upon two words, identical in sound, but different in meaning. Literal translation of this section into Russian, however, would fail to maintain the original humor because the Russian words *rasskaz* (tale) and *hkovst* (tail) sound nothing alike. In order to maintain the original intent of the passage, Nabokov translates the section as:

> (25R) "Мой рассказ прост, печален и длинный," со вздохом сказала Мышь, обращаясь к Ане.
>
> "Да, он несомненно, очень длинный," заметила Аня, которой послышалось не *прост* а *хвост*. "Но почему Вы его называете печальным?" [1]

Through the use of literary translation, Nabokov creates a new pun with two rhyming Russian words: *prost* (simple) and *hkovst* (tail.) While the specific details are changed, the result is a translation which is able to convey Carroll's original intent: misunderstanding between characters due to problems in language.

Much like the translation of Alice in Wonderland, the translation of a series of short children's stories, My Dog Loves Jazz by Russian author, Marina Moskvina, poses similar difficulties. The language of the original is

not only colloquial, but very often absent from even slang dictionaries. Told from the perspective of Andrew Antonov, the stories provide a window into modern day Russian society, expressing concern for the ecological and social instability, as well as a universal child's dream for a better future.

In order to maintain the cultural flavor of the text, no attempt has been made to Americanize the text in any way. Russian diminutives have been transliterated rather than translated into a more common American nickname. In cases where social or literary references seem necessary for complete understanding of the story, a note has been provided at the end of the text.

My Dog Loves Jazz [2]

For me, music is everything. But not symphonic music, not the "Peter and the Wolf" [3] kind, I don't like that kind of music. The kind of music I love is when the musician plays on a golden saxophone.

My uncle Zhenya and I went to the House of Culture. [4] He is a ear-nose-throat specialist. But for him, music is everything. When this one king of jazz came to Moscow- a black man- everyone asked him to sign their records. But my uncle didn't have a record, so he lifted up his sweater, and the king of jazz signed his autograph right on my uncle's shirt with a felt-tip pen.

And what did my uncle do at the House of Culture! He whistled, shouted, and applauded! So when the musician appeared in a straw helmet, wearing green socks, and a red shirt, uncle Zhenya said:

"Well, Andrewsha, the good times have begun!" [5]

At first I didn't understand, but when the image of the musician reflected, red and gold, on the back cover of the piano... when he started to race about the hall, blowing, blowing for all his worth into his saxophone, it suddenly became clear what my uncle meant by the "good times."

The audience worked itself into such a frenzy, that they forgot all the rules of decency. They pulled out their flutes, began to sing, jingle their keys, and stomp their feet; someone even had a giant rattle made from bag of dried peas.

The musician played as though he had gone crazy, and all I wanted to do was watch him play. This music was all about me. That is, about me and about my dog. I have a dachshund, his name is Whale. I wouldn't exchange him for anything. One time he got lost- I almost went out of my mind looking for him.

"Can you imagine?" exclaimed uncle Zhenya "He's making up this music, right now as he is playing. Everything just pops into his head. He just plays what comes to him."

It is the same with me. I like to pull out all of the stops when I have fun. It's most interesting when you play and don't know what will come next. This is how Whale and I play- I strum the guitar and sing, and he barks and howls. Without any words at all- why would Whale and I need words?

"And I had potential, but nobody developed it," said uncle Zhenya.

He stood wearing glasses, in a tie, with an attaché case.

"When I was in school," he said "I was considered a decent bugler. I could have been one of the top ten trumpeters in the Soviet Union."

"And maybe one of the top five," I said.

"And one of the top thirty in the world!"

"And maybe, one of the top twenty," I said.

"I became a simple ear-nose-throat doctor."

"Let's not talk about this," I said.

"Andrew," exclaimed uncle Zhenya "You're young! Study Jazz! I made a mess of everything, but an unusual fate awaits you. Here at the House of Culture there is a studio."

Uncle's opinion matched my own: jazz was a suitable profession. The only hitch is that I can't sing alone. I must sing with someone else. With whom, isn't important; even a fly could serenade my loneliness with its

buzzing. But what about Whale? For Whale, singing is everything. Because of this, I took him with me to the audition.

Whale ate a whole sausage from the refrigerator and strutted around in an excellent mood. How many songs raged in us, how much hope!

At the House of Culture, we met the musician from the previous night, this time without his saxophone, but carrying with him instead, a cup of water. He leaned over and patted Whale on the back, in a friendly manner. While doing this, a packet of tea with a string fell out of his pocket.

Whale really hated being petted this way, but he put up with the musician's petting. True, he destroyed the packet of tea in no time at all. As a rule, he always devours everything in his path. He didn't do it maliciously, but out of his love for life.

I asked, "Where are the jazz auditions being held?"

"The auditions are in the third room," answered the musician.

A sign hung on the door: "Director, Nina Petrovna Shnopina." I knocked on the door. There was only one other time in my life when I was so worried. This was when Whale chewed one of my galoshes to bits and swallowed it. I almost went crazy wondering if he would digest it or not.

A beautiful woman with a long nose sat near the piano and expectantly looked at Whale and me.

"I want to play jazz." I pronounced this loudly and clearly so that they wouldn't think I was wishy-washy, but Nina Petrovna pointed to a sign. It read: "Whisper, please."

But I can speak only in a loud voice. And, I like banging my spoon against my tea cup when I stir in the sugar. They want me to control myself, but I can't do this.

"No dogs allowed!" said Nina Petrovna.

"But Whale loves jazz," I said "We sing together."

"No dogs allowed!" Nina Petrovna repeated.

All the joy vanished into thin air when I closed the door right in front of Whale's nose. But the extraordinary fate, which uncle Zhenya had told me about, awaited me, so I sat on the stool and took the guitar in my hands.

I like to sing. And, I want to sing. I will, I want, I want to want. Hold on, Nina Petrovna, "speak softly, move quietly!" Now you're in for a huge shock.

Nina stood like Pushkin's stone commander [6], and even if she were to hit me, I could not begin. In order to make some noise, I made an imitation of a plate being broken, of running water, and of the crumpling of newspapers.

"Stop!" screamed Nina Petrovna. Her hands were as cold as an ice cream woman's. "In-the-field-stood-a-birch-tree..." she sang and played the piano with one hand. "Repeat after me...." [7]

"In-the-field..."

"Stop!" interrupted Nina, "You're tone deaf. You won't do for our school."

Whale almost died of happiness when he saw me.

"Well? Andrewsha? Jazz? Yes?" he asked me with his wide open eyes, all the while, banging his tail.

When I got home, I called uncle Zhenya.

"I'm tone deaf," I said. "They won't let me in."

"Tone deaf!" said uncle Zhenya scornfully. "Tone deaf- don't pay any attention to that. So what, you just can't repeat someone else's melody. You sing like NOBODY EVER sang before you, and this is a real gift. Jazz," said uncle Zhenya ecstatically, "Jazz is not music. Jazz is a condition of the soul."

"In-the-field-stood-a-birch-tree..." I started to sing after hanging up the phone. "In-the-field..."

I got a croaking sound out of my guitar, and Whale howled. To this background, I added the ticking of a clock, the call of a male-hunchback whale, the cries of sea gulls. Whale added his whistle of a locomotive and his honk of a steamship. He really knew how to cheer me up. And I remembered,

how terrible the frost was when Whale and I first became friends at the Bird Market...

"In-the-field..." I sang.

From our molehill of joy we made such a mountain, that grandma came rushing out of the kitchen.

"Quiet!" grandma screamed. "Nitwits!"

But the song just took off and we couldn't help but sing it.

.....Uncle Zhenya was working on a patient, when suddenly he heard jazz.

"They're broadcasting jazz!" he shouted "Nurse! Quick, turn the radio . up a bit!"

"But we don't have a radio!" answered the nurse.

.....yesterday's musician was brewing a cup of tea, when suddenly a reckless thought came to him: to play "more passionately" a solo on the saxophone like the whistle of a locomotive, or better yet, of a steamship.

.....and in New Orleans, the king of jazz- a blackman- completely unexpectedly, sang in a horse voice to himself:

"In-the-field-stood-a-birch-tree! In the field stood a curly-headed tree..."

And suddenly all of New Orleans boldly broke into song:

"Lu-lee, lu-lee, it stood! Lu-lee, lu-lee it stands!"

NOTES

1. "My story is simple, sad , and long," said the Mouse with a sigh, speaking to Ania. "Yes, it is undoubtedly very long," noticed Alice, who had mistakenly heard*tail* instead of*simple*.
2. This is an unpublished translation.
3. Musical children's story written by Russian composer, Serge Prokofiev (1891-1953).
4. House of Culture or is used much like a concert hall or music conservatory in the Former Soviet Union.
5. "Andrewsha" is a diminutive of "Andrew." Like the use of nicknames in the United States, the use of diminutives is very common in Russian. While many diminutive forms are the sign of affection, some forms convey negative feelings.
6. . Reference to the stone commander in Pushkin's play, "The Stone Guest."
7. "In the Field Stood a Birch Tree" is a popular Russian folk song.

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Public vs. Private: The Success of Dolley Payne Madison and Sarah Childress Polk

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Dolley Payne Madison and Sarah Childress Polk were distinctive First Ladies in that each was expected to define her actions within the private sphere expected of all women of the time period, while being thrust into the public realm by virtue of being the President's wife. I explored how these women executed their positions as First Lady in light of the apparently conflicting roles. Evidence was drawn from magazines and newspapers of their time periods as well as private letters and memoirs to determine how successful each was at representing her husband and acting as the Nation's Hostess. I found that as an exceptionally skillful hostess, Dolley Madison was the perfect lobbyist for her husband and his politics; as his personal secretary, Sarah Polk was her husband's political advisor and supporter. I concluded that these women acted in the public sphere, a normally unacceptable position for women at the time yet received no public criticism for overstepping the traditional boundaries.

INTRODUCTION

Hillary Rodham Clinton, First Lady of the United States, is a powerful political figure in Washington. When her husband made health care reform the cornerstone of his presidency, he appointed her to head the administration's health care reform task force. She has her own office located in the West Wing of the White House, her own media spokesperson and policy aides, and she is helping her husband create his "middle class bill of rights." She has also been a controversial political figure. Her appointment and subsequent actions on the health care task force caused a steady rumble of criticism mixed with praise for her work on those issues. She has also been criticized for her involvement in "Whitewater." As a lawyer, she represented and defended Madison Bank, in which the Clintons had an indirect interest, before state banking regulators appointed by her husband when he was Governor of Arkansas. Although no wrong doing has yet been found, she has been criticized for that and deemed a liability to her husband's administration. Further, when health care reform failed, she was blamed, not only for the failure to pass health care reform, but also for the Republican victories in last November's elections.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's image, personality, and intelligence have come under attack by the popular media. During the 1992 presidential campaign, the Clintons' political advisors created the "Manhattan Project" to reshape Bill Clinton's presidency, in part by making his wife appear more traditionally feminine ("First Lady"). She was perceived by the media as "untraditional" and "unfeminine," and her ability to be a mother and wife were questioned. At a health care rally in Seattle, protesters carried banners that read "Heil Hillary" and chanted "Stop the Bitch" (Walker). The mother of the Speaker of the House went so far as to whisper to Connie Chung that her son thought the First Lady was a "bitch." ("First Lady"). When the press discovered that she had invested $1,000 in cattle futures more than ten years ago, which gave her a return of $100,000, her fiscal abilities and her ethics were called into question. She was described as being "sharp--perhaps too sharp" with her investments (Walker).

Because of her actions and the consequent criticisms of those actions, Rodham Clinton appears to be a unique First Lady. However, it is a mistake to believe that she is the first president's wife to show political intelligence, muscle, and controversy. The role of President's Wife has never been clearly defined, leaving most Presidents' wives to act on previous precedent, the current social climate, and personal passion. In my research, I set out to see how two other First Ladies managed their role, and what, if any, criticism resulted from their actions, in light of the constricted notion of the True Woman ideal that defined women as pure, pious, domestic and submissive (Welter, 1966). I chose to look at Dolley Payne Madison, who acted as the nation's hostess for sixteen years (1801-1816) first as Thomas Jefferson's hostess and then as First Lady. I also chose to look at Sarah Childress Polk, who

was First Lady (1845-1849) at the start of the early woman's rights movement. In my research, looking through biographies, letters, and memoirs, I found that each woman had political intelligence and muscle and generated controversy, but each in her own way. I found that as an exceptionally skillful hostess, Madison's wife was the perfect lobbyist for her husband and his politics; as his personal secretary, Polk's wife was her husband's political advisor and supporter. I also found that although each woman acted with political savvy, neither was criticized publicly for those actions.

DOLLEY PAYNE MADISON

Dolley Payne Madison was a highly social woman. She spent much of her time acting as hostess, and she set that tradition for all First Ladies to follow. She hosted parties open to the general public, dinners for diplomats and cabinet members, and threw her Wednesday night "dove parties" for the wives of other political leaders and foreign diplomats. According to historian Betty Boyd Caroli, Madison's wife used her time under Jefferson to guarantee "a central role for whoever served as the president's hostess and to develop her own formidable reputation for adroitly mixing politics and parties" (12). She was always aware of the current political climate. Her ability to entertain and socialize with others proved invaluable to her husband's presidency. During her social gatherings she would talk politics with political leaders and their wives, getting a sense of the mood of the Congress and of the citizenry. James Blaine, who later ran for the presidency, credited her with Madison's re-election. Blaine wrote that she was able to bring those who were unsupportive around to Madison's side because of her ability to cater to all of the Legislators without playing favorites (Caroli 15).

Dolley Payne Madison also made efforts to rally support for her husband's policies. For example, during President Madison's terms, he was faced with the daunting problem of how to handle the prospect of war with the British, in light of the constant Congressional opposition to such a war. At one point, Federalist Congress members refused to dine with the president. Realizing their importance for her husband, who was too sick to resolve the conflict, Madison's wife took it upon herself to invite only the Republican members to an exclusive dinner with the president. That alarmed the Federalists and brought them back to Madison's table. Dolley wrote to her sister Anna on March 27, 1812:

> The Federalists, as I told you, were all affronted with Madison,--refused to dine with him, or even come to the house. But they have changed. Last night and the night before, our rooms were crowded with Republicans, and such rallying of our party has alarmed them into a return. They came in a large body last night also, and are continuing calling .... The old and the young turned out together (Cutts 77).

Rallying the support of the members of her husband's political party was clearly the act of a clever politician. Madison's wife was not merely the nation's hostess; she was acting as a political leader.

Madison's wife was criticized for her behavior as First Lady; however, the criticism was minimal and is found only in personal diaries and letters. She was criticized by Elijah Mills, a senator from Massachusetts, for allowing people of all classes to attend her parties. He wrote that bringing together "all classes of people .... from the Minister from Russia to under clerks of the post office and the printer of the paper--greasy boots and silk stockings .... giving the impression of 'highlife below the stairs'" (Caroli 16). She was also criticized for her ability to interact socially with her husband's political allies as well as his political foes. Frances Few wrote that she "tries to be all things to all men" (Caroli 14).

In the newspapers and magazines of her day it is interesting to note that Dolley Payne Madison was never mentioned until her death. She was the first President's wife to attend her husband's inauguration, yet no newspaper that covered the event mentioned her presence. A biographical sketch in Niles Weekly Register of President Madison failed to mention his family or his wife. The National Intelligencer, one newspaper which mentioned nothing of Madison's wife at her husband's inauguration, printed a moving tribute to her at her death. It described her as having "goodness of heart combined with piety" and said that

> wherever she appeared, every one became conscious of the presence of the spirit of benignity and gentleness, united to all the attributes of feminine loveliness.... it would not be easy to speak in terms of exaggeration of the virtues and winning manners of this eminent Lady.

She is described only as a private figure and a symbol of all the good qualities associated with the True Womanhood Ideal.

It would be five presidential terms later when the White House would be occupied by another politically active First Lady.

SARAH CHILDRESS POLK

Sarah Childress Polk loved politics. She took great pleasure in conversing in "the society of gentlemen" on all matters political, and believed in participating equally in her husband's political career (Sellers 1: 459). She had a desk outside her husband's office and

acted as her husband's chief political advisor and confidant. President Polk even gave her the task of keeping him current on all relevant public sentiment by having her read all of the daily newspapers and mark the important stories for him to read (Nelson 94). She supported and advised him on his course of action concerning the annexation of Texas. She also was a strong supporter of a national banking system. Although they disagreed on this issue, President Polk trusted his wife's political judgment and continually sought her opinions and advice (Sellers 1: 473).

Sarah Childress Polk never had any intention of being a traditional White House hostess, and she was not. During the presidential campaign she explained, "If I should be so fortunate as to reach the White House, I expect to live on twenty-five thousand dollars a year, and I will neither keep house nor make butter" (Nelson 80). She banned all dancing from the White House, and the Polks consumed no alcohol while they lived there. As a strict Presbyterian, she thought dancing and drinking to be disrespectful and undignified in a place where there were discussions with "dignitaries of the republic or ministers of the gospel" (Nelson 92-3).

Sarah Polks were criticized privately for her behavior as First Lady. Vice-president George Dallas wrote to his wife that he found her dress too "showy for my taste," and that he suspected President Polk was under his wife's thumb: "She is certainly mistress to herself and I suspect of somebody else also" (Caroli 63). Senator Woodbury also gossiped that there was only one other member of Congress who was as "henpecked" as President Polk (Sellers 1: 211). Sarah was also described as "a little too formal and cold" (Sellers 2: 308).

Publicly, Polk's wife was praised for her ban on dancing in the White House by the Nashville Union. The Union commended her "salutary influence" on the administration of the Presidential mansion and condemned those who "professing godliness, nevertheless dishonor its profession by their eager participation in the follies and amusements of the world" (Nelson 92-3). Polk's wife also had the unusual honor of having two poems written about her. The first was written by Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story upon James Polk's departure from Congress. The second poem was written and published by Ann S. Stephens editor of the popular Ladies' National Magazine. Stephens described her as "lovely, meek and good." Justice Story's poem focused on her intelligence:

> For I have listened to thy voice,
> And watched thy playful mind,
> Truth in the noblest sense thy choice,
> Yet gentle, graceful, kind (Sellers 1: 340).

Both depict her as noble, intelligent, gentle and kind. However, her political activities are ignored and her character traits as a True Woman are praised.

CONCLUSIONS

Each of these women faced criticism for her actions as First Lady; however, none of that criticism was public, although both women acted in ways that transgressed the rigid social roles for women of that time. All negative comments concerning each woman's actions and personality were made in diaries, personal letters, or memoirs. I found the lack of negative public criticism curious given that each of their husbands was the target of considerable public criticism for his actions. One clue explaining the lack of public criticism came in an article published in Port Folio in 1810, in which the author repeated a phrase reflecting Pericles' funural oration and the popular views of that time: "Nothing [is] so honourable [*sic*] to a woman as not to be spoken of at all." Honorable women such as First Ladies were not discussed publicly, even if some of their behavior was controversial. Each woman lived at a time when women were expected to remain within the private, domestic sphere. Although these women crossed that boundary, they received no public criticism, which was consistent with their status as models of U.S. Womanhood.

Furthermore, the character of Dolley Payne Madison's politicking was that of White House hostess and wife of the president. She was successful at balancing her public social role as hostess with her efforts at lobbying. Her political actions were performed within traditional roles. Thus, it is fairly easy to explain how she was able to escape public criticism. It is more difficult to understand why Sarah Childress Polk was not criticized for her obvious political activities. By acting as her husband's personal secretary and political confidant at a time when woman's roles were greatly constricted, she clearly was violating societal norms. Although her status as an "honorable woman" may, in part, have shielded her from public criticism, other factors must also have worked to her advantage. One factor may have been her husband's poor health. She was constantly writing to him to mind his health during his presidential campaign. She used his health as a reason explaining why she had to work so closely with him during his presidency. Charles Sellers, a leading historian of the Polk administration, writes: "As well as she learned to manage her husband in other respects, Sarah knew better than to oppose this absorbing political passion. Instead she wisely tried to share his political interests, seeking only to guard his health against the constant danger of

overexertion and to provide him with occasional diversions. Indeed Sarah herself was not immune to the allurements of political life" (459-60). In other words, although she was trying to protect his health, she also loved politics, and she may have used his health as an excuse for her political activity. Thus, those who might have criticized their close political partnership were silenced by her presentation of her work as dutiful caretaking of her ailing husband.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, on the other hand, has not escaped public criticism. One explanation is that unlike the wives of Madison and Polk, Clinton's wife lives in an age of information. Under nearly perpetual television scrutiny the leaders of the nation and their families inspire less awe and have less influence and credibility today than they once did (Gumpert, Cathcart, 1985; Meyrowitz, 1989). Further, the president's wife has significant political power by virtue of her marital relationship. Her influence is subtle and ambiguous. That kind of power makes people uncomfortable because the president's wife is not an elected or appointed member of the administration, and she has power and control exercised behind the scenes and away from public scrutiny (Janeway, 1971). The Clintons brought Hillary's power out from behind bedroom doors and opened it to public scrutiny by setting up an office in the West Wing and by officially appointing her to the health care reform task force. However, instead of easing the public scrutiny, these actions created greater negative criticism. Thus, even though women such as Hillary Rodham Clinton have broken the traditional barriers restricting women to the domestic sphere, they are still faced with an enduring attitude that women ought to live up to the "True Womanhood Ideal." Until this attitude is replaced with more egalitarian notions, the role of First Lady will remain daunting and complex.

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THE RECONCILIATION OF BIPOLARITIES OR CONFLICTS IN HERMANN HESSE'S *GLASS BEAD GAME*: THE *I CHING*'S IDEA OF HARMONIOUS UNITY

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HESSE'S *GLASS BEAD GAME* AND THE ANCIENT CHINESE BOOK *I CHING*

Many of Hermann Hesse's readers, even most of his best critics, have failed to appreciate how much Hesse was influenced by Chinese philosophical thought. But a few truly understand the profound influence of Chinese thought in his works, especially in his last novel *The Glass Bead Game* (*Das Glasperlenspiel*). This novel, for which Hesse won the Nobel Prize, deals with contradictions of life from the first page to the last. At the end of the novel, according to the prevalent view, Hesse reconciles the contradictions. The purpose of this paper, however, is to show that Hesse's *Glass Bead Game* reflects instead the Chinese concept of harmonious unity which results from the balance and the interaction between the conflicts or bipolarities in life. Bipolarities in this context reflect the Chinese conceptions *yin* and *yang*, in which there is interpenetration, interdependency and transformation into one another. (The more commonly used term dualism suggests that opposites are irreconcilable and hence does not fit Hesse's novel.)

Hesse himself denied the existence of opposites as he wrote:

> For me,...all these dualisms of the world and people in pairs of opposites are not present....[T]he first doctrine is the unity behind and above the opposites....[O]nly he, who possesses both opposite elements within himself, is really alive and, in a favorable case, exemplary. (Hesse, *Briefe*, 433)

In *The Glass Bead Game* Hesse presents an exemplary hero, Joseph Knecht, who seeks to reconcile the bipolarities (the two opposites) in life, such as *Geist* (mind/spirit) and Triebe (basic drives), the East and the West, and law and freedom. The novel itself (first published in 1943 in Switzerland) is divided into two parts. The first part is Knecht's biography, putatively written around 2400 A.D. by an anonymous historian of Castalia. The Castalian Order is a human institution "devoted wholly and exclusively to affairs of the mind and imagination" (Ziolkowski xiii). The biography traces Knecht's development from a student in Castalia to the position of Magister Ludi (the Glass Bead Game master), and his departure from the magistracy and ultimate death. The second part of the novel contains Knecht's several poems and fictional Lives (autobiographies), in which he projects himself into different historical periods. The Lives depict Knecht in the roles of a Neolithic rainmaker serving a matriarchal community, an early medieval Christian hermit, and a young Indian nobleman who learns from a yogi that the world is illusory.

Everything in the novel works towards the *I Ching*'s idea of balance between two opposites, between the two worlds, between Castalia and the outside world, the *vita contemplativa* and the *vita activa*. The *I Ching* (written around 1100 B.C.), which is known as an oracle book and a book of wisdom, is based on a simple principle that the universe exists because of a tension between two opposites: *yin* and *yang*, male and female, day and night, being and non being. Everything is

subject to an endless cycle of internal and external change between *yin* and *yang*. The idea behind the *I Ching* is to bring the *yin* and *yang*, seemingly incompatible, into a harmonious unity. Despite appearances, they are interconnected. One should go with the flow of nature that alternates and changes between *yin* and *yang*, and be at home in both. In addition, when *yin* and *yang* are in balance, the state of harmony, of *Taiji* ☯, exists. The *Taiji* symbol represents the unity of polarities. The unity contains the two poles *yin* and *yang*, and within *yin* there is *yang*, and vice versa. It is this unity that Hesse believed in and achieved in his last novel.

RECONCILIATION OF THE BIPOLARITIES IN THE NOVEL

This *yin* and *yang* concept can be seen throughout the novel from the conflict between the "father world" represented by the Castalian order and the "mother world" represented by the "real" world. Castalia and the outside world are the two main poles in the novel. The characters in the novel can be grouped according to these two poles. Knecht and Fritz Tegularius, who is Knecht's best friend in Castalia (and who resembles Friedrich Nietzsche) belong to Castalia. As players of the Glass Bead Game, they live in the world of conscious mind and intellectual powers, the *vita contemplativa* (contemplative life). On the other hand, there are characters who represent the *vita activa*, the outside world, the world of subconscious mind, of basic drives, of emotions, of chaos. We have Plinio Designori as Knecht's opponent, and Father Jacobus (whose ideas reflect those of the historian Jakob Burckhardt, Nietzsche's antagonist) as Tegularius' spiritual opponent in the novel. What the whole novel shows is the evolving process of reconciliation between the two worlds, the two opposite elements, into a balanced, harmonious unity.

The first stage toward the reconciliation came at the end of Knecht's novitiate year. Knecht had to defend Castalia against the guest student Plinio Designori, who represented the outside world. However, from their debates both of them influenced each other so much that they underwent considerable change and development in terms of how they looked at the opposite world. Each of them was attracted by the opposite world. Designori confessed to Knecht that he would try to be a mediator between the outside world and Castalia. His confession reflects the attempt to reconcile the bipolarities.

The second stage of reconciliation came during Knecht's intensive study of the *I Ching*. As part of his self-development, Knecht began to see the relationship between the world and Castalia. He came closer and closer to understanding the inter-relatedness between Castalia and the outside world. He saw "more and more clearly that the yin and yang of his life—the *vita contemplativa* in Castalia and the *vita activa* outside it—were opposite poles of a unity" (Wood 105). He realized that one was not complete without the other.

In addition, the realization that Knecht came to at one of his meditations also shows his deeper understanding of the *I Ching*. He realized that the game of life in general was "divided into old and young, day and night, *yang* and *yin*, and pouring on without end" (Hesse 221). This insight of *yin* and *yang* pouring on without end echoes the actual description in the *I Ching* of an endless cycle of changes between *yin* and *yang*.

Later after Knecht had reached the peak of the *vita contemplativa*, the Game master position, he then, naturally, moved on to the *vita activa*. Knecht's going into the "real" world, the *vita activa*, caps the evolution of his career. His departure from the Order is in keeping with the *I Ching*'s idea of balance between *yin* and *yang*, between the two worlds. He understood that the Glass Bead Game operated with mere abstractions, but realized that "not everyone can spend his entire life breathing, eating, and drinking nothing but abstractions" (Hesse 279). Knecht argued, "Abstractions are fine, but I think people also have to breathe air and eat bread" (Hesse 279). Breathing air and eating bread are metaphors for the activities of the "real" world. This is why Knecht decided to leave Castalia and enter the "mother world." By going into the "real world," Knecht completed a *yin*-

yang cycle of his life. Thus, through Knecht's life, Hesse is showing us a development that is in harmony with the law of nature. And by doing so, Hesse, the student of the *I Ching* resolved the bipolar conflicts in the novel. This is one way to look at the reconciliation of the bipolarity.

Nowhere in the novel does Hesse so seek to bring opposites together so much as at the end of the novel, when Knecht dies. Everything in Knecht's death scene works towards reconciliation. For example, the description of the scenery can be translated into the eight trigrams of *I Ching*. The eight trigrams are the combinations of the *yin* and *yang* aspects of the Absolute according to their characteristics and their place within different categories (Tan 47). They are conceived as images of all that happens in heaven and on earth...that are constantly undergoing change. They represent certain processes in nature corresponding with their inherent character. The basic classification of the eight symbols is as follows:

	Name	Image	Attribute	Compass Direction
☰ Qian	the Creative	heaven, sky	strong, creative	Northwest
☷ Kun	the Receptive	earth	devoted, yielding	Southwest
☳ Zhen	the Arousing	thunder	initiative, movement	East
☵ Kan	the Abysmal	water	dangerous	North
☶ Gen	Keeping Still	mountain	resting, stillness	Northeast
☴ Xun	the Gentle	wind/wood	penetrating, following	Southeast
☲ Li	the Clinging	fire/sun	light giving	South
☱ Dui	the Joyous	lake	joyful	West

▭ indicates the matching description in the novel

Some descriptions in the death scene are more obvious than others in terms of their correspondence to the trigrams. In the novel there were "sky," "earth," "lake," "water," "mountain," and "sun." They correspond directly to six of the images of the trigrams. A few of Hesse's critics, including Ursula Chi and Adrian Hsia, experts of the Chinese influence on Hesse, have demonstrated that these six trigrams out of the eight *I Ching* trigrams are represented in the death scene. Having the six trigrams is significant, but in order for it to be complete, to have a meaning, all eight of them have to be represented. And knowing Hesse's thoroughness, I thought it likely that indeed all eight are represented and was determined to find the other two trigrams. The seventh trigram matches the direction Knecht and Tito were facing: East. The only trigram left is trigram *Xun*, whose attribute(s) is (are) following or/and penetration. This trigram is represented by Knecht's act of following Tito and penetrating into the icy lake water. Since the eight trigrams represent all things in nature, the presence of all eight of them reflects the image of a unity of everything in nature, of the polarities.

There are other *I Ching* references to the achievement of the unity. As Ursula Chi has correctly demonstrated, the depiction of Knecht's drowning contains hidden reference to the polar opposites of Chinese wisdom, which is rooted in the *I Ching*. Knecht died at sunrise, at the moment when the sun divided the surface of the lake into areas of shadow and light, into the symbol of *Taiji* ☯, the oneness of *yin* and *yang*. The *Taiji* (the Absolute) means that the opposite poles are no longer differentiated, thus are reconciled. This image, therefore, also represents Knecht's bridging (reconciliation) of the two worlds, of his *yin* and *yang*.

Throughout the novel we see the development of the process of bringing the two principles, the two worlds, together, moving closer and closer toward the idea of unity and balance represented by the *I Ching*. The motif of balancing the polarities by antithetical movement can also be seen from the overall structure of the novel, including the fictional Lives which Knecht wrote and which are projections of his own.

There are three ways to look at the unity of balanced antitheses. First of all, if we see matters from the standpoint of the overall structure of the novel, Joseph Knecht's life at the extreme point of the *vita contemplativa* balances the rainmaker's sacrifice at the furthest point of the *vita activa* pole. Second, Knecht's sacrificial death, his ultimate commitment to the *vita activa*, is balanced by Dasa's total withdrawal into a yogi existence, into the *vita contemplativa*. Third, the final commitment to action, the going into the *vita activa*, by the protagonist in both Knecht's life and in "Der Regenmacher" balances the final commitment to the *vita contemplativa*, to the Spirit (Mind), in "Der Beichtvater" and "Indischer Lebenslauf."

This intricate, balanced structure of the novel reminds us of Knecht's advice to the Glass Bead Game teachers: "We do not intend to flee from the vita activa to the vita contemplativa, nor vice versa, but to keep moving forward while alternating between the two, being at home in both, partaking of both" (Hesse 237). This quote reflects Hesse's attempt to develop and blend the themes of the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*. According to Carl Wood, whose interpretation of the novel's unity is discussed in the *Far-Western Forum*, Hesse seemed to have structured his last novel in such a way as to create something similar to the Glass Bead Game. Hesse himself seemed to suggest as much in the novel when he wrote about one of the Glass Bead Game techniques:

> stating side by side, developing in counterpoint, and finally harmoniously combining two hostile themes or ideas, such as law and freedom, individual and community. In such a Game the goal was to develop both themes or theses with complete equality and impartiality, to evolve out of thesis and antithesis the purest possible synthesis. (Hesse 40)

However, this was not, as Hesse makes clear, the end of the matter. The Glass Bead Game itself failed to accomplish the ideal that Knecht held up to the teachers of the Game players. Knecht recognized the Game's defect, that it represented only the cosmos of the mind (the spiritual cosmos). This is why he left Castalia. Therefore, the Game does not represent a unity in the *I Ching* sense, which is implied in Knecht's quote above. The Game, unlike the system of the *I Ching*, does not include the whole cosmos with all living things, nor all the opposites. Adrian Hsia's argument will make this clear:

> The unity sought after in the Glass Bead Game is actually only a thesis that has to give rise to its antithesis, namely the "world," as the opposite to pure Mind. Instead of harmony and unity we have hostility. (Hsia 282)

In brief, then *Das Glasperlenspiel* has evolved to become something finer than the "purest possible synthesis" that the Glass Bead Game could create. The final product of the novel, the end of it, reflects a unity which results from the balance and the interaction between the Chinese conceptions *yin* and *yang*. It represents the reconciliation between the two opposites, the recognition that the opposites are part of a whole, that one is not complete without the other. The novel is complete and represents a unity because it contains both *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa*. It also reflects the interconnectedness between the two lives, between *Natur* and *Geist*, death and birth, master and pupil, the East and the West, *yin* and *yang*.

As we have seen, Knecht's development reflects the process of reconciliation of the bipolar conflicts between Castalia and the outside world (the real world), between the "father world" and "the mother world," between the *yin* and *yang*. In addition, the structure of the novel also represents a unity or a balance between the two opposite elements. This reconciliation of bipolarities reflects the influence of the Chinese idea of harmonious unity to be found in the *I Ching*, which Hesse had intensively studied for more than eight years before he started writing the novel.

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Violence in Voltaire's Candide

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Despite Voltaire's pacifistic views, his work Candide depicts a multitude of violent and brutal events in order to demonstrate his opposition to violence as a form of conflict resolution. This violence that can be physical as well as moral, is described satirically by Voltaire in a manner that can be derisive or indignant, and develops on several different levels: natural, religious, political, sexual, and social. After studying these various forms of violence it seems useful to examine the style that Voltaire implements, as well as his intentions. His primary intention is to contradict the optimistic theories of the philosopher Leibniz, and his followers.

"Notre siecle n'est pas seulement fou, il est horrible," proclaimed Voltaire.[1] (Our century is not only mad, it is horrible). In protest to the violent realities of the world, Voltaire creates the innocent character Candide, as a witness to, as well as a victim of, the omnipresent violence that plagues humanity.

Let us review first the different levels of violence in Candide. Nature's violence is prevalent throughout the adventures of Candide. One natural catastrophe, a tremendous earthquake, chooses Lisbon as its victim. It's first victim is Jacques, Candide's and Pangloss's benevolent benefactor, who is drowned by the storm that precedes the Lisbon earthquake which claims three-fourths of the city's population.

As if nature's cruel violence was not sufficient, Voltaire adds the violence of religious zealots. The clerical leaders of Lisbon exemplify quite clearly the brutality that results from their fanaticism when they determine that the natural violence of the earthquake must be counteracted. The zealous Inquisitors of Lisbon resolve to enact an autodafe, or an act of faith performed by presumed heretics (most are burned at the stake). Condemned by the Inquisition, Candide and Pangloss are held captive for eight days, and are then prepared for their punishment, which is interrupted by another earthquake. Throughout the story the clergy is charged with many of the sins of the world, but what is expressed by Voltaire most fervently is the material advantages that the clergy draws from their spiritual duties. The violence of ecclesiastical hypocrisy is most clearly displayed through the observation of the Jesuits and their lifestyle in Paraguay (ch. 14). Cacambo, a valet, informs Candide that he will be welcomed by the Jesuits due to his knowledge of Prussian military exercises. Already it is clear that the supposed men of God support war. For a seemingly religious society, it conducts itself in a very militaristic manner. The Jesuits do not hesitate to resort to violence to convert the natives to Christianity. The Jesuits, who in Europe confess the Spanish king, kill his subjects in Paraguay.

Political violence in the form of warfare and the abuse of power is infinite from Europe, to Africa, to South America... The society of the Jesuits tragically abuse the power that they hold in Paraguay. "Los Padres y ont tout, et les peuples rien."[2] (The Jesuits possess everything and the people nothing). They are regarded contemptuously by the Oreillons, the indigenous peoples of the country. The land of the Jesuits is not a utopia at all, as thought of by many, but instead an oppressed republic

of subservient people led by self-indulgent hypocrites. The religion of the Jesuits is nothing but a means of acquiring political power, which they attain successfully through abusive and violent resources. Upon his exit from his sheltered world of the castle in Westphalia, Candide is immediately confronted with the cruel realities of war (ch. 3). The adventures of each of the characters involve war at one juncture or another. Abuses of power are seen clearly in Buenos Aires. The governor of Buenos Aires is obviously disliked by his people, and he uses his political power to keep Cunegonde, Candide's love interest, with him (ch. 13).

One of many reoccurring faces of violence in Candide is that of sexual violence. When Pangloss and Candide are reunited for the first time, Pangloss has lost an eye as well as an ear due to an affliction with syphilis (p. 36). Pangloss directly relates political violence with sexual violence. He realizes that the disease with which he has been afflicted has not yet been presented to all nations, but he insists that sooner or later it will infect all men due to war. Accounts of sexual violence are also recounted in the stories of the two principal female characters, Cunegonde and the old woman. Both women, are victims of rape and sexual abuse. Ironically these crimes are committed by soldiers and military and political leaders. In Lisbon, it is the Grand Inquisitor, a religious leader, that victimizes Cunegonde.

Several poignant accounts of social violence are expressed within the text, including social prejudice and the institution of slavery. The examples of social prejudice can be observed from the very first chapter as Candide is literally kicked out of the castle in Westphalia. Cunegonde's brother, the baron, repeatedly treats Candide in an unjustly discriminatory manner due to their differences in social rank. To the very end the baron sternly refuses to allow the marriage of Candide and Cunegonde to take place. He insists that she marry a baron from the Empire. The importance of social status is also explained to Candide in Paris. Candide learns that at their death, actresses are placed in abominable cemeteries with beggars and other outcasts of society due to their social status (p. 121). The social violence presented through the institution of slavery is constantly present in Candide's adventures. The old woman and her mother are slaves in Morocco, Cunegonde becomes the slave of a Hungarian prince, and Cacambo becomes the slave of a dethroned ruler, to name a few.

Voltaire utilizes a variety of satirical devices in order to convey his ideologies in reference to the natural, religious, political, sexual, and social violence in his work. The vehicles through which he expresses himself include repetition, contrast, and irony. Voltaire uses repetition to remind the reader of key ideas that have been suggested and that can easily be forgotten amidst Candide's chaotic world. The philosophy to which Pangloss subscribes states that this is "le meilleur des mondes possibles." (The best of possible worlds). This philosophy is refuted on almost every page. The reader is constantly reminded that the catastrophes and atrocities that occur to the characters are not isolated incidents, on the contrary, they occur daily throughout the world. Another reoccurrence is the doubt of Candide. At times he has faith in Pangloss's optimism, yet after each catastrophe he begins to question it.

The effectiveness of Voltaire's repetition of Pangloss's optimistic outlook on life is augmented when implemented in combination with contrasting it with reality. As soon as disaster strikes, optimism is presented as an incentive to the characters. The contrast of the optimistic philosophy with the wars, abuses, rapes, etc. results in making the panglossian optimism looking thoroughly absurd. The utopia of Eldorado is also contrasted with the real world. It is obvious to Candide that Eldorado is far better than the other places in which they have traveled. In Eldorado the whole society lives in harmony and strives to preserve its happiness and innocence. Throughout his stay, Candide compares the utopia to the harsh realities

of the outside world. He expresses his skepticism when he compares Eldorado with Westphalia and despite what he has been taught, he states, "Je me suis souvent apercu que tout allait mal en Westphalie" (p. 96). (I often realized that everything was going poorly in Westphalia).

The device of irony is ingeniously implemented by Voltaire. Irony is employed in the account of the execution that Candide witnesses in England of a British admiral. The admiral was executed because "il n'a pas fait tuer assez de monde" (p. 131). (He didn't have enough people killed). The purpose of the execution was to "encourager les autres" (p. 132). (encourage the others). The reader would expect that a person would be punished to discourage others, rather than to encourage them to kill. The wars and battles in Candide are also described ironically. While witnessing a bloody battle between the Bulgarians and the Abarians, Candide comments that "Les canons renverserent d'abord a peu pres six mille hommes de chaque cote; ensuite la mousqueterie ota du meilleur des mondes environ neuf a dix mille coquins qui en infectaient la surface" (p. 31). (First the cannons knocked down around 6 000 men on each side; then the musketry took away from the best of all worlds some 9 000 to 10 000 scoundrels who were infecting its surface).

The irony in Candide is often described by Voltaire in an indignant or a derisive manner, depending upon his intent. For instance, often Voltaire prefers to use a ridiculing style to produce the desired effect upon the reader. One such example is the semi-cannibalism resorted to in Russia, where the old woman is forced to sacrifice, along with many other women, one of her buttocks to feed the starving soldiers (p. 69). Upon the first reading, the reader is obliged to laugh, but soon realizes the horror of the situation. In contrast, the style by which Voltaire recounts Candide's encounter with a slave in Surinam is adamantly indignant. When asked about his condition the slave treats the matter as if there was nothing unnatural about it. This attitude displayed by the slave horrifies, yet at the same time attracts the reader. The slave states very plainly that "C'est a ce prix que vous mangez du sucre en Europe" (p. 106). (It is at this price that you eat sugar in Europe). Here indignation replaces irony. The bitter sarcasm of the slave clearly portrays Voltaire's abhorrence of the institution of slavery.

In writing Candide Voltaire's primary intention is to emphasize the absurdity of optimism by contrasting it to the reality of the human condition. Candide is a "chaos d'idees claires," (chaos of clear ideas), writes Emile Faguet.[3] Voltaire's well-defined arguments against the disillusionment of metaphysical optimism express his opposition to two of the greatest evils, fanaticism and intolerance.

The superstitious beliefs of fanaticism and intolerance are attacked in Voltaire's "Poeme sur le desastre de Lisbonne," (Poem on the Lisbon disaster), and later, in Candide. In his preface to "Poeme sur le desastre de Lisbonne" Voltaire asserts that the axiom "tout est bien," supported by Leibniz, "n'est qu'une insulte aux douleurs de notre vie."[4] (is but an insult to the sorrows of our life). The poem conveys Voltaire's violent reaction to the earthquake as well as his violent reaction to the response of many of his contemporaries. Voltaire insists that the occurrence of the earthquake alone is enough to destroy the popular doctrine of Providence. The idea put forth in Leibniz's Theodicy is that evil often renders good.[5] This notion appears ludicrous to Voltaire. Voltaire cannot fathom how someone could think that the killing of innocent thousands would be counterbalanced by good somewhere in the world.

Voltaire's attack on Providence culminates in Candide where as Charles Rihs states, he "rejette toute explication transcendentale, tout providentialisme, toute harmonie preetablie, tout finalisme."[6] (rejects all transcendental explanation, all providentialism, all pre-established harmony, all finalism). The description of the Inquisition and the performance of the autodafes makes the optimistic belief in a benevolent God ridiculous. Voltaire's affirmation of divine

indifference is stated through the Turkish dervish who uses a clear analogy to define his opinion. The dervish rhetorically asks Candide and Pangloss if they believe that the Sultan truly cares if the mice are comfortable on the ships he sends to Egypt (p. 167). He is proclaiming here, that God created the world, and now distances Himself from it. Throughout Candide Voltaire uses violence as supplementary proof of the absurdity of the expression of religious intolerance and fanaticism which is contrasted to God's self-isolation from humanity and from the problems it creates. Describing "le meilleur des mondes" as a world full of violence is one way for Voltaire to express his growing pessimism and at the same time, to ridicule what he considers the naive and incurable optimism of philosophers such as Leibniz.

Notes

[1]Pol Gaillard, Candide Voltaire (Paris: Hatier, 1972), p. 7.

[2]Voltaire, Candide (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1988), p. 78.

[3]R. Naves, Voltaire Connaissance des Lettres (Paris: Hatier, 1966), p. 141.

[4]Voltaire, "Poeme sur le desastre de Lisbonne" in Voltaire Melanges, Jacques van den Heuval ed. (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1961), p. 302.

[5]Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Theodicy (Ontario: JM Dent & Sons, 1966), p. 36.

[6]Charles Rihs, "Histoire et Philosophie" in Voltaire et la Critique, Jean Sareil ed. (NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 68.

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Beyond the Pre-Raphaelites and Tractarians: Christina Rossetti's Own Voice

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Critics divide Christina Rossetti's poetry into the devotional and the secular. The two categories Rossetti's poetry comprises parallel the two movements that influenced her writing the most: the Tractarians and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Despite the strength of these influences, Rossetti did allow her own voice to emerge. In the poems "Winter: My Secret" and "No, Thank You, John," Rossetti adopts a lighter, more playful tone than appears anywhere else within Goblin Market and Other Poems. Antony Harrison believes that "the traditional image of Rossetti as a repressed and unfulfilled, patient Victorian woman who turned from despair of human love to the devout, chaste, and chastening love of Christ" (245) needs to be revised. I would like to suggest that "Winter: My Secret" and "No, Thank You, John" represent the playful, teasing element of her style that often seems suppressed by the two movements. The poems offer the possibility of revision for which Harrison has called. However, the extent to which Rossetti's biography can be used to interpret these two poems remains uncertain. Many critics believe that Rossetti's work resists any easy biographical equations with her life (for example, Whitla 85), but others argue that a reading without considering Rossetti's life is incomplete.

The history of the Pre-Raphaelites, as well as Christina Rossetti's association with them, begins in 1848 with Rossetti's brother Dante Gabriel. He assembled a group of young men who were as disturbed by the Royal Academy's hold over England's art world and the stagnation of artistic development as he. The original group of James Collinson, William Holman Hunt, John Everett Millias, Fredrick George Stephens, Thomas Woolner, and Rossetti's other brother, William Michael, as well as the later members, approached writing in the same way they did art. Jerome Bump explains the four tenets of the Brotherhood's artistic credo as "a love of nature for its own sake, . . . revolt against simplistic dualisms, . . . deliberate medievalism, and a preference for subjects that . . . 'have an innate poignancy or morbidity'" (324). Pre-Raphaelite poetry was highly descriptive and sensuous, and displayed a fondness for obscure symbolism and medieval settings; many of these elements can be seen in Christina Rossetti's poetry. Dorothy Mermin discusses how the sensuousness in Pre-Raphaelite art is reflected in "Goblin Market" (67).

As a devout Anglican, Christina Rossetti became involved with the Tractarian Movement, an effort by the High churchmen to defend the spiritual prerogatives of the church, mainly through tracts. John Keble, John Newman, and E. B. Pusey were prominent members of the movement, which was concerned with the doctrine of the church and the necessity of sanctification. The Tractarian revival was also accompanied by a lack of interest in intellectual matters and most everything that was not purely religious (Bowen 143). Many English churchgoers feared that the movement was tending towards Rome; and in part this fear was realized when Newman and other Anglican clergy converted to the Catholic Church.

From childhood on, Rossetti was influenced in some way

by the two different groups. She began her association with the Tractarians at an early age; in 1843, Rossetti and her mother began attending a church associated with the movement. At the same time, Rossetti was affected by her brother, Dante Gabriel, and his artistic brotherhood, the Pre-Raphaelites. In Bump's opinion , Rossetti "was the artistic equal of most, if not all, the members of the Brotherhood" (322) and "her poetry was as characteristic of their art as any poet's could be" (324). However, she refused to join as an honorary member because doing so might be seen as a "display" (Battiscombe 45). Religion retained its influence throughout her life and work, as Dolores Rosenblum notes "In a sense, of course, all of Rossetti's poetry is deeply religious, concerned always with the relation of this world to the next" (33). Mermin, however, believes that "Rossetti stopped trying to rebel: in her devotional writings she finds an appropriate place for a conventional Victorian woman's voice" (80). Despite efforts to categorize her poetry, Rossetti's verse shows the constant effects of both groups. In Goblin Market and Other Poems, the devotional verses make up only a third of the total poems, but many of her secular poems also contain strong biblical imagery. However, the two poems "Winter: My Secret" and "No, Thank You, John" seem to have escaped the strong hold that the Pre-Raphaelites and the Tractarians held over her writing.

The most important element of "Winter: My Secret" is found within the title: the idea of a secret. Rossetti explores this theme throughout the poem, drawing in seasonal imagery to distract the reader from her "secret." This technique calls to mind a child playing or even more likely, a person flirting. Both tones seem out of character for the somber, devout Rossetti as depicted by her critics or her biographer, Georgina Battiscombe.

The first stanza of the poem presents the cat-and-mouse game the speaker plays with the reader throughout the rest of the poem. The bait of the poem is the speaker's secret, which she hesitatingly offers to disclose, someday. In the third line, the distraction begins. The speaker uses the miserable weather of the day as a reason not to tell the secret: "it froze, and blows, and snows" (1.3). The next excuse the speaker gives is that the reader is too curious to hear the secret. Then, when the speaker appears to be giving in, she abruptly decides that because the secret is hers, she will not share it. The secret becomes a matter of possession; it is a part of the speaker that she does not want the world to know. This idea is easily applied to Rossetti herself. Perhaps the part of herself she does not wish to share is this playful, flirtatious side represented in the poem. Or even more likely, Rossetti does not want to share the true inspiration for her poetry.

The second stanza, the longest in the poem, introduces even more fully the speaker's efforts to occupy the reader's mind with something other than her secret. The flippancy of her tone is extended when she proposes that there really isn't a secret--that she devised it just to toy with the reader. Then the speaker digresses by describing the weather: "a nipping day, a biting day; / In which one wants a shawl" (10-11). The speaker's explanation of the weather further mocks the reader and others like the reader who insist on prying into the speaker's secrets. The speaker declares that she cannot "ope to every one who taps / . . . Come bounding and surrounding me / . . . To be pecked at by every wind that blows" (13-20). In line 21, the speaker assumes that the reader promises not to peck, but the speaker is not interested in taking chances and begs to "leave that truth untested still" (23). A final provoking line in the second stanza, "I wear my mask for warmth" (18), suggests Rossetti's own awareness that she has hidden her true self from the world. Rosenblum also finds that

Rossetti has a preoccupation with being looked at (Inward Pose 83) and that "her mask . . . was an effective strategy for encapsulating the strong self that speaks out urgently through the poems" (Inward Pose 85). This possibility is in keeping with the proposition that Rossetti is not interested in displaying her true feelings in every word of her poetry.

The third stanza focuses entirely on seasonal and weather imagery. The speaker runs through the months of spring, citing what each brings while saying that she does not trust them. The beauty that the speaker recounts is all brief and elusive: rainbows and flowers. She illustrates their fragility by saying "One frost may wither thro' the sunless hours" (27). This passage appears to stray from the speaker's original light-hearted tone. The reader would think that in keeping with the speaker's earlier playfulness the speaker would be fond of spring. Although the speaker's tone may be teasing, it is not frivolous. The reasoning behind the third stanza becomes even clearer when the stanza is considered in light of the fourth.

In the concluding fourth stanza, the speaker resumes the tone established at the beginning of the poem. The speaker sets the stage by describing a summer scene. Here there is no evasiveness like that in the section on spring. The speaker is a safe distance from the harshness of winter, and the days have settled into a pattern of heat and sun. Under these directions, the speaker once again toys with the reader. In the final two lines, she offers the possibility of telling the secret to the speaker or of letting the reader guess it. Nowhere in the poem does the speaker allow herself to be coerced into a disclosure of her secret. Nor does she ever offer the definitive possibility of revealing her secret. The speaker continues teasing until the end. It is interesting that Rossetti's sporadic good health is analogous to this game, as is her unwillingness to marry. She would tentatively embrace good health and happiness only to fall prey later to the ravages of an ongoing, and for a long time, unknown illness. This poem reflects the possibility that Rossetti was aware of the unreliability of her health and her own hesitation about relationships. The poem also presents the likelihood that regardless of her ill health and bad luck with relationships, Rossetti wished to maintain her own identity separate from her writing.

The other poem from Goblin Market that shows a distinctly different voice is "No, Thank You, John." Here the speaker tries to turn down an insistent suitor. Apparently, the speaker has tried to dissuade her suitor in the past, and he has been oblivious to her efforts. In terms of form, the poem adheres to a basic, almost rigid outline: eight stanzas of four lines each with an abab rhyme scheme. The subject, however, is anything but rigid. Rossetti's speaker is willfully, and sometimes flippantly, unremorseful in her dismissal of her suitor. Not only does such behavior seem out of character for Rossetti, it is not in keeping with the image of Victorian women. Rossetti herself, like many other women, believed that a woman was secondary or subordinate to a man. If a woman is inferior, then why does the speaker in "No, Thank You, John" take such license with her refusal? Once again, Rossetti appears to be allowing a fraction of her real identity, apart from that revealed in her Pre-Raphaelite and Tractarian works, to show through.

A closer look at the poem proves even more revealing. In the first stanza, the speaker accuses John of teasing her. Rossetti now is offering a response to the teasing tone of the speaker in "Winter: My Secret." The speaker tells John that she never said she loved him and then reiterates this in the second stanza by saying "You know I never loved you, John" (5). The speaker's response to John's teasing and insistence becomes condescending when she suggests in the third stanza that "Meg or Moll would take / Pity upon you" (9). The use of the word pity in line ten

and the reference in line twelve to marriage as a task suggest that the speaker has a somewhat negative outlook on matrimony. This attitude seems in keeping with Rossetti's own stance on marriage. Stanza four employs a twist of John's own rationale in which the speaker tries again to convince John of her lack of interest in him. Here, the speaker not only displays the depth of her own intelligence and logic but makes it clear that she is capable of mentally outmaneuvering a man.

The speaker changes her tactic slightly in stanza five when she requests that John "Let bygones be bygones" (18) and then follows this with the statement that "I'd rather answer 'No' to fifty Johns / Than answer 'Yes' to you" (19-20). In effect, the speaker is trying to depersonalize her refusal by saying that she is not interested in any man. In the next stanza, the speaker almost entirely ignores the subject of John's proposal until the last line. During the first three lines, she focuses on the passing days of their youth and thus implies that they have better things to do than discuss marriage. During the final line, the speaker recalls the situation at hand and proposes that they remember it fondly and with humor. The final two stanzas of the poem conclude with nothing more than a renewed offering of friendship. The speaker entreats John to rise above "ulterior ends" (27) and "Quibbles and shuffling off and on" (30) to accept her offer of friendship "but love-- / No, thank you, John" (31-32).

In "No, Thank You, John," Rossetti uses the same idea and style of playfulness that she did in "Winter: My Secret." However, in the later poem she has the speaker responding to the maddening efforts of a tease rather than vice versa, as in "Winter: My Secret." The poem departs from the general strain of melancholy and rejection felt in her other poems, such as this image from "Mirage," when the speaker begins by saying "The hope I dreamed of was a dream" (55) or this one from "An End": "Love strong as Death, is dead" (38). Except for "Winter: My Secret" and "No, Thank You, John," Rossetti offers no other verse in the Goblin Market volume that suggests the same lightness or playfulness of tone that these poems do.

Many critical studies of Rossetti cite the near obsession with reading her poetry as "veiled autobiography" (Whitla 84). In reading "Winter: My Secret" and "No, Thank You, John," the reader should not concentrate solely on the biographical elements that may or may not exist; however, a reading which ignores Rossetti's life would be just as false or misleading. The two poems show an aspect of Rossetti's style, tone, and perhaps outlook that others do not, and they therefore reveal a third side of Rossetti, one that does not seem to have been directly influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites or the Tractarians. Betty S. Flowers maintains that if Rossetti's religious poetry is ignored, then she is interpreted as much more of a Pre-Raphaelite (160). She also states that without her religious beliefs, Rossetti would not have written at all (165). These are valid arguments, but they do not provide the most unbiased view. Rossetti must be viewed through the influence that the Brotherhood and the Church placed on her as well as the identity she maintained for herself. G. B. Tennyson says:

> But the time has come to exorcise the demon of false autobiography in the study of Rossetti . . . This is not to say that biography can never again rear its head in the study of Christina Rossetti. It is not even to say that all previous work based on biographical aspects is invalid or that Rossetti was never sad, or yearning, or disappointed. For the intricate connections between a writer's experience and work are always worth investigation. . . . It is to say, however, that connections between biography and work are indeed intricate rather than transparent and

that great tact and subtlety are required in threading the biographical labyrinth. (348)

Tennyson's statement could not be more true. While Rossetti's poetry and her life often closely paralleled ideas and themes promoted by the Pre-Raphaelites and the Tractarians, she was not entirely consumed by them just as her poetry was not entirely consumed with her autobiography. She was a woman who hid behind many masks and knew it. She possessed not only the creativity to accomplish her concealment, but the power as well.

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Disintegration and Unity in Faraway, So Close!

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Faraway, So Close! is a sequel to Wim Wenders' 1987 film Wings of Desire. The two movies feel different somehow, if only because Faraway was filmed after the Berlin Wall was torn down. This literal breakdown of the Wall and subsequent "unity" of Germany provides a way of reading the film; Faraway problematizes and opens genre distinctions self-consciously while it explores the opening of borders in post-Wall Berlin. It questions film's traditional conformity to a uniform, consistent, singular genre and even goes further to self-reflexively interrogate the notions of uniformity, consistency, and singularity. The film shifts sporadically among different "classifications" to announce its own resistance to grounding; it breaks down the fragile and flexible walls separating "different" genres, which subsequently contaminates the tradition of genre orientation and distinction. This breakdown is uncomfortably disruptive; the people and characteristics of East Berlin have merged with those of West Berlin, and vice versa, thereby problematizing the "differences" between the formerly East and West (even the labels "East" and "West"). This loss of opposition brings a loss of identity, and the film's genre play becomes a reading of this uncomfortable disruption of difference. Traditionally, critics use genre theory to show how genre differences provide a unifying coherence to groups of films. What happens when such differences are unified via disintegration? In other words, Faraway thwarts any separation between genre borders.

In the following reading of Faraway, I am concerned with two perspectives on genre. William C. Siska, Wade Jennings, and John Raeburn provide practical definitions of different genres in the Handbook of American Film Genres, while Peter Brunette and David Wills are more suspicious of neat genre categorization in Screen/Play: Derrida and Film Theory. I will use these texts to show how Faraway's self-reflexive play questions the stability of genre definitions. Faraway embodies the Handbook's definitions yet twists them self-reflexively, and this distortion in turn interrogates the definitions. My use of Screen/Play's Derridean film theory to read Faraway enters the picture at this point of interrogation and offers another way to read genre.

Faraway focuses on an angel, Cassiel, who falls to Earth in order to catch a young girl, Raissa, who has accidentally fallen off her apartment balcony. Cassiel sees his new human genre, so to speak, as an opportunity to finally do something productive for humanity. For here, as in Wings of Desire, angels can only be detached watchers. Faraway's plot thickens when a shady figure named Emit Flesti introduces Cassiel to alcohol. Drinking combined with naivete and a lack of financial prospects begin the former angel's downward spiral. Meanwhile, a German-American businessman named Tony Baker has hired a private detective, Phillip Winter (a character in other Wenders films), presumably to trace the whereabouts of his long-lost family. This family turns out to be Raissa, her mother Hannah, and their elderly friend Konrad. We learn that Baker and his sister Hannah had been separated after World War II; numerous flashbacks refer to Nazism. Later, Baker hires Cassiel to be his personal assistant. Cassiel is horrified when he learns that Baker's "business" is trading ammunition for pornography. Cassiel decides to sabotage the corrupt

practice and enlists the help of his friends, particularly Damiel, Marion, and Peter Falk from Wings of Desire. They succeed in destroying the pornography and transporting the guns on a barge, but then another group of gangsters hijacks the barge and its passengers, including Damiel, Marion, Baker, Hannah, and Raissa. It is now up to Cassiel to save the day again. Reminiscent of his first falling-rescue scene, he bungee jumps to grab Raissa out of harm's way, but is fatally shot in the process. Amidst all this craziness, angels introject musings about alienation and our world, Mikhail Gorbachev comes to Berlin to give a speech, and musician Lou Reed performs.

Needless to say, the plot of this film is unconventional. The narrative wanders seemingly aimlessly and employs explicit genre characterizations to an ironic and interrogative end. But does this make the film a failure, as many critics claim? In their discussion of Francois Truffaut's film The Bride Wore Black, Peter Brunette and David Wills critique American critics' traditional reliance on genre study as a way to "understand" movies. They write that critics feel an "obvious discomfort" when

> faced with texts that foreground a certain duality or undecidability and that refuse to submit to an easy either/or placement. A kind of will to categorization reigns here, for to establish genres is always to essentialize, to repress signifiers that do not fit, in order to "understand" and thus master the text. (142)

Indeed, critics seemed uncomfortable with Faraway's problematizing of genre. Lance Goldenberg of Creative Loafing called the film "pretentious and rambling" with "needless convolutions of plot" (27). Philip Kemp of Sight and Sound writes:

> The sequel abandons any pretence at narrative coherence, let alone structure. . . . After Cassiel opts for full-colour humanity, we are pitchforked into a garbled pastiche of a gangster thriller, tricked out with occasional dollops of Nazi war guilt; its bland disregard for motivation suggests that Wenders made the whole thing up as he went along. (46, 47)

In general, critics saw Faraway's lack of a grounded, motivated structure as a problem. I suggest that we find another way of reading film that does not rely on genre consistency.

The critics that contributed to the anthology Handbook of American Film Genres might say that Wenders' films usually "fit" most obviously into the "art film" genre, if only because his films are "foreign" and not part of mainstream Hollywood. William C. Siska cites the following characteristics of the "art film": frank treatment of sexuality; "stylistic innovations borrowed from modern painting, drama, and literature"; development of ideas rather than entertainment value; resistant to closure; less emphasis on action than visual symbols; episodic structure rather than plot-driven; exploration of metaphysical, complex, unsolvable problems (354-55). Faraway plays with the description of a stylized and idea-oriented film. It shifts between black/white and color; large feathered wings flap occasionally--almost like dividers between episodes; slow motion is a device; and music--both rock and contemporary classical--punctuates most scenes. Most of the angels' discussions and thoughts play like philosophical musings; they ponder the problem of spiritual starvation in our world, without coming to any concrete solutions. But, as I will show, the narrative shifts to what looks like a detective or gangster film, among other genres. In order to "classify" Faraway as an art film, I would have to "repress signifiers that do not fit," such as the presence of private detectives, shady business deals, and slapstick comedy. The presence of these signifiers blurs the definitions of all the represented genres, because their meanings are altered in this new, "impure" context.

Because angels play the central roles in the film, Faraway might most explicitly be classified as a "fantasy" film from the "handbook school." Wade Jennings writes that the only common definer of the fantasy genre is "a central situation that defies rational or even pseudo-scientific explanation" (249).

Obviously, angels in Berlin (and the fact that Cassiel can become human) defy rational explanation. Jennings goes on to say that "Often the inexplicable world is contrasted to a conventional 'reality' from which the characters have come and to which they may return" (249). Hence the irony of Faraway: the film allows us to see the world through angel eyes, so the human world becomes defamiliarized while the angelic world becomes almost naturalized. Cassiel comes from the reality of the angelic realm to the confusing world of humanity. Normality becomes other-worldly because Cassiel and his female angel friend Raphaela fantasize about fixing the human world. In the end, it is implied that Cassiel returns to his angelic stature via death--the normal world to which our hero returns. In Faraway's context of genre play, we can read these angel/human, fantasy/reality blurrings as genre shifts. In other words, Cassiel upsets the distinction between the genres of angel/human, just as the film problematizes the genre-distinctions of fantasy/art film.

Indeed, the film asks, "What is 'normality'?" Brunette and Wills point out that categorization introduces the problem of limits and generalizations. They remind us that "no one has even begun to approach a true empirical study of the whole body of films..." (40). It seems that genre-critics want to mask the fragility of genre-classification. Brunette and Wills use Derrida to exploit this instability of genre-definitions. Faraway is concerned with the same interrogation; the film's conspicuous absence of conventional motivation frustrates viewer expectations. Faraway dares us to give ourselves up to a chaotic movie-watching experience. In this context, motivation and even the "fantasy" label become impossible and irrelevant.

Faraway also plays with references to the gangster film. When Cassiel begins to work for Mr. Baker, he is the servant in the clubhouse--bringing drinks and counting poker money. The characters are bound in explicit performance of the gangster genre. The men who take Cassiel's friends hostage use cliche language such as, "I have a score to settle," and "I'll blow this whole tub sky-high." In Faraway's collage-context of fantasy, art film, thriller, etc., these cliches become ridiculous. Even Cassiel wants an illegal passport-maker to call him "the man with the cut flowers." The gangster moments expose the gritty underbelly of Berlin; many of these scenes were shot at night, out on the streets. Teenagers hide a gun at an underground station and a drunk and homeless Cassiel begs for money. Handbook critic John Raeburn writes, "Implicit in the classic gangster films was an indictment of American culture for providing no more appropriate arena than crime in which the gangster hero could work his indomitable will, but it was a recessive theme in those movies, which instead emphasized the...loneliness of their heroes" (53). As an angel, Cassiel was upset by the evils he saw in our world. When he enters the dark abyss of mortality, he loses hope for awhile and becomes incredibly lonely.

But these traditionally low-brow gangster moments are interspersed with high art, and this blending changes the "meaning" of both gangster and art genres. In one scene, Cassiel goes to a museum, where businessman Baker and detective Winter have met to discuss the search for Baker's family. The scene looks like the typical detective film; even the music sounds appropriately suspenseful and sinister. But in the usual Faraway fashion, the scene quickly shifts to an artsy black and white flashback with a long tracking shot. The thriller music turns into jarring, nonreferential sounds. Art literally punctures the scene when Cassiel is hypnotized by a painting and apparently remembers a time when Nazi officials attended a party at the same gallery. Nazism conjures notions of purity; the film contaminates the detective and art film even while it plays with the purity that the Nazi genre demanded.

Because Faraway intersperses its gangster moments with other genres, it does not look like the typical gangster film. But what is typical? If genres are, in fact, pure and whole, then they should logically be identically repeatable. The Handbook sets up a mimetic relationship between genre descriptions and film's fulfillment of these descriptions, but when will a film ever explicitly conform to a particular genre without any contamination? Brunette and Wills

call this a problem of repetition, which is not to say that films are genre-less. Derrida says that all texts participate in one or many genres, but that such participation does not equal belonging, since the marks that signify genre "refer to a system of difference outside any given genre" (qtd. in Brunette and Wills 48). In addition, genre divisions can never be kept pure, since there is always some overlap; Brunette and Wills point out that "silent film was [in the U.S.] always accompanied by music and in Japan had live commentators, and was thus never silent" (49).

Not only does Faraway itself shift among genres, but so do its characters. In one sense, Faraway is about Cassiel's difficulty in shifting genres compared to Damiel. In Wings, Damiel's shift into the human realm is incredibly smooth and even rewarded with instantaneous love. Cassiel, on the other hand, cannot handle his newfound responsibilities (whereas we never thought about responsibility or "harsh reality" in Wings). Cassiel shifts between the two genres of angel and human. Emit Flesti and Peter Falk, however, shift among multiple and more ambiguous genres. Flesti resists grounding in any genre, particularly good/evil, since we are never sure of his intentions. Many critics notice that "Emit Flesti" is "time itself" spelled backwards. What is time? If Flesti is personified in a man's body, where do we place him/it? Throughout most of the film, he/it appears to be evil, though we are not sure why. Raphaela pleads with him/it to "leave Cassiel alone." Cassiel talks about how the speed of the human world exhausts a former angel. Is this how "time" battles Cassiel? But at the end of the film, Flesti is the one who appeals to Cassiel to save his kidnapped friends. He/it constructs the rescue mission. Has Flesti shifted between the genres of good and evil, or has he avoided such references altogether?

Another prominent (genre) player in the film is Peter Falk. Faraway plays with our association of Falk with the detective genre. Here, again, the film performs yet another genre: Handbook critic Wes D. Gehring writes that "parody" films often cast "cameo appearances by performers strongly associated with the type of film under attack" (151). In Faraway, Wenders (as screenwriter) plays on the audience's and even the characters' recognition of "Columbo" as a "real person." But "real person" turns into a genre when associated with "TV personality." In the thick of the attack on the shady business, Damiel and Falk comically distract two security guards while the "gang" invades the operation. The bumbling guards see Falk and Damiel on one of the monitors as they attempt to gain access to the building. One of the guards says, "Hey, isn't that Columbo?" But they see his image as the TV show rather than the real person. When the guards ask if Damiel and Columbo received permission to enter, Damiel flashes letterhead stationery that says, "Road Movies," which is Wenders' production company.

Once inside the control room, the two pretend that they are filming an episode of "Columbo." They explain to the guards that the scene calls for them to look for a contact on the floor. This scene presents a crossing among genres of "real life," TV, and film; Falk is playing many layers--himself, an artist, an actor, a detective, a fallen angel, and the director of a "Columbo" episode--all for the context/genre of a film.

Faraway's use of varying genre shows that genre definitions draw limits that can easily be contaminated by a twist of perspective. Most movies would fit many of the Handbook's labels simultaneously. Where does "belonging" start and "dabbling" end? Contamination between genres will always be inevitable because the act of "marking off" and "defining" splices genres from the outset. Because we have to artificially and arbitrarily say, "This makes up this genre," that sets up the possibility for "genre leakage" since there is nothing that inherently makes genres pure. Faraway self-consciously intensifies the question of belonging via references to many different genres, including art film, fantasy, and gangster. By the end of the film, traditionally separate genres have intersected to dilute the power of separation and warn us about the danger of categorization and notions of purity. The film's explicit references to

certain genres exaggerate the fact that genre overlap is always impending; Faraway exploits the disintegrative aspect of genre through contamination. The blurring of genre boundaries in turn problematizes the definitions of genre; traditional elements of genre are altered in this "impure" context. The borders have come down, and all the excitement about recognizable difference has subsided. As one man says in Faraway, "East Berlin looks just like West Berlin. What's all the fuss?" From the standpoint of a traditional reading, the film is a "garbled pastiche" of inconsistent genres. But alternative readings accept and even celebrate this "questioning of uniformity," which incorporates the unification and contamination that accompany historical change. Similarly, Faraway presents various ways to read post-Wall Berlin: as a garbled pastiche of alienation and corruption, a scene of contamination-exploration, and a city of many newly-blurred genres. I see Faraway as an optimistic exercise in interrogation, between disorder and harmony, disillusion and clarity.

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The Double Edged Blade of Adolescence in McCullers' The Member of the Wedding

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Carson McCullers paints a bleak picture of adolescence for a young girl struggling with gender prescriptions of the South in her book The Member of the Wedding. Frankie Addams desperately tries to find her identity within her family, among her friends, as well as in the philosophical scheme of her existence. However, what Frankie most wants is to be a "member" of something. She is very unhappy because she feels excluded as a result of her premature growth and stereotypically masculine demeanor. When she cannot find the membership she seeks in her social setting, she begins to create an imaginary membership that includes her in her brother's upcoming wedding. As Frankie identifies herself with this very adult-like event, she prematurely assumes other grown-up endeavors. When the wedding and her brother do not rescue Frankie from the trials and tribulations of the adolescent girl, she sinks to a deeper state of depression and even to a state of self-hate. Although there is no great resolution to Frankie's unrest, she seems to undergo a figurative hardening to her afflictions which proves to mold Frankie's behavior, making her more stereotypically feminine, thus, more acceptable in her society. Throughout the process of Frankie's struggles we see that there is no resolving factor as McCuller's implies that while Frankie indulges in masculine endeavors she will be excluded from her society. However, when she conforms to those norms she looses a sense of herself. Thus we witness the double edge blade that adolescent girls face in Southern society. At the conclusion of the book we might believe that Frankie has experienced a change which allows her to better relate to her environment, however, McCullers does not depict this as a positive movement as we see the negative events that Frankie soon encounters. With the violent death of Frankie's cousin John Henry, the imprisonment of her friend Honey and the abrupt cessation of her creative spirit, the reader is left with a feeling as somber as the description of the dark and wintery day on which the book concludes.

In the opening description of Frankie, McCullers captures her state of mind in the first stage of her movement through adolescence. Frankie is twelve years old and it is the summertime. Our initial image of Frankie is that of isolation and unrest. McCullers writes, "This was the summer when for a long time she had not been a member. She belonged to no club and was a member of nothing in the world. Frankie had become an unjoined person who hung around in doorways, and she was afraid"(3). Three main ideas are expressed in this introduction that seem to resurface throughout the book. The quote initiates the reader into the constant state of mind that Frankie endures. She feels alone, distant and isolated from others, "unjoined." We also see the image of her hanging around in "doorways" which signifies her movement from childhood to womanhood. Further, and most perhaps most prevalent throughout the book is Frankie's fear. This fear seems to be the motivating factor behind all that Frankie does.

As she grows into her adolescence, Frankie defies the expectations of appearance that is prescribed to adolescent girls of the South. McCullers writes that this summer Frankie had grown so big that she was "almost a big freak" (4). Frankie had calculated that if she continued to grow at this rate, that by the time she was eighteen years old, she would be nine feet tall. (20) Because Frankie is so tall, she is forced to give up pastimes that she and other kids her age enjoyed. McCullers Writes,

> Frankie was too tall this summer to walk beneath the arbor as she had always done before. Other twelve-year-old people could still walk around inside, give shows and have a good time...And already Frankie was too big; this year she had to hang around and pick from the edges like the grown people. (9)

Frankie endures many instances in which she is excluded from activities because she is different from other twelve-year-olds. Her appearance as well as her demeanor often cause her peers to consider her unusual from others. McCullers describes her with masculine traits and this seems to effect the way that she is perceived. She is described, "She wore a pair of blue track shorts, a B.V.D. undervest, and she was barefooted. Her hair had been cut like a boy's, but it had not been cut for a long time and was not even parted" (5). Other girls her age excluded her from their groups as a result her boyish behavior. McCullers describes,

> There was in the neighborhood a clubhouse, and Frankie was not a member... Frankie knew all of the members, and until this summer she had been like a younger member of their crowd, but now they had this club and she was not a member. They had said she was too young and mean.(14)

And even worse than not including Frankie in their group, they spread rumors that Frankie "smells bad" (14). Frankie does anything she can to be accepted by her peers as she exaggerates her actions to counter their opinions. Frankie says, "I bet I use more perfume than anybody in this town." In this reaction we see Frankie's attempts to become more feminine as a result of the social pressures of her peers. But these actions only seem to work against her true nature as her aspirations revolve around male occupations. McCullers states, "She wanted to be a boy and go to the war as a Marine. She thought about flying aeroplanes and winning gold medals for bravery" (27).

While Frankie struggles with the conflicts involved in the gender prescriptions of her age and sex, she develops a great sense of self-hate. McCullers describes, "She hated herself, and had become a loafer and a big no-good who hung around the summer kitchen: dirty and greedy and mean and sad" (26). Clearly the feelings of those around her begin to change the way that Frankie views herself.

Frankie does not seem to find any place where she is accepted and feels comfortable. She is even forced to give up the comforts of her father's affection. When she was younger she slept in her father's bed at night but finally he puts a stop to this as he says, "Who is this great big long-legged twelve-year-old bluderpuss who still wants to sleep with her old papa?" (29) And so, instead of sleeping at nights, Frankie wanders the streets feeling distant and excluded from everything. She sees the soldiers who traveled through the town going around in "glad, loud gangs together, or walked the sidewalks with grown girls." Frankie can only watch with a "jealous heart" and "from a distance by herself" (68). This feeling of isolation that extends from family to passing strangers sends Frankie searching for alternatives to her present life.

When the news of Frankie's brother's wedding comes, Frankie finds new hope. She imagines her participation in the wedding a momentous occasion that will finally give her a feeling of membership. She sees her membership in the wedding a signifier of a greater inclusion. Where she had previously characterized herself as "an I person who had to walk around and do things by herself," she now finds a "we" that she may be included in. She says about her brother and his bride, "They are we of me." And finally her fears subside and she is connected with the world. McCullers describes Frankie's idea, "The three of them would go into the world and they would always be together. And finally, after the scared spring and the crazy summer, she was no more afraid" (55). The problems that seemed to haunt Frankie fall to the wayside as she has visions of togetherness with her brother and his bride.

Where we saw Frankie sad and distant before this revelation, we now see her amiable and excited. She tells everyone of her plans to move away from her home town and to travel the world. During her escapades around town on the day before her departure for the wedding, Frankie meets a soldier in the "Blue Moon," a hotel that she considered off limits before her membership of the wedding. Although he is much older than her, he asks her to meet him later that evening.

Frankie goes home and contemplates the offer and the prospects of her new future. While Frankie is with her cousin John Henry and her nanny, Bernice, we see her try to make sense of her life as she knows it. Her true curious and creative nature is exposed here as she feels the security of her future plans. Frankie addresses Bernice, "Doesn't it strike you as strange that I am I, and you are you? ...And we can look at each other, and touch each other, and stay together year in and year out in the same room. Yet always I am I and you are you?" (138). Later she asks, "...how do we know that what you see as black is the same color as I see as black?" (139). These questions seem to reveal the creative philosophical nature that Frankie desires to acknowledge. Bernice, however, seems to put an end to this contemplation as she adds her somewhat hardened opinion to the conversation. She says, "We all of us somehow caught. We born this way or that way and we don't know why. But we caught anyhow. I born Bernice. You born Frankie. John Henry born John Henry. And maybe we wants to widen and bust free. But no matter what we do we still caught... all by ourself" (144). On this somber note, each of the characters begin to cry, each for their own reasons. In the midst of Frankie's great plans we see the foreshadowing of the feeling of ultimate isolation that she will soon encounter.

Nevertheless, Frankie continues to imagine herself free of the tethers of her former condition and seeks adventure in her last day before the wedding. When she meets the soldier that night, she notices that her image of him, and all the strangers she used to see, had changed. McCullers describes, "...she was seeing him altogether as a single person, not as a member of the loud free gangs who for a season roamed the streets of town and then went out into the world together." As Frankie keeps in mind the comfort that she feels over the upcoming wedding, the romantic view she projected on the world around her is no longer necessary. The soldier she meets appears to be more like her, individual, alone, real.

As the night progresses, the soldier gets aggressive with Frankie and she feels threatened. She finally "brains" him over the head with a pitcher and runs out of the hotel and back home as fast as she can. Her new sense of adventure leads her into a very adult situation that she can not handle in her stage of adolescence. . She does not feel as though she can play with the younger kids like she used to, but she is also not ready for such grown-up activity. Here again we see an example of Frankie trying to conduct herself as a woman who is accepted in her social circle, yet Frankie does not feel comfortable with the consequences of the behavior

and abandons the act.

Frankie tells no one of the experience and prepares for the upcoming journey to the wedding. From the beginning of the trip things do not seem to be the way that Frankie imagined they would be. She notices that although they are supposed to be traveling north, it seems to her that "the bus was traveling south instead" and each town seems smaller than the one before (171). The feelings of uneasiness increase as Frankie never gets a chance to tell her brother or future sister-in-law about her great ideas to travel and live with them. While at the wedding, she notices that everyone talks to her in the tone, "grown people use when speaking to a child" (174). But perhaps the most devastating part of the wedding is when the bride and groom begin to drive away from the wedding and Frankie can only yell, "Take me! Take me!" (176) Needless to say, Frankie is not invited to leave with the newlyweds and her hopes are crushed.

In reaction to this, Frankie goes into a condition much worse than she was in before she knew about the wedding. On the ride home McCullers writes , "She was against every single person, even strangers in the crowded bus... she wished the bus would fall in a river or run into a train" (172). The negative emotions that Frankie felt before the ordeal have only become intensified as McCullers notes, "Herself she hated worst of all, she wanted the whole world to die.....The world was too far away, and there was no way anymore that she could be included. She was back to the fear of the summertime, the old feelings that the world was separate from herself-- and the failed wedding had quickened the fear to terror" (188).

As Frankie moves away from this event, the feelings of rejection subside. She finds a new friend at school and seems to feel comfortable with her new surroundings. Although things appear to be fine on surface, McCullers paints a bleak picture of the life that Frankie is facing. Her very dear cousin John Henry dies. McCullers writes, "John Henry had been screaming for three days and his eyeballs were walled up in a corner, stuck and blind. He lay there finally with his head drawn back in a buckled way, and he lost the strength to scream. He died Tuesday after the fair had gone"(194).

Frankie is haunted at times by John Henry. At first she has nightmares about him, but later she seldom "felt his presence. Only occasionally at twilight time or when the special hush would come in the room" (194). Frankie seems to try to avoid the "special hush" because she has neglected a great part of herself. She turns her focus outward as her daytime was "filled with school and Mary Littlejohn" (194) She no longer questions the mysteries of existence or aspires to great occupations. The last day that is described in the book ends on a somber note as McCullers writes, "It was almost five o'clock and the geranium glow had faded from the sky. The last pale colors were crushed and cold on the horizon. Dark, when it came, would come on quickly, as it does in the wintertime" (195) The reader is left to imagine what "dark[ness]" will come for Frankie.

Through witnessing the hardships of Frankie Addams, McCullers allows us to see the difficulty that a girl may face in Southern society. Frankie's problems stem from her inability to conform to the strict prescriptions that are imposed on females throughout their childhoods. When Frankie dresses, acts and aspires to be more masculine than her female friends she is ostracized and ridiculed. The effects of this exclusion are so harsh that they actually force Frankie into a state of self-hate. The conflict that she faces only becomes less afflicting as she tends to suppress her original, creative and ambitious nature. McCullers seems to leave Frankie without options as she can either face the isolation and exclusion from her social structure or the banal lifestyle of conformity.

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Encouraging Critical Thinking and Writing Through an Exploration of Dance

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In June of 1994 I volunteered to teach a dance class for the Upward Bound Summer Program, located on the Mills College campus in Oakland, California. Upward Bound is a national year-round program offering at-risk inner-city high school students various classes designed to help prepare them for college. Each summer, selected Upward Bound students participate in a five-week intensive program in which they are required to take two academic classes per day plus an artistic or athletic workshop. The ten students enrolled in my workshop were at various stages in their educations, ranging from eighth- to eleventh-graders. Each of the students was simultaneously enrolled in an English class along with either a mathematics or Spanish class. I discerned from student questionnaires, and from talking with other instructors before the session began, that most of the students in my workshop were at either low or intermediate levels in reading and writing. With this in mind, I sought to create a class which would complement the particular concerns of the students' academic classes while at the same time offering students a different kind of experience than the more traditional classroom would allow.

In designing my dance workshop, I combined elements from my experience as a dancer, choreographer, and teacher of dance with elements from my experience as a student of literature; by combining dance and literature, I hoped to create a workshop which would help prepare Upward Bound students for the level of critical thinking, reading, and writing required in college study and at the same time engage their creativity by focusing their critical skills on a performing art. Although dance and literary studies have often been considered and treated as highly disparate fields of discourse, the emergence of multicultural studies, film and performance studies, and popular cultural studies in particular have challenged many scholars to reconsider the assumption held by many that literary texts must be written, or that nonwritten "texts," such as choreographed pieces, are unworthy of critical study because they are "unintellectual, intuitive, and uncritically expressive" (Goellner, 3). As Ellen W. Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy assert in the introduction to their anthology titled Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance, "the growth of film and cultural studies [in the early 1980's] demonstrated that visual, temporal, nonwritten 'texts,' such as dance, could provide material for astute critical analyses of, for example, issues of gender and identification, visuality and the gaze; renewed interest in narrative theory, especially considerations of textual dynamics and of the inscription of performance elements in written narrative, likewise provided an opening for a consideration of dance structures" (Goellner, 1). Thus, the idea behind my dance workshop arose from my suspicion that dance could act as a kind of literature through which students could begin to develop their skills as critical thinkers and writers; furthermore, by

engaging their bodies as well as their minds, this kind of workshop would offer students a wider breadth of experience than could a more traditionally structured literature class.

The workshop was held four days per week, each class lasting two hours. Students were active participants in dance classes two of the four days, and they viewed, discussed, and wrote about specific pieces of choreography during the other two class meetings. The workshop focused specifically on the expressive nature of dance, and the ways in which various contemporary American choreographers have used dance as a vehicle through which to express their personal, artistic, social, and political concerns; this particular approach to examining dance at once established a relationship between dance and literary studies because it recognized dance, like literature, as a form of expression not only referring and responding to issues and traditions within its own field, but also engaging with issues and traditions of American society at large. Students viewed, discussed, and wrote about six different pieces of choreography by choreographers ranging from Martha Graham to Jawole Willa Jo Zollar; reflecting a wide range of form, content, style, and presentation, and representing choreographers of disparate cultural, economic, and experiential backgrounds, these pieces managed to challenge students' own assumptions and preconceptions about what it means to view, create, and participate in dance, and, further, what it means to engage in these activities for a living. In addition, students worked together in small groups to create their own pieces of choreography, which they then performed on the final day; thus, students had the opportunity to discover dance as a method of expressing their ideas using their own artistic approach, and, in doing so, to physically respond to the various approaches of the professional choreographers whose choreography we viewed in class.

Although students responded in various ways to the process of thinking, discussing, and writing about dance that structured each class meeting, it was at once apparent to me that most of them, at this stage in their education, had not likely been encouraged to think or write critically or to voice their opinions in the classroom; upon recognizing the students' limited experience with critical thinking and writing, I began to view the workshop as a place in which students could at least begin to prepare for the critical tasks they would likely encounter in their college studies. Hence, one of the central goals of the workshop became to encourage students to form and voice their opinions about pieces of choreography, and then to search for the sources of their opinions; in this way, students prepared for critical study by making observations, analyzing their observations, and then evaluating the results of their analyses.

Throughout the course students kept journals, which served to connect the active dance classes and the classes dedicated to viewing and discussing choreography. These writing journals not only offered students an informal venue through which they could process and record their thoughts and feelings about the material presented in each class, but also helped prepare them for the more formal essay assignments. Specific journal assignments progressed from basic observational questions about the pieces of choreography to larger questions which asked the students to think about how a choreographer's detailed choices work to create the larger choreographic text, and how these details can evoke varying responses in an audience member. These assignments were designed to develop and expand upon the specific concerns of our class discussions. For example, during the first week of the workshop, students watched and discussed a piece of choreography by Alvin Ailey called *Cry*. Many students observed that they felt bored during the first section, nervous

during the second section, but excited and captivated during the final section. I encouraged the students to explore their initial reactions to the piece while watching it a second time, and to take apart its various elements in order to recognize which detail or combination of details was causing their reaction to the piece as a whole. After their second viewing of *Cry*, several students observed that the music in this section is more chaotic than the music of the other two sections, making the rhythmical beat more difficult to discern. These particular students decided that the rhythmical confusion of this first section made them lose their focus, and ultimately caused their boredom. Another student said that this first section actually captured her attention because of its complexity and because of the way in which the dancer used dramatic facial expression to help convey its complexity. By deconstructing the piece in this way, students were able to discover and discuss the smaller details which had elicited varying responses in them as dance viewers, which they could record in their journals and then transfer to both their writing and choreographic projects.

As an expansion of the journal assignments, students were required to write a short essay each week. The essay assignments were designed to encourage students both to write creatively, and to experience their personal authority as dance viewers and critics. Each assignment asked the students either to compare and contrast two different pieces of choreography, or to analyze one piece of choreography in depth. Because the majority of the students enrolled in the workshop were at a low to intermediate level of reading and writing, and because most students told me on the first day of classes that they hated to write, my goal in assigning weekly essays was to attempt to diminish students' fear and dislike of writing by appealing to their creativity and imagination rather than emphasizing grammar, punctuation, or form; this approach to classroom writing was based on my assumption that in order for students to make a future commitment to solving the more specific structural and grammatical problems of their writing, they would first need to view writing as an enjoyable and non-threatening form of communication.

The first essay question of the workshop asked the students to play the role of theater director, and to write a letter to two different choreographers, explaining in detail why this choreographer's piece was either chosen or not chosen to participate in an imaginary dance festival. The students were asked to describe their feelings about each aspect of the piece using examples from their journal assignments, and to include in their description the general theme of the piece, the costume or costumes, the music or sound, the lighting, their feelings about the dancer's actual performance of the piece, and any other aspect that they deemed important. The goal of these essays was, again, to encourage the students to carefully explore their initial reaction to each piece, and to form an argument based on details about why one piece might have appealed to them as an audience member, critic, theater director, or choreographer. One student wrote a letter to choreographer David Parsons. In her letter, this student explained that she would not be able to accept his piece *Caught* for her dance festival, primarily because she "tended to get lost" during the piece, and because she couldn't "quite grasp the piece's theme." After describing some of the ways in which she felt the piece was too abstract for her dance festival, this student revealed her own complex thinking by mentioning some of the aspects of the piece that she did find interesting despite her confusion, which turned out to be the lighting and the dancer's costume. She concluded her letter by alluding to the fact that her goal as theater director was to put her audience in a "deeper, better, happier mood," and that she suspected Parsons' piece would not fulfill this central goal. Although one could argue that this student's stated reasons for eliminating Parsons' piece

from her dance festival reveal narrow rather than critical thinking (since she decided not to delve further into the piece in order to consider some of the possible reasons that Parsons may have wanted to present an abstract piece, or to recognize that not every piece of choreography needs to have an easily recognizable, unifying theme) I was particularly proud of the way in which she managed to separate the various components of the piece in order to explain the effect that it had on her as a whole; by venturing somewhat beyond her surface reaction, and by describing the specific elements of the piece which made it undesirable to her as an audience member, she revealed at least the beginnings of critical thinking and writing, of analysis and evaluation.

The students most looked forward to our active dance classes, in which they could expel some of the boundless energy that class discussion alone couldn't quite release. These active dance classes were dedicated to helping students develop a basic modern-jazz vocabulary while also allowing them to explore their skills as choreographers. During these active classes, students were able to physically experience some of the same choreographic design issues that they noticed and discussed on the non-dance days. After viewing Garth Fagan's piece titled *From Before*, some of the students decided that the piece, for them, was effective because of Fagan's interesting and creative use of floor patterns, and his use of percussive, repetitious movements. During our active dance classes for that week, these same students discovered the various ways in which they could use floor patterns and movement repetition in their own pieces of choreography. In having the opportunity to see how various choreographers approached the art of choreography on our non-dance days, students were able to respond to these choreographers through their own choreography, and explore the ways in which they could address some of their own concerns through dance.

As a final project, students brought together their experiences of dance and writing into a dance piece and descriptive essay. The essay was divided into two parts. Part one asked students to focus on some of the components of choreography discussed in class, and to write about the ways in which each of the choreographers we viewed during the workshop fulfilled these components. For part two of the essay, students were asked to design a rough draft of their own pieces of choreography, using the knowledge that they'd gained both during active dance classes and from viewing six different pieces. They described their main idea or theme, decided whether or not they would use music, a poem, a text, or no accompaniment, thought about how many dancers they wanted to use, and described the kinds of lighting, costumes, and props that they envisioned. This section of the essay was designed to complement the pieces of choreography students were creating during their active dance classes; however, because we didn't actually have access to sophisticated lighting or props, or even a stage, students were able to imagine features of their ideal pieces of choreography in the essays that they weren't realistically able to fulfill during class time. Students supplemented their descriptive essays by drawing maps of their pieces of choreography, detailing the kinds of floor patterns they chose to use, and explaining what response they hoped to elicit from their audience by choosing these particular patterns. Most students decided to use music for their pieces, and most put together costumes on their own time outside of class. One student performed a solo piece based on movements we learned in class, which she pieced together in an original way. Two students created their own pattern of movement, and then explored the various ways in which they could manipulate that single pattern by performing it in different directions, using different areas of the stage. After each group of students performed their piece, we discussed

the workshop overall, and students talked about what they'd learned and accomplished during the course of the workshop, and shared their ideas about future workshops of this kind.

In conclusion, designing and teaching this workshop has revealed to me that dance is a potentially successful mode of expression through which to introduce high school students, particularly those who are at low to intermediate levels in reading and writing, to the critical thinking and writing skills they will need in order to pursue college education and beyond. Because choreographic pieces are "visual, temporal, nonwritten texts" (Goellner, 1), even students who have limited reading skills can read and practice writing about these texts. In addition, this kind of interdisciplinary workshop further engages students' critical skills and helps to increase their commitment to the classroom material by giving them the opportunity to experience dance from several perspectives rather than only the perspective of critic, of dancer, of audience member, or of choreographer; the students in my workshop gained knowledge and expanded their points of reference by actively participating in each of these roles, and, thus, had the opportunity to explore the range of possibilities that exist as potential areas of interest for them. Dance proved to be a refreshing subject of study to my students, particularly, I think, because of the traditional separation between dance and academic studies; thus, my students did not at first associate the workshop with their other, more academic classes, and were able to approach the workshop with an openness and enthusiasm that they may not have possessed if faced with a more traditionally-structured literature or dance class. By the end of this experimental workshop, the students involved had begun to grow accustomed to analyzing their reactions to pieces of choreography, to diligently recording their observations in writing journals, to forming arguments based on their observations, and to physically responding to their observations and arguments with their own pieces of choreography; these kinds of skills, I believe, will be useful in helping to prepare them for the complex, multi-layered problems which they will likely encounter in their more advanced academic studies and future pursuits.

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The Garden of Instability: The Interrelationships Between Relativity Theory, Quantum Mechanics, and T.S. Eliot's "Burnt Norton"

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At the end of the 1800's, physicists believed that they had explained all that could fall within the realm of physics. Thermodynamics and kinetic theory explained the movement of heat and energy; classical mechanics, electricity, magnetism, and electromagnetic waves were no longer mysteries. The lone frontier seemed to be light. Because light was on the same level of "unobservability" as other waves, it was assumed to propagate and behave in much the same manner. It was therefore proposed that light must travel through a medium, the luminiferous ether, but numerous experiments to prove its existence were unsuccessful. Because ether's existence could not be proven, scientists began again to question the theories of light, and by extension to question the idea that the laws of physics were the same in all inertial frames. The answers to these questions were devastating to the Newtonian paradigm.

At the same time that the scientific community was undergoing such upheaval, the literary world was moving out of the highly-emotional Victorian period. This era, a direct descendant of Romanticism, was characterized by a concentration on the natural world as a means to evoke emotion and thereby gain insight and truth. In their desire to be most like nature, the Romantics and the Victorians valued purity and innocence; the myth of childhood was created as the epitome of innocence. But as was the case in the scientific community, the fin de siécle of the literary world was a time of upheaval, of change: Romantic influence was coming to a close.

The event that had the largest impact on the movement away from emotion, nature and innocence was World War I. The massive destruction of life and the impersonal way--air bombings and trench warfare, for example--in which that life was destroyed was incompatible with innocence. The cold calculations involved with winning a war, from a civilian as well as a military perspective, could not be found in a world view which valued finer emotion. And the cozy retreats of nature were impossible to find because of the physical destruction of the wilderness or the mental incapacity to retreat due to the shell shock of war. The literature of the time was therefore dark, disillusioned, and confused. Both the literary and the scientific communities were plagued by a sense of confusion, a lack of direction, and an uneasy anticipation of the future.

Albert Einstein revolutionized physics in 1905 when he published his special theory of relativity (Williams 102). This first theory consisted of two basic postulates: the laws of physics are the same in all inertial frames, and the speed of light is always a constant $3*10^8$ m/s^2. The logical conclusions of these postulates turned physics on its head.

One of these conclusions is the idea of the space-time continuum--the idea that as time progresses, the number of points in space that an object can occupy increases exponentially, but one cannot separate time from

space, graphically or otherwise. Space and time are no longer constant in and of themselves and can only be explained as a single entity. Since many Newtonian equations depend on the separability of time from space, this idea was a radical departure from the "normal" way of looking at things.

Another consequence of relativity theory is its insistence on the importance of perspective. Because frames of reference may not be inertial with respect to each other, there can be no judgment for the point of view of one observer over that of another. Both perspectives are equally valid. This conclusion lead directly to the idea of multiple truths and the destruction of "one right way" of looking at things, both very destabilizing concepts.

In 1900, Max Plank put forth the theory that all molecules absorb and emit energy in discrete units called quanta. These definable steps of energy redefined the way that electromagnetic energy was viewed: it was no longer random and continuous. Einstein applied this idea to light, looking at it as a string of individual units called photons. These photons defined light as a particle. However, light also exhibited wave characteristics. According to the Newtonian way of looking at things, waves and particles are mutually exclusive of each other. But Einstein's famous equation, $E=mc^2$, sets up a conversion of mass to energy, of particle to wave, and vice versa. Light, then, exhibits wave-particle duality, characteristics of both. Through the linking of energy and mass, the insecurity of the already unstable relativistic world became even worse.

Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, which showed that one cannot know both the location and the momentum of a particle at the same time, as the act of measuring these characteristics actually limits the accuracy of that measurement, led to the conclusion that scientists were no longer simply neutral observers of the world around them. With regard to the scientific process, they were directly involved and even influential in its outcome. The relativistic/quantum universe was observer-dependent. The new paradigm created by relativity theory and the basic postulates of quantum mechanics was one of the untouchable, the unpredictable, and, to a great extent, the undeterminable.

T.S. Eliot was certainly aware of the new physics, and he felt the movement from an old way of thinking into a new as generated by this change. He too had feelings of doubt and skepticism, about which Skaff writes, "Eliot's [skepticism] is also the product of a scientific tradition that had come to question the ability of science itself to find truth" (Skaff 9). Neither Einstein nor Eliot liked the application of relativity theory to the general scene of society. Nonetheless, Eliot did not "reject the new physics itself" (Friedman 80). "For Eliot, modern science [did] indicate a universe in which truths are relative...for him, a whole world view governed by such science [was] fragmentary, frightening, void of meaning" (Friedman 81).

Based on this, this paper will apply the new physics--as represented by the space-time continuum, the importance of perspective, wave-particle duality, and the uncertainty principle--to a poem which displays Eliot's awareness and incorporation of this new world view: "Burnt Norton." "Burnt Norton" was first published in 1935 as part of Poems, 1909-1935 but was later included as the first of the Four Quartets in 1943 (Kenner 208). Among many possible readings, the poem is about time, its passage, and its effects.

"Burnt Norton" opens with "Time present and time past / Are both perhaps present in time future, / And time future contained in time past." (Eliot 175). In these lines, time is unstable. It does not move as from a Newtonian perspective: steady, linear, and uniform. It is relativistic time,

which cannot be separated along its traditional lines. It embodies the union, or blurring, of past, present and future.

In the next twelve lines, time is connected to space: "the passage which we did not take," "the door we never opened," "the rose-garden" and "your mind" are unreal in the traditional Newtonian sense. They are invisible mental constructions only. However, none of these space-time possibilities is excluded: in keeping with the new physics,"What might have been" and "what has been" may all be found in the present. In the last fifteen lines, then, Eliot incorporates the relativistic concepts of time and of the space-time continuum, touches on the idea of multiple truths from equally valid perspectives, and introduces the quantum notion of probabilities as opposed to definitives.

The idea of multiple truths is carried on through the echoes in the garden. Echoes are, again, invisible and intangible, and may be heard from many different perspectives. It is difficult to put them in time as they haunt each other back and forth. The thrush's call of "find them, find them" is deceptive: the echoes are not exhibiting the particle side of their duality, and finding them in the classical sense is futile.

Multiple truths are manifest again in the notion of "we" and "they" passing along an alley to look into a drained pool of "dry concrete, brown edged." In the next line, however, the pool is "filled with water out of sunlight." The emptiness and fullness of the pool are two probabilities at presumably opposite ends, but, in this relativistic world, both are true, as are all the possibilities between them. There is no selectivity in the text: both probabilities exist simultaneously, as waves and particles do within one entity.

The famous lines "...human kind / Cannot bear very much reality" may also be addressed from a relativistic/quantum perspective. If this world of the garden is only a hypothetical situation, a probability, but at the same time operates under the postulates of the new physics, then it is more "real" than reality, because it "chooses" to act in accordance within the new view of the universe.

Eliot concludes this first section with "Time past and time future / What might have been and what has been / Point to one end, which is always present." The twist here is that now time past and time future are actual in time present, along with all the probabilities that each contains. The convolution of time turning over and inside out on itself ends the first section even as it opened it.

In the second stanza of the second section, the tone becomes more metaphysical. Eliot sets up a series of seemingly paradoxical relationships: "At the still point of the turning world...there the dance is." Essentially, waves cannot be defined without movement, and particles need to be stationary, or at least inertial with respect to each other, for characteristics such as mass and density to be determined. Therefore, in relativistic/quantum terms, it is normal for movement and stillness to coexist, as waves move and particles stay put: the paradox has been resolved.

The other paradoxical relationships--"Neither flesh nor fleshless," "Neither from nor towards," "neither arrest nor movement," "neither ascent nor decline," etc.--function in the same way. They rely on mutual exclusivity, but paradox vanishes if it is accepted that two apparently contradictory facts can coexist, dependent on perspective.

One of the most obvious moments of the incorporation of relativity theory and quantum mechanics occurs in the last lines of that stanza: "I can only say, there we have been: but I cannot say where. / And I cannot say, how long, for that is to place it in time." This is a two-line synthesis of the

space-time continuum and the uncertainty principle. Here, time and space must be linked in order to define a location in either.

When Eliot compares the "grace of sense" to "a white light still and moving," it is again within the context of wave-particle duality that these differing characteristics of light can be understood to coexist.

The final stanza of section two also reverts back to "Time present and time future," but instead of these two being united in the present, the emphasis is on their changeability, as they do not allow for more than "a little consciousness," due to their infinitely small duration in time. Through the unification of past and future in time present, time is conquered, as present time must pass into the past, and future become the present in order to mentally consider either past or future.

Section three of "Burnt Norton" is, to a large extent, a reworking of ideas presented in the first two sections and a transition into the final two sections. The "dim light" presented here is the gray area between the extremes of the first sections of the poem. In this gray world of relativity and quantum, a world with no absolutes, with no preferences regarding point of view, it is difficult to establish "meaning." This world is "filled with fancies." Here, "Men and bits of paper" are equally "whirled by the cold wind / That blows before and after time." Both are valid and treated in the same uncaring manner.

The second stanza of the third section recalls the probability garden of the first section: "World not world, but that which is not world." "And the destitution of all property" recalls the idea that the world of probabilities does not allow for anything physical in the classical sense, while "Desiccation of the world of sense" reminds the reader that a relativistic world does not allow for perceiving things directly. In a world where all options are equally weighed, no conclusions can be drawn. Thus, "movement" and "abstention from movement" are the same.

The fourth section deals with the impending forcing of the natural world to "submit" to the ideas of the new physics. Since man can no longer be linked to the physical world through classical physics, it is questionable whether or not he will be able to interact at all with the natural world through the abstract concepts of relativistic and quantum physics. The irony here is that nature has operated under these laws all along: mankind is just now discovering and adjusting to them. This is addressed in the last lines: "...the light is still / At the still point of the turning world." Even though the way one characterizes light has changed, the position of light at the "still point" around which the world turns has not actually changed. This is the one place where the reader is offered some stability and reassurance.

The fifth section of "Burnt Norton" begins, "Words move, music moves / Only in time...." Words, here, exhibit wave-particle duality: waves when spoken, particles on paper. They must have a moment and a position in space-time to exist in either case. However, words are not limited to the time in which they are spoken: "Words, after speech, reach / Into the silence." Words can be recalled and contemplated in the mind, one of the many places where time and space bend in the infinite probabilities of time past and time future.

In the lines the "end precedes the beginning, / And the end and the beginning were always there / Before the beginning and after the end. / And all is always now," waves and particles must exist in an inseparable space-time union, but do not have to "be there" to do so, so that time gets twisted. As the circular ends of space-time are linked together, there is no delineation called time past, present, or future. There is no starting point for the movement of time, no movement through time, and no movement in time. Thus, "all is always now," as there is nothing else.

It is no wonder then that words "Crack and sometimes break, under the burden / Under the tension, slip, slide, perish, / Decay with imprecision, will not stay in place, / Will not stay still." The world of the new physics will not allow for the functioning of time any more than it will for the communication of those who live within it.

The ending, more than anything else, characterizes a universe defined by relativity theory and quantum mechanics. This world is as closely linked to space as it is to time, as emphatic about equally accepting all perspectives as it is about equally rejecting them, as accepting of wave or particle characteristics as it is of both of them coexisting, and as uncertain about movement and non-movement as it is about the effects of the observer on the truth. Here, there is no final resolution for love.

This inconclusiveness is the essence of explicating a poem. Poetry is a medium of multiple truths: the truth offered here is only one of an infinite number. By incorporating theories of the scientific world with concurrent thoughts of the literary world, one can travel back in time. By redefining time and space past, and by looking from another perspective at the events gone by, it is possible to recreate the present space-time and reconstruct the present vision of the future. The revolution generated by modern physics has changed the paradigm of the here and now from a secure, tangible world into an ethereal and unpredictable one. The forces of relativity theory and quantum mechanics have pervaded human existence, and in so doing, they have forced a discovery and exploration of another side of the human self that Newton could never have done.

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The Mother and the Motherland: An Analysis of Symbolism and Style in Jamaica Kincaid's Annie John and Lucy

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The stories of Jamaica Kincaid's novels Annie John (1983) and Lucy (1990) create a sort of "fictional/semi-autobiographical saga" (Ferguson, "Lucy" 238), telling a tale based on the writer's experiences as a bright girl in Antigua and later as a strong-willed young woman in 1960's Manhattan. The style of these novels, fragmentary and sparsely frank, identifies Kincaid both as a representative of other Third World and Caribbean female writers and as an individual writer, with her own ideas and motives. The dominant theme of both of these novels is split between the title characters' attitudes towards their mothers- a confused mix of hatred and love, respect and disappointment, and a similar attitude of simultaneous disgust with and dependence upon their colonized motherland and the British educational system established there. These symbols of the mother and the motherland are inextricably tied, and this link is the reason why if Kincaid, or her autobiographical characters, is to be freed from the power of the colonizer now inherent in her motherland, she must also free herself from her ties to her actual mother, a symbol of the British influence in Antigua.

The literature of Caribbean women writers arises out of their past of a relative lack of power in their homeland, a concept identified by Davies and Fido (1) as "voicelessness". Although women were essential in the overthrowing of the slave and plantation systems of the Caribbean (Cudjoe 10), historically there has been no presence of the woman's text in these cultures, no presentation of female views on slavery, colonialism, or decolonization. "For the Caribbean woman writer, the reality of absence ... [and] of marginilization is linked to the necessity to find a form, a mode of expression" (Davies and Fido 4). In the introduction to their book Out of the Kumbla: Caribbean Women and Literature, editors Davies and Fido identify three standard attributes of Caribbean women's writings in their rejection of the "linear, phallocentric form of the male text" (6). These qualities are 1) the quilted, or fragmented, narrative 2) the sustaining of a storyteller narrative, which becomes an important symbol for the "ability to communicate oral history through the generations" 3) and the strong presence of aspects of the short story within the context of the novels of these writers (6).

All three of these literary techniques of Caribbean women writers appear in the novels of Jamaica Kincaid. The narratives of Annie John and especially of Lucy certainly qualify as fragmented. The language is sparse, the statements made by the narrators border on being masochistic and are even contradictory. "This self-critical use of language, this hybrid form-the self-knowledge implied in growing up 'fragmented'- yields a decolonizing of the mind" (Ferguson Lucy, 251).

The storytelling narrative is also used by Kincaid; both novels are told very personally so that it is not so much the plot of the novel but the teller of the tale who grabs our interest. Ferguson calls Lucy "a willing recorder of the island's oral narrative, she rescripts familiar thematics as

well as exploring new ones" ("Lucy", 238). Lucy continues the tradition begun by her mother and grandmother in Annie John, the passing down of the story of herself. "When my mother got through with the trunk, ... I had heard again and again just what I had been like and who had said what to me at what point in my life" (AJ, 24). The presence of the short story is also plainly evident in these two novels by Kincaid. Each of the chapters in both Annie John and Lucy can be read as a short story by itself, each deals with a certain subject and each achieves some sort of closure. Many of the chapters from both of these novels did appear first as short stories in the "New Yorker," the magazine for which Kincaid worked as a writer for several years.

Indeed, Jamaica Kincaid does fit the profile of the Caribbean woman writer in the personalized telling of her own story. Like other black women writers she has been "forced outside the 'happily ever after' world of the white middle class ... to find the story of their lives closer to home" (Perry 246), but this is not to say by any means that her writing is typical of other writers of her race and sex. She establishes her individuality as an author through her open use and manipulation of autobiographical information, a trademark of her writing which favors personal experience over the universal and authoritarian nature of many male texts (Covi 351), as well as through her fantastically frank usage of language in her writings. "Kincaid takes the language back to its barest, ... constantly stating, questioning, inserting the silenced self in history" (Davies and Fido 4).

Kincaid describes her writing as "very autobiographical ... I am someone who had to make sense out of my past" (Ferguson, Interview, 176), and this style of literally writing what she knows and has lived is perhaps what makes her work so effective. However, she stresses that her writings are not exact records of her own life, for she acknowledges that if she wrote "a sort of straightforward memoir" (Gates 494) then her writings would have exuded a sort of bitterness which she did not want to put forth. This concept of autobiographical fiction is indeed paradoxical in its nature, and Kincaid herself can only describe it with contradictory phrases: "The point wasn't the truth and yet the point was the truth,". "To say exactly what happened was less than I knew happened" (Gates 494). But this artistic manipulation of her life's events certainly works in the creation of powerful literature.

A second defining quality of Kincaid's literature is her sparse and frank use of language, especially effective in Kincaid's second and much more mature novel, Lucy. Her raw and simple style turns almost any passage from the novel into a quietly intense poem relating this artist's despair.

> I got out of bed and stood on an old rug Mariah had given me. I wanted to stretch my arms up and out, but the room was cold, so I hugged myself. ... In the bathroom I looked at my face in the mirror. I was twenty years old-not a long time to be alive-and yet there was not an ounce of innocence on my face. If I did not know everything yet, I would not be afraid to know everything as it came up. That life might be cold and hard would not surprise me (Lucy, 153).

Kincaid herself admits that she and other writers like her "have no interest in the formalities. We are not interested in being literary people. We have something to say that is really urgent" (Ferguson, Interview, 166). Though some critics of Kincaid may feel her writings to be raw or blunt, I feel that her uniquely purist style elevates her writing beyond that of her peers, whether white or black, male or female.

Kincaid sets herself off as a writer through her use both

of autobiography and of language, but her strongest signature is to be found not in her style but in the content of her writings. Many Caribbean women writers stress the importance of the developmental mother-daughter bond, but in Kincaid's works this, along with the closely tied concept of colonialism and its effects, is without question the dominant theme. Annie John portrays the girl's relations with her mother in Antigua both before and after their relationship crumbles, and Lucy continues the same girl's life, though under a different name, in America after she has left her homeland. As we examine the separation between Kincaid's characters and their mothers, it is important to keep in mind that "the island itself becomes both mother and text. The land and one's mothers are therefore co-joined" (Nasta xxv). This generalization regarding Caribbean women writers is especially relevant in Kincaid's works because the girls' separation from their mothers is symbolically necessary for the girls to achieve artistic freedom from their motherlands, which have been irrevocably tainted by British colonialism.

In Annie John the separation of Annie and her mother (who is also named Annie) begins early in the novel when a girl named Nalda, whom Annie barely knew, died in her [Annie's] mother's arms. Annie's mother had to prepare the child for burial, and for a while afterward Annie "could not bear to have my mother caress me or touch my food or help me with my bath" (AJ, 6). Annie's realization that her mother "has links with a community outside of her own perception" (Timothy 234) begins the development of the rift between this mother and daughter. She realizes that her mother exists outside of her interaction with her daughter, a concept which Annie has not yet begun to grasp. "I couldn't imagine my life without her" (AJ, 88).

The separation between the two really begins to escalate upon Annie's reaching puberty. In Annie's pre-pubescent years there is a great deal of bodily communication between her and her mother. Annie's responses to her mother's body, her touches and smells, is almost constantly positive. Upon her daughter's approach of sexual maturation, however, her mother begins to cut herself away from this closeness of touch. Her mother's new distance from Annie could be seen as her way of forcing "her child out of the nest ... She wants her daughter to become a woman" (Perry 252). I think though that this is a naive interpretation of the sudden physical gap between the mother and the daughter. Annie may overreact to her mother's encouraging her to develop her own identity ("'You are getting too old for that. It's time you had your own clothes. You just cannot go around the rest of your life looking like a little me'" [AJ, 26]), but her mother's noticeable change in attitude hints at the beginning of the connection between herself and the effects of colonialism in Annie's eyes. Annie's mother is presented "sympathetically as a victim of post-colonial strategies to erase her identity and to substitute European ideology in its place" (Niesen de Abruna 279). The senior Annie John has been brainwashed by the British educational system; she teaches that sexual involvement is to be "seen by the child as sin and shame, not joy or pleasure" (Timothy 238).

> On looking up, she observed me making a spectacle of myself in front of three boys. She went on to say that after all the years she had spent drumming into me the proper way to conduct myself when speaking to young men it had pained her to see me behave in the manner of a slut ... in the street and that just to see me has caused her to feel shame (AJ, 102).

Annie John's rebellion against the European sexual mores which her mother espouses takes form also in the rebellion against her mother, and her story is further examined in Lucy.

The focus of Lucy is less centered on the girl's direct rebellion against her mother and more on Lucy's interaction with a foreign country, against whose values and beliefs she is fighting. Less attention is given to "how deep in disfavor I was with my mother" (AJ, 45) and more is given to Lucy's actions against the European rules and taboos which Lucy's mother has come to represent. Her sexual rebellion manifests itself in her impersonal relations with the men of this second novel, such as the man from the camera shop with whom she had a quick affair, and, more shockingly, the artist Paul. "His name was Paul ... when he held my hand and kissed me on the cheek, I felt instantly deliciously strange; I wanted to be naked in a bed with him" (Lucy, 97). These affairs are purely sexual, she maintains a great emotional distance from any of her lovers. When she suspects that Paul and her roommate Peggy are having an affair, she "only hoped they would not get angry and disrupt my life when they realized I did not care" (Lucy, 163).

Alongside the sexual and maternal rebellion in these two novels, Kincaid's autobiographical characters also stage a constant battle against the effects and values of European colonialism, "this young-lady business" (AJ, 28). Annie John resists her piano lessons as well as her manners instructor, responding to "the tyranny of the lessons themselves and to the cultural values implicit in them" (Morris and Dunn 281). She becomes fascinated with the free lifestyle of a classmate, identified as the red girl; she comments on the British girl in her class named Ruth, who perhaps "wanted to be in England, where no one would remind her constantly of the terrible things her ancestors had done" (AJ, 76). In one of the most memorable chapters of the book, Annie takes delight in the picture in her textbook of "Columbus in Chains" (a fitting end for the man in her eyes), under which she writes of this famous conquistador: "The Great Man Can No Longer Just Get Up and Go."

This social rebellion continues in Lucy, in which the woman attacks almost everything that she encounters. Lucy comes to Manhattan just before Antigua's partial independence from England is achieved in 1967 and works as an au pair for a family that is never even given a name, and so is "discursively and deliberately homogenized" (Ferguson, Lucy 239). She is surrounded by whites, and spends much of the novel unmasking their various hypocrisies.

The most constant victim of Lucy's attacks is the mother of the family Lucy is helping to care for, Mariah. Her perfect white face contrasts the scarred face of Lucy's own mother, and her "blithe ethnocentric attitudes enable her to find joy in some things that mark atrocity for Lucy's ancestors" (Ferguson, Lucy 243). Lucy is disgusted that Mariah can live her life at such a "trivialized, even perilously self-indulgent level" (Ferguson, Lucy 240). Lucy constantly wonders, "How do you get to be that way" (Lucy, 20)? When Mariah brings Lucy to see the daffodils which she finds so beautiful, it only reminds Lucy of her being forced to memorize the poem by Wordsworth of the same name during her British education, so "where she saw beautiful flowers, I saw sorrow and bitterness" (30). When Mariah takes Lucy on the train trip which she finds so enchanting, Lucy only notes that all the servants are colored, like her (except they don't give "backtalk"), and all the passengers are white, like Mariah. Mariah shows Lucy "the freshly plowed fields she loved so much" as they passed them on the train, and Lucy only responds, "a cruel tone to [her] my voice, 'Well, thank God I didn't have to do that'" (33). When Mariah worries about the vanishing marshlands near her Michigan home, "Lucy laughs to herself at the self-delusory activity that prevents Mariah and women of her class from facing the global evils they helped to create and maintain" (Ferguson, Lucy 245). Finally, Mariah tries to identify with Lucy by a making a claim to her having Indian blood, "as if she were announcing her possession of a

trophy" (Lucy,40). Lucy only verbally attacks her for the meaningless claim, wondering, "How do you get to be the sort of victor who can claim to be the vanquished also" (41)?

Mariah is the mother figure of Lucy, and she receives the same sort of abuse that Annie's mother receives in the first novel. In these mother figures, both portrayed as intelligent and willful women, Kincaid embodies those degrading effects of colonization against which her autobiographical characters are rebelling. The "image of the mother-daughter dyad [is shown as] extending ... to a colonizing motherland as well as a biological maternity" (Ferguson, Lucy 238). The rebellion against the mother or the mother figure, whose attitudes and actions are seen by Annie and Lucy as complacency in the face of the evils of colonialism, must go hand-in-hand with the girls' battles against those European values forced upon them. Kincaid recognizes that the girls can never be wholly free of their mothers or of the influence of their colonizers, as she shows at the end of Annie John with Annie's mother's last words to her. "Still holding me close to her, she said, in a voice that raked across my skin, 'It doesn't matter what you do or where you go, I'll always be your mother and this will always be your home'" (147). Though the separation can never be completed, the attempt still must be made in order that an artist such as Jamaica Kincaid can begin to express her own values and beliefs, and to speak of the effects of colonization from the viewpoint not of the invaders, but of the invaded.

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Violence and Revelation in Eudora Welty's "Where Is the Voice Coming From?"

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One of Eudora Welty's most violent stories is her 1963 response to the Medgar Evers murder, "Where Is the Voice Coming From?" The story is frighteningly real because it is based on an actual event that happened in a time not quite as removed from us as the less specific times of her other stories. A wealth of criticism is focused on Welty's other stories, but not much has been written about this one. Recently, however, the event behind it has been resolved. Just last year, in February of 1994, seventy-year-old white supremacist, Byron De La Beckwith, was finally convicted of the murder of Medgar Evers; just this year, in February of 1995, Myrlie Evers-Williams, wife of Medgar Evers, was elected chairwoman of the board for the NAACP. A picture in the paper shows her standing with her hands in the air. She is quoted: "I have said Medgar died for the NAACP. I will live for the NAACP" (Sonya Ross, The Richmond Times-Dispatch). Given the historical origin of "Where is the Voice Coming From?," it seems that now is an opportune time for critics to revisit the story.

Something about this story has made critics reluctant to write about it. Many critics have passed over this story with a sentence or two. Others, such as Ruth M. Vande Kieft, doubt its success: "The killer seems suddenly too sensitive to his victim's vulnerability, the pathos of his ebbing life--whether for me to find him quite credible, or to feel free to hate him along with his deed, or what, I'm not sure..." (200-201). But Jan Nordby Gretlund, in Eudora Welty's Aesthetic of Place, makes an important point about Welty's treatment of her protagonist, one that justifies our looking more closely at the story:

> If we deny him all human features, we will be repeating what he did in order to be able to kill. In order to be able to hate the black leader enough to commit his crime, the Voice denied his victim all humanity and considered him inferior by reason of race....Only by accepting that even a killer is a human being, can we begin to understand that his voice is a part of our voice, and therefore also our responsibility. (238)

Interestingly, Gretlund's book was published after the 1994 conviction of Beckwith, but before Myrlie Evers-Williams' appointment as chairwoman of the NAACP.

Like a phoenix rising out of the ashes of her husband's death, Myrlie Evers-Williams has risen triumphant after the murder of her first husband. As the event has been resolved and the metaphorical fire put out, now seems a fitting time to inquire into the meanings of this story, which encompasses much more than its social and racial contexts. Now is the time to consider the violence in this story and what it can reveal to us about the violent history of America and about the successful struggle for civil rights, and, more importantly, about the human condition and the mysteries of human relationship.

"Where is the Voice Coming From?" emanates heat from within and without. Taking a controversial event as its impetus, the story is pregnant with images of heat and stagnation; they rise up through the language of the story in waves. The whole town is given a mythic connection with heat, as it is named Thermopylae, after the city in Greek literature whose name means "hot gates" (Gretlund 234).[1] The name of the black NAACP member murdered in the story, Roland Summers, also carries with it images of heat. The protagonist takes note of the actual temperature on the first page of the story, and his specificity and early mention of this factor foreshadow the importance of heat in the story: "The Branch Bank sign tells you in lights, all night long even, what time it is and how hot. When it was quarter to four, and 92, that was me going by in my brother-in-law's truck" (603).

Another element of the story that works hand-in-hand with the metaphor of heat involves opposing forces, or opposites--as seen in the characters of the protagonist and his victim, Roland Summers. The protagonist becomes obsessed with the thought of a black man rising (like heat) above his own place in society. His mind is so small that there is no room for this thought among his racist beliefs. Visions of Summers create so much friction in his mind that he is driven to get rid of them by getting rid of the man, and thus, in his own mind, freeing himself. To the protagonist, Summers represents the rising up of black Americans. He sees

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1. Gretlund explains in Eudora Welty's Aesthetics of Place that "thermo" means heat in Greek and Thermopylae means "hot gates." The town, he writes "evokes the year 480 B.C. in Greek history and an image of badly outnumbered soldiers that defended themselves bravely against the enemy." (234)

himself as the savior of white society. The heat from the friction between these two opposites builds in his claustrophobic mind and finally explodes in the act of murder.

This metaphor of opposites appears in many other forms in the story. First and most simply, the protagonist is white and Summers is black. The protagonist is fighting to hold down black America, while Summers is fighting for freedom for black Americans. The protagonist is the hunter, and Summers, the hunted. Opposition makes the relationship between these two men simpler in the mind of the protagonist --Summers is everything the protagonist is not--and more complex from the point of view of the reader.

When he comes upon the street where Summers lives, the protagonist notices that "his street's been paved" (603). When Roland Summers finally arrives at his house, the protagonist notices his "new white car" and his "garage with the light shining" (604). When he comes home after murdering Summers, he complains to his wife that she didn't leave the light on for him, as Summer's wife had for him. Summers's picture appears in the paper and on TV after the murder, and his jealous killer laments: "And none of me. I ain't never had one made. Not ever!" (606). Roland Summers becomes for the protagonist everything that he isn't; Summers "has" everything that he doesn't "have." He constantly compares himself to Summers, identifying himself in opposition to Summers.

The protagonist's constant comparison of himself and Summers does more than just place the two in opposition: it links killer and victim. The two characters become dependent upon each other for identity, for definition.

A tension between the closeness and opposition of these two characters comes into play during the climax of the story, when the protagonist murders Summers. As he waits for his victim to return home, he comments again about the heat and yokes himself and his victim together in his thoughts, as they will soon be physically together, just outside Summers's house. "It was so hot, all I did was hope and pray one or the other of us wouldn't melt before it was over" (603).

In the next paragraph, the protagonist asserts his ability to control the man who has taken control of his own thoughts. He has made the decision to act, to take the upper hand in a situation in which he feels out of control. "I done what I done for my own pure-D satisfaction" (603-604), he says, but he is doing more here than just taking control. With his lackadaisical attitude, he wants whoever is listening to know that it didn't mean much to him to kill Summers; he tries to hide the passion that enabled him to kill a man.

Before the protagonist meets Summers, he plays down any feelings except boredom, in order to keep Summers on a level below him. He does not want to admit that this man has made him angry, so he acts as though he wants to kill Summers just because he feels like it. He sets up the murder in his mind as a duck hunt, an act of "pure-D satisfaction" (604). The protagonist lies in wait for his prey, and when he sees it, he simply shoots it. If the protagonist were to reveal his jealousy of Summers and his feelings of inferiority, even in his own mind, he would be granting Summers equality.

In the murder scene, images of Summers and the protagonist alternate between identity and opposition. When the protagonist gets out of the car, he immediately recognizes his victim, this man he's never seen in person: "that was him...I knowed it" (604). And one line down, he suddenly senses a connection with Summers: "I knowed him standing dark against the light. I knowed him then like I know me now. I knowed him even by his still, listening back" (604). Here we see dark and light and the language of identity. As this story is written retrospectively, such language constitutes revelation. Perhaps the protagonist realized, as he remembered the moment before the shooting, that this creature with his back "fixed on me like a preacher's eyeballs" (604) was a human being. Shooting, then, was his reaction to this revelation. It happens between lines of description, and is reported to us just after the fact: "I'd already brought up my rifle, I'd already taken my sights. And I'd already got him, because it was too late then for him or me to turn by one hair" (604).

After the shooting, the protagonist describes Summers with blood pouring out of his back. This vision is a supreme example of Welty's use of violent revelation, and an ironic one as well. In this moment, as Gretlund notes, her character speaks in a poetic voice to describe the story's climax (237): "Something darker than him, like the wings of a bird, spread on his back and pulled him down. He climbed up once, like a man under bad claws..." (604). Opposites are at work here as the wings ascend and Summers descends. Gretlund interprets this image as a suggestion of the American eagle, with its spread wings and curled claws, and therefore the history of America, of which this story is a part (237). In this moment America is a killer; we are all a part of the weight on this man's back. This accusation would especially apply to the South with its history of slavery and racism. It is true that this cold-blooded murder is horrible and tragic, but Welty's rendering makes this murder a human tragedy rather than a regional tragedy.

Welty describes her motivation for writing "Where is the Voice Coming From?" in a 1972 interview with Linda Kuehl in Conversations With Eudora Welty:

> It pushed up through something else I was working on. I had been having a feeling of uneasiness over the things being written about the South at that time, because most of them were done in other parts of the country and I thought most were synthetic. They were perfectly well-intentioned stories but generalities written from a distance to illustrate generalities. When that murder was committed, it

> suddenly crossed my consciousness that I knew what was in that man's mind because I'd lived all my life where it happened. It was the strangest feeling of horror and compulsion all in one. I tried to write from the interior of my own South and that's why I dared to put it in the first person. (Prenshaw 83)

Welty is not writing to condemn the history of the South. She is writing to reveal a character to her readers. She seems to argue that those of us who would claim to see the protagonist as foreign and "opposite" are in effect lying to ourselves. I think she is successful in this attempt, and her success is one positive aspect of this story. But I think Welty goes beyond merely communicating a character; she communicates a hope and a strength in the dying body of Roland Summers for the positive change that be spurred on by such a tragic event.

In spite of this tragedy, hope can be seen in the vision of the bird rising from the blood pouring out of Roland Summers's back. This bird can be seen as a phoenix, rising out of the dead body of this martyred man. It rises in celebration of life being born out of death. It rises like a warning that the spirit of this man will rise from his body and live again. It rises as a prophesy of the African-American resistance to racism embodied today in the success of Myrlie Evers-Williams.

The vision is complex because it works in two ways: the protagonist and the reader both experience revelation, but differently. We see the American eagle, or the phoenix, and come to conclusions like Gretlund's and my own. The protagonist also sees the vision, indeed--we see it through his eyes. But he misreads it, thinks it is a vision of his own triumph, his triumph in the name of America, or his race, perhaps. We see this vision, rather, as a proclamation of the protagonist's ignorance and his inability to truly have any control over his situation.

After the protagonist kills Summers, he watches Summers try to pull himself back up under this weight, "and like just blood could weigh a ton he walked with it on his back to better light. Didn't get no further than his door. And fell to stay...He was down. He was down, and a ton load of bricks on his back wouldn't have laid any heavier" (604). Summers is physically descending, to be literally below the protagonist, as the protagonist thinks he should be. Watching Summers die on his paved driveway, the protagonist's thoughts do the opposite of Summers's body; they ascend to the bird sitting in the tree above him: "And it wasn't till the minute before, that the mockingbird had quit singing. He'd been singing up my sassafras tree" (604). He thinks he has traded places with Summers, ascending as Summers descends, but he allies himself with a bird who mocks him: "And the mocker he'd stayed right with me, filling the air till come the crack, till I turned loose of my load. I was like him. I was on top of the world myself. For once" (604). He thinks that he is experiencing revelation, that he has freed himself of Summers and what he stood for. But the bird mocks the freedom he feels, mocks the revelation he thinks he is experiencing.

While the protagonist watches Summers descend and feels himself ascending, the heat remains constant and the story pushes on: "the temperature stuck where it was. All that night I guarantee you it had stood without dropping, a good 92" (605). This suggests that nothing has changed since the opening line, that the protagonist is "stuck," not free. But he has not begun to realize this yet.

Driving home, he is satisfied with what he has done. "There wasn't a thing I been able to think of since would have made it go any nicer" (605). But at home, his wife, the first person with whom he speaks after the murder, robs him of his pleasure, lessens his confidence in what he has done. She suggests that others will get the credit for the murder. She tells him death will only give Roland Summers more attention in the press. Through her words Summers begins to rise triumphant out of the murder scene, like the phoenix that rose out of his blood, while the protagonist begins to sink into anonymity.

When she asks him what he did with the gun, images of heat come into play again: "`It was scorching! It was scorching!...It's laying out on the ground in the rank weeds, trying to cool off, that's what it's doing now'" (605). When she asks why he dropped it, he becomes exasperated, and replies:

> `Because I'm so tired of ever'thing in the world being just that hot to the touch! The keys to the truck, the doorknob, the bed sheet, ever'thing, it's like a stove lid. There just ain't much going that's worth holding on to it no more,' I says, `when it's a hundred and two in the shade by day and by night not too much difference. I wish *you'd* lay *your* finger to that gun.' (605)

Through the images of heat and through the agitation in the protagonist's language, we see that the friction in his mind, the claustrophobia that he suffers from, has not let up. For the first time the protagonist connects images of heat with suffering and frustration. Here the protagonist begins to realize that he is "stuck" like the temperature. A last comment made by his wife parallels his frustration and his failed attempt to find relief: "`I say it's so hot that even if you sleep you wake up feeling like you cried all night!'" (606). Clearly, the protagonist has turned from feeling free and unrestrained, like the mockingbird he compared himself to at the murder scene, to feeling constrained again, by his wife's comments, by the heat. His move toward control and freedom has been thwarted.

As the story pushes on, the temperature rises:

> It was hotter still. That pavement in the middle of Main Street was so hot to my feet I might've been walking the barrel of my gun. If the whole world could've just felt Main Street this morning through the soles of my shoes, maybe it would've

helped some. (606)

Suddenly we, the readers, the whole world, are trapped in the barrel of a hot gun with this man, who is agitated and claustrophobic, unable to move. We are forced in with him, forced to compare ourselves with him, because we must acknowledge his humanity. "You can't win," he says. "And it's so hot" (606).

As the temperature rises, there is more violence. But this time the violence is in the protagonist's mind, in his thoughts about and his descriptions of the heat. His voice becomes poetic again (Gretlund 235) as his thoughts, languid thus far in the story, become violent for the first time: "It looks like the town's on fire already, whichever ways you turn, ever' street you strike, because there's those trees hanging them pones of bloom like split watermelon" (606). The town is on fire in his mind, like a magnificent funeral pyre for the man he has killed. The protagonist is descending into depression as Roland Summers rises all around him.

Next the protagonist clings to the only thing he can relate to--violence. He recalls non-violent protests with frustration and a renewed loss of control. He realizes he has failed: "Everybody: It don't get you nowhere to take nothing from nobody unless you make sure it's for keeps, for good and all, for ever and amen" (607). He seems to recognize that frustration and stagnation, not the freedom he felt after killing Roland Summers, mark the end of his story.

As he sinks into depression, the protagonist embraces violence. He wants violence to be turned on him, for blacks to retaliate with violence. Violence is something he will be able to react to, to relate to. And he doesn't mind if he's caught, he claims, if the violence is turned on him in the electric chair. He begins to give advice to the teachers and the preachers and the judges, and even the President--to the people in his society who have some means of control, who have a say in what is happening. But he's talking to himself; his attempt to expand his importance, to ascend to new levels, is ultimately a failure.

Just before he ends his soliloquy, the protagonist recalls a fond memory, a time in his life when someone was hunting for him. In this moment he compares himself for the last time to Summers. He remembers running away as a child, and his mother putting an ad in the paper for him, asking him to come home. This was a time when he made the papers, when someone had wanted him badly enough to do something to get him back (Gretlund 240). At that moment he had been important enough to be hunted for, like Roland Summers was to him.

In the last lines of the story, Summers admits his crime, makes a last reference to the stifling heat, and asserts himself, prophetically:

> But people are dead now.
> And it's so hot. Without it even being August yet.
> Anyways, I seen him fall. I was evermore the one. (607)

But this self-assertion still gets him nowhere. He is sinking, helplessly, as he saw Summers sink before his eyes. The protagonist reaches for his guitar, and plays blues, immersing himself, ironically, in a black tradition, symbolically joining himself with Summers. He sings "a-Down. And sing a-down, down, down, down" (607) as he descends, like Summers, slumped on his paved driveway, "down, down, down. Down" (607). He sinks into depression as he sinks into history, into the lowest parts of humanity, and into the recesses of our minds. He melts, finally, in the unrelenting Mississippi heat. He descends like the dying body of Roland Summers as the character of Summers and the memory of Medgar Evers rise, immortal, in the minds of readers.

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The Wandering Reader in Joyce's *Ulysses*

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The text of Joyce's *Ulysses* presents the reader with many difficult decisions Faced with changing styles, different languages, and frequent quotations and allusions, the reader must make conscious choices in the act of reading. Karen Lawrence describes the effect of this varying nature of the text: "The surplus of facts and styles in *Ulysses* has the effect of making the text exceptionally resistant to critical attempts to force it into a statement of meaning" (10). The reader thus faces the difficulty of devising a method of reading that will produce meaning so that he or she can create an interpretation of the novel In his general introduction to the reading of Joyce, Derek Attridge presents a way to begin conceptualizing a reading of *Ulysses*: "[Joyce's] texts themselves teach us how to read them,... encouraging us to do without our need for singleness of meaning or certainty of position" (24). The text's varying styles, different languages, and numerous quotations create too many possibilities to allow a single meaning. A reader can use this resistance to singular interpretation to create ways of interpreting. The text thus does not prescribe one path of reading but instead points toward multiple readings.

The tenth episode of the novel, "Wandering Rocks," creates special difficulties for the reader as it presents a seemingly objective account of the city of Dublin. Throughout the nineteen sections of the episode, the actions of various major and minor characters are followed as they interact. As Clive Hart points out, however, the apparent objectivity is merely a trap, one of many that the reader faces:

> While 'Wandering Rocks' uses a number of narrative tones and points of view, from the careful patronizing of Conmee to the tired journalistic penny-a-line on which the brilliant variations of the coda are based, these all share a special kind of non-interpretative objectivity. But the objectivity is a disingenuous fraud, a deliberate trap. (189)

The appearance of objectivity presents only the most obvious and perhaps dangerous trap; the episode contains many other difficulties which make it particularly "resistant to critical attempts to force it into a statement of meaning" (Lawrence 10). The abundance of these traps suggests the technique that Joyce himself identified as the labyrinth or maze. The reader must wander through the episode as if it were a maze, experimenting with various paths and often backtracking. As Hart notes: "Reading this [episode] is like walking in the maze of a city's streets. One finds oneself continually taking wrong turnings, being caught in dead ends, having to retrace one's steps" (Hart 189-90). The metaphor of a maze suggests yet another trap: the expectation of a single exit, a single meaning. The maze of "Wandering Rocks," however, is one in which a reader can always exit and always re-enter. The reader should simultaneously create and follow a wandering path through the maze of the episode while attempting to avoid the trap of singular meaning.

Hart identifies the episode's interpolations as the most obvious place where the narrator's apparent objectivity creates a trap. The interpolations present information which does not seem consistent with the surrounding context and perhaps refers to other portions of the episode or novel: "These provide the simplest class of disparate, juxtaposed, unexplained facts of which the reader must make what he can" (Hart 193). Examining how interpolations function offers the clearest explanation of how a reader can use the metaphor of wandering through the episode to create possible meanings. Kathleen McCormick presents such an examination in her article "'Just A Flash Like That': The Pleasure of 'Cruising' the Interpolations in 'Wandering Rocks.'" She shows how one can read the interpolations to create interpretations that remain open to the possibility of other meanings:

> Strong readers of the interpolations will gather as much information as they

> can, use their imagination to the fullest, and leave as many interpretive options open as possible in order to escape the chaos and confusion into which the interpolations threaten to plunge them. (276)

In order to show how the interpolations can be interpreted, she identifies three criteria by which the reader can approach each interpolation: looking for a connection within the section, looking for a connection outside of the section, and suspending judgment until more information can be discovered (277). These three criteria place the interpolations within one of seven "backward-looking" or "forward-looking" categories. The reader is thus able to find the "appropriate context" for each interpolation The final result of interpreting interpolations in this way leads to a powerful statement about the nature of reading the episode:

> We have seen that the process of reading "Wandering Rocks" is one in which the reader must wander, leaving as many interpretative options open as possible: the reader is, at times, forced to suspend interpreting and must read on, trying to become increasingly aware of relationships whose specific nature he or she does not yet know; at other times, the reader may find him- or herself making local interpretations but may still suspend judgment to some extent and search for further information which, in this episode, may or may not appear. For "Wandering Rocks" gives the reader no solution, and readers can never master this text. (McCormick 286)

McCormick thus seems to create the ideal argument for using a wandering metaphor to read this episode.

McCormick's way of reading, however, must be approached cautiously, for it can lead to many of the enticing traps which "Wandering Rocks" presents. Classifying each interpolation implies that an "appropriate context" can and should be found in order to create interpretations. As McCormick points out, the reader must avoid the temptation to use such classification as a search for a singular interpretation: "As the reader layers one reading on another, he or she does not foreclose the text, but rather seams one layer of signification to another, diffusing a reading into a potentially infinite play of signifieds" (282). This necessity can be seen even in the act of classification, since several interpolations can be placed in more than one "appropriate context."

The three interpolations involving the "crumpled throwaway" (6,22, and 31) present the clearest example of multiple contexts. The first reference to the throwaway appears at the end of the fourth section, where Katey, Boody, and Maggy Dedalus eat pea soup: "A skiff, a crumpled throwaway, Elijah is coming, rode lightly down the Liffey, under Loopline bridge, shooting the rapids where water chafed around the bridgepiers, sailing eastward past hulls and anchortrains, between the Customhouse old dock and George's quay" (10.294-7). The second interpolation referring to the throwaway suggests that it has moved to the mouth of the Liffey as the episode has progressed: "North wall and sir John Rogerson's quay, with hulls and anchorchains, sailing westward, sailed by a skiff, a crumpled throwaway, rocked on the ferrywash, Elijah is coming" (10.752-4). This interpolation appears in the middle of the twelfth section describing the path of Mr. Kernan. While the Dedaluses are not mentioned in the main action of the passage, Simon Dedalus appears in the interpolation preceding the throwaway. The final interpolation that mentions the throwaway occurs at the end of the nineteenth section, showing that it has moved past the mouth of the Liffey and into the harbor: "Elijah, skiff, light crumpled throwaway, sailed eastward by flanks of ships and trawlers, amid an archipelago of corks, beyond new Wapping street past Benson's ferry, and by the threemasted schooner *Rosevan* from Bridgwater with bricks" (10.1096-99). In this section, Mulligan and Haines talk about Stephen over two mélanges at the Dublin Bakery Company's tearoom.

McCormick places all three with an appropriate context from the eighth episode, "The Lestrygonians" (8.5-16; 8.57-9). Examining the role of the "throwaway" in "Lestrygonians" reveals connections between this previous episode, the Dedalus family, and the throwaway. McCormick also notes that interpolations 22 and 31 refer back to interpolation 6 but fails to note any other relation. For example, interpolation 6 could also be seen as foreshadowing the development of the throwaway's significance in the later two interpolations. Such a reading could examine the Elijah throwaway's movement past "the threemasted schooner *Rosevan* from Bridgwater with bricks" (10.1098-9), showing how the interpolation connects to multiple contexts. The *Rosevan* is first mentioned in the third episode, "Proteus," where it gains a possible religious significance as an image that parallels the crucifixion of Christ: "Moving through the air high spars of a threemaster, her sails brailed up on the crosstrees, homing, upstream, silently moving, a silent ship" (3.503-5). The *Rosevan* also appears in the

sixteenth episode, "Eumaeus," where it becomes connected with the sailor and his story of natives in Peru "We come up this morning eleven o'clock The threemaster *Rosevan* from Bridgwater with bricks" (16 450-1) This interpolation thus looks backward and forward to multiple contexts, complicating classification and interpretation All three interpolations gain new meaning as the significance of the *Rosevan* is extended. The possibility of multiple contexts re-emphasizes McCormick's conception of creating an "infinite play of signifieds" "With each rereading, therefore, the reader's course through the interpolations changes; the reader's interpretations intersect only to dismantle any sense of an objective signified" (279) The reader must always be careful not to accept a single context as the only "appropriate context."

McCormick's attempt to classify interpolations faces the risk of another trap by suggesting that interpolations contain clear characteristics differentiating them from other parts of the text If interpolations cannot be clearly differentiated from the rest of the text, classification becomes suspect. As Hart points out, the entire episode contains words and ideas that can be connected to other parts of the text, that have other "appropriate contexts" in which they can be placed: "'Wandering Rocks' is in fact full of verbal echoes and thematic connexions which are, so to speak, potential interpolations to be made by the reader himself" (193). Reading any portion of the episode can be performed in the same manner as reading interpolations. Leo Knuth presents a similar view of such echoes and connections by examining the way sections appear to mirror each other, and Brooker Thomas extends this idea to show how "phrases, actions, and thoughts are mirrored from other chapters" (Thomas 51). The reader must thus look for multiple contexts, multiple paths that can be followed through the maze of the episode.

The possibility of following multiple paths throughout the episode is reinforced by the very structure of the episode Broken into a series of nineteen sections, the episode forces a wandering movement even when reading page by page. The episode begins by following the movement of Father Conmee, from the presbytery of his church toward Artane. But after a mere 205 lines--the longest section of the episode--the reader must move to a different character and back in time: in the second section Corny Kelleher's actions are shown as he watches Father Conmee step into the tram on Newcomen Bridge (10 213-4), an event that already occurred in the first section (10.107-9). Each section is interrupted as the reader must move to the next section, sometimes forward and sometimes backward in time. No section is allowed to dominate the episode, even the cavalcade, which courses through many of the sections, does not move through all of the sections. The structure of the episode thus forces the reader to maintain a movement similar to that of searching for contexts in which to read the interpolations.

The movement of reading the episode is further complicated as one considers the effect of references to and quotations from texts other than *Ulysses* and from *Ulysses* itself *Ulysses* is filled with citations and references to other sources and to itself that remain unmarked, that lack identification as quotation, whether direct or indirect André Topia comments on the effect of unmarked quotations in his examination of intertextuality in this novel: "Linear reading gives way to transversal and correlative reading, where the printed page becomes no more than the point of intersection for strata issuing from myriad horizons" (103). The lack of punctuation or spacing to signify quotations removes the "hierarchy which puts the borrowed text in an auxiliary status (aesthetic, didactic, moral) to the bracket text" (Topia 104). The quotation interacts with the text surrounding the quotation, complicating a reading of each. As Topia argues, they act together to alter each other and create a new combined reading: "The quoted fragment preserves its ties with its original space, but is not inserted into a new environment with impunity, that is, without significant alterations taking place within both the fragment and the new environment" (105). This interaction, or intertextuality, allows the reader to follow various connections and create possibilities for multiple interpretations.

Extending McCormick's approach to include aspects of the episode other than interpolations, such as the episode's structure and intertextuality, presents a way in which the reader can approach the difficulties of *Ulysses*. The reader can interpret passages in a way that remains open to multiple possibilities. Examining multiple contexts for interpolations and other aspects of the episode and tracing intertextual influences presents a reading that has a wandering feel as it moves back and forth between the pages and even beyond the novel to other works. The metaphor of wandering thus becomes a suitable way of describing the process of creating interpretive possibilities, which avoids the trap of singular meaning

Such a method of reading seems to create interpretations that far exceed Joyce's

intentions Such a critique, however, falls into the same trap as the criticism which continually searches for the correct answer to the text, an urge that *Ulysses* refuses to indulge As Jennifer Levine argues in her essay on the various ways of regarding the text of *Ulysses*, one cannot look for a "fixed" way of reading the novel

> The danger is that *Ulysses* begins to be read as an elaborate conundrum, a literary jigsaw puzzle that can only be addressed if every piece is put in place in consecutive order, left to right, top to bottom Sometimes the need to know what everything 'means' in *Ulysses* should be resisted (134)

The question of intentionality presents the great "literary jigsaw puzzle" that can never be solved One can never know what Joyce intended to "mean " As Levine points out earlier in her essay, Joyce himself gave a different set of correspondences in the novel to Stuart Gilbert than he gave to Carlo Lenati (133) A wandering reading avoids this desire to "know what everything 'means'" by instead openly searching for a multitude of possible meanings Such a reading does not fall into an abyss of meaninglessness but rather creates the possibility of meaning. As McCormick explains, the object is not to solve the text but to find ways to interpret. "[the readers] themselves must determine the means by which they will, not master or conquer, but, like Jason, get through the 'Wandering Rocks'" (287). A wandering reading creates rich interpretative possibilities by which the reader can navigate the episode.

The way in which a wandering reading expands the possibilities of interpretation can be seen by examining a part of the episode that contains the three difficulties described above· a clearly defined interpolation, indirect interpolations, and intertextuality. One of many such opportunities for exploration occurs in the sixteenth section of the episode, which focuses on Mulligan and Haines at the Dublin Bakery Company's tearoom. The section begins with Mulligan pointing out Parnell's brother to Haines Even the mention of John Howard Parnell creates possible paths for the reader to follow. In the preceding section, Jimmy Henry had wondered where John Howard Parnell is. "Where was the marshal, he wanted to know, to keep order in the council chamber" (10 1007-8). He is rallying forces in the war chamber of a chessboard against a "foe" who is never described or named: "his eyes looked quickly, ghostbright, at his foe and fell once more upon a working corner" (10.1052-3) Another possibility for interpreting this line is created by considering the political implications of being "Parnell's brother," brother of the Irish leader who nearly created home rule for Ireland In this instance, the "foe" becomes England itself, which can be represented by Haines, whom is often identified with England by critics. John Howard Parnell's absence from the council chamber brings a suggestion of disorder and of the failing of the Irish language, the subject over which he should be keeping order· "Damned Irish language, language of our forefathers" (10.1011-2). He thus seems to be losing the chess match against Haines, even though the progress of the actual chess match is not followed. Or perhaps his absence from the council chamber suggests that he has avoided the battle with England, content to compete against an anonymous chess foe.

The political aspects of the section are extended by the interpolation of the one-legged sailor. After Mulligan and Haines have ordered food and have begun to talk, the actions of the one-legged sailor are described without revealing any clear connection to the context: "The onelegged sailor growled at the area of 14 Nelson street. *--England expects .....*" (10 1063-4) One of the many contexts for this interpolation appears in the third section, where he growls another part of the song. "*--home and beauty*" (10.235; 10.248) The sailor sings parts of the song "The Death of Nelson," which uses the famous line of Admiral Nelson: "England expects that ev'ry man / This day will do his duty" (Gifford 265). Combining images of victory and death, this song suggests the battle between Ireland and England. As Knuth points out, the context allows "England expects" to be read as "Haines expects" (qtd. in Hart 213-4). Haines once again becomes pitted in battle against Irish culture. The question then becomes what constitutes "ev'ry man's duty " But before this question can be answered, a second context complicates the relationship between Ireland and England In the first episode, "Telemachus," Mulligan had told Stephen, "Ireland expects that every man this day will do his duty" (1.467-8). But the duty of which Mulligan speaks is drinking--"Today the bards must drink" (1.467)--which parallels the duty of John Stewart Parnell who remains outside of the council chamber. This connection also suggests a possible undercutting of the authority of England. England expects that every man die for his country, and the satirical Irish response is that every man must drink for his country.

Examining a possible context of the interpolation of the sailor in the "Eumaeus" episode suggests yet another reading that deals not with politics but with the act of reading itself Bloom recalls the phrase "*Ireland expects that every man*" (16 648) as he is

"woolgathering" (16.626) during a period of silence from the sailor. In this context Bloom's thought could simply emphasize the need for sailors to "do their duty" regardless of the dangers of the sea, but the sailor's comment before the silence which surrounds Bloom's thoughts suggests another possibility. When Bloom asks a question about some of his travels, the sailor responds: "I'm tired of all them rocks in the sea, he said, and boats and ships. Salt and junk all the time" (16.622-3). While this can be interpreted as the weariness of an old sailor, it can also reflect the role of the reader. The sailor is not just tired of rocks and the sea; he is tired of the "Wandering Rocks," the difficult maze through which the reader must travel. Bloom's thoughts further support this interpretation as he thinks that the sea is always there, that it must be travelled through by someone: "Nevertheless, without going into the *minutiae* of the business, the eloquent fact remained that the sea was there in all its glory and in the natural course of things somebody or other had to sail on it and fly in the face of providence" (16.637-40). The glory of *Ulysses* remains despite the difficulties of interpretation. And while one is "liable to capsize at any moment" (16.650), the challenge and necessity remain for the reader to navigate through the text without running into the rock of a trap or capsizing in confusion at the immense waves.

The interpolations, direct and indirect, and the use of intertextuality allow the reader to create multiple interpretations of "Wandering Rocks," to avoid the trap of singular meaning. While this has only been a cursory exploration of a small section of the episode, it serves to show the rich interpretative possibilities open to the reader. The factors that create such possibilities, however, are not exclusive to "Wandering Rocks." While direct interpolations may not be readily found in all parts of *Ulysses*, indirect interpolations and intertextuality can be traced throughout. The reader can search for multiple contexts in which to read various sections of the novel and use intertextuality to understand references to other sources and the novel itself in order to interpret any episode of the novel or the novel as a whole. The metaphor of wandering reading thus applies to any part of the novel, allowing a way for the reader to create interpretations without closing off other possible interpretations.

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E. M. Forster's India--Colonial Construct or Anthropological Other?

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"Excuse my mistakes, realize my limitations. Life is not easy as we know it on the earth" (Forster 297). If any authorial premise for *A Passage to India* can be comprehended, it must necessarily begin with a contextual appreciation of Forster's cultural and ideological parameters. Recent cultural criticism of Forster's "Indian novel" has often misconstrued the author's literary intentions as ethnocentric malevolence toward the non-metropolitan world while disregarding the novel's inherently self-critical voice. Sara Suleri, for example, argues in her essay "The Geography of *A Passage to India*" that Forster's "three sections of the book--"Mosque," "Caves," and "Temple"--function primarily as cavities to contain Western perceptions of that which is missing from the East" (172). Edward Said, in *Culture and Imperialism*, posits a critical view of *A Passage to India* analogous to Suleri's, arguing that "It is striking that never, in the novel, is that world beyond seen except as subordinate and dominated, the English presence viewed as regulative and normative" (75). Both readers view Forster's text as an ideological recolonization of India. Finally, Abdul R. JanMohamed has suggested that Forster's ambivalence toward a causal discussion of racial difference and his representation of India as a metaphysical protagonist projects a manichean allegory as the central preoccupation of *A Passage to India* (96). My first object in this paper will be to establish Forster's explicit self-awareness as a European author writing from an external cultural perspective, one which is at least partially removed from the miseries of colonial oppression. My second object will be to reveal the proleptic intuition of *A Passage to India* which simultaneously anticipates and undermines the impact of Forster's more recent critics. Ultimately I will demonstrate that although *A Passage to India* is marked by Forster's unavoidably British perspective, the novel nevertheless survives the conditions of its ideological production and remains an invaluable resource for a contemporary understanding of imperialism.

E. M. Forster had once suggested of *A Passage to India* that he had attempted "to indicate the human predicament in a universe which is not, so far, comprehensible to our minds" (Parry 319). And while visiting India in 1921, Forster commented, "Life here will be queer beyond description; everything that happens is said to be one thing and proves to be another" (Parry 269). Forster's observations provide an illuminating point of departure for a discussion of his work. As I have previously intimated, the novel's more recent critics have often overlooked Forster's own ambivalence, both as an Englishman and as author, toward India's irreducible otherness. The author himself was perfectly aware that a complete (or completely non-Western) interpretation of the country was impossible. One can discern his conscious struggle with ideological representation through Mr. Fielding's paradoxical discontent at the conclusion of Dr. Aziz's trial; Fielding is pleased that Aziz has been found innocent of rape against Adela Quested, but is horrified at the prospect of her having to compensate Aziz in excessive damage costs. Forster writes: "And, fatigued by the merciless and enormous day, he lost his usual sane view of human intercourse, and felt that we exist not in ourselves, but in terms of each others' minds--a notion for which logic offers no support..." (278).

Like Fielding's dilemma, Forster's decision to confront the project of *A Passage to India* entailed not only an external examination of an altogether different, non-Western culture, but a simultaneous and introspective journey into his British consciousness. Fielding's "usual sane view" can be interpreted as a shift from normative patterns of Western thought. This is not to presumptuously suggest that Fielding's perspective, indeed Forster's perspective, has been transformed into a non-Western way of viewing experience; rather, Forster has explicitly revealed an awareness of conceptual plurality beyond the British imagination. Like Mrs. Moore who perceives in the Ganges both beauty and death and consequently exclaims. "What a terrible river! what a wonderful river!" (Forster 31), Forster, even from an existential posture which cannot transform itself into anything other than that which it is already, nevertheless recognizes the complex duality of cross-cultural interaction, the ineradicability of otherness separating India from England.

One particular strand of recent criticism against *A Passage to India* contends that the representation of Western versus non-Western culture is always expressed within polarized matrices of "normal and abnormal", "good and bad", "rational and irrational". It has been argued (by JanMohamed, among others) that British Orientalism provides the seamless model of existence by which the subordinate Indian culture is measured in the novel (Said 78). But just as Forster had suggested how India constantly escaped his definition and expectation, so the oppositional "qualities" of both British subjects and Indians which critics (such as Said) argue Forster perpetuates, shift and migrate across the ideological boundary purportedly alienating East and West. The assertion by some critics that Forster established a monolithic paradigm of Western rationality in structured conflict with the fallacious Indian mind is consistently refuted within the text.

The first instance of dialogue in *A Passage to India* centers around a discussion among Dr. Aziz, Mahmoud Ali and Hamidullah "as to whether or no it is possible to be friends with an Englishman" (Forster 6, 7). Although the "bitter fun" of the conversation brings both "pain and amusement at each word that was uttered" (Forster 8), the logical flow of ideas cannot be dismissed. When Aziz interjects with, "Why talk about the English? Brrr...! Why be either friends with the fellows or not friends? Let us shut them out and be jolly" (Forster 9), the acute, concrete awareness of the colonial parameters which circumscribe his life and the intimation of his growing sense of Indian nationalism reflect Forster's concern very early in the novel with dispelling metropolitan opinions of Indians as individuals unable to entertain rational thoughts.

In austere contrast to Aziz's pragmatic analysis of the colonial predicament which India was compelled to endure, the Anglo-Indian response to Adela Quested's presumed rape and subsequent illness degenerates into an untenable frenzy. In an interview with McBryde, Chandrapore's Anglo-Indian Collector, Mr. Fielding discovers the miserable condition Quested has deteriorated into, yet remains, unlike the other Europeans, emotionally composed. Forster writes:

> He had not gone mad at the phrase "an English girl fresh from England," he had not rallied to the banner of race. He was still after facts, though the herd had decided on emotion. Nothing enraged Anglo-India more than the lantern of reason if it is exhibited for one moment after its extinction is decreed. All over Chandrapore that day the Europeans were putting aside their normal personalities and sinking themselves into their community. Pity, wrath, heroism, filled them, but the power of putting two and two together was annihilated (183).

The depiction of English ethnocentric delirium demonstrates an insight into Forster's determination about Western "sapience". Not only have individual Anglo-Indians dismissed all logical thought processes, but upon the pretense of "racial contamination," nearly the entire British population has genuflected to insipid mob enterprise. It is to some extent abstruse, therefore, that a substantial body of recent criticism has engendered allegations that the novel's substance constitutes little more than "the Indian's ugly failure to apprehend a European sensibility" (Suleri 174).

Ultimately, however, it is Aziz's conscious disassociation from the geographical confines of colonial authority which constitutes the most complete illustration of Forster's characterization of rationality, irrespective of racial identity. He writes: "His impulse to escape from the English was sound. They had frightened him permanently, and there are only two reactions against fright: to kick and scream on committees, or to retreat to a remote jungle, where the sahib seldom comes" (328). Free from the patronizing domination of Major Callendar, the Civil Surgeon in Chandrapore, and Western-imposed medical procedures, Aziz commands not only the freedom to practice medicine as he determines culturally apropos, but more importantly the autonomy to think, "I am an Indian at last" (Forster 329). It is finally a nationalistic identity, wholly uninterested in the mimetic impulse toward a British archetype, which Aziz venerates. His self-ordained seclusion from the imperial context is a triumph of intricate discretion and aplomb.

For some post-modern readers, a more rudimentary opposition to *A Passage to India* than even Forster's relegation of personality attributes can be illustrated in the supposed primacy of British characters and Englishness over all other (that is to say, Indian) paragons of human behavior. For a critic such as Sara Suleri, the novel is preoccupied with "what it means to be English as opposed to Indian," and the deference awarded to this postulate facilitates "the desire to keep these categories intact" (Rhetoric 141). The question posed is whether the text

prostitutes India, both geographically and conceptually, as an instrument for the reinvention of English ascendancy.

Ronny Heaslop, Forster's Anglo-Indian City Magistrate, whose prejudiced bravado superficially appears to bolster Suleri's assertion, antithetically functions as a foil for other British characters who disclose *A Passage to India*'s self-critical endeavor. In a quarrel with his mother, Mrs. Moore, Heaslop is impugned as having the sentiments of a god, to which he replies, "India likes gods"; Mrs. Moore retorts, "And Englishmen like posing as gods" (Forster 51). He defends his conviction saying:

> I am out here to work, mind, to hold this wretched country by force. I'm not a missionary or a Labour Member or a vague, sentimental, sympathetic literary man. I'm just a servant of the Government:... We're not pleasant in India, and we don't intend to be pleasant. We've something more important to do (Forster 52).

An analeptic evaluation of Heaslop's jingoism (specifically a late twentieth century critical view) should instantaneously reveal Forster's principal application of the character: he provides an emblematic touchstone for imperialism in the novel, uttering exactly what the reader expects, namely the colloquy of colonial indoctrination. But recent critics who propose ecumenical conclusions evidenced only by Heaslop-like, Anglo-Indian characters (including Callendar and Turton), unavoidably misapprehend Forster's intention.

At Fielding's "bridge-party", a more honest version of its government-acquiesced and failed correlative, Dr. Aziz invites his British acquaintances to visit him. Forster writes:

> The old lady [Mrs. Moore] accepted: she still thought the young doctor excessively nice; moreover, a new feeling, half languor, half excitement, bade her turn down any fresh path. Miss Quested accepted out of adventure. She also liked Aziz, and believed that when she knew him better he would unlock his country for her. His invitation gratified her... (73).

To evaluate the narrative advantage of Ronny Heaslop's exceedingly transparent delineation, one must reflect upon the contrary effect of characters such as Mrs. Moore, Adela Quested and Fielding within the novel. Benita Parry argues that these persons, unlike the other English, "expect the sort of relationships they had known in England" (283). At least some of the trepidation then of *A Passage to India* must be confronted not simply as a melee between East and West, but in a more eclectic challenge of inter-cultural, rather than solely cross-cultural, principles. The repercussion of Heaslop's comment, "We're out here to do justice and keep the peace....India isn't a drawing room" (Forster 51), generates a markedly more poignant effect upon the pervasive impasse between metropolitan and non-metropolitan cultures if the temerity of his decadence is first juxtaposed against the extra-cultural responsiveness of Mrs. Moore. If Heaslop's domineering attitude is not perceived to be tempered by Mrs. Moore's (or Quested's or Fielding's) venture toward human kindness, the novel can be read (as it unfortunately has been by some critics) as an uncomplicated distortion of the realities of imperial supremacy. England can be repudiated as the incarnation of pure debauchery. And the importance of *A Passage to India* dissipates in the misconceptions of current literary criticism.

Ronny Heaslop is certainly a deplorable character. Adela Quested, in her naivete, may forget that "no one is India" (Forster 76). But to suggest that Forster was incognizant of the frame of reference from which he and his English characters emanated is simply to misread the text. After the trial Forster describes the final meeting in India between Quested and Fielding:

> Were there worlds beyond which they could never touch, or did all that is possible enter their consciousness? They could not tell. They only realized that their outlook was more or less similar, and found in this a satisfaction. Perhaps life is a mystery, not a muddle; they could not tell. Perhaps the hundred Indias which fuss and squabble so tiresomely are one, and the universe they mirror is one. They had not the apparatus for judging (293).

Here the lack of an "interpretive mechanism" which renders the mysteries of life and India perpetually elusive also applies to the beneficial intentions of Moore, Quested, and Fielding:

their historically enjoined limitations, which impede a consummate recognition of cultural otherness, necessarily configure each person's ability to transcend the regrettably coterminous existence of Heaslop and the British Empire. If Western notions of relationships are perpetuated in *A Passage to India*, their rationale and employment must be surmised to anticipate the kind of criticism which only provides a cursory glimpse of the actual fortitude of the novel. E. M. Forster was patently attentive to the colonial ambiance in which he wrote.

It is the novel's conclusion--both postulate and in the language of the final pages--wherein many readers demarcate their principal exception to the text. *A Passage to India* does not end (as modern readers might wish) with a penultimate destruction of the British presence in India, nor do the participants converge for even an ephemeral moment over tea, or more consequentially, *pan*. This is neither a chronicle of revolution nor conciliation.

While critics (including Suleri) see the Indian landscape as the preeminent justification precluding the embrace of Fielding and Aziz, Western and non-Western culture (Suleri, Geography 174), Forster's prudence is yet more elemental.

While the future course of imperialism remains obscured, the failure of friendship in the colonial circumstance persists as unequivocal. Forster describes the final encounter between Aziz and Fielding:

> And Aziz in an awful rage danced this way and that, not knowing what to do and cried: "Down with the English anyhow. That's certain. Clear out, you fellows, double quick, I say. We may hate one another, but we hate you most. If I don't make you go, Ahmed will, Karim will, if it's fifty-five hundred years we shall get rid of you, yes, we shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea, and then"--he rode against him furiously--"and then," he concluded, half kissing him, "you and I shall be friends" (361, 362).

What Aziz and Fielding have discovered, however, is, as Parry suggests, "not an attainment of inter-racial harmony... (285). There can be no equivocation about the brusque, literal import of Aziz's speech: he and Fielding can never be friends. It may require the potency of generations beyond his lifetime to expatriate the British presence from India. But only then can the two men truly embrace one another. Sara Suleri asks, "Into what caves of disappointed sublimity must such civility collapse, before it can articulate the fact that the colonial friendship is never autonomous from the literal presence of the racial body" (Rhetoric 133)? It is the abstemious pathos of this very sentiment which Forster in fact enunciates in the final paragraphs of the novel. Fielding asks Aziz: "Why can't we be friends now?"... "It's what I want. It's what you want." Forster's narrator responds:

> But the horses didn't want it--they swerved apart; the earth didn't want it, sending up rocks through which riders must pass single file; the temples, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House, that came into view as they issued from the gap and saw the Mau beneath: they didn't want it, they said in their hundred voices, "No, not yet," and the sky said, "No, not there" (362).

A Passage to India cannot escape its historical propinquity to the imperial epoch. But Forster's keen insight into the transcendent nature of human existence which wholly rejects an absolute approximation of the universe seeks to glimpse "distances further than those distances measured or estimated by science, of social orders other than those known in recorded history" (Parry 273). Even if such visions cannot be apprehended, they can be wondered at. Even if the narrative is not indubitably untainted by colonial prepossession, still it must be read.

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Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings and Maxine Hong Kingston's The Woman Warrior: Writing Rebellion and the Telling of Self in the Autobiographies of Women of Color

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Traditionally, an autobiographical text has been defined as a work of non-fiction through which one tells his/her life story. In the past, this has entailed the construction of self in the first person "I" form, clearly defined and detailing a series of factual life events in a chronological fashion. As Marjanne Gooze asserts, the autobiographical form presents a representative life, "a contention than in Western culture has nonetheless implied that representative lives are those of white, Christian men"(Gooze 412).

A woman of color, therefore, faces a double-edged sword: "First, when she takes on the gendered position constructed for her by the symbolic language of patriarchy, and second, when she falls under the influence of discursively and socially constructed positions of racial difference"(Goellnicht 123). To rectify this conflict, women, especially women of color, must transform the autobiographical genre. In the following paper, I will illustrate how two women of color, Maxine Hong Kingston and Maya Angelou, do exactly this.

As an African-American woman, Maya Angelou is an outsider in a society whose values are defined by those white and male, the same culture that enslaved her ancestors. Maxine Hong Kingston is also an outsider. The daughter of Chinese immigrants, she is assaulted by a white society of "ghosts," mysterious and intangible, as well as a Chinese culture which considers it "better to raise geese than girls"(Kingston 46).

The life experiences of these women are not the same as their white male counterparts. In order to tell their stories, these women must first find a sense of voice. As Suzanne Juhasz asserts, they discover "within a life something greater than the sum of incidents and observation"(223). These authors employ "another style, another voice, another attitude"(Juhasz 224). They write outside of the traditional autobiographical form to reflect their own feeling of outsiderness. The medium becomes the message; thus, the texts becomes politicized.

From the outset of her 1969 autobiography, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, Angelou uses story to represent her emotions and attitudes. She does not speak of herself in grandiose terms. Her writing reflects her sense of self as a Black female in the south, fragmented and sometimes lost. Malini Schueller concurs that by "denying universality, absolute values, and a monologue, autonomous self...[Angelou asserts what is] crucial to all marginalized groups that wish to radically assert their difference"(197).

Angelou recalls an early childhood memory in which her voice eludes her. Standing in front of the children's choir of the Colored Methodist Church, she can not recall the poem she is supposed to recite. In her embarrassed silence, little Maya "ran, peeing and crying, not toward the toilet, but back to [the] house"(Angelou 2). This story of coerced speech marks, from the beginning, Angelou's rebellion in form and function. Estelle

Jelinek believes that if Angelou were a man, her experience "would be described in heroic terms...[however, from the perspective of a woman] experiences are viewed in more conventional terms: heartbreak, anger, loneliness, confusion, and self-abnegation"(5).

I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings becomes a tool of self analysis and discovery. Angelou, realizing her alienation, writes, "If growing up is painful for the Southern Black girl, being aware of her displacement is the rust on the razor that threatens the throat"(Angelou 3). This displacement leads Angelou to search for herself in the people who surround her. She defines herself through these people, whether it is the characters in the novels she reads, or the family members she explains in detail. This is a distinctive, female, literary technique. Carol Boyce Davies concurs that in the autobiographies of women, "Self revelation may be deferred until the entire range of family relationships is revealed...[There is a] juxtaposition of the expanding consciousness of the woman self to the developing group story"(Davies 268).

At the age of eight, Maya leaves Stamps to live with the mother she has never known. At this tender age, Maya is raped by her mother's lover, Mr. Freeman. This deeply affects little Maya who retreats into a thick shell of silence. Angelou writes, "I thought I had died...but Mr. Freeman was there and he was washing me...'Don't you tell...Remember, don't tell a soul'"(Angelou 66).

Shipped back to Stamps to live with her grandmother, Maya retreats even further, using the novel as a means of escape; she imagines herself as another. Maya's avid reading of British novels "underscores her estrangement to class...Novels help her emerge from the cocoon of silence in which she envelops herself after the rape"(Dahaney 71).

Maya search for self is further exemplified by her experiences at The Market Street Railway Company. Here, she achieves her goal of becoming the first female conductor on the rail lines. With this job she learns, "There was nothing a person could not do...I had gone from being ignorant of being ignorant to being aware of being aware"(Angelou 230).

Angelou's "I" gains a voice. As autobiography develops, Angelou writes directly of her experiences: "The Black female is assaulted in her tender years by all those common forces of nature that at the same time she is caught in the tripartite crossfire of masculine prejudice, white illogical hate and Black lack of power"(Angelou 231). This statement is one of her first confident assertions.

Angelou, however, ends her story still in a fragmented state. She questions her sexuality, her attractiveness, and her position in society. She feels "social isolation and human freakishness"(Angelou 235). She has sex with a man she hardly knows to prove her sexuality, and becomes pregnant by him.

The birth of Maya's son marks the close of the story. She leaves her autobiography open ended, without resolution. This reflects her life circumstances at the time of the book's writing. I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings becomes a living text, subject to the state of Angelou's life. The medium is once again the message. She does not attempt to point out the grand meaning of her life. The autobiography reads more as a novel, one that leaves the reader questioning.

Written in 1979, The Woman Warrior, is also a study in the breaking of the autobiographical form. Far more radical than Angelou's work, The Woman Warrior also avoids the mold of traditional autobiography. This text is broken into five sections, each consisting of stories and fantasies mixed with facts and reality. Kingston drifts from past to present, youth to adulthood, writing in no chronological order. This lack of pattern exemplifies her life in general. Like Angelou, Kingston reveals self in relationship to others, fragmented, marginalized, shifted through multiple locales, and searching for voice.

With her autobiography, subtitled "Memoirs of a Girlhood Among Ghosts," Kingston breaks tradition. As Suzanne Juhasz

asserts, Kingston speaks of two selves; "telling of the myth is juxtaposed against a second story, that of her childhood in America"(Juhasz 235). Katherine Clay Bassard adds, "Form is not merely a matter of free choice or appropriate models, but a function of how a writer perceives him/herself in the social order"(Bassard 119). As a woman of color outside of the culture that defines social order, Kingston must write as an outsider.

With The Woman Warrior, Kingston searches for belonging. Like Angelou, she is at first silent. Kingston begins with the line "You must not tell anyone"(3). Right from the start, Kingston shows her rebellion. She is disobeying the order of silence through her writing.

Kingston links the position of women in Chinese culture with her own position in the Chinese family. As in Angelou's text, public and private coincide. The autobiography becomes something out of the ordinary. Phyllis Rose writes, "Merely to publicize the life story of someone not famous challenges the accepted order, saying with radical democracy, 'this person counts too'"(Rose 77). Like I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, The Woman Warrior shows that if a woman breaks the mold in writing, she can also break the mold in life.

Kingston tells the story of No Name Woman. This unmentionable sister of Kingston's father has a child out of wedlock. Forced to give "silent birth"(Kingston 11), No Name Woman is shamed. Aware that her name will never be spoken again, No Name Woman "carrying the baby to the well showed love"(Kingston 15). Jumping into the well with the baby, she protects herself and her child from a life on the fringes of society.

Telling this story, Kingston breaks the silence. She will not participate in the death of No Name Woman. Letting this story be heard, Kingston conveys a part of her own life, also. The writing is Kingston's rebellion. She must not only let her voice be heard, but also those of her female ancestors who have faced alienation. Because Chinese culture believes, "To be a woman, to have a daughter in starvation time [is] punishment enough"(Kingston 6).

In the first section of her autobiography "White Tigers," Kingston tells the fantastic story of the woman warrior, Fa Mu Lan, in conjunction with her own story. Fa Mu Lan, trained in the art of battle, behaves in some ways as if she were a man. She is the female avenger who recognizes the power of words. Before going into battle, her father states, "We are going to carve revenge on your back"(Kingston 34). The words, rather than the swords or guns, will give the warrior strength.

The warrior woman comes to represent a variety of roles: warrior, woman, wife, and mother. Like Kingston, Fa Mu Lan is a paradox; she is powerful in a Chinese culture that breeds powerlessness in women. As a child, Kingston's mother filled her head with this paradox, the song of the warrior woman and also with the notion of her inferiority. Kingston writes,

> I had forgotten that this chant was once mine, given to me by my mother, who may not have known its power to remind. She said I would grow up a wife and a slave, but she taught me the song of the warrior woman...I learned to make my mind large, as the universe is large, so that there is room for paradoxes (27).

Like Angelou, Kingston weaves fiction and non-fiction, past and present. The text becomes a testimonial "about trying to be an American when you are the child of Chinese emigrants, trying to be a woman when you have been taught that men are all that matter; trying to be a writer, when you have been afraid to speak out loud at all"(Juhasz 231). Like Fa Mu Lan, Kingston becomes the female avenger. She thinks,

> The swordswoman and I are not so dissimilar...What we have in common are the words at our backs...The writing is the vengeance...And I have so many words- 'chink' words and gook words too - that they don't fit on my skin (Kingston 53).

In the next section, "Shaman," Kingston, like Angelou, uses the autobiographical form as a means of self discovery. She tells the story of her mother, Brave Orchid, "keeping taut the threads between...family, race, and gender - so that she might come to know herself"(Juhasz 283). Brave Orchid, like her daughter, is a paradox. Both a doctor who refuses to give up her name, and a woman who "funnel[s] China"(Kingston 76) into her daughter's ears, Brave Orchid passes on the stories that advocate silence for Chinese girls, and at the same time, she asserts a powerful voice. This creates feelings of confusion and animosity in Kingston. Like Angelou, Kingston's childhood self retreats into silence. She writes, "I shut my teeth together, vocal cords cut, they hurt so"(Kingston 101).

Bombarded with contradictions: Chinese and American, male and female behaviors, silence and voice, Kingston, like Angelou, is not a clearly defined self. Thus, The Woman Warrior is not a clearly defined autobiography.

Kingston writes, "The silence became a misery...Our voices were too soft or non-existent(Kingston 166-67). She remembers an incident in her youth where she tried to break the silence of another young Chinese girl. She writes:

> 'Come on! Talk! Talk! Talk!' She didn't seem to feel it anymore when I pulled her hair. 'There's nobody here but you and me....Why won't you talk?' I started to cry (Kingston 180).

Kingston may recognize herself in this young girl.

The Woman Warrior also does not end with any resolution. It is a living, open-ended text, subject to change. Kingston writes, "I continue to sort out what's my childhood, just my imagination, just my family, just the village, just movies, just living"(Kingston 205). She is still searching for her "I."

For Kingston and Angelou, the autobiographical form becomes written rebellion, a means to break the silence. These women of color subvert the traditional autobiographical form to tell of themselves in a different way and for a different reason. As Regina Blackburn writes, their autobiographies become "a bid for freedom, a beak of hope cracking the shell of slavery and exploitation...[and] also an attempt to communicate with the white world what whites have done to them"(Blackburn 134).

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Mongrels, Mixed-Bloods, Hybrids & Half-Breeds: The Construction of Black/White Multiracials in America

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Mongrel. Mixed-blood. Hybrid. Half-breed. All of these terms were used to describe mulattoes--that is, person of mixed black/white ancestry--during the turn-of-the-century: roughly, the period between the emancipation of the slaves and World War I. Often, this period is referred to as a period of important racial readjustment because when slavery ended, black and white Americans were forced to live together on new terms. Without the master/slave relationship to guide them, black and white Americans were suddenly without a clear definition of how they were supposed to interact, of what relationships were "safe" and which were not. White Americans reacted to this ambiguity, and the possible loss of power they faced if blacks gained power within society, by working to establish a new set of race relations, and a new ideology of race was formed.

At the core of this new ideology was the issue of mulattoes and miscegenation. Both black and white Americans were forced to grapple with the consequences of the long history of miscegenation, and new definitions of, and attitudes towards mulattoes were established. Whereas during slavery, a mixed-race child would have been classified as "black", raised as "black," and would not have been allowed to make any claims on his or white heritage, a mixed-race child born at the turn-of-the-century presented a problem--a threat-- to the dominant racial ideology. Turn-of-the-century white Americans wanted to ensure racial purity, arguing that the races should stay strictly separate so that "black blood" would not contaminate the Anglo-Saxon race--and for this reason, mulattoes constituted a direct threat to white Americans.

This idea that "black blood" could contaminate, and weaken, "white blood" is important to study further. John G. Mencke, a scholar of American attitudes towards mulattoes and miscegenation, argues that "blood" plays a vital role in American coneptions of race. Americans believe that people are the product of their racial ancestry; literally, a product of the blood running through their veins. [Mencke, ix] The implications of this logic are especially important for African-Americans, who have, since the turn-of-the-century been defined in terms of blood. According to the "one-drop rule" a black person is any person with any known black ancestry (i.e., black blood). This definition of "blackness" is rooted in biological terms, and does not allow for any discussion of the ways that race is a social construction. And, it is important to point out that contemporary Americans still argue for the biological nature of race--as recently as 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand a lower court ruling which forced a Louisiana woman to be legally defined as "black" despite the fact that she (and her parents) looked "white," had "white" parents, and considered themselves "white" because it was proven that she had a black ancestor unknown to her immediate family.

Fascinated by this desire on the part of modern Americans to cling to biological notions of race despite much proof to the contrary, I want to examine how the Amerian view of mixed-race and miscegenation was established. Focusing on the period of racial readjustment which occurred after the emancipation of the slaves but before the World War I, I use an interdisciplinary approach to answer

these larger questions. Specifically, I want to examine literary and scientific texts--that is, novels as well as articles in scientifi journals, to illustrate how literature and scientific beliefs interacted at the turn-of-the-century to create the powerful and hegemonic set of beliefs concerning people of mixed black/white race which still exists, at least in part, today.

But, before I explore the literature and scientific thought of the turn-of-the-century, I want to explain why I have chosen to study science and literature together. I believe that literary texts and scientific texts function similarly in that both are cultural constructs produced for a specific purpose: to change people's thinking and to provide people with both new ideas about an issue and with a language in which to articulate their ideas. Often it is assumed that "science" is different from literature in that scientists are supposed to remain "objective" and to not assert their own opinions into their writing, while the writing of novelists is seen to be "subjective" and thus open to questions, claims of inaccuracy, and so on. I believe, however, that science and literature are more similar than different. Scientists and novelists both participate in the the process of creating narratives which explain or resolve contradictions which exist in society. A scholar named Bruno Latour argues that scientific narratives serve as "...devices for transcribing the immense complexity of competing interpretations into unambiguous traces, writings, which mark the emergence of fact, the case about reality." [Haraway, 6] I am arguing that literary texts function similarly.

At the turn-of-the-century, scientists and novelists each produced narratives which attempted to resolve the contradictions and ambiguities created when slavery was ended and blacks and whites were forced to forge new relationships, new boundaries, new patterns of conduct, etc. Because race and mixed-race was a subject of importance to all Americans during this time period, it is no suprise that the subject was taken up by both scientists and novelists. Both scientific narratives and literary narratives provided Americans with a way of understanding and articulating both the meanings and implications of the history of miscegenation and the large number of American mulattoes. These cultural productions interacted to form a particular definition of multiraciality--which, as I stated earlier, still exists today. Thus I think that to understand comtemporary notions of multiraciality, it is necessary to study turn-of-the-century scientific thought and literaturary texts, which both contributed to the establishment of the particular set of ideas that we still hold true today.

This relationship between science and literature becomes increasingly clearer when analyzing Mark Twain's Pudd'nhead Wilson, published in 1894, and Thomas Dixon's The Leopard's Spots, published in 1902. Written during the turn-of-the-century period of racial readjustment, Twain and Dixon's novels served to translate the complex and contrasting scientific beliefs about race into terms their readers could understand and act upon. Much of the scientific thought of this time period was written in a language that most people could not understand, but when these same ideas were a part of a novel, anyone who could read would have access to scientific beliefs. The wide popular audience of Dixon and Twain allowed complicated scientific beliefs to be circulated and understood in society. In this way, science and literature worked together to provide Americans with narratvies which allowed Americans to understand and to easily articulate ideas about race.

It is important to point out that scientific texts and literary texts are different in one major way: scientific texts carry more authority, or weight, within society. Despite the fact that both kinds of texts are cultural constructions, scientific texts function in society masqueraded as "scientific fact," and are thus immune to accusations of subjectivity and inaccuracy. In this way, the scientific narratives operate in society in a far more insidious way because they are disguised as "fact." Novels, despite their ability to function in society to change people's beliefs and attitudes, do not have the same authority that scientific narratives have, because they are seen as "subjective," as "made up" rather than factual. I believe that Twain and Dixon realized that their novels could circulate their own scientific beliefs while at the same time having the scientific beliefs expressed in their novels imbue their literature with "scientific authority."

Primarily, Twain and Dixon relied on the Polygenist vs. Monogenist debate within Anthropology. Polygenists, such as Dixon, believed that the "races" of man were distinct species with separate origins, while monogenists, including Twain, insisted on the unity of mankind and the single creation of man. [Mencke, p. 41] It is not suprising, then, that polygenists and monogenists disagreed completely on the

affects of miscegenation and on the classification of mulattoes--which were especially important issues during this period of racial crisis.

Dixon's novel serves as the clearest example of how scientific and fictional narratives function in relation to each other Dixon was a Southerner full of animosity towards the freed slaves, and he worked to "restore" the South to its previous Anglo-Saxon hegemony. In his novel The Leopard's Spots, Dixon's devotion to "upholding the purity of the white race" was symbolized by what what he describes as "the dangers of black encroachment through equality and amalgamation. Repeatedly throughout the novel, he asks, "Shall the future American be an Anglo-Saxon or a Mulatto?" [Dixon, 159] His opinion, however, is clear--Southerners must work to ensure that the races do not achieve equality because, as he writes, "...every inch in the approach of these races across the barriers that separate them is a movement towards death. You cannot seek the Negro vote without asking him to your home...And if you seat him at your table, he has the right to ask for your daughter's hand in marriage." [Dixon, 242] This statement illustrates Dixon's belief that equality between the races leads to the destruction of the white race because if "black blood" mixes with white blood, the result will be a hybrid, a mongrel, a combination of the worst aspects of both races.

Dixon's belief were clearly influenced by polygenist ideas about the separate "species" of man which had existed since the eighteenth century, when scientists first attempted to classify the races. In 1843, Josiah Clark Nott published an infamous article entitled, "The Mulatto a Hybrid--probable extermination of the two races if the Whites and the Blacks are allowed to intermarry" in the American Journal of the Medical Sciences. This article stated Nott's belief that the races are distinct species and that the offspring of the two is a Hybrid: "...a degenerate, unnatural offspring, doomed by nature to work out its own destruction." [Nott, 254] He also argued that hybrids were likely to be infertile, as well as mentally, morally, and physically inferior to either parent group. Dixon's novel offers a similarly negative view of people of mixed race. In The Leopard's Spots, he repeatedly stresses that racial equality leads to intermarriage--and this, he argues, is a fate worse than death. He writes, "the future American must be Anglo-Saxon or Mulatto. And if a Mulatto, will the future be worth discussing?" [Dixon, 333] Finally, Dixon tries to reinforce the idea which lies at the heart of polygenism: that basic, essential, and unchangeable differences between the races exist. The novels closes with the assertion that "The Ethiopian can not change his skin, or the leopard his spots," evoking what Dixon earlier in the novel called the "physical difference between the white and black races, which...will forever forbid them living together on terms of social and political equality." [Dixon, 459]

Dixon justifies his society's, and his own vehemently racist beliefs by relying on scientific "facts" distributed by polygenists and popular in society during the time in which he wrote. The success of Dixon's novel depended on these scientific ideas functioning culturally--circulating within society, changing people's attitudes, beliefs, and actions, and similarly, these scientific ideas would not have been as successfull if novels such as Dixon's had not made them easier for the general population to understand. In this way, scientific narratives and literary narratives are dependent on each other for meaning within a cultural context.

Mark Twain's Pudd'nhead Wilson also participates in the process of creating narratives which have meaning and authority because of, and in relation to, scientific narratives which were simultaneously being created. Twain was a racial liberal whose own views about race were allied with the scientific belief of mongenism. This traditional, religiously orthodox position held that all mankind descended from a single pair of humans, and that only one species of man existed. Thus, Mongenists were not as vehemently against miscegenation and amalgamation as were the polygenists. Monogenists, however, were not necessarily egalitarians--though many of them were. Instead, most took the liberal view that, as Mencke notes, though "an obvious inequality between the races existed," it was due to environmetal, rather than biological factors.

Throughout Pudd'nhead Wilson, Twain challenges the basic idea that blacks are, by nature, fundamentally different than whites, and argues that race is more of a social construction (that is, the result of environmental forces) rather than a biological fact rooted in physiological differences. The novel revolves around a very fair-skinned black boy who was switched, as an infant, with a white boy, and raised as "white." Twain suggests that it is nurture (the environment in which one is raised) and not nature (i.e. race) which determines how a person will act, live, and identify racially, which illustrates his belief that race is a social construction. In the novel, for example, many black characters are portrayed as "moral" and "good,"

which is in direct opposition to the stereotypical beliefs that blacks are innately "lazy" and "immoral" which were widely held during this time period. The one black character that isn't "good" was the black boy raised as white. Twain argues according to the beliefs of mongenism, suggesting that it is the environment in which the black boy was raised--the privileges that he received due to his "whiteness"--that explain his laziness and low morality, not his race. Some critics have interpreted this story as proving the point that one drop of "black blood" in a person will cause a person's ruin, since it was the black boy who ended up "bad" in the end. Many scholars, however, such as David L. Smith, show that, in fact, Twain made the opposite argument. He wanted to make clear the role of environment, of social factors, in determining character. By intending his novel to make the radical political statement that race is a social construction, Twain made an important intervention in the system of stereotypes which constituted the blacks and mulattoes as fundamentally different from and thus inferior to whites.

Finally, Twain attempted to disprove racist stereotypes by making all of the "black" characters in Puddn'head Wilson mulattoes. First of all, this illustrates Twain's belief that no "pure" races exist--niether the black race or the white race is without the "blood" of other races--which was in direct opposition to the racial purity triumphed by polygenists such as Thomas Dixon. As Mencke argues, it is important to point out that the large number of Southern blacks whose "white blood" was visible served as a constant reminder to white Americans that "...mulattoes were, after all, the products of their own lust...To recognize and admit the mulatto's white blood would be to admit the white man's role in miscegenation and the undermining of racial purity that most white's cherished so highly." [Mencke, 224]

Defining mulattoes by their black blood, thus denying their white blood, served to maintain and reinforce the American ideology of race based on the hierarchical and oppositional separation between the black and white "races". Looking at how the turn-of-the-century scientific beliefs about race interacted with social/political beliefs about race as represented by the novels of Thomas Dixon and Mark Twain, makes it easier to see how hegemonic ideas are created and maintained within a society. Turn-of-the-century Science and literature both produced narratives which contributed to the creation of a new ideology of race. Science and literature are just two examples of forces within society that produce cultural narratives. Others include institutions such as the educational system, the political system, the Church, the media, and so on. When all of these forces work in conjunction, a dominant set of beliefs emerge, and it becomes very hard to fight against the system. Today, however, despite the black/white, either/or understanding of race within the United States, many people of mixed-race are asserting their multiracial identify, and using their identity to challenge the racist, contradictory, and limiting racial organization of the United States. In summary, then, the struggle to define "blackness" --to define "who is black" and who isn't, and why (i.e. for biological reasons or for social reasons), continues into the present day.

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Objective and Progressive Allegories in Chan Kom

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Behind every act of writing lurks a personal tale. In the case of ethnographic writing, the subjective and sensuous personal dimensions survive alongside the objective and detached authority of science. Indeed, the ethnographer's narrative of his or her field experience remains a convention of ethnographic writing. Other levels of narrative, however, are not quite so explicit in conventional ethnographies. As James Clifford notes, "Ethnographic writing is allegorical at the level both of its content (what it says about cultures and their histories) and of its form (what is implied by its mode of textualization)" (98). In other words, ethnographies are inherently allegorical.

My reading of Robert Redfield's *Chan Kom: A Maya Village* seeks to understand the allegorical levels deployed within this ethnographic narrative. I utilize Clifford's meaning of "allegory" as "a practice in which a narrative fiction continuously refers to another pattern of ideas or events. It is a representation that `interprets' itself" (99). These dimensions of allegorical self-interpretation operate, according to Clifford, as "extended metaphors, patterns of association that point to coherent (theoretical, esthetic, moral) additional meanings" (100).

The search for additional meanings in *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*--for the stories behind the story--does not imply that there are added dimensions to the "simple ethnographic description" that Redfield's book claims to present (1962 ix). Instead, as Clifford demonstrates, the allegorical meanings constitute "the conditions of its meaningfulness" (99); the "meaning" of Redfield's narrative emanates from the allegorical registers that make the book possible in the first place. Without claiming to unravel all of the book's underlying narratives, I begin with a discussion of two allegories that I find particularly strong in *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*, allegories that I believe make the book both interesting and important. Then I examine the same two allegorical registers in Redfield's follow-up study, *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited*. In looking at the same registers in these two books, a sense of Redfield's own circumstance and particular view of the world begins to emerge.

The first of the allegorical registers that I examine is the legitimizing allegory of modern ethnography and science in general--*ethnography as an objective science*. In terms of rhetorical strategy, ethnographic writing often appeals to the allegory of detached, objective science as a source of authority. This appeal is required by the characteristic dilemma of ethnographic representation: by its very nature, the enterprise of ethnography is inherently subjective; it expresses the narration of an individual's experience among "others," typically in a radically foreign context. In an attempt to overcome a purely impressionistic subjectivity, however, ethnographers routinely enact the allegory of ethnography as an objective science.

Redfield enacts this allegory of objectivity in several ways in *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*. Most convincing is his ability to articulate his own subjective voice in the guise of

authoritative objectivity. This construction of an objective voice follows Renato Rosaldo's elucidation of the "tripartite author functions" common in ethnographic writing. According to Rosaldo, these functions include "(a) the individual who wrote the work, (b) the textualized persona of the narrator, and (c) the textualized persona of the field investigator" (88). On the one hand, it is the persona of the narrator who, at least in *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*, rhetorically enacts the allegory of detached, objective science. On the other hand, the triple function of author is a complex and interdependent process that is not easily divided into its constituent parts. The circumstance is complicated further by the variety of individuals implicated in the authorship process of *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*. Indeed, sorting out the authorship of this book is no simple matter.

The title page of the published version of the text lists the author as "Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas." In terms of who actually wrote the text, however, Redfield claims that function primarily for himself. This raises the question of Villa's place in the production of the text. Operating in the third component of Rosaldo's scheme of author function, Villa constitutes a vital part of the textualized persona of the field investigator. In fact, there are three subjects who act as "field investigator." The first, of course, is Redfield; his status in relation to the people of Chan Kom is as a complete outsider. Next is Villa; he can be characterized as a "resident outsider"--although he came from the city of Mérida, he lived in Chan Kom from 1927 through December, 1931, primarily as the village's schoolteacher, and he was conversant in the Mayan language. The third subject is Eustaquio Ceme, a "native" insider. Interestingly, Ceme is not listed as an author, although his autobiography appears as the final section of the book; as a writer, his role exceeds that of Villa. By presenting Ceme's text as an artifact of Chan Kom culture, however, Redfield chooses to treat it as data, thus drawing the line that separates field investigator from informant somewhere between Villa and Ceme.

By listing Villa as an author while Ceme remains a part of the data as an informant, Redfield complicates the distinction between field investigator and informant. On the one hand, both individuals play a similar role: each is a source of Redfield's data. On the other hand, they play very different roles in legitimizing Redfield's rhetorical position in the text. Redfield appropriates Villa's residence in Chan Kom and his familiarity with the local people; whatever degree of insider knowledge that Villa possesses is likewise attributed to Redfield when he elevates Villa to the level of author. In contrast, the choice to treat Ceme as an informant strategically bolsters Redfield's attempt to appear objective. He implicitly contrasts his own account as rigorously objective when he tells us that Ceme's account "is not, of course, objective; that is why it is interesting" (1962 214). In this way, Redfield seems to say that informants are not objective whereas field investigators are. By the strategic utilization of Villa and Ceme, Redfield bolsters his authority while at the same time maintaining the appearance of objectivity.

Redfield's carefully balanced appearance of objectivity, particularly in the complicated relationship between writer, field investigator, and informant, is obfuscated in the second author function described by Rosaldo--the textualized persona of narrator. Redfield enacts the allegory of ethnography as objective science in the narrator function through the detachment of third-person narration. Throughout the text, the detached, objective voice of the scientific observer glosses over the complicated and subjective interactions between Redfield, Villa, Ceme, and "the people of Chan Kom." The narrator often remains distinct from the field investigator by his use of the passive voice which elides the subjective

reality of the field investigator in contact with an informant. Thus, the third-person narrator is able to remain aloof. Its function is more than merely telling the story; its detachment and objectivity enacts the powerfully legitimizing allegory of ethnography as objective science.

In addition to the legitimizing allegory of objective science, Redfield's ethnography also enacts a romantic allegory-- *progress toward an idealized future*. The exemplary character in this romantic story is the pioneer struggling on the frontier. For Redfield, the pioneer image entails a sense of the rustic folk engaged in an effort to overcome their primitive circumstance while moving toward a more sophisticated ideal. Redfield aggrandizes this pioneer spirit at the same time that he projects it onto the community of Chan Kom.

The aggrandizement of the pioneer associates Redfield's work with what Clifford describes as "ethnographic pastoral" (110). In keeping with the pastoral tradition, Redfield finds the idealized pioneer traits of initiative, industry, and perseverance in Chan Kom. For instance, at one point he claims, "This community is, in many respects, one of pioneers; industry and perseverance, not inherited wealth or privilege, are the outstanding advantages" (1962 58). Redfield's allegorical deployment of the idealized pioneer parallels a utopian vision of American values. It also contrasts with the reality of the Depression-era America in which Redfield wrote it. Whereas the first allegorical register of objective science serves to legitimize the ethnographic undertaking, this second register of progress toward an idealized future responds to the anxieties of the ethnographer and his intended audience. Both allegories serve powerful purposes in the historical context in which they were deployed.

In contrast to the allegorical registers deployed in *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*, Redfield's follow-up study seventeen years later indicates a reformulation of the allegories in response to a different set of anxieties and a different ethnographical circumstance. Certainly, the world as seen from America was a far different place in 1948 than it was in 1931; the terrifying specters of both the Holocaust in Europe and the unleashing of nuclear weapons in Japan instigated an unprecedented moral debate within American society. Thus, as a voice within this debate, the allegorical registers in Redfield's sequel ethnography appear in quite different forms and with a different emphasis than the earlier book. From a comparative perspective, the two ethnographic accounts reflect widely different contexts in their respective versions of the two allegorical registers.

In examining the first allegorical register, *ethnography as an objective science*, the text of *Chan Kom Revisited* reveals far less faith in objectivity. Thus, it displays a very different make-up of the tripartite author functions. Just like the earlier work, Redfield reserves the first function of actual writer for himself. In the later book, however, he acknowledges the role of his wife, Margaret Park Redfield, as a partial co-writer of the text: "The content of the last chapter in particular owes much to her" (1950 xi). Ironically, it seems that her participation in the actual writing exceeded Villa's participation in the earlier book, but Villa is listed as a co-author of that book whereas Margaret Park Redfield does not share the same honor in the later book.

The absence of Margaret Park Redfield's name from the title page of *Chan Kom Revisited* reflects her status in the function of field investigator. Whereas the field investigations for *Chan Kom: A Maya Village* were conducted at three levels of participation with the ethnographic object (complete outsider, resident outsider, and native insider), *Chan Kom Revisited* relies on two field investigators who are both complete outsiders-- Robert Redfield and his wife Margaret Park Redfield. Thus, adding her name as an author does not enhance the authority of the work, nor does it further the

allegorical register of scientific objectivity. The result is a work which seems less objective and less authoritative than *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*.

One consequence of Redfield's approach to fieldwork in *Chan Kom Revisited* is a stronger reliance on the subjective view of a single informant. He acknowledges his reliance on this primary informant in the Preface of the book when he states, "Of the people of Chan Kom, one especially, Sr. D. Eustaquio Ceme, appears often in the pages that follow" (1950 x). As he does in the previous book, Redfield regards Ceme as an informant rather than as either field investigator or writer. Ceme's presence in *Chan Kom Revisited*, however, is more obvious and ubiquitous than it was in the text of *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*. Eustaquio Ceme is more than ethnographic data; to some extent, *Chan Kom Revisited* is as much Ceme's personal narrative as it is Redfield's.

Ceme's prominent position in the text of *Chan Kom Revisited* gives the book a sense of polyphony; Redfield's text is quite eager to allow Ceme's native voice to be heard. To the degree that it constitutes a dialogue between Redfield and his native informant, *Chan Kom Revisited* might be viewed as protopostmodern. Stephen A. Tyler argues that the postmodern ethnography "foregrounds dialogue as opposed to monologue, and emphasizes the cooperative and collaborative nature of the ethnographic situation in contrast to the ideology of the transcendental observer" (126). The relationship between Ceme and Redfield certainly seems cooperative and collaborative, but *Chan Kom Revisited* never seems to get beyond the transcendental observer. In fact, by including Ceme's voice in the text, Redfield utilizes what Rosaldo describes as "the false ethnographic authority of polyphony," a stance that remains "peculiarly insensitive to power relations and cultural differences" (82). Indeed, besides Ceme's privileged view, the other voices of Chan Kom are not heard.

In contrast to Ceme's status as the representative voice of Chan Kom, Alfonso Villa Rojas becomes an item of data in *Chan Kom Revisited*. He had no hand in producing the book; he is textualized primarily as an instrumental character in the history of Chan Kom. Redfield does use Villa, however, to intertextually strengthen his own legitimacy by recounting Villa's arrival scene narrative where Villa first encounters Chan Kom as the derided outsider who must fend for himself in a hostile environment. Mary Louise Pratt demonstrates the importance of such arrival scenes in ethnographic writing: "They are emblematic self-portraits, which operate as a prelude to, and commentary on, what follows. In this respect they are not trivial, for one of their tasks is to position the reader with respect to the formal description" (42). Redfield's account of Villa's arrival in Chan Kom continues by emphasizing the integral role Villa played in Redfield's own coming to Chan Kom. Indeed, when the doors of Chan Kom finally opened to Villa they also opened to Redfield; from this perspective, Villa's arrival is also Redfield's arrival. Villa continues to legitimize Redfield's authority even when his presence is no more than textual.

The textual presence of Villa forms an intertextual link between *Chan Kom Revisited* and the earlier *Chan Kom: A Maya Village* in terms of the author function of field investigator. In doing so, Redfield appeals to the objectivity of the earlier work. He traces his own authority back through the historical narrative of Chan Kom's past and positions himself in alliance with Villa's four-year residence in the village. Even without Villa's active presence, Redfield attempts to preserve a measure of authentic authority by resurrecting Villa's image as field investigator and carrying that image forward in the textual representation of Chan Kom's history. His attempt remains unconvincing, however; although Villa's arrival establishes the grounds for authoritative observations in Chan Kom, Villa himself is absent as an authoritative author

of *Chan Kom Revisited*. His absence forces Redfield to rely on his informant Ceme as the primary field investigation tool and source of legitimate authority. In doing so, Redfield compromises the allegorical importance of objectivity.

The compromised status of the allegorical register of objective science is also evident in the other author function, the persona of textualized narrator. For the most part the narrator remains a detached, third-person, objective voice; the narrator in *Chan Kom Revisited* assumes a similar authoritative stance as the narrator of the original *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*. The use of the detached third-person, however, is not consistent in *Chan Kom Revisited*. Throughout the text Redfield allows his own first-person voice to slip in. When it does, it is unclear exactly *who* the "I" represents; the reader can not be sure if it is the writer himself, the textualized persona of narrator, or the textualized persona of field investigator. Ultimately, Redfield's use of the subjective first-person voice obfuscates the distinctions between author functions and attenuates the claim of detached objectivity.

Although the allegory of objective science is weaker in *Chan Kom Revisited*, Redfield enacts the second allegorical register--*progress toward an idealized future*--with even greater urgency than in *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*. Perhaps on the heals of World War II and its horrific consequences, Redfield felt compelled to present a narrative of the idealized society that overcame its factional conflicts in order to move forward toward a lasting harmony. In any case, Redfield's postwar book reformulates the progress allegory in terms of heightened social consciousness.

Redfield achieves this reformulation in a very self-conscious manner. He claims that "the story of Chan Kom is a story of success" (1950 23). He then contemplates the meaning of their success, and he concludes, "Chan Kom, reaching success, having become different from what it was, might differently view its success at the later date from the way it viewed it when a generation before, it conceived it" (1950 23). Redfield's reflective ruminations on the people of Chan Kom seem more like the self-reflection of a man who has seen the consequences of scientific progress in the eugenics of the Holocaust and the mass killing of nuclear weapons. Above all, the meaning that Redfield finds in the narrative of Chan Kom enacts a reconsidered view of the allegory of progress toward an idealized future.

In *Chan Kom Revisited*, Redfield depicts Chan Kom as an idealized society that can serve as an exemplary model for the Western world. He finds in this model a formula by which Western civilization might deploy the allegory of social progress: "The traditional values on the whole guide the course of progress in Chan Kom" (1950 138). In short, Redfield appeals to the wisdom of Chan Kom in his search for a solution to the predicament of postwar civilization; like them, our path must be guided by traditional values.

Redfield reformulates the allegorical register of progress toward an idealized future in response to the social anxieties that he felt in postwar America. The allegory is no longer executed as a nostalgic salvage of the pioneer spirit as it was in the earlier book. Instead, the allegorical dimension in *Chan Kom Revisited* serves as a prescription for overcoming the vitriolic conflicts that postwar civilization faced. As such, the reader can see how ethnography is able to serve as a vehicle of personal narrative in a larger discourse. *Chan Kom Revisited* was not the only vehicle for Redfield's voice; among other efforts, he organized "a large-scale comparativist project, which he viewed as part of a `great conversation' of civilizations that might contribute to the permanent establishment of a peaceful world community" (Stocking 337). This goal of a peaceful world community is the idealized future that also informs Redfield's deployment of the allegory of progress in *Chan Kom Revisited*.

The allegory of progress arguably takes a strong precedent over the allegory of objectivity in *Chan Kom Revisited*. Its subjective tone and urgent message reflect the anxieties felt by Robert Redfield as he witnessed his own world emerging from cataclysmic war and the attempt to deal with the implications of nuclear proliferation. Like other ethnographers before him and since, Redfield brought to his text a personal narrative; his own story inhabits the voices and perspectives inscribed in *Chan Kom Revisited*. In this book, the reader enters both the world of a Mayan village caught up in the move toward modernization and the world of modern civilization struggling to move away from the terror of war. In my reading at least, these are two of the worlds inhabited by Robert Redfield.

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Keyboards and Stagelights: the Life and Works of Elizabeth Billington

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A properly-educated young lady of eighteenth-century England was expected to display a perfunctory knowledge of vocal and keyboard music by performing among friends and family. Even though the study of music was regarded primarily as a social commodity, the occasional lady took her musical education seriously enough to become adept at the art. One such artist was the English soprano and harpsichordist Elizabeth Billington. Although she was known principally for her striking vocal performances, she had also developed her keyboard skills well and had learned to apply them to the concepts of classical composition. Like the compositions of many eighteenth-century females, Elizabeth Billington's keyboard works have been largely ignored and are relatively unknown today. However, due to her fame as a singer on the stages of the British Isles and of the European continent, her life has been documented by music historians, and several of her publications for harpsichord are available for examination in special collections of both the United States and Great Britain.

INTRODUCTION

Since the work of female composers has been neglected in many major music history texts and curricula, information about their lives and about the conditions under which they worked is sparse and difficult to find. Research into the details of Billington's life, an examination of the major influences on her art, and an explication of two of her works have served as vehicles toward an attempt to prove the significance of work done by one female of the eighteenth century and to piece together the scattered fragments of documentation by various music scholars.

Work began at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., where two of Elizabeth Billington's works -- Three Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte and Six Progressive Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte -- were examined and then photocopied for further study. Subsequently, a search was conducted at the New York Public Library at the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York City, where articles outlining the details of Billington's life and singing career provided the groundwork for further exploration.

In addition to the aforementioned compositions, supplementary sources dating from the eighteenth century, such as James Ridgway's pamphlet The Memoirs of Mrs. Billington from Her Birth and Anthony Pasquin's Children of Thespis, were consulted. Supplementary references included publications from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A compilation of the material documented in various historical accounts gives perspective to the story of one of England's leading *prima donnas*.

Elizabeth Weichsell, born in either 1765 or 1768 to Carl and Fredericka Weichsell, began her musical studies early when her father, an eminent oboist,

recognized her talents and began to instruct her on the harpsichord (Highfill 122). Later, as she studied under Johann Samuel Schroeter, her father kept a careful watch over her practice and progress, often with what one anonymous critic calls "a degree of severity, that could scarcely be justified even by the proficiency of the pupil" (Quarterly 164). As a result, Elizabeth attained a mastery of the harpsichord which ranked her among the best of J. S. Schroeter's students and established a lifelong habit of persistence and hard work toward her musical goals (Sands 34).

Elizabeth's brother Charles, one year her junior, demonstrated similarly extraordinary talent as a violinist. The young Weichsells practiced together constantly, and these practice sessions were thought to have contributed strongly to the refinement of Elizabeth's frequently-noted sense of intonation (Highfill 122). The Weichsell children appeared together upon several occasions in public performance. The earliest such event to be documented took place on March 10, 1774, at the Small Haymarket Theater, where Charles and Elizabeth performed at their mother's benefit concert (Sands 34). Several other London concerts followed in such locations as Hickford's Rooms and Covent Garden (Highfill 122).

Elizabeth's keyboard studies with J.S. Schroeter probably led to the composition of her two earliest works for the harpsichord, which she wrote at the ages of eight and eleven (Megget 44). Although the dates of these publications are uncertain, the compositions are probably authentic, since several sources indicate that at eight years of age Elizabeth had achieved a high enough level of pianistic skill to write them (Highfill 122).

Elizabeth Billington took pride in her work as a keyboardist, as she thus indicates in a letter she wrote to her mother in June of 1784: "Though it may seem as if I wanted to praise myself . . . everybody that has heard me play on the piano forte, say I am the greatest player in the world" (Ridgway 61).

But regardless of her remarkable keyboard proficiency, she is remembered best for her abilities as a vocal performer. She first studied voice with Johann Christian Bach, who had also taught her mother. After Bach's death in 1782, she began lessons with James Billington, a young double-bass player and vocal instructor in London. Her personal relationship with him resulted in their elopement in October of the following year (Highfill 124).

Immediately after their marriage, the Billingtons, along with Elizabeth's father and brother, moved to Dublin. Here she received her first performing engagements: she sang Polly in The Beggar's Opera, Eurydice in Gluck's Orpheus, Mandane in Arne's Artaxerxes, and several other roles in which she began to gain the recognition of the Irish public (Sands 34-5).

Mrs. Billington became ill in 1785, and, after her recovery in 1786, she and her husband moved back to England, where they remained in London and the surrounding area until 1794. She accepted numerous singing engagements during this interval, rapidly becoming one of the most popular and well-received female singers in Britain. She was praised not only for her beautiful voice and excellent musicianship, but also for what author Philip Highfill calls "a great deal of genuine beauty and very unaffected and charming manners." Highfill also records that she pursued continually the improvement of her technique, vocal range, and voice quality with Mortellari in London as well as *bel canto* studies with Sacchini in Paris (124-5). According to an article published in the Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review shortly after her death,

> she continued from the first to fortify and enrich her natural gifts with the strength and ornaments of high science, an example to be followed by every student who aspires to the character of a polished and expressive singer (166).

Anthony Pasquin adds to her praises:

> Behold a blithe Syren, high priz'd and high finish'd!

Fall back, ye meek songsters, abash'd and dimish'd:
'Tis Billington comes, public praise to implore,
Whom Honor pursues, and Muses adore!
(Children of Thespis, 1787).

For all her hard work and charming performances, Elizabeth Billington's life was not untouched by trouble. In the midst of her popularity, she was also one of the most controversial women performers of her time. On January 14, 1792, James Ridgway published the pamphlet The Memoirs of Mrs. Billington From Her Birth, in which he purported to disclose the wicked particulars of her personal life. Ridgway had obtained, perhaps illegally, some letters that Mrs. Billington had supposedly written to her mother. Elizabeth demanded that he return them to her, but Ridgway refused and published them anyway. Although the letters themselves seem to reveal very little, Ridgway's accusations against Mrs. Billington and his descriptions of her alleged adulterous activities often amounted to what Christopher Hogwood calls "soft pornography couched uncomfortably in musical terminology." The composer Haydn, upon hearing reports of her conduct and of the contents of Memoirs, made the following comments: "It is said that her character is the worst sort, but that she is a great genius, and all the women hate her because she is so beautiful" (Hogwood 51-2).

Whether or not the stories of her multiple affairs were true, embarrassment -- caused by the publication of the Memoirs, an anonymous response to the Memoirs, and an ensuing lawsuit -- could have been one of the reasons for the Billingtons' departure for Italy in 1794. However, historians offer more likely reasons for such a move. Philip Highfill suggests that she wished to try her skills against foreign competition (125). The author of the Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review believes that after the end of the 1793 season in Covent Garden, Mrs. Billington had planned to retire, and that her father and brother had attempted to dissuade her from her decision with suggestions that she take a tour through continental Europe. Although she agreed to her family's idea, she stipulated that she would make the trip for pleasure only and that she would take no letters of introduction with her (166-7).

In Naples, however, the King and Queen discovered Mrs. Billington's identity and requested that she and her brother perform at the palace. Subsequently, she was invited to sing at the Teatro San Carlo, where she made her debut in May of 1794 in Inez di Castro, an opera written especially for her by Francesco Bianchi. On the night after her debut performance, her husband James died of an apoplexy at the home of the Bishop of Winchester, with whom the couple had dined that evening (Quarterly 167).

Elizabeth remained in Naples until 1796, when she and her brother continued to tour and concertize through several Italian cities, including Florence, Rome, Venice, and Milan. At this last city she met Josephine Bonaparte, by whom she was graciously received. Here she also met M. Felissent (or Felican), her second husband. After their marriage in 1798, they went to live at St. Artien, on an estate near Venice (Sands 37).

M. Felissent was unkind, and often brutal, toward his wife. So in 1801 she returned to London to resume her singing career, still calling herself Mrs. Billington. Her husband tried to follow, but Elizabeth's friends had him captured and driven out of Britain. Mrs. Billington was shaken but undaunted from her career, and she continued to sing publicly, sometimes under more than one contract, until May 3, 1811, when she announced her retirement at the end of a performance in her brother's benefit concert. However, a performance after this date is documented as "an appearance at Whitehall Chapel in 1814 in a benefit performance for sufferers from the German War" (Highfill 127).

Elizabeth went on to live comfortably at Fulham, England for some time after her retirement. When her husband Felissent made an appearance there in

1817, she followed him back to St. Artien, where she stayed until she died on August 25, 1818. Most authorities suspect that Felissent's cruel treatment was the ultimate cause of her death (Highfill 127).

Although Elizabeth Billington is remembered best as a controversial but talented British singer and opera performer, her work as a composer also deserves recognition and study. Two volumes of her compositions can be found in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. The first, written when she was eight years old and thought to have been published in 1792 (Cohen 82), is entitled Three Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte. This volume, dedicated to the Countess of Abingdon, contains three sonatas in the keys of D major, E-flat major, and A major, which consist of two movements each.

The first sonata, in the key of D major, begins with an Allegro movement and moves to a minuet and trio, with the trio section in D minor. This sonata is fairly simple, making much use of the Alberti bass and broken chord triplets. The second, in the key of E-flat major, becomes more complicated, however, with a thicker texture in parts of the first movement and the use of triple-against-duple rhythm patterns in the second. These same patterns, as well as broken-chord figures, occur again in the Allegro movement of the third sonata in A major, as illustrated in Figure 1:

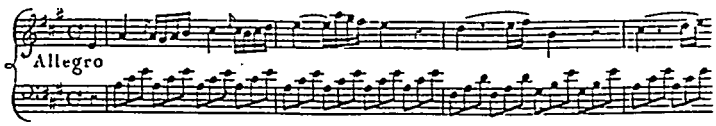


Figure 1: Weichsell, Elizabeth. Three Lessons..., page 14, beginning of Sonata III

The second volume, entitled Six Progressive Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, contains six Sonatas in the keys of G, A, Bb, Eb, F, and G. In this collection as well, the classical Alberti bass and triplet figures are prominent. Duple-against-triple patterns appear, and a couple of the sonatas make use of a theme with variations. The best illustration of Mrs. Billington's use of theme and variations is the Andante con Variazioni movement of the fourth sonata in E-flat major (please see Figures 2 and 3). This movement presents the theme and then develops six increasingly energetic variations.
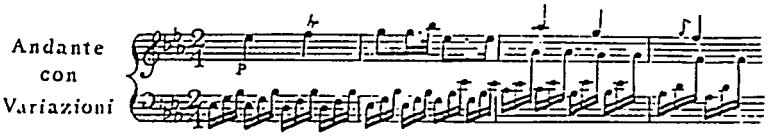


Figure 2: Billington, Elizabeth. Six Progressive Lessons..., page 20, beginning of *Andante con variazioni*
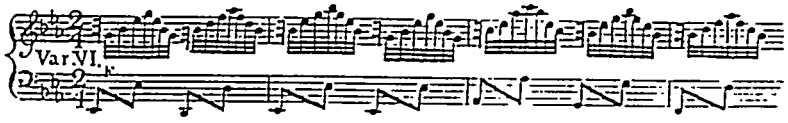


Figure 3: Billington, Elizabeth. Six Progressive Lessons..., page 24, beginning of sixth (final) variation

Crescendo markings in several of the sonatas indicate the development of a more pianistic style in her later work.

In addition to these works, Elizabeth Billington is thought to have published two more sets of sonatas for the harpsichord or piano forte and three sonatas for the violin and pianoforte (Cohen 82). The set of six sonatas which she wrote when she was eleven can be found in the British Library of London. The private collection of Calvert Johnson in Decatur, Georgia contains microfilm copies of the British Library holdings for this volume and for Three Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte (Jackson 55-56).

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A Matter of Taste: Observing Baroque Performance Practices in Handel's *Water Music* in Performance and on Recording

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George Frideric Handel's *Water Music* is a Baroque work that is familiar to almost everyone's ears, but many of the recordings we hear demonstrate questionable performance practice. Performance of Baroque music is highly demanding due to the many idiosyncrasies of its notation which have changed in our time, as well as common performance practices that were simply understood by Baroque performers, and therefore not notated. While a conscious decision to ignore traditional practice can be given legitimate argument, inaccuracies based on ignorance are unacceptable to the critical musician or listener. Even if a final decision is made to avoid these original intentions, it is important to *understand* them if one is to defend such decisions. This paper will approach the matter of authentic performance of Baroque music—in particular, Handel's *Water Music*—first by examining the work's historical context and exploring concerns of Baroque performance, and second by applying this information to a critical comparison of two recordings of the *Water Music* of contrasting quality.

HANDEL AND HIS *WATER MUSIC* IN THE CONTEXT OF BAROQUE MUSIC

Handel was born in Halle on 23 February 1685 and died in London on 14 April 1759. He studied organ with Zachow, the principal organist in Halle before leaving at age 18 for Hamburg (Sadie 319). There he played violin and harpsichord and composed for the Hamburg Opera. By age 23 he had left for Italy, where he worked with eminent composers Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713) and Allessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725). He achieved considerable social and economic success, and his works were published widely (Harnoncourt 168).

The clean, simple nature of Handel's music demanded clarity and precision in an ensemble performing his work. While his music is often bold and powerful, Nikolaus Harnoncourt suggests that it is best performed by a relatively small ensemble for reasons of "clear articulation of small note values" (170). The quick tempos of most of Handel's music also require a small, flexible ensemble to perform with accuracy. Robert Donington agrees: "The surest way to make Handel dull is to perform his music in what used to be thought the Handelian manner, and sometimes still is: weighty; pompous; relying more on force than subtlety" (37). He indicates several alternatives, including "reducing the size of the choir and orchestra. Introducing plenty of oboes and bassoons sharpens up the colouring wonderfully; for doubling with winds, especially reeds, was common baroque practice. Add to this the sharp, transparent string tone which seems proper to Baroque music" (37). Additionally, Harnoncourt believes that authentic period instruments should be used, in order to achieve an authentic historical interpretation (170).

Despite Harnoncourt's insistence on the use of authentic period instruments, it is unlikely that we would find many performers today using a recorder, valveless trumpet, or natural horn in the orchestra. Donington agrees that the use of authentic instruments is ideal, but only when they are played by competent performers. He feels that it is much better to have music played well on a modern instrument than shoddily on an historical one (16-17). While a performer may wish to make compromises in instrumental authenticity for

the sake of proficiency (and therefore musical quality), a critical listener may not wish to afford such compromises when selecting a recording. The fact that there *are* performers who have mastered period instruments and are recording on them allows a listener to demand authenticity of instrumentation as well as performance in a recording.

Dealing with the Baroque musical score itself can at times be challenging. The greatest difficulty for performers is often making sense of inconsistencies in notation, but most of these discrepancies had been eliminated by Handel's time. Nevertheless, there are some Baroque ornamentation techniques that are pertinent to the *Water Music*, in particular the trill. In modern performance, the trill is handled rather straightforwardly, but in the Baroque era more specific rules for its use were applied: "When the trill has primarily a melodic function, it is begun optionally with its main note or its upper auxiliary," but "(w)hen the trill has primarily a harmonic function, it is begun obligatorily with its upper auxiliary." Also, "(w)hen the trill is a cadential trill, its harmonic function is particularly prominent." This rule applies because of the suspensions and resolutions that such a trill produces in cadential harmony (Donington 196). An example of the trill in Handel's *Water Music* occurs during the overture (Figure 1), in which the violins and oboes, performing the melody, have trills indicated over several quarter notes. These melodic trills may be begun either with the indicated note or its upper neighbor, but most likely the former. Both recordings examined in this paper support this assertion.
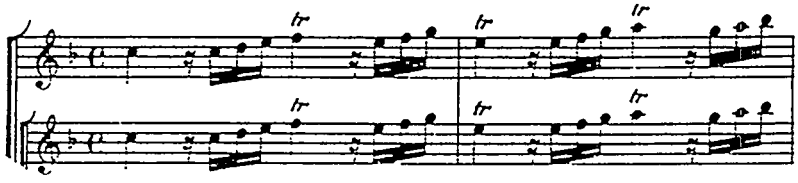


Figure 1: Overture

Articulation can also create problems for the modern performer of Baroque music. Slurs are seldom marked, but the performer frequently performs them, based on achieving a natural feel in bowing or tonguing (Donington 284-285). Beyond articulation of individual notes, the phrase must be clearly shaped and distinct from other phrases (Donington 283). Figure 2, taken from the opening movement of the second suite of the *Water Music*, demonstrates this principle. The example is taken from the oboe part (doubling the violins), and shows strings of sixteenth-note runs with no articulation markings. In performance, this would typically be performed with a slur between two of the notes, preferably the first two notes of the second beat, in order to facilitate smooth performance of the passage.
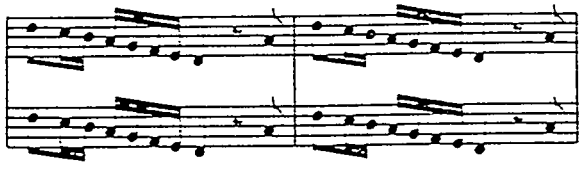


Figure 2: Second suite, first movement

One of the most frustrating discrepancies in Baroque music is that of rhythmic notation. Often triplets are written concurrently with either duple or dotted figures. In these circumstances, rather than accentuating the polyrhythms inherent in such notation as would be done with contemporary music, Baroque music generally assimilates the duple or dotted rhythms to that of the triplet (Donington 276). This type of notational ambiguity occurs in the last movement of the *Water Music*'s third suite (Figure 3). Both of the recordings handle this situation in the appropriate manner, performing the dotted figure in a triplet rhythm.
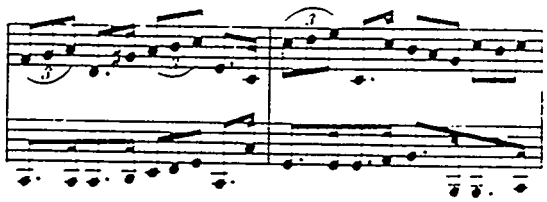


Figure 3: Third suite, last movement

Perhaps the most striking difficulties in interpreting Baroque music stem from the two most conspicuously absent indications: tempo and dynamics. These characteristics are left largely to the discretion of the performer. Tempo can vary depending upon performance circumstances, such as the size of the performing ensemble or the acoustics of the performance area. Generally, a reasonable tempo can be determined simply by examining the nature of the music (Donington 243-248). Choice of appropriate dynamics is likewise left to the performer, though consideration should be made regarding the character of the music as well as the overall conception of the work. Additionally, it must be understood that Baroque performers would not make extreme dynamic changes within phrases (though a more reasonable amount of dynamic variation may occur), but would rather strive for a "terraced" effect of dynamic contrast between passages (Donington 290-293).

Several issues in performance practice of Baroque music, from the selection of an appropriate ensemble to perform the *Water Music*, to the ideals of music performance in the Baroque, to concerns in reading the score (ornamentation, articulation, rhythm, tempo, and dynamics) have been examined. This knowledge will now be applied in listening critically to performances of the work.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF TWO RECORDINGS OF THE *WATER MUSIC*

A critical listener, looking for the best recording of a selected work, has many difficult choices to make. Popular pieces like the *Water Music* have been recorded frequently, and these recordings, which differ drastically in accuracy and quality, are found side by side in libraries and music stores. How can a listener make a choice when borrowing or purchasing recordings?

Contrary to the old saying about judging a book by its cover, a careful examination of the packaging of a CD can provide clues to its quality. As disappointing as it may be, price is often a good indicator of quality in recordings. The Vox Allegretto compact disc of the *Water Music* was purchased for a mere $3.99. The Philips CD was priced at $15.99. Additionally, a recording's packaging should give many indications of its quality. The ensemble and conductor should be listed and, preferably, well-known (the absence of even this basic information on the package is *definitely* a warning sign). High-end recordings will provide even more information. The Philips CD package indicates that period instruments were used in its recording—an indication of a concerted effort to achieve authentic performance. Finally, the cover art may suggest the amount of care that has been taken for the overall historical accuracy of the product. The Philips CD cover shows a detail of a sculpture dating to the Baroque era. The Vox Allegretto CD cover includes a painting of a scene on the Thames River in London. This is the site of the work's premiere, but the painting is unmistakably *impressionistic* in style, inconsistent with the *Baroque* music contained on the CD.

Nevertheless, packaging is not music. The real test of a recording's accuracy is in the listening.

An analysis of both of the complete recordings of the *Water Music* (53 minutes on the Philips CD and 43 on the Vox Allegretto CD) would be too exhaustive for this paper. In order to achieve a reasonably detailed yet still approachable comparison, this discussion will focus on a small section of the work, the *Bourree* and Hornpipe from the first suite in F. These sections are of specific interest due to a discrepancy noted between the directions for

repeats given in the Dover score and the handling of these two movements on the Philips recording, which was playing in the background the score was examined.

The eighth movement of the first suite in F is a "*Bourree*" (a quick French dance in duple meter [Sadie 100], consisting of two sections. Though it is notated as common time, the nature of the bourree demands that it be performed in cut time. The score indicates that it is played three times, first by the violins, then the oboes, and finally by both instruments. In all instances the viola and basses perform. This movement is distinguished by constant quarter notes.

The ninth movement is a "Hornpipe" (a British dance resembling the jig [Sadie 350]) in 3/2 time. It is performed by the same ensemble of the *Bourree* which precedes it, contains two repeated sections, and is to be performed three times.

Though the *Bourree* and Hornpipe are apparently two different movements, they are integrated on the Philips recording. The score's indications for performance are detailed above, but as played by the English Baroque Soloists on the Philips CD, the first section is played by the violins, then the oboes, but rather than playing it a third time together, the orchestra moves to the second section, and again the violins play first, followed by the oboes. Next the orchestra moves directly to the Hornpipe and applies the same rules for repeat as in the *Bourree*. Once the Hornpipe has been completed in this fashion, the whole orchestra *then* returns to the *Bourree* and plays through both movements *tutti*, without repeats.

The organization presented on the Philips CD may make a finer musical statement than what is anticipated from the directions in the score. Not yet certain whether the difference on the Philips CD is a conscious change or standard performance practice on this piece, or whether the directions had simply been misinterpreted in this examination, the Vox Allegretto recording was explored.

Even before playing it suspicion was aroused, as while the two movements are grouped as one track on the Philips CD (owing to their interlocking structure presented therein), they are separate tracks on the Vox Allegretto recording. This intriguing prospect was quickly thwarted as it was discovered that the track listings on the Vox Allegretto package were inaccurate, and that both were in fact on the same track! On this recording the performance decisions are rather confusing. The violins play the first section of the *Bourree twice*, the first time *forte* and the second, *piano*. Then they repeat the second section as well, but play *forte* both times. Next the oboes play straight through the entire movement without repeats, and finally the violins return (but the oboes drop out!) and play the movement through without repeats, *forte*. The Hornpipe is treated in the same way, though the violins do not repeat the second section but play it *piano* the first time. The *Bourree* is not repeated as in the Philips recording.

The decision to meld the two movements is an intriguing one. Although the score used here does not give indications for such practice, the one used by the English Baroque Soloists on the Philips recording may have done so. If not, it is more difficult to justify such a decision, but Handel himself frequently took liberties with both his own work and others' in performance (Donington 30), and would likely have given his approval for such a decision upon hearing the pleasant results. The Chicago Chamber Orchestra's interpretation on the Vox Allegretto recording could likewise be defended.

Beyond such matters of structure, there are notable differences in the sonic qualities of the performances on the two recordings. Though the movements examined here in detail do not feature brass, it is worth noting that the period instruments, such as the natural horn and the *flauto piccolo*, used on the Philips recording afford a unique feeling of authenticity and novelty that is absent in the modern instrumentation used on the Vox Allegretto recording.

Specifically, within the *Bourree* and Hornpipe, clear differences can be found. On the Philips recording, the strings have a clear, light, "transparent" quality, which Donington emphasizes as crucial to the Baroque string sound (52). In contrast, the strings on the Vox Allegretto recording have a rather cutting, heavy, thick tone which is notably less pleasing to the modern ear, and would surely have been to the Baroque ear! The difference between the tones of the oboes on the two recordings are more subtle, but the ones on the Philips

recording have a fluid, pure quality that matches that of the strings. Similarly, the oboes on the Vox Allegretto recording bear a sonic resemblance to the strings.

Moving to the actual performance of the material itself, it is not surprising to discover a certain clarity and precision present in the Philips recording that makes the Vox Allegretto recording sound rather muddled, with less distinct articulation, by comparison. This is especially apparent on the rapid eighth-note lines.

It has been difficult to avoid a bias in examining the two recordings, but the subtle, yet unmistakable superiority of the Philips recording in all aspects is evident. The only advantage the Vox Allegretto recording has in its favor is price, but to a critical listener, the marked difference in quality is worth the extra twelve dollars for the Philips CD.

CONCLUSION

The desire to achieve authentic performance or experience of Baroque music, like Handel's *Water Music*, can be very demanding. One must master the details of its performance, researching obscure issues and discovering lost concepts. One must also understand the ideals of a time long passed. Art is the human expression of life and the aspiration toward perfection in it, and to truly *understand* such art, one must understand its history. This is a long and arduous process, one this paper has only barely begun. Nevertheless, even the slightest understanding of Baroque music can create a better performer and a more enlightened listener.

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Bio-Spirituality: The Role Of The Spirit In Healing

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What are the implications of the spirit/body problem for healing? The West is strongly influenced by two primary models. The Platonic-Cartesian model separates spirit form body. By contrast the Aristotelian-Thomistic model combines spirit with body. Further, models combining spirit with body as a single unit working together are evident in other non-Western traditions, for example, Eastern Yoga, Chinese Ch'i medicine, and Eastern Ayurvedic medicine. I argue that the best relationship for optimum psycho-physical health combines spirit with body. Adopting this position allows us to challenge the idea, prevalent in the West, that the spirit, or more generally, religion, is at best irrelevant, and at worse detrimental to health care. Adopting the combined model also allows us to contribute to an evolving new model of Western spirituality, namely that body and mind form an integral whole.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of the mind/body concept is an ancient one dating back as far as African, Chinese, Greece, and Indian civilization. However, the basic question as to whether there is a mind separate from body, in which case it would be a soul, or whether the mind is just body, in which case it would be a brain, is still largely unanswered. In the West there are two dominate models for the mind body relationship. First, there is the Platonic-Cartesian model which seeks to separate the two entities (mind and body) from one another. In this view the body is just a machine or prison in which the spirit/mind is trapped. It is the releasing of the spirit/mind, under this view, from the body which brings perfection, healing, and salvation to the person. Plato, speaking through Socrates, in the Phaedo writes:

> And purification . . . consists in separating the soul as much a possible from the body, and accustoming it to withdraw from all contact with the body and concentrate itself by itself, and to have its dwelling, so far as it can, both now and in the future, alone by itself, freed from the shackles of the body.[1]

Second is the Aristotelian-Thomistic view which seeks to join or unite the spirit/mind with the body in order to bring the individual to perfection, health, salvation. In the words of Aquinas: "Therefore this principle by which primarily we understand, whether it be called the intellect or the intellectual soul, is the form of the body."[2] Both of these systems approach the mind/body problem from a dualistic position and both posit a spirit which is separate from the body. The difference in the two is simply this: whereas the Platonic-Cartesian model views the body as an obstruction to the salvation, health and perfection of the individual, the Aristotelian-Thomstic model views the opposite, that is, the individual needs both mind and body in order to reach perfection, health and salvation.

Given these two distenic views (models) of the mind/body problem, we seek to ask which of the two are best suited to provide us with an optimum view of the individual for the purpose of health -- psychological as well as physical. The author seeks to show that given the two models of the mind/body problem it is the Aristotelian-Thomistic model that holds the best possibility for optimum health.

METHOD

Searching philosophical text such as Aquinas' Summa Theologia, and Plato's Phaedo I have sought to bring out

these thinker's positions on the mind/body problem. Also I have searched in modern psycho-medical texts including models of health and healing from other cultures to see their primary views on the mind/body problem and how it applies to health care.

As we look to the future with hopes of higher knowledge and better understanding of ourselves and our world, we thirst for a fresh new holistic approach to human ailments. We are in need of an approach which will combine the best of our knowledge in every field of study from the highly technical to the simplest forms of spirituality. We are in need of a reuniting of science and soul, rationale and spirit, mind and body.

RESULTS

The first step in our disclosure is to define what is meant by the term bio-spirituality. This can be done by separating the term into its parts. The first term "bio" should be taken much like it is used in its normative since, that is, as it applies to physical systems, in this case the human body. This term may also be extended to represent the world in which the human being lives or the enviorment. However, for the purpose of this paper, the term is primarily used to represent the physical body of the human being. The second term "spirituality" or "spirit" is a term which we must spend most of our time defining, for it is often used in many contexts, i.e., religious, philosophical, and mystical arenas.

For our purposes the term spirit can be equated to the hypothetical soul of the individual, that is, the energy force which along with the body causes that individual to exist as a person or entity. This soul, although related to the mind, its emotions, desires, and appetite, is something much greater than its parts. Some have choose to call this aspect of human existence the consciousness, or subconscious, and it is here were we meet the crux of our problem. To date science has not allowed, outside of philosophy, for such an entity to be a part of its theories and research. This is proper for science, for it is the investigation of empirical phenomenon and does not purport to explain the metaphysical. This being the case it is no wonder science has not been able to explain consciousness, although countless of theories have been postulated. Hence, our definition of spirit/soul is taken from the general philosophical idea of the term, summed up in the Roman catechism (the soul is a living being without a body, having reason and free will), which posits the spirit/soul as a immortal entity. This entity, according to Aquinas, is the force of creative intelligence, "For the soul is the primary principle of our nourishment, sensation, and local movement; and likewise of our understanding."[3] There are, to be noted, countless spiritual/religious/medical systems that maintain a connection to the soul and the body as it regards healing. For example, the Ayurvedic system of India, Yoga, and Chinese Ch'i healers. We shall explore these different systems, which are categorized in the West as alternative medicine.

Ayurvedic medicine has its roots in India were it is derived from the Yoga Sutras of the religious community. In Indian philosophy the wellness of individual physical and psycho-spiritual health are thought of as an integral whole. Hence, we must look to the religious text for the ancient application of medicine. First, we look at the etymology of the word "Ayurveda". "Ayus" means "life, vitality, health, longevity" and "Veda", means science or knowledge."[4] The best analysis for the summation of the Ayurveda system can be summed up in the words of Cromwel Crawford on the topic:

> When the dimensions of health are expanded to include spirituality as a fourth dimension, the recognition of this factor vitalizes

> the other three levels. On the physical, mental, and social levels, spirituality promotes positive attitudes toward work, exercise, diet, personal habits, mental discipline, and social expression . . . . Gradually, we are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that this loss of [spirituality] is often the root cause of so many of our psychosomatic disorders . . . the dimensionality of the spirit [is] etiologically related to health.[5]

Yoga is another from of Eastern medicine closely related to the Ayurvedic system. "Yoga was systematized by Patanjali in his classical work, the Yoga Sutras, which consists of nearly two-hundred aphorism in which he stress control of the mind."[6] The term "yoga" is taken from the Sanskrit root "yuj" meaning to yoke or bind. This yoking is the act of combining the body, mind, and spirit together to form a whole. In the Bhagavod Gita, probably the most popular Hindu text, Lord Krishna explains to his disciple Arjuna that the philosophy of yoga is designed to alleviate one of pain and suffering which are illusions. Here, it is wrong thinking which cause sickness and pain. For it is the mind, according to Patanjali, which controls the passion, desires, and emotions and these alone cause the illusions of pain. Kundalini yoga is a branch from this system. The arousal of the Kunsalini creates a heightened awareness stage which is purported to open new channels in the nervous system and increase health on a holistic plain i.e., mind, body, and spirit. Sannella gives an account of the experience:

> The skin or the inside of the body may tingle, tickle, itch, or vibrate. Apt descriptions are a deep ecstatic sensation often starting in the feet and legs or the pelvis and move up the back to the neck and then the crown of the head and then down to the forehead, the face, the throat and the abdomen, where they terminate.

Yoga, then, is no mere mystical experience but a psycho/physical one in which the individual uses his/her entire body, mind, and spirit to bring about change. This change in elevation of consciousness promotes not only psychological health but also physical health. "The process brings about cleaning and healing of the organism."[7]

Ch'i or Ch'i Force is steeped in the philosophy and psychology of Chinese medicine. Ch'i is said to be an energy which flows in the universe--this includes the body. In Ch'i medicine the individual is also taken as a whole system and health necessarily encompassed in the mind, body, and spirit relationships. The individual who is sick in body is also sick in the mind and spirit, "it is not possible to be sick in body without being sick in mind, emotion, and spirit . . . illness resides in the entire person, in the unity of bodymindemotionspirit."[8] The illness is caused by a disbalance of the harmony of the universal energy flow within the persons. Modern science has postulated separate energy in the universe. Albert Einstein, however, maintained, that this postulation was in error.[9] Today modern physics has prove Einstein to be correct.[10] Energy is now viewed as having a universal connection.

In 1569, a German cartographer, Gerhardus Mercator, created a map in which longitudinal and latitudinal lines intersected at right angles. Although this was a new and very useful tool for navigators, who could now plot their course from one place to another in a straight line, it created what is known as the Greenland problem, so-called because the right angles of Mercator's cylindrical map creates distortion in the actual size of map characteristics. Greenland, for example, is represented as being as large as South America when in actuality it is about the size of Mexico. The crux of this problem is that this map, in the past as well as today, is used for teaching geography, a purpose it was never intended for. Hence, most of us taught with this inaccurate geography have a distorted view of the world. Similarly, the western philosophical

view gives us a distorted picture of reality, reality in which mind is separated and superior to body and spirit.

DISCUSSION

The aphorism, "We are what we think we are and become what we will ourselves to be,"[12] is the philosophy behind the mind-body connection theory in medicine. This is a theory that seeks to prove that by controlling our thoughts and governing them towards right thinking (i.e., pure, strong, and healthy thoughts), we can control our mental and physical health. If this is possible, how well-received this knowledge in an age of rising health costs and failed health maintenance organizations? If we could organize and use this power that is said to lie within ourselves, individual self-worth and overall self-confidence and joy in life would rise, along with physical health. If this theory is true and we are not aware of it, then how misfortunate it will be as the unaware struggle from day to day, continuing in the unlawful habit of wrong thinking, unwittingly contributing to their own demise.

Since the rise of the empirical age Western medicine has been imprisoned by the belief that humans are simply machines that think. Thus, the answer to health and well being should be sought on a physical plain. Now, however, there is among an increasing few a tendency to reverse this judgment and to think that humans are ultimately spiritual beings and it is here, in spirituality, where we must begin our search for life and health. The truth is that humans are both spiritual and physical beings and health and life are combined and controlled at the center where these two plains of existence meet--the mind.

"The body is the servant of the mind. It obeys the operations of the mind, whether they be deliberately chosen of automatically expressed."[13] The thoughts that you encourage and build your belief on control your health and ultimately your life. Thoughts of fear have been known to kill a person as speedily as a bullet. An Austrian aborigine tribe still practices the ritual of pointing the bone. The witch doctor dances around among a circle of tribe members and whoever he points to gets a fear induced heart-attack and dies. In each case the death of the misfortunate tribe member is owed to the individual strong adherence to this tribe's customs and belief system.[14]

In our society we experience many modern day equivalents of pointing the bone. I know people that tell themselves regularly, "I'm going to be sick," and they usually do get sick. A large percent of college students unrelentingly get sick around finals. And employees often get sick when big projects are due or harsh deadlines must be met. Often this kind of sickness is the result of thoughts of anxiety, depression, anger, and despondency. Such thoughts rob the body of life and health.[15] In the timeless words of English Essayist James Allen:

> Men imagine that thought can be kept secret, but it cannot; it rapidly crystallizes into habit, and habit solidifies into circumstance.
> Bestial thoughts crystallize into habits of drunkenness and sensuality, which solidify into circumstance of destitution and disease.
> Beautiful thoughts of all kinds crystallize into habits of grace and kindliness which solidify into genial and sunny circumstances.[16]

There is no thought that comes into the mind that goes unnoticed by the body. Each thought brings with it its own chemical reactions. Fear can be described abstractly as a feeling or concretely as a hormonal reaction. Remove the fear and there is no hormone; remove the hormone and there is no fear. In the words of medical doctor Deepka Chopra, author of Ageless Body, Timeless Mind, "wherever thought goes, a chemical goes with it."[17]

Modern medicine is finding that disorders such as

arthritis, asthma, allergies, bronchitis, and even the common cold are controlled by the individuals psychological state. But, of course, there are those, Who subscribe to the old medical paradigm, that still have their prejudice. Dr. David Spiegel, Stanford psychiatrist, set out to prove that mental state of patients did not influence health. He felt that such knowledge only severed to make the patient feel guilt-ridden, thinking themselves the cause of their own disease. In his study he took eighty-six women with advanced breast cancer disease, which was beyond the treatment level of conventional medicine, and treated half of them with weekly psychotherapy and self hypnosis training. After ten years Dr. Spiegel was shocked by what he found. The patients given the special treatment out lived all of the other cancer patients in the study furthermore, only three patients were still alive each of whom had been in the special group.[15]

In light of all this new and astonishing information, the question arises, if we do have control of our physical health, how is this so? Quantum physics provides us with a peak into the window of this new and strange truth. It has been found that the atom, once thought to be the smallest thing in the universe, is composed of even smaller subatomic particles such an electrons, protons, quarks, etc. Moreover, the atom is filled with mostly empty space which the subatomic particles vibration around in. In fact, the whole universe is filled mostly with empty space. Just as nature takes these fine particles from an eternal void and creates quarks and atoms we take from the same void and, using our creative energy, create our own being and state of health. This sounds a little more palliative when you consider that the lack of this creative energy means absence of life. Where there is no energy, there is no life.

Our bodies are continually being renewed daily by our creative energy. In a period of about four to six months you have an entirely new body--your cells metabolize and your body sheds old cells and creates entirely new ones. These new cells are fashioned by the power of your mind, which covers everything from the food you choose to eat to the good or bad thoughts you choose to encourage. As you pick and choose, lawfully or haphazardly, from your environment, you create the corresponding impressions on your mind. The impressions on your mind ultimately manifest themselves in your body. If a person can learn to control his thoughts and energy flow he can create for himself a strong, healthy body and mind.

NOTES

[1]Plato, "Phaedo," *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton, and Huntington Cairns (New York: Bollingon foundation, 1961) 50.

[2]Thomas Aquinas, "The Union of Body and Soul," *Introduction to Saint Thomas Aquinas*, ed. Anton C. Pegis (New York: The Modern Library, 1948) 293.

[3]Aquinas 293.

[4]Cromwell Crawford, "Ayurveda: The Science of Long Life in Contemporary Perspective," *Eastern and Western Approached to Healing: Ancient Wisdom and Modern Knowledge*, eds. Anees A. Sheikh and Katharina S. Sheikh (New York: Jhon Wiley & Sons, 1989) 3.

[5]Crawford 31.

[6]Sundar Ramaswami, "Yoga and Healing," Sheikh 33.

[7]L. Sannella, *The Kundalini Experience* (Lower Lake, CA: Integral Publishing), 1987; rpt. in Sundar Ramaswami "Yoga and Healing," Sheikh 39.

[8]Ramaswami (Sheikh) 60.

[9]Donald M. Pachuta, "Chinese Medicine: The Law of Five Elements," Sheikh 69.

[10]Pachuta (Sheikh) 68.

[11]Pachuta (Sheikh) 69.

[1]James Allen, *As A Man Thinketh* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, no date given) 4.
[2]Allen 33.
[3]Denis Waitley, *The Psychology of Winning*, audio casettes, Chicago: Nightgale-Conant, 1989.
[4]Waitley.
[5]Allen 27.
[6]Deepak Chopra, *Ageless Body, Timeless Mind: The Quantum Alternative to Growing Old*, (New York: Harmony Books, 1993) 17.
[7]Chopra 20.

Immanuel Kant's View of God

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The debate over proof for God's existence continues. Philosophers and theologians alike have argued various types of arguments for God's existence. Immanuel Kant is no exception. However, due to the lack of more current terminology in Immanuel Kant's era, he was not able to settle today's debate about what to call his specific argument for God's existence. Kant once said that "God created the world for the pursuit of knowledge" (Stockhammer 80), and throughout his lifetime, Kant strived for knowledge of the Being who he believed created the world. As Kant matured, his view of God also did--causing subtle changes in his argument for God's existence. This paper will examine the essence of Kant's argument for God in his book Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone.

Kant's work will be examined in light of two contemporary philosophers and theologians--Carl Raschke and Hans Kueng. Raschke interprets Kant's argument as a moral, ontological one, whereas Kueng interprets Kant's argument as a purely moral one. Through the course of the paper I will prove that Kant's argument is most similar to that of Kueng's because Kant's argument is a moral proof for the existence of God.

Raschke

Although Descartes is usually the reference point for the ontological argument for God's existence, the ontological argument has been altered somewhat by various philosophers and theologians. One such philosopher is Carl Raschke. Almost all scholars agree that Kant did not believe in a purely ontological view of God. However, Raschke, in his book Moral Action, God, and History in the Thought of Immanuel Kant, states the typical ontological argument, and questions whether or not Kant may offer a slightly altered argument based on morality.

Raschke summarizes "the traditional ontological argument" in the following manner:

A. I have an idea of God as a supremely perfect being.
B. Something which does not exist is not perfect.
C. Therefore, God exists. (138)

Almost identical to Descartes's ontological argument for God, God exists because humans can imagine a perfect being conveniently named God

Raschke, unsatisfied with this traditional argument, notes the importance of morality in Kant's argument for the existence of God. He says, "It may be argued that Kant, while rejecting the claims of the traditional form of the ontological argument, is actually presenting a moral version of it" (Raschke 138). Kant, in Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone, is more occupied with the ethical commonwealth and God's role as the moral ruler than he is with the question of whether God undoubtedly exists. Belief in God is what is important, regardless of whether God actually exists. Therefore, according to Raschke, moral necessity is more important than ontological necessity (Raschke 138).

Raschke summarizes Kant's altered ontological argument as the following:

A. Because of the problem of the highest good, I construct in my mind the idea of a supremely perfect moral being.
B. To be morally perfect, that is, to be able to effect the moral universe which moral perfection demands, such a being must exist (otherwise, the moral universe becomes a chimera).
C. Therefore, God must exist. (Raschke 138)

While at first the traditional proof and the moral proof appear strikingly similar, upon further examination they are radically different. The traditional ontological argument asserts that, due to one's sense experiences, God definitely exists (based on an a posteriori concept), whereas the altered argument claims God presumably exists (based on a priori reasoning) (Raschke 138). Consequently, because the proofs are grounded in two different concepts (a posteriori versus a priori), and because both are partially accurate according to Kant, Raschke concludes that Kant's moral argument for God is partially ontological, but is not a fully traditional ontological argument.

Kueng

Hans Kueng, in his book Does God Exist?, offers a strict interpretation of the proofs for God. He systematically divides the proofs into four categories: cosmological, teleological, ontological, and moral (531). According to him, Kant completely disproves the cosmological, teleological and ontological proofs, but would most likely agree with the moral proof (though again, only after Kant's life did some philosophers define a moral proof). Kueng defines the moral proof as the following:

> This [proof] starts out from the necessity of achieving agreement between morality (which is absolutely required) and man's aspiration to beatitude. In this light it is possible not strictly to demonstrate God's existence but to `postulate' it as practically, morally necessary: God as condition of the possibility of the highest good. (531)

This definition clearly parallels Raschke's definition of the moral ontological argument above. Because of Kant's preoccupation with the ethical commonwealth, the possibility of God's existence, and the moral struggle between humanity and God, it appears that Kant may agree with Kueng's moral proof instead of Raschke's revised ontological proof.

Kueng argues that Kant uses practical reason (instead of theoretical reason) to assert that humans need to believe in God. "The theoretical idea of God is the presupposition for a moral knowledge of God: `It is morally necessary to assume the existence of God'" (Kueng 541). Kant believes (regardless of proof) that God is the omnipotent, omniscient "moral ruler of the world" (Kant 91). He also acknowledges practical reason as his basis for belief in God's existence:

> Now the universal true religious belief conformable to this requirement of practical reason is belief in God (1) as the omnipotent Creator of heaven and earth, i.e., morally as holy Legislator, (2) as Preserver of the human race, its benevolent Ruler and moral Guardian, (3) as Administrator of His own holy laws, i.e., as righteous Judge. (Kant 131)

Regardless of ontological proof, Kant, at least in Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone, argues that practical, reasoned belief

in the perfection of God is an important expression of "the moral relation of God to the human race" (131).

Kueng believes Kant may support a "more broadly understood, universal hermeneutical criterion of verification...[one through which] God's existence can be made understandable" (Kueng 549). This indirect verification is a median approach--it is not strictly an experiential confirmation of God, and it is not a purely hermeneutical ("all that can be understood exists") confirmation of God's existence. Rather, according to Kueng,

> Statements on God will be verified and tested against the background of our experience of life: not in conclusive deduction from a supposedly obvious experience that renders unnecessary a decision on man's part, but in a clarifying illumination of the always problematical experience that invites man to a positive decision. (550)

Thus, while deciphering God's role as the moral ruler of the universe, God's existence will be clarified, not falsely confirmed.

Kant

What would Kant think of Raschke's and Kueng's proofs for the existence for God? In Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone, does Kant offer an ontological, moral, or other argument for God? Raschke's and Kueng's Kantian proofs for God are extremely similar; however, I believe Kant would most likely place his view under Kueng's moral proof for God. Three aspects of Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone lend themselves to Kueng's moral proof theory and the necessity for God's existence. Kant imagines God as a moral lawgiver, a necessity, and One understood by more than reason alone.

First of all, Kant believes God is a necessity, because he deems God to be the moral lawgiver for people. "Hence, an ethical commonwealth can be thought of only as a people under divine commands, *i.e.*, as a *people of God,* and indeed *under the laws of virtue*" (Kant 91). Kant states that one must believe in God as a supernatural being who is an omnipotent, benevolent preserver who is the administrator of moral laws (131).

> ...each individual can know of himself, through his own reason, the will of God which lies at the basis of his religion; for the concept of the Deity really arises solely from consciousness of these laws and from the need of reason to postulate a might which can procure for these laws, as their final end, all the results conformable to them and possible in a world. (Kant 95)

Therefore, Kant basically states that humans believe in God merely because they feel they must have a reason for the way the world works, etc. If what Kant states is true, then as Kueng's moral proof supports, the lawgiver is a necessity for those religious people who want to follow a set of moral laws dictated by a supreme being.

Second, Kant believes God, as the moral ruler of the world, is necessary for humans to become doers of good deeds. Kant believes that humans are innately evil and must always strive to become morally good instead of morally bad. Yet, this cannot be done on their own, rather "some supernatural cooperation may be necessary to his [their] becoming good, or to his [their] becoming better" (Kant 40). "Supernatural cooperation" is more detailed than God merely dispensing good morals to humans. Kant states,

"man's moral growth of necessity begins not in the improvement of his practices but rather in the transforming of his cast of mind and in the grounding of a character" (Kant 43). Thus, because God's cooperation is needed to revolutionize people's disposition, Kant thinks humans should believe in God as a means for achieving moral greatness and virtuosity (Kant 43).

The final reason Kant would agree with Kueng's moral proof for God's existence, is because Kant would support Kueng's clarification of God's existence via life evaluation. In Kant's work, it is evident that Kant somewhat mysteriously delineates between using reason and experience to justify his belief in God's existence. For example, even though Kant encourages belief in religion (based on God) to be well founded in reason, Kant also concedes that reason cannot be the sole basis for belief in all aspects of religion. Due to the mysterious nature of the divine, supernatural aspects of the divine may be accepted as valid outside the realm of reason.

> ...with respect to that which God alone can do... that is, a holy mystery...of religion; and it may well be expedient for us merely to know and understand that there is such a mystery,not to comprehend it.(Kant 130)

This statement reinforces the concept that only some acts of God (excluding the moral aspects of religion), cannot be understood. In accordance with Kueng, though God will never be fully developed through human analogies or concepts, Kant would desire to illuminate humans's understanding of God through their lifelong interaction with the mysterious being of God.

Although Kant does not specifically mention his proof for God's existence, after reading both Raschke and Kueng, it appears that Kant's proof for God in Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone, might be worded similar to the following proof:

> A. Because of the gap between morality and humans's aspiration to beatitude and the necessity of a moral being, I create the idea of a supremely perfect moral being.
>
> B. To be morally perfect, in other words, to be able to effect the innately sinful human world, such a being must exist.
>
> C. Therefore, God is necessary and God exists.

This proof for God's existence is the result of Kant's attempt to both assume God's existence and strive for humans's highest moral good. Although, as Raschke argues, Kant begins his argument for God's existence with the assumption that God is a perfect being, it appears that the more important basis of Kant's argument is his recognition of morality. Furthermore, instead of concluding that God exists solely on the basis of perfection, Kant concludes that God exists only if a highest moral good exists.

Both Raschke's and Kueng's interpretations of Kant's argument in Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone are valid; however, Raschke's altered ontological argument lacks the moral dilemma Kant believes exists in the cosmos. Raschke's proof could almost be termed a moral proof (based on Kueng's definition of a moral proof), except for this dilemma that is disregarded. Therefore, based on all of these reasons, clearly Kant's argument for God's existence in Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone is a purely moral argument.

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LOCATING LYDIA IN A "LOPSIDED" WORLD

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The societal norm of male-dominated political power and authority that existed in the first-century Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds of Luke's day contributed to and helped maintain the view that women were "mentally and physically inferior beings who were irrational and superstitious" (Wordelman 390); this society also viewed females as "second-class citizens," "slaves," or "non-citizens." How does Luke portray women in his two-volume work, Luke-Acts, which was written to a world that regarded women in such a manner? This essay will show that although women are not always performing the "most important" tasks, they fulfill an essential role in Luke's portrayal of the early church. Luke's narrative plainly leads me to believe that without the ministry of women like Lydia, the early church may have never survived. I will use the story of Lydia in Acts 16 as a "test case" of Luke's emphasis on women's essential roles in the early church, but first I must give some background information.

Traditional historical commentators such as F. F. Bruce, Ernst Haenchen, Luke Timothy Johnson, I. Howard Marshall, and William Willimon have typically viewed Luke's portrayal of women as being very positive. Some recent feminist scholars have examined the text and come to some different conclusions, however. Although Jane Schaberg believes Luke is interested in educating women in the basics of the Christian faith, she believes he excludes them from the prophetic ministry. Schaberg, as well as Elisabeth Schüssler-Fiorenza, Mary Rose D'Angelo, Elisabeth Tetlow, and Gail O'Day, believe that Luke limits the role of women somewhat in order to serve his own androcentric interests. More specifically, Luke assigns women traditional roles which support the societal norm: as "mothers" providing home, hospitality, and material aid to the believers (Schaberg 275), thus portraying women in a manner which conforms to the Roman model that women are second-class citizens.

I will now explore the debate of Luke-Acts further using the story of Lydia in Acts 16 as a test case for Luke's treatment of women.

Traditional historical-critical commentators have typically viewed Luke's portrayal of Lydia as being very positive. The text tells us that Lydia was a seller of purple goods from the city of Thyatira, and she worshipped God (16.14). The text goes on to tell us that God opened Lydia's heart to Paul's preaching, and she and her household were baptized. She then hosted Paul and his companions in her home. Traditional commentators have inferred from the text that Lydia was a wealthy, influential business-woman who owned a home and could afford to host Paul and his companions. They have also typically concluded that Lydia was well-respected in the community. She has been viewed as "one of the most successful and influential women of Philippi" (Deen 221; Johnson 297; Haenchen 495). She has been called "an excellent example of one early Christian who was not poor, but rather used her wealth to help spread the gospel" (Olson 532). Now let us examine the text more closely to see why interpreters agree and disagree with these ideas.

The text tells us that Lydia is a business-woman, a seller of purple goods, and therefore probably a dyer of purple goods as well. Dyeing has usually been viewed as a glamorous,

wealthy profession. Although textile production, including dyeing, was very important in the Roman Empire and a potential money-making enterprise, it was not an honorable profession. If we examine ancient texts, we find that the dyeing profession was not glamorous at all. Purple dyes used urine in the dye-making process. Therefore, dyers were despised because their dye-houses and garments had a rank smell (Plutarch; Pliny; Martial). Due to the rank smell, dye-houses were often placed outside of the city. From this we can speculate that perhaps Lydia was wealthy, as interpreters have typically believed, but she probably was not as respected in her community as past scholarship has speculated. Actually, she was probably despised, as Plutarch tells us that perfumers and dyers were despised even though their products were delightful (Plutarch). Based on ancient texts I must agree with Schottroff that Lydia's portrayal, in terms of her status, is not a positive one because her occupation is despised (Schottroff 132).[1]

We also find that Lydia seems to be an unattached woman. She has typically been viewed as a widow due to the idea that unattached women in the Bible are considered "out of the ordinary." Since widows were attached at one time they are not viewed negatively. As Schottroff has noted however, "the text does not offer a hint of speculation in Lydia's case that she was a widow" (Schottroff 132). Luke often uses the Greek term chēra to distinguish a widow, and he does not use this term for Lydia. We simply see Lydia as a leader of a household. According to Schottroff there is no need to depict Lydia as a widow who once belonged to a man because Christianity did not view single women as being defective, as Judaism did (Schottroff 132). Thus, for this study, we will consider Lydia a single (unmarried) woman with a household.

We must also examine Lydia's role in the "church" once she is converted. The text tells us that when Lydia receives Paul's message, she and her household are baptized. Because a household can include "adults and children, relatives, friends, servants, dependents, perhaps even some of the women mentioned who gathered at the place of prayer" (Gillman 185), we can deduce that Lydia is clearly the leader of this household, whoever it includes. Clearly, "her decision [to become a Christian] included all those within her household" (Ryan 286). The fact that she and her household are baptized seems to emphasize Lydia's leadership qualities. Also, in verse 40, Paul and Silas return to Lydia's house to encourage the believers. John Gillman believes the return visit is also "to acknowledge Lydia's own emerging leadership in the house church" (Gillman 191). However, as Jacob Jervell notes in his book, The Unknown Paul, "Lydia appears to be a community leader but Luke does not say such" (Jervell 153). Perhaps Luke thought it was evident that Lydia was a leader, or perhaps his audience already knew that she was a leader because he wrote in a very "high-context"[2] society which assumed much to be public knowledge.

Some, however, see this silence as Luke's way of minimizing the role of women. Jervell, O'Day, Tetlow, Fiorenza, and others believe Luke limits the role of women to praying, financial support, and benefactor to the Christian community, and that he excludes them from the role of prophecy. Jervell, for example, says Lydia is one example of Luke's women serving with their means (Jervell 153). Elisabeth Tetlow says the primary role of Christian women according to Acts was to "provide material support for the male apostles or a place of worship for the Christian community" (Tetlow 107). Gail O'Day states, "Once again Luke draws attention to a wealthy woman who acts as benefactor to a growing Christian community," and "Lydia embodies Luke's ideal of women's contribution to the church: to provide housing and economic resources"(O'Day 310).[3]

I must admit that we never hear Lydia speak, even though it seems she does begin and perhaps leads a house church, and power in the ancient Mediterranean world was often expressed through speech. Therefore, when one is recorded as speaking,

he/she is deemed important and prominent (e.g. Peter speaks at Pentecost as the leader of the apostles). Some believe Lydia is kept within the confines of the typical feminine roles because she is not recorded as speaking; according to this view Luke has limited Lydia to a typical role of provider and benefactor, thus excluding her from the role of prophecy (or ministry of the word).

Lydia does play host to Paul and his companions. She invites them to stay at her house, and they accept after she compels them. Hosting is one of the "typical" roles for females in the church. Hosts provide material support and a place to meet. This is the only role we can actually see Lydia participating in when we examine the biblical text. Although this is an important role for the survival of the church, as we see Paul and even Jesus himself being hosts in Luke-Acts, some modern scholars see it as being a very limited role. This is because it does not express any kind of power for women and does not give them an active part in the ministry of preaching the word. As mentioned earlier, Lydia was probably a leader in the house church founded at her house, but the only role the text plainly tells us Lydia fulfills is that of host to the missionaries. We must realize, however, that hospitality is "highly prized as a noble expression of Christian charity" (Spencer 252). One way we know hospitality is a prized expression of faith is because Jesus himself is a host. He is known by the scribes and Pharisees as one who "receives sinners and eats with them" (Luke 15.1-2). He also takes upon himself the character of "one who serves" among his disciples (22.27) (Spencer 254). Jesus teaches us that serving others is an important, genuine, and honorable way to put one's faith into practice.

Luke not only reports Lydia's role as hostess, but he also seems to portray Lydia as the leader of the prayer group, thus giving her ascribed honor. One must realize that she is not the leader of "just another prayer group," but that this is the only religious meeting exclusively composed of women recorded in the New Testament (Harrison 132)! It also appears as though this prayer group becomes the foundation of the church in Philippi, thus emphasizing the importance of women in the Christian community. Paul did not begin the church at Philippi with men, but rather with this prayer group of women that met by the riverside and was led by a woman.

Two important aspects of the narrative setting of Acts 16 are that it follows the Jerusalem Conference in Chapter 15 and is at the beginning of Paul's Second Missionary Journey. The Jerusalem Conference decided that Gentiles did not have to become Jews in order to become Christians. This is important in Acts 16 because the first person we encounter after the Conference is Lydia, a Greek by birth who is a God-worshipper or God-fearer. Her conversion helps to reemphasize and to enact the agreement made at the Jerusalem Conference in the previous chapter. It is also interesting that Lydia is the first person we encounter on Paul's Second Missionary Journey. Being first often emphasizes importance in biblical narratives. Therefore, Luke, by presenting Lydia first in Paul's Second Missionary Journey, is emphasizing the importance of Lydia to him and to the Christian movement in Philippi.

We have examined Lydia as a "test case" of how Luke portrays women in Luke-Acts. Although we do not "hear" Lydia's voice, which some modern scholars see as being all important, I believe Lydia is presented more positively than many whom we do hear speak such as James and John in Luke 9.51-56 who wanted to call down fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans who would not let Jesus pass through their village. Lydia also assumes a special prominence in Acts as the very first convert in Europe, at the beginning of Paul's Second Missionary Journey. Her decision influences her whole household, which implies she is the head of the household. She hosts Paul and his companions which expresses her faithfulness to God, not her subordination to Paul. As Lydia had been involved with a women's prayer-group before Paul's arrival, she also plays an important part

in starting a Christian house church in Philippi. Although Luke never tells us Lydia is the leader of the house church, he never tells us that she is not. We must also be careful to remember that we are dealing with a "high-context" society in which authors composed "very sketchy and impressionistic texts" (Malina 19). In other words, in Luke's society much was considered to be general or public knowledge. Thus, authors in Luke's day left much unwritten because it was already known. Therefore, it could be that Luke's audience already knew Lydia as a leader in the Christian community.

Also, because Luke's composition had to be very selective, his inclusion of Lydia was intentional. Although her social status was probably quite marginal, Luke presents her as being an honorable person in the church. If indeed her status was low, I believe it is even more positive that Luke portrays her as an upstanding member of the Christian community because he was taking a "nobody" of society and making her an important "somebody" in the Christian community. He equated her with Paul, Peter, Barnabas, James, and other "great pillars of the faith" through her salvation experience with the Lord Jesus Christ when he recorded Peter in Acts 10.34 saying, "I truly understand that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him" (NRSV). In sum, Luke advocates all people, men and women, should be like Lydia and look for every opportunity to serve God, whether that means table service, hosting, providing wealth, teaching, or preaching.

ENDNOTES

1. Based on G. H. R. Horsley's study, New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions Published in 1977. John Gillman notes that some sellers of purple goods were formerly slaves according to some inscriptions. Gillman also notes, however, that "Lydia" was a personal name for some women of apparent status. John Gillman. "Hospitality in Acts 16." Louvain Studies 17 (1992) 181-196.
2. A high-context society is one in which few details are provided by the author because much is assumed to be general or public knowledge. For a fuller discussion of high-context vs. low-context society see Bruce J. Malina, "Reading Theory Perspective: Reading Luke-Acts" in The Social World of Luke-Acts, ed. Jerome H. Neyrey. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991, pp. 19-20.
3. For a fuller discussion of these ideas see "Luke" (275-292) (Schaberg), "Acts" (305-312) (O'Day), and "Everyday Life: Women in the Period of the New Testament" (390-396) (Wordelman) in The Women's Bible Commentary. Eds. Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992.

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A Review of Cherokee Formularies: The Critical Foundation for Inter-Cultural Understanding

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A review of the sacred components of Cherokee formularies, with the purpose of leading to increased inter-cultural understanding between the Cherokee Native American and the non-Native. This review deals with the specific aspects of formularies including myths, prayers, conjurations, and rituals. It also provides a critical analysis of a non-Native authors' interpretation of history and religion.

INTRODUCTION

Doubtless there is a history of conflict among the Anglos, their government, and the Native peoples that preceded them. In most cases, hardships among these groups are thought to be caused by the Natives' resistance to becoming *civilized* by the Anglos seeking to influence them. This assumption becomes problematic, however, when studying tribes such as the Cherokee Nation. Long designated as one of the "Five Civilized Tribes," "the Cherokee, more easily than other tribes, made the transition from ancient traditions to methods, tools, and ways that were recognized as superior" (Mooney, *Historical,* 1975).

This being the case, an ensuing history of land conflict between Cherokees and Anglos becomes difficult to justify. History records that the Cherokee have incurred serious loss at the hands of many aggressive Anglos. First, "The Trail of Tears" travesty wiped out "something like one quarter of the Cherokee population"(Ballenger, 1968). The onslaught of the Civil War in 1861 again claimed the lives of one-quarter of the Cherokee people.

Sadly, problems persist even in the midst of a modern trend toward cultural tolerance. The latter alone is sufficient grounds for change in the Anglo's behavior toward Cherokee culture. Yet ignorance compounded by the fact that the problems described above apply despite Cherokee efforts at assimilation and a ready acknowledgment of Cherokee progress and success by the Anglo, points to the idea that the main problem is cultural misunderstanding.

If cultural comprehension is in fact an earnest aim, discerning the problem should ideally take place in conjunction with an openness to embracing different definitions of land and its function. While this task is not simple, formularies can provide the foundation for determining an accurate picture of the Cherokee land-concept. Further, such documents provide evidence to refute and correct misconceptions about the religious value of land that are propagated by popular literature.

FORMULARIES

A formulary is "..a document containing a set form or forms according to which something is to be done (especially one that contains prescribed forms of religious belief or ritual)" (*OED*, 1978). Since religious practice varies from community to community, it is important to note that the documentation of that practice can be just as distinct. As such, Cherokee formularies should be judged on the basis of the usefulness of their format in determining the religious significance of land rather than on the basis of European formulaic texts such as the Bible.

Myths

Cherokee formularies are presented in a myriad of ways, but can be said to be grouped into the four categories of myths, prayers, conjurations, and rituals. Each category illustrates religious material differently, while never losing sight of the larger issue of land's relationship to religious observance. Myths are used primarily to account for the origin of both multiple and singular objects. They are motivated by the desire for answers to fundamental spiritual quandaries, and never forsake the importance of land in coming to a resolution. "The Moon and the Thunders," for instance, provides various explanations for why these entities are positioned as they are in the universe. One particularly charming example portrays the moon and the sun as brother and sister. Sister Sun receives a daily visit from a gentleman, unaware that he is actually her brother in disguise. One evening, the Sun decides to be sly and rub the cinders from the fireplace onto her lover's face. The next morning, looking across the sky, she discovers spots on her brother's face and realizes his deceit. His shame placed him in the Sun's shadow for all eternity. This myth, though witty, also shows the moral consequence of an inappropriate action while simultaneously explaining the logistics of the placement of the sun and moon.

Prayers

Prayers, not unlike the mythic prose form, are equally instructive as to the connection of land to religion. A prayer is "a request made to a power which is clearly felt as superior, and upon whom the one who prays feels dependent..." (Mooney, *Sacred*, 1891). In the Cherokee tradition prayers are used either as safeguards against danger or as promoters of the longevity of life. If used to ensure protection, they are commonly associated with long journeys over land or water and indicate a reverence for both the land and for the balance that humankind must achieve with that land. Similarly, prayers used in hopes of a longer life are an acknowledgment of a pathway to an "upper-world." If the Cherokee supplicant is diligent, he has achieved "human happiness, prosperity, and success"
(Mooney, *Sacred*, 1891).

Conjurations

Conjurations, in contrast to prayers, do not require the participant to appeal as a supplicant, but rather in "a commanding, coercive way" (Mooney, *Sacred*, 1891). Conjurations are an integral part of ritual language and are used in hunting and fishing ceremonies, agricultural observances, and as a catalyst for controlling weather conditions (Mooney, *Sacred*, 1891). Many, if not all types of conjurations make explicit reference to such land features as flora and fauna, animals, and everyday utensils often fashioned out of elements of the Earth. Their significant role in ritual practice as a whole, combined with a continual

reference to common land features and crafts, make clear a religiously significant tie to land.

Rituals

Finally, the rituals themselves must be discussed. In Cherokee religious celebration, there are six feasts and festivals that are considered important enough to observe annually. Each, though conducted in anticipation of a different result, embodies like components that make land use essential. First, each involves successive trips to a river or stream. In addition, all integrate some type of dance that requires abundant space. In the execution of the all-important *Mature or Ripe Green Corn Dance*, for example, a group traverses a lawn-like area in a snake-like formation (Payne, Vol. 1, undated). On a more mundane level, since the six most essential annual rituals include a feast, mere preparation of these events is contingent upon such things as crops, trees, stones, and shells (Payne, Vol. 1, undated).

POPULAR LITERATURE

Now that the categories of formularies have been reviewed, and their nuances of meaning in relationship to religion and land explored, it becomes appropriate to turn attention toward how popular literature fails in its attempt to be formulaic by perpetuating incorrect assumptions about the connection of land to religious belief. *The Education of Little Tree* by the late Forrest Carter is a text that, despite its widespread popularity, is fraught with historical and religious inaccuracies. Though Carter claimed that Little Tree's character was based on life in the midst of aboriginal belief, the inconsistencies between his work and the formularies make his assertions questionable. First, as from the comprehensive description of the *Feast of Autumnal New Moon* mentioned briefly in this paper, it is clear that Carter's rendition of the circumstances surrounding creation are wrongly reported. Carter asserts that creation is primarily a time reserved for mating rituals in Spring. Little Tree remembers the stories of his Grandfather: "[He told me] how the Cherokee had held their mating dances in the Spring when life was planted in the ground; when the buck and the doe, the cock and the peahen exulted in the creation parts they played" (Carter, 1990). Here, contrary to what Carter would like his reader to believe, the title of this feast could not place it in Spring, but in Autumn, a mere five to seven months later. This amendment to Carter's text is corroborated by Payne's discussion of the feast in which it is clear that its main purpose is to celebrate the beginning of the calendar year:" The Cherokee [believe] that the world is created at this season, and therefore that this moon was the first of all that began the year,--hence termed it the Great New Moon and regulated their series of New Moon Feasts by it" (Payne, Vol. 1, undated).
This would not only discount Carter's illustration of the festival as one dedicated to mating rituals, but would also show how he negligently misinterprets facts to act as substitutes for those events about which he is uncertain.

Compounded with his ignorance of Cherokee ritual is his seemingly unrealistic depiction of religion and Little Tree's relationship to it. When Cater establishes the relationship between Little Tree and his Grandfather to religion, he makes a point in saying that both are not "onlookers when it came to technical church religion" (Carter, 1990). Religion, in contrast to what Carter indicates, has been mentioned previously as being an integral aspect of life for the Cherokee as

opposed to a conscious life choice. Cherokee can find religion in the world around them, and are not necessarily dependent upon church as an institution of religious worship.

Though the above misstatements may seem insignificant, Carter's widespread popularity and the praise for his accuracy are the partial causes for modern Anglo misunderstanding of the religious significance of land to the Cherokee. This misunderstanding then becomes the basis for the perpetuation of animosity between two groups that might otherwise have gotten along were it not for rationalization of cultural ignorance.

This review of traditional material has shed light on the problem of cultural misinterpretation as the cause of long-standing adversarial relationship between Anglos and Cherokees. Armed with this newfound knowledge of both the problem and a means to rectify it, Anglo and Cherokee readers alike can begin to understand the Cherokee's rich sacred heritage. Present and future generations can not only insist on cultural tolerance, but also assiduously engage in discrediting cultural misconceptions.

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Zarathustra as Mystic Healer: Nietzsche and Asian Philosophy

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A Comparative analysis of Nietzsche's Thus Spoke Zarathustra with other Asian texts shows that his hero Zarathustra is involved with other things in addition to the concept of the Death of God and a self-creation philosophy. Via literary analysis many parallels can be drawn between Thus Spoke Zarathustra and Lao Tsu's Tao Te Ching. Additionally, the Zen meditation manuals of Japanese philosopher Dogen Kigen detail a philosophy of the body that is astonishingly similar to Nietzsche's own. This leads to a conclusion that Zarathustra/Nietzsche is unwittingly revealing himself as a sort of nascent Taoist and Zen mystic. The results of these conclusions give us new insights into the mystical aspects of Nietzsche's character and philosophy, and thus help provide in changing the implications that his philosophy may have for us as well.

INTRODUCTION

This paper will summarize a year-long research project which deals with the newly emerging subject area of comparative philosophy. In response to the question why study East-West philosophy in a comparative fashion, philosopher Graham Parkes, in his introduction to Heidegger and Asian Thought, says the following: "If one is uncomfortable within anything approaching a Weltgeist, one could hypostasize less by saying that the patterns [in comparative studies] reflect underlying similarities in "forms of life", or deeper truths about what is is to be a human being" (Parkes, 4). Further, "the criteria for the success of a comparative study of two thinkers from different traditions are no different from those pertaining to a discussion of a single philosopher. The question in both cases is, simply: does the study enhance our understanding of the philosopher's thought, of the problems engaged by it---and of ourselves and the world?" (Parkes, 4-5). With this in mind, it is essential to pursue the study of Friedrich Nietzsche's Thus Spoke Zarathustra in a manner that is touched upon in Joan Stambaugh's book The Other Nietzsche, wherein she begins to compare Nietzsche's philosophy with various mystic ideas. That subject will be expanded upon herein by comparing Nietzsche's thought with the mysticism of Zen Buddhism and Chinese Taoism. This will be done by first discussing certain aspects of the mystic imagery and ideas that are used in the Tao Te Ching and in Dogen's Shobogenzo, and secondly by proceeding to compare these ideas to the philosophy of Nietzsche. Primary among the parallels that will be illustrated in this paper are the image of the child as it is presented in philosophical Taoism,the attempt to absolve the dualism of mind/body as presented in Dogen's Shobogenzo, and finally to compare the striking similarities of these ideas with Nietzsche's Zarathustra.

THE IMAGE OF THE CHILD IN THE TAO TE CHING

Poem ten of the Tao Te Ching states "Attending fully and becoming supple,/Can you be as a newborn babe?" Poem Forty-nine says "The sage is shy and humble---to the world he seems confusing/Men look to him and listen/He behaves like a little child". Finally, poem Twenty says "Like a newborn babe before it learns to smile,/I am alone, without a place to go". The above passages reveal a sense of preference and almost of awe for the child. The image of the child in the first passage is one of "attending fully and becoming supple". This means that one has one's mind fully attended upon the present moment---like a newborn babe, who is pretty much devoid of reflection and seeks new experiences, which can also refer to the idea of suppleness, or open-mindedness to all new

experiences. For a Taoist the image of the child is perfect because the child is spontaneous, non-biased, and does not bring any preconceived notions to the world. It is an image of rebirth in poem Twenty, because unlike most people, "Others [who] have more than they need", the Taoist is "I [who] alone have nothing". And like the naked newborn with nothing, the Taoist says that "I alone am dim and weak" and while "Everyone else is busy...I am different". The Taoist leaves it up to others to perform their categorized rituals and social functions: "Other people are contented, enjoying the sacrificial feast of the ox./In spring some go the park, and climb the terrace". Instead the Taoist is "alone and drifting, not knowing where I am". And then it is here that she asserts "Like a newborn babe before it learns to smile,/I am alone, without a place to go."

To further stress the image of Taoist as child, poem Twenty begins with the childlike plea to "Give up learning, and put an end to your troubles" and ends with the assertion that like a child, "I am nourished by the great mother". When these childlike qualities of poem Twenty are recognized, it is no wonder that the Taoist of poem Forty-nine who "behaves like a little child" seems confusing to the world. This is a portrait of an individual who is able to exist outside of social circles, and is able to contend and be content with the moment at hand as opposed to merely living for the future. Therefore this symbolizes a 'natural' and simplistic way of life and an absence of sophistication, at least as it regards falling prey to socialized or formularized ideas of thinking. The Taoist, it seems, through his flexible and supple attendance upon the world will retain his innocence and desire to constantly 'rebirth' or redefine himself.

Alongside the image of the child is paralleled the idea of the mystic, ascetic master. For example the Tao Te Ching consistently talks about "The ancient masters [who] were subtle, mysterious, profound" (Poem Fifteen). "Knowing others is wisdom;/Knowing the self is enlightenment./Mastering others requires force;/Mastering the self needs strength" (Poem Thirty-three). Finally, Poem Twenty-nine states that "Therefore the sage avoids extremes, excesses, and complacency". All three of these poems seem to lend themselves to the idea of the ascetic who seeks to know himself through knowing the self, and avoiding the extremes and excesses that will not allow one to achieve realization of the Tao. However, there is one idea here that is not necessarily common to all ideas of the ascetic, and that is the notion of avoiding complacency, or the idea that to realize enlightenment one must not be stagnant. This idea complements the image of the open-minded spontaneity of the the child that is described above. With this in mind, the statement "the sage always confronts difficulties,/He never experiences them" (Sixty-three) is not really a boast of the sage's courage (although he certainly is courageous), but is rather an observance that life itself is a continuous natural process of difficulties which one must confront if one is to live an authentic life. By recognizing that life itself is this process of constant 'difficulty in flux', so to speak, the sage is able to deal with life's problems in an almost subtle, gentle fashion, almost as an art one might say. And by avoiding complacency and living this 'life in flux', it can be said that the Taoist is continually redefining herself, in essence continually rebirthing herself in the ways, patterns, and images of a child. Hence the idea of rebirth mentioned above is of special relevance when we compare it to the childlike qualities that also exist within and about the old ascetic master that is mentioned here. The image of the child that is so important to Taoism can apply to anyone who is able to possess and practice these qualities of the child, of anyone who is able to continually 'rebirth' themselves as new experiences in life will constantly require them to do.

MYSTICISM IN ZEN MASTER DOGEN'S WRITINGS

Thomas P. Kasulis says that "East-West comparisons involving Dogen abound in Japanese and can be found ever more frequently in English...One might write a comparative piece on such topics as, for example, "Dogen and Searle on Speech Acts," or "Dogen and Marcel on the Mystery of Being", or Dogen and Derrida on Interpretation" (Dogen Studies, 83). This continuing dialogue will be discussed herein via analysis of the type of mysticism that is to be found in Dogen's Shobogenzo, specifically

a chapter called "Fukan Zazengi", or "A Universal Recommendation for Zazen".

According to Kasulis, one of the most important aspects of Dogen's thought, especially as relevant to twentieth-century Western philosophy, is his idea of "presence or giveness" (Kasulis, 84). Kasulis maintains that Dogen believed "The world we perceive is not an illusion...Knowledge begins and ends in the comprehension of what is immediately presented". Further, "Dogen also seeks verification in the person's own experience". For Dogen this experience amounts to "the presence of things as they are...a state in which there is just presence in its purest form". By itself, this concept seems merely speculative and without any philosophical substance to support its claims. However, we need to keep in mind that Dogen's views are to be taken into account within the context that one is supposed to realize this presencing when engaged in the activity of zazen, or meditation practice. In "Fukan Zazen-zi" Dogen describes not only meditation, but also his views, methods, and ideas in a poetic language that seeks to unify all of this by virtue of its expansive imagery.

A passage from a translation of "Fuken Zazen-gi" by Yuho Yokoi reads as follows: "The Way is completely present where you are, so of what use is practice or enlightenment? However, if there is the slighest difference in the beginning between you and the Way, the result will be a greater separation than between heaven and earth. If the slighest dualistic thinking arises, you will lose your Buddha mind" (Zen Master Dogen, 45). What is this dualistic thinking that Dogen is talking about? The answer involves the human distinction that we bring to our perceptions of the world, that which lies within our mental framework and can potentially set us apart from, as Kasulis says, "the presence of things as they are...the ground of...experience...that which is prereflectively, nonconceptually, immediately given" (Kasulis, 85). It is this "slightest difference...between you and the Way" which Dogen sees as being the source of, essentially, all of our problems that exist. This distinction leads to Dogen's separation that is greater than between heaven and earth. So this gap between heaven and earth actually symbolizes what Dogen sees as a conflict that occurs between the human person and the rest of existence when experience is not immediately perceived. Hence when one begins to reflect, conceptualize, and to occupy oneself with things other than with what is immediately given, trouble sets in. So what happens then if one does not lose one's Buddha-mind, if one does not fall prey to this dualistic thinking? In other words, what sort of existence is realized if the Buddha-mind is achieved? Even further, what is the essence of mysticism that Dogen is attempting to confront?

It is interesting that the terms heaven and earth are used. In Christianity there is certainly a dualism of mind and body that is inherent, and this presumably relates to the concept that when the body dies the soul will go to heaven---thus the notion that the body=earth and the mind/soul=heaven. In Christian religion there is also a strand of mysticism that is present. However, unless it is acknowledged in the observances of, for example, the Christian mystics (who often describe a sort of union of the self with God), there is little that describes Christian mysticism as it is realized in a human being as it originates from the self and works outward, such as occurs in Asian mysticism. And this former type of mysticism is definitely not the type that Dogen is trying to get at, because his goal to absolve any subject/object distinction---his concept of presencing---is absent in most Christian circles. Indeed, most of Christianity---some of the Christian mystics not withstanding---wants to treat mysticism as something outside the human experience, as something altogether unattainable by the human person, at least until the soul leaves the body and 'reaches' heaven.

In direct contrast to this, we see that Dogen espouses a mysticism that is concerned with "a state in which there is just presence in its purest form, presence experienced immediately with a oneness of body-mind" (Kasulis, 85). Via the Zen meditation manual of Shobogenzo Dogen demonstrated that he was "keenly aware of the richness of language. Language is a primary human activity. Insofar as Zen touches on and vitalizes every dimension of life, its spirit must pervade language in all its uses" (Kasulis, 89). Indeed, the images of heaven and earth, which represent the dualism of the self and the body, are utilized to evoke certain ideas about mystic experience that could otheerwise only

become realized through zazen practice and attainment of Enlightenment.

ZARATHUSTRA AND MYSTICISM

In his preface to Nietzsche: Imagery & Thought Malcolm Pasley talks of "the tension between the two sides of Nietzsche's activity, between the moral heroism of his truth-seeking and his passionate advocacy of cultural change through the power of poetry and myth" (Pasley, viii). While I do not wish to debate here which side---if either---ultimately wins out, I certainly do want to call attention to the importance of the latter. What story holds more relevance for Zarathustra, or perhaps for Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy as a whole, than the story of the metamorphoses of the camel, the lion, and the child? The consummation of the child is, for all intents and purposes a creative process of self-rejuvenation that will never end. The child is the creator, the artist, the Overman. Or rather it is the adult person who is able, as the camel, by carrying the heavy load of the societal herd on its back, to thrust it off. And again it is the adult person who is able to become "The creature of freedom for oneself", to say ""No" even to duty" (Nietzsche, 139)---meaning to social commitment---by becoming the lion. Finally the adult person as the child---that reevaluator of all values, that creator of all new values---it is this image and this concept that holds as true to Nietzsche's philosophy as to any other. It is this childlike quality that the ascetic Zarathustra possesses which allows him to live life, and to preach universal proclamation for creative ability. No doubt the ideas of the child and the ascetic in the Tao Te Ching parallel strongly what Nietzsche's ascetic Zarathustra and his child represent.

In Arifuku Kogaku's excellent essay "The Problem of the Body in Nietzsche and Dogen", he points out a passage in Nietzsche's Zarathustra that is astonishingly similar, both philosophically and poetically, with Dogen: "Let them not learn differently nor teach differently, but only bid farewell to their own bodies---and thus become dumb" (Kogaku, 220)...The body is a great reason, a multiplicity with one sense...You say "I" and are proud of this word. But greater than this---although you will not believe it---is your body and its great reason, which does not say "I" but does "I"" (Kogaku, 221).

Kogaku says "the body, for Nietzsche, still retains certain features of individuality, and indeed an individuality that confers a sense upon the earth while remaining to some extent separate from it, whereas Dogen more or less identifies the I-less self and body with the earth and nature" (Kogaku, 224). While Kogaku may be right, one may also say that Nietzsche and Dogen are not necessarily too far off concerning the self and the body. Clearly, both men are concerned with the body first as opposed to the mind. One will recall that Nietzsche had presumably the same problem with Christianity that Dogen would have had in its inherent dualisms. As Kogaku points out, Nietzsche's quote concerning when humans "bid farewell to their own bodies---and thus become dumb", is a Nietzschean image that is virtually the same as Dogen's image describing the person to whom "If the slightest dualistic thinking arises, you will lose your Buddhamind". There are other Nietzschean passages that are similar as well. In 'Zarathustra's Prologue', Zarathustra exclaims "Behold, I teach the Overman. The Overman is the meaning of the earth...I beseech you my brothers, remain faithful to the earth, and do not believe those who speak to you of otherworldly hopes!" (125).

Certainly, Nietzsche did not utilize Fukan Zazen-gi training to arise to similar conclusions as Dogen, and their spiritual states of mind were undeniably often very different. But just because this was so, it does not mean that at times Nietzsche did not reach the same state of spiritual awareness as Dogen did, or for that matter, as the Taoists in the Tao Te Ching did. Nietzsche could well agree with the Jungian notion that "in the East, man is God and he redeems himself" (Jung, 486). This is, in fact, what the Overman must do. It is his challenge, his destiny, his very reason for living. Nietzschean mysticism is the 'will to power' to create, to live vigorously, to experience the world of the here and now with the joyous, youthful realization that one is part of something much greater; it is a Nietzschean insight that the Taoists and Zen Buddhists agree with.

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Diachronic Aspects of the Human Condition of the Island of Cyprus: The Evidence of the Human Skeletal Record

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents for the first time anthropological data relevant to the demographic and epidemiological profiles of two human archaeological populations recovered during the excavations of the Classical to Hellenistic, and Medieval-Venetian burial sites of Malloura in Athienou, Cyprus. Physical anthropological and forensic comparative assessments between the two populations reveal the dynamics of diachronic changes affecting the human occupants of Malloura, as reflected by the permanent markers of stress, trauma, and disease detectable on the record of dry osseous remains. Based on an integrated population / ecological methodological approach, and in conjunction with the rest of the archaeological record explanations are offered relative to the changes of human perceived environments, social and technological organization, as well as the altered relationships between entities of disease and the human host.

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents the analytical archaeo-anthropological results of forensic and palaeopathological investigations concerning two chronologically diverse human skeletal populations excavated from the site of Malloura, in Athienou, Cyprus. Part of a larger cross-disciplinary project this endeavor introduces for the first time reflections of the human condition during antiquity in Cyprus in this effort to better decipher and interpret diachronic conditions of human adaptation, perceptions of the physical and normative environments, as well as the ecology and distribution of disease affecting human populations.

The two skeletal populations unearthed from the same archaeological site are dated chronologically, the first, from the Classical to the Hellenistic period (5th century - 2nd century B.C.), the second to the Venetian Era (around the 16th century A.D.). The earlier collection was uncovered from the elaborate royal tomb # 27, carved in the relatively soft, calcarious, sediments at the foot of a hill--part of the sites' natural environment, while the later collection was recovered from the open site burial ground # 6 adjacent to other activity areas of the Venetian Era at the site of Malloura. Both burial grounds were excavated under the direction of Dr. Michael Toumazou, Prof. of Archaeology at Davidson College of North Carolina.

Unfortunately for these non-renewable cultural resources which belong to all humanity, grave looters--the organized international crime systems that prey on antiquities, had looted the royal tomb in sequential assault processes starting from the 17th century A.D. the time the Ottoman Empire had deployed its colonial powers on the island, in order to rape the interments from their valuable belongings--the ceremonial and luxurious artifacts which accompanied them in the after life. As a side effect of these anthropogenic, intrusive, and destructive activities, the human skeletal remains had been stepped on, crushed, pushed at the side and removed from their original contextual associations.

Archaeological excavations in the royal tomb # 27, brought to light a disastrous situation where not a single skeleton was left intact, and/or in a recognizable anatomical positioning. The archaeological contextual associations were permanently destroyed, and all artifactual offerings were long gone. In a complex process to salvage whatever information could be recovered from the human osseous record, the skeletal remains were excavated as discrete and sequential units, according to the co-ordinate designations of a typical grid-system of archaeological reckoning superimposed on the esoteric areas of the royal tomb. Considering that cranial, dental, and infra-cranial skeletal components of each skeleton were dispersed in an axonometric, or three dimensional way, within undefined areas of the royal tomb, the use of such a methodological approach, artificially collecting segments of bones within predetermined squares according to the superimposed grid system, in absence of any other option, separated under different, fabricated, subdivisions skeletal structures which originally belonged to a "parent" skeletal body. Several months of zealous work with archaeologists hanging on a prone position from suspended scaffolding produced 178 artificial entities of small skeletal units.

The chronologically later burial ground of Malloura, of the Venetian Era was better preserved as a site, since the burials were unmarked, the result of a taphonomic processes, based on the plowing of the fields for agricultural purposes. Further, it was common knowledge that the individual graves of the Christian Era did not contain interments which were adorned with riches and burial goods as one would expect with a royal tomb of the Classical to the Hellenistic periods. Archaeological excavations of the Venetian Era burial ground yielded 39 discrete collections of bones, analogous to the number of individual burials excavated.

OBJECTIVES AND LABORATORY RESEARCH

During the summer field season of 1992, a small team of 3 anthropologists from Adelphi University's Department of Anthropology were involved, as members of the archaeological research team in Malloura, with the specific task to forensically evaluate and analyze the human skeletal remains in order to provide assessments relative to the demographic, and palaeopathological-epidemiological profiles of the two skeletal populations. It was proposed that the archaeological forensic study of the human remains comprising these two collections would allow for the better elucidation of the archaeological record, enhancing our understandings of the unrecorded pages of history of our ancestors.

Field laboratory activities concerning the royal tomb # 27 involved meticulous processes of cleaning, consolidation, and preservation of the bone fragments recovered. These preparations were followed by the inventorying procedures of the fragmented human osseous remains. Extensive laboratory studies focused on detecting and scoring traits and characteristics of anatomical morphology, through macro- and microscopic observations, and mensurational analyses for the purposes of determining and constructing original skeletal individuals. This was achieved by lumping bone fragments which showed mending surfaces, teeth identified and units of masticatory aparati according to their developmental state, function, wear patterns, and pathogenesis. Only in very few cases, however, it was possible to reunite teeth with their appropriate alveolar loci. In addition, it was possible to deploy statistical, multiple discriminatory function analyses which helped us determine integral components of the demographic profile of the population, i.e. the sex and age subgroup determinations showing 102 individuals out of which 53 were males, 37 were females and 12 were indeterminate. Such long term research endeavors continued at the archaeological forensic laboratory setting at Adelphi University, where more accurate determinations and tabulations of the demographic information revealed the distribution of the age at death showing the highest prevalence among the Other Adults (between 18-45 years) and Late Adults (35-45 years) (Agelarakis, 1994). Further, it was possible to acquire through studies of the human osseous surfaces the prevalence of manifestations of disease,

sustained on the surviving dry bone and dental surfaces. Considering the incomplete state of preservation of the individual human skeletal bodies, the permanent markers of physiological and pathological stress could only illustrate a segment of the nature of disease entities which had affected the bone tissue of the population involved. Hence, it was possible to see only a limited distribution of the palaeopathological conditions which affected the individual members of the royal tomb. It is of significant importance to identify the fact that osteoarthropathies were the major osseous changes detected on bone surfaces as revealed by the slide illustration (Agelarakis, 1994).

The archaeological contexts of the human remains unearthed from the burial ground of the Venetian Era had not been disturbed intentionally. However, the skeletal structures, although revealing anatomical associations, were preserved in an incomplete state with the cranial and dental remains suffering the most. This was again the result of anthropogenic activities, but in this case it was relative to land use, namely the plowing and the cultivation of the fields for the production of wheat and barley (Agelarakis, personal communication).

In addition, the cortical surfaces of the bone structures had been weathered, subject to the environment of the open site and the analogous taphonomic patterns of the biotic environment (soil fauna and root activities), and the abiotic factors (temperature changes, humidity, slight acidity of the sedimentological properties). These changes of the osseous surfaces alter their capacities to detect and accurately assesses the nature and causative agents of manifestations of disease.

Forensic evaluations of this skeletal population showed the presence of 43 individuals, 10 males, 10 females, and 23 indeterminate. Additional evaluations of the demographic data showed a varied distribution of mortality ratios per age subgroup with the greatest prevalence among Young Adults (18-25 years), Adults (between the ages of 18-45 years), and Infancy I (0-6 years of age) with diminishing values in the sequence presented. Palaeopathological data indicated a relatively disease free population, concerning permanent markers of stress on bone surfaces with the exception of a very few cases of osteoarthritis as illustrated by the slide projection (Agelarakis, 1994a).

DISCUSSION

Having the opportunity to study two human skeletal collections from the site of Malloura, dating to different chronological time periods, the first from the 5th to the 2nd centuries BC (or before common era), and the second to the 16th century AD (or common era) provides them with the unique possibility to open a window into the past, a nexus with the human condition preserved through time in the skeletal record of these peoples of antiquity, inhabitants of Malloura. Not only can they coax out of the skeletal record conditions pertinent to the demographic and epidemiological profiles of each collection, thus reflecting aspects of their living conditions, physical and normative environments, but they also have the prospect of establishing diachronic similarities and/or differences through a comparative evaluation of the two collections involved.

Considering that the earliest collection was interred in an artificially constructed underground tomb, when compared with the open site environment of the later site, they are facing, in an effort to conduct a comparative assessment between the two provenances, dissimilar conditions of post mortem burial processes. It is apparent that from a pure taphonomic point of view the earlier collection should have been better preserved within the underground tomb. However, given the anthropogenic activities which affected both sites, at the underground site the intentional robbing of the tomb, and at the second the unintentional results of agriculture, they can observe and measure the heavy tool extracted by the osseous record, via the passage of time, in the following terms: it is in both collections that post-cranial remains suffered the least loses, showing the greatest prevalence of preservation, even if in fragmentary form; the cranial remains follow showing a moderate loss of their structures; finally, teeth, although revealing relatively similar combined values of irreversible loss and deterioration in

both sites, present the greatest prevalence of reduction of numbers and preservation among the royal tomb (Agelarakis, 1994; 1994a).

In evaluating the prevalence of mortality ratios affecting the different sex and age subgroups of the populations involved it is apparent that the demographic profile of the two collections reveal diverse values. A high prevalence of prenatal and Infancy group morbidity, punctuated at the Infancy I age group, dominates the demographic profile of the Venetian period collection, indicating harder times and manifestations of early life stress which affected this segment of this population in contrast to the earlier Classical-Hellenistic collection. It seems that the Venetian period collection was less well-prepared, as far as their cultural buffer mechanisms, to face and overcome the challenges produced by their physical and social environments in Malloura during this juncture (Ibid.). In addition, the highest prevalence of mortality could be detected during the Venetian time period in the Young Adult years of the population, especially of the females, a condition that they suggest might have been associated and/or subject to the childbearing years of these unfortunate females. This is coupled by the highest prevalence of male mortality in this group as well as the next one, that of the Middle Adults; not a surprising manifestation since these male age subgroups indicate their most productive years in military duty for the protection of their territory. This is such a contradiction to the prevalence of mortality values of the individuals of the royal tomb who seemed to have enjoyed a rather longer life span, showing punctuations of death occasions for both males and females in their later years, starting with the Middle Adulthood (Ibid.).

Although multiple competing explanatory hypotheses could be suggested for the specifics of the causative agents of morbidity and mortality, it is only possible to paint pictures of the past with very broad strokes concerning the specific nature of the social and physical environmental contexts of the human condition. In fact it should be noted that for the moment, we remain ignorant of the majority of the esoteric details in absence of any deductive assessments. Such interpretations of the human condition during antiquity will be reconstructed in a synergistic effort drawing from the multifaceted resources provided by the long term research endeavors and the unpretentious devotion of our colleagues and scholars working in archaeology, anthropology, and all other relative fields. As far as what concerns the future progress of this endeavor, this project finds itself in the process of evaluating and further testing the anthropological data in conjunction with the rest of the archaeological record of the site of Malloura.

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THE OLD PEOPLE KNOW DIFFERENT: NAVAJO ELDERS IN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGE.

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Aging is a universal process-- all humans get older; however, the interpretations of aging and the treatment of the aged vary across cultures. Anthropologists have well-documented the high status of old people in many societies. In many societies, elders are known to be revered for their knowledge and their teachings (Amoss and Harrell, 1981). This idealized view of aging has become commonly associated with Native American elders who have been the subject of many books such as The Wisdomkeepers (in which they share their experience and wisdom.) In the Euro-American tradition elders are typically considered "old people," who become burdensome dependents on their children and communities; many elderly retreat to nursing homes and are greatly isolated from the rest of their family and communities. Does the view of aging among the Navajo, for example, prevent elders from this seclusion? How does the ideology of reverence for elder's wisdom result in different treatment of the aged? To what extent does acculturation Native American communities influence the traditionally high-status of elders? This paper examines these issues in a Navajo community undergoing major cultural changes.

BRIEF HISTORY AND CULTURE CHANGE

Of exceeding importance for the Navajo during the twentieth century are changes from a subsistence to a commercial economy, and the introduction of a Euro-American education system. Although other factors have influenced change- including missionary activity, U.S. Government programs, automobiles, and television- economic and educational changes have most significantly influenced Navajo family life and tradition.

Historically, Navajo families have been described as integrated, close, and extended. "The extended family is a group based on kinship, coresidence, and cooperation, that comprises typically three generations-- grandparental, parental, and children." (Shepardson and Hammond, 1970: p.45). The three generations lived together, cooperated in tasks, and shared resources. The elderly instructed the young, and were generally revered for their knowledge. However, with the introduction of the Euro-American education system, this pattern of inter-familial contact gradually altered. Children entering schools were required to abdicate their language and values, excluding many of them from the traditional way of life and values. An anthropologist discussed entrance into a boarding school during the 60's: "Little girls exchange their satin skirts and velvet blouses for typical white-society clothing. All of the children start learning the English language...After 2 years of schooling, in which the concentration has been on development of the use of oral English, elementary pupils are sent to boarding schools at Kayenta or Tuba City, or off-reservation schools at Flagstaff, Arizona, or Richfield, Utah." (Shepardson and Hammond, 1970: 126). Children attended boarding schools away from home for nine months of the year, returning home only during the summer months; and, consequently, experienced long periods of isolation from their grandparents, parents, and other kin.

Furthermore, with changes in the economy, new pressures encouraged the younger generations to move off the reservation to obtain income-producing jobs. Although many of those who moved off the reservation returned whenever possible, they were not around to take care of the sheep, haul wood and water, or to be available for

instruction from the elders.

Many of the male elderly in this study reported seasonal employment away from home for projects such as the railroad; however, the middle-aged cohort is the first generation to experience this on a massive scale. Further, the middle-aged adults in this study is the first generation to be educated within the Euro-American tradition. These factors have had differential effects on families. Many informants discussed the degeneration of the traditional family structure. One informant commented that because of these things, "We aren't a union anymore."

METHODOLOGY

To gain current information regarding the status and treatment of Navajo elders, six weeks were spent interviewing and gathering other related data in a remote Navajo community. The community was chosen because the researcher had spent many weekends during the preceding three years in this community, helping elders plant their fields, tutoring children in the local boarding school, and "hanging out" while trying to learning bits of the Navajo language.

Fifty members of a remote Navajo community were interviewed regarding their attitudes and practices in relation to the aging individuals of their community. Three cohorts --22 elders, 8 middle-aged adults, and 20 youth-- were interviewed to assess their perceptions of aging and care for the aged in the midst of cultural change. These three cohorts were selected to determine the extent to which traditional patterns of familial interaction, which typically consisted of much cross-generational contact, have remained intact.

Elders were selected according to proximity to local services (which ranged from approximately 15 miles to nearly 35 miles), and to willingness and ability to participate. Elders were questioned about the sources and adequacy of their income and goods, degree of isolation from their family and the community, health status, choice and use of various medical services (including Western, Native American church, and traditional medicine), and their concerns about the future.

Middle-aged adults were selected according to availability. The researcher had planned to interview 20 middle-aged adults; however, this group was much more difficult than elders or youth to contact. The lack of many interviews within this age category reveals something about the nature of current economic pressures on the reservation-- many of this cohort were in large cities such as Phoenix, Las Vegas, or Salt Lake City for employment, and they returned for occasional, short visits on weekends, while others who resided on the reservation were "too busy" with their jobs in their community. Six of the eight informants from this age category were employed in local service agencies, such as the nearby boarding school, the Senior Citizen Center, and the local government (Chapter) office. These informants were interviewed about the following: their responsibilities for elders, sibling support for care of elders, their general views of aging and the aged, the influence of boarding school on the traditional Navajo family, and the changing values of their children and the youth of today.

Young people were selected from a local boarding school, with attempts made to choose grandchildren of elders interviewed. Ten such correlations were made. These children were aged from 10 to 16 years old. Children were asked about their proficiency with the Navajo language, knowledge of tradition, interaction with their grandparents, and their plans for the future. Only a few aspects of the child data have been focused on here, namely, language preference and proficiency, interaction with grandparents, and a few cases in which children reported an issue in detail, such as a young girl who spoke of what it was like to "live in the nineties," and of her plans to leave the reservation as soon as she could.

Finally, while living in this community for six weeks, and as a visitor for over three years (visits ranged from 3-days to one-week at a time), the researcher was able to observe practices related to aging. Systematic notes were taken during my six-week stay.

Although these data are extensive, there are limitations. The issues surrounding aging and the aged are extremely complex. Six weeks is insufficient to gain a complete understanding. One further problem with generalizing here is that the situation appears to vary widely from family to family and certainly between communities. The following summarizes a general perspective of the elders; however, the views presented may be peculiarities to particular individuals interviewed.

THE OLD PEOPLE KNOW DIFFERENT

Elders have a value system that is reputably different from that of their own children. Elders maintain what is considered the "old" lifestyle, which places great value on livestock and land. The knowledge of the livestock and land, and the many songs affiliated with them, are sacred and very guarded within Navajo society. One elder stated, "The elders, they are very stingy with their knowledge. They will not tell about these things. They used to have songs about sheep and horses. Songs about everything in this world...Whatever they had, they never shared it with anybody, and they died with it." Because of this much of the knowledge has already been lost, consequently making elders who are still alive especially revered for the knowledge that remains.

This knowledge comes exclusively from elders within one's extended family. One elder stated, "If I were to talk about something that didn't come from my grandparents, it would all be a lie." This knowledge is perceived as being constant; it can be traced retrogressively back through one's ancestors.

The parental generation and children perceive elders to have privileged information; however, the means for accessing elders' knowledge are not as intact as they were previously. One middle-aged man reported, "I should ask questions about [the] old days and the culture and ceremonies. I never did ask because I was lazy. I wish I would have asked. I think I should ask the elders about our culture. I should but most of them are gone." Now, many of them believe it is too late.

Further, the knowledge elders control is deeply rooted within their lifestyle, including the livestock and the land. Wealth, according to elders, is a matter of the size of one's sheep herds and the quality of one's fields. Learning the traditional teachings were tied to this wealth and were part of one's every day activities, "You'd go out there every day and get the horse early in the morning. When you go out there to get the horse, you run and sing. When you go out there running early in the morning, they say all the gods will be traveling. All the gods will be traveling towards the setting sun. So they see you out there running and yelling... and the gods would say, 'Hey, that's my boy right there, I am going to bless him with all the goods because he's up early in the morning and he's doing his thing.'" Learning was tightly woven into these daily activities.

INTER-GENERATIONAL RELATIONS

The cross-generational exchange of traditional knowledge has diminished, and in some families has been completely severed over the past century. This places great strain on inter-generational relationships. Elders complain generally about the younger generation's lack of respect for the old ways, their inability to speak Navajo, and their neglect of elders (although elders stated their own grandchildren and children were not at fault). "I watch young people. Say a truck comes with a grandpa and grandma. The kids just let the elders do all the shopping even though they need help with what's on the shelf. The kids take off and come back two hours later. I will see grandparents sitting in the truck for half a day while kids play video games." The patterns of reciprocity across generations and the responsibility for old people which the elders shared with their own grandparents are not being maintained with their children and grandchildren.

The values of the younger generations are centered around the accumulation of commercial goods, such as trucks and televisions. The younger generation spoke of a compromise between the old and new values. "I respect my heritage and my tradition and everything. But, if I didn't go to school and spent most of my time herding, I don't think I would have gone this far. See, people that spend most of their time 'traditionally' wouldn't have made it. They would have been spending more time on welfare." Elders recognize the need for this compromise, and, in fact, all of them reported that one of their responsibilities was to encourage their grandchildren to go to school.

Young people were isolated from their elders primarily as a result of geographical distance and language. Only four of the twenty children interviewed were located within a close enough proximity to visit their grandparents daily. Most students lived in the dorms, and returned to visit their elders at the most twice times a month. The young reported variable proficiency in Navajo. Many stated they spoke Navajo "good" or "ok", but preferred to use English because it was "easier", and because they had limited proficiency in Navajo. Language has become a major isolating factor for the older and

younger generations. In a few cases elders discussed their frustration with their children who were not teaching their grandchildren Navajo.

The elders' own values are not supported by the younger generations, causing isolation and loneliness. One informant discussed the complications of the differing world views of elders and their children. Conflicts arise in situations in which the old knowledge contradicts that of the Euro-American tradition learned in boarding schools. For example, many elders believe that there is a balancing relationship between Mother Earth and Father Sky, so that when the land becomes depleted by overgrazing sheep, Father Sky will compensate. Those educated in schools are more likely to have a contradictory view that would encourage their parents to reduce their sheep herds because they were doing irreparable damage to the land. The elders cannot relate to this other perspective and remark that, "I tell them these things [about the way to conduct one's life], but they no longer listen to us." The "cultural values" of elders are not supported by their children and grandchildren, isolating them from important networks, and, in some cases, causing elders to feel lonely and neglected. One elder lamented over no longer using traditional medicine because, since her husband died, she was the only one around and needed more support in order to use traditional medicine: "Now, I am the only one who has say. No one has come forward. That's why I don't use traditional medicine." In the extreme case of this isolation, elders have been financially, physically, or verbally abused by their own children and grandchildren.

HEALTH STATUS AND WELL-BEING OF ELDERLY

Elders suffer from diabetes, arthritis, hypertension, loss of hearing and eyesight, and they complain about their lack of ability to ambulate. It was uncommon for elders to complain about their health: when asked about health, their typical response was, "Great!" or "Perfect!" However, immediately following they would describe, in great detail, a long list of health problems.

Retirement is not common until one gets very old and can no longer walk. Elders remain very active with their sheepherding and other tasks. Work is highly valued, and even the most incapacitated elders still wanted to herd their sheep. Two informants were seen herding sheep on several occasions, even though they had reported that they no longer herded because their doctors ordered them to resign due to high-blood pressure and other compounding health problems.

Transportation seems to be one of the most significant factors negatively influencing the well-being of elders. Many reported not being able to visit the local medical clinic or traditional healers because they had no transportation. Furthermore, their social security checks are useless unless they have the transportation to a grocery store which is nearly two hours away. One 80-year-old elder had hitchhiked to Tuba City alone (a town an hour and a half away) three days before he was interviewed because he "didn't have anything to do" and wanted to get out of the house. Many elders said they would have visited community members if they had the transportation.

Adequate food, water, and other supplies (such as wood and warm clothing) are of great concern for elders. Many have difficulty obtaining water from local wells without family support. Elders reported always having somebody return home to help them if they needed it, and in many cases one son or daughter had decided to stay home to help out their parents. Three of the twenty-two elders had sons and/or daughters who lived in the same camp with them, and were able to help them daily.

The increasing inability of children to stay home and care for their parents has created a need for institutionalized care for the elderly. Nursing homes exist in distant towns, but possess a highly negative image as centers where people die a few days after admittance, and where one gets locked up and controlled. Elders described nursing homes similar to prisons, in which one had no control over one's life: "And they just deteriorate from there. And they deny the requests of the people to go home. Once they see you, they start digging your grave for you."

THERE ARE NO STORIES FOR HOW THE PEOPLE CAN RETURN TO THE GOOD LIFE

Elders worry about the future and the decline of traditional values. Elders interpret these changes as inevitable and saddening. One elder commented, "Everything we knew is now going in reverse. We are losing the knowledge." The world is returning to a state of chaos, according to many, and there is no way known to return to

the traditional way of life. They worry about what this implies for their own grandchildren, who they believe are likely to live in a world of violence and confusion. "It's just going to get worse. When all these teenagers get older there are going to be more crimes and murders. It will be chaos."

ATTEMPTS TO RE-CONNECT THE GENERATIONS

In response to cultural changes, institutional efforts have been made to improve the interaction between elders and youth. For example, the Division of Aging Services initiated a Foster Grandparent Program several years ago, in which elders receive wages to teach youth in schools about tradition. A similar project, to build a hogan on the boarding school campus within the community in which discussed here, has been proposed to the local school board. However, in spite of great interest, this project has not yet been accomplished. As the final stage of this research and as a contribution to this community, the researcher has agreed to help organize this project so as to insure its completion.

SUMMARY

Any understanding of culture and aging of the Navajo must consider both the traditions of the people and the rapid changes of the recent decades. The aging process is influenced by medical realities, traditional roles, and pressures for change. The intense economic pressures that force many younger Navajos to leave their elders in search of jobs, and the honor held for elders which is slipping away as the young grow up with little knowledge of their people's culture and language, greatly impact the outlook of elders and isolate them from important relationships. All of these elements complicate the social and psychological aspects of aging; consequently, the position of Navajo elders is increasingly becoming jeopardized and ambiguous.

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A Re-Evaluation Of The Methods Used In Deciphering Anthropological Information From Cremated Human Osseous Remains

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ABSTRACT

This paper contributes unique archaeo-anthropological data through forensic analyses of two geographically and chronologically varied human, cremated, osseous collections from the ancient Aegean, also providing the opportunity to evaluate the accuracy of the methodologies used. The paper critically evaluates the approaches and techniques applied in unearthing, documenting, and reconstructing physical anthropological and forensic information from the human skeletal record. It further assesses the importance and the influential role of a variety of intricate, limiting factors affecting the constituency of the skeletal record, conditions that can easily distort the archaeological record, and subsequently mislead the researcher. Such considerations include issues of taphonomy and preservation, "impacts" of anthropogenic nature based on the burial customs and practices, as well as the particulars of the methodologies used to coax out of the collections the demographic and epidemiological information pertinent for the interpretation of the bio-anthropological record.

INTRODUCTION

One of the biggest problems encountered when studying any ancient society is that everyday life in that society cannot be directly observed. Prehistorians, archaeologists, and anthropologists, to mention a few, must reconstruct the human condition of the past by deciphering the archaeological record through the "time capsules" left by our ancestors, invaluable treasures of our human conduct on the planet. These time capsules, enduring the weathering of time and the austere punishment of taphonomy (the laws of burial processes once materials are covered by sediments), contain myriads of non-renewable information that must be excavated, documented, studied, and interpreted by devoted scholars in a forum of many merging and collaborating sciences (Agelarakis, 1992).

Recognizing our technological and conceptual limitations in interpreting these treasures, containing a whole universe of resources of prehistoric and historic undocumented data, is an integral principal of this interdisciplinary field. This approach is the synergistic result of broad understandings of the consequence of millions of gallons of ink spent on paper, the countless discussions, and the academic debates concerning issues such as the poor or incomplete preservation of archaeological remains and features (the material culture of past populations), the limitations of field and laboratory technological and procedural capacities, as well as the biases that may linger among our intellectual faculties when functioning as interpreters of the data retrieved out of the archaeological record (Agelarakis, 1992).

Being "privileged" with the opportunity to work with the archaeological record for unearthing, documenting and studying the cultural resources left behind by civilizations of the past archaeologists and anthropologists also function as ambassadors for the protection and preservation of the archaeological remains. In addition, they must act as delegates for the distribution of pertinent information to the public and specialists alike. Having assumed the task and the responsibility of deriving deductive assessments relative to the human condition in the past, scientists are immersed in a continuous process aiming to minimize the potential or the relative margin of error concerning their interpretations. How can it be assessed that the results of the analyses are correct? How can they select a resolution out of multiple, competing, explanatory hypotheses where adequate data are not available for further testing? How can others correct and/or fine-tune previously established understandings? (Agelarakis, 1992; 1992a; in press)

It is in light of the previous arguments that this paper presents thoughts and ideas about

the use of techniques, methods and theories within a segment of this interdisciplinary field, namely the study of human cremated remains (which result from mortuary practices), for the reconstruction of demographic and epidemiological information (Agelarakis, in manuscript).

SITES, SAMPLES AND OBJECTIVES

Part of a larger cross-disciplinary project, this paper introduces two archaeological sites and their human cremated remains set apart by temporal and geographic distance. The first site is an acropolis in Eleutherna, Crete which dates from the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age (1300-1000 BC); the second site is a cemetery in Abdera, Thrace, dating from the Classical time period (fifth century BC) (Agelarakis, 1994a; 1995-96). These sites were implicated in this study for revealing through their contextual associations the use of the same mortuary custom--the practice of cremation as a burial ritual of interring humans. There were, however, differences involved relative to the nature of the cultural activities--the "cultural filter" that mandated the esoteric procedures of the custom, and subsequently the osseous composition and preservation in the site.

According to the burial custom, once a human body had been cremated on a burial bed, which was specifically prepared for the occasion in the burial ground, the human cremated remains were removed from their primary context once the fire subsided. They were deposited in an urn and were translocated from the cremation bed to an undisclosed area: the house of the deceased's family, a temple, and/or a new burial location (Agelarakis, 1987).

However, "in excavating the archaeological contexts of these cremation burial beds it was found that a significant amount of cremated human remains were left behind on these beds. Was such an activity the deliberate, conscious result of the cremation process, or were bones left *in situ* undetected because of the ashes, charcoal, rest of the debitage from burial artifacts, and the general discoloration which results from the firing activities of the cremation process? How can the esoteric handling of the burial custom be assessed in a quantifiable manner? Perhaps in an ideal situation it could be possible to find out. Had archaeologists discovered within the same site/settlement the location of all the urns, the location of all the burial beds, and possible leads that would link an identification of who is who between the individuals involved, they then would know better. However, under no circumstances is this a real-world scenario in contemporary archaeology. In addition, even if within the same site such identifications could be made, one could argue that the specifics of that particular site could not set the precedent for all other sites of varying time periods and cultural conditions because the custom of cremating the dead had been used in the ancient Hellenic world for at least 750 years" (Agelarakis, in manuscript), (Burkert, 1985).

Before attempting to answer any questions it should be noted that following archaeological excavations, physical anthropologists are usually obliged to work with cremations under the following two categories: a) either collections of cremated human bones left on the cremation bed--intentionally and/or unintentionally, or b) collections of cremated bones placed inside the urns, for the identification, as a minimum, of the sex and age of the individual(s) involved. Hence, having the opportunity to study only a limited portion of the cremated skeletal body, in either case, how can it be certain that correct anthropological judgments are made? Are there enough bones represented in either case as to allow for a forensic evaluation relative to sex and age? How can cremated male and female skeletal bodies be correctly differentiated? Is it possible to distinguish between a female and a male subadult? (Agelarakis, pers. communication)

Being forced to work an experiment in archaeology under the limitations of the archaeological record, two geographically and temporally different sites were selected in order to conduct testing, realizing that it would be possible to detect the gamut of the expression of "the ratios of variation" concerning this burial custom and the inherited difficulties that anthropologists adapt to when they painstakingly uncover these "time capsules" of the past. The Classical burial ground of Abdera is an archaeological context which yields human cremated remains left behind on the cremation burial beds, in the burial ground. The Early Bronze Age to Early Iron Age burial ground in Eleutherna presents a site where only the urns were discovered, containing the human cremated bones collected from the burial beds (secondary burial).

In working with cremated human skeletal remains one has to consider the intricacies of the multifaceted components involved in the "fashioning and shaping" of the osseous collections (Agelarakis, in manuscript). As was mentioned earlier, there exists a "cultural

filter" which primarily affects the availability of bone mass or bone volume preserved in the burial bed. In addition, "one must consider the effects caused by the firing activities of the cremation process, the intensity and stamina of the fire which break, split up and warp bone surfaces, thereby permanently altering original loci of anatomical identification points. Such changes can occur according to their structural composition (cancellous versus cortical bone), function and shape of bones (flat and irregular versus tubular bones, for example), as well as the placement of the body on the burial bed. Further, taphonomic factors and their contributions in the weathering processes that affect bones must also be considered. Such issues include all the sedimentological attributes and properties of the site, as well as climatic, abiotic factors such as temperature, humidity, and water flow, in addition to biotic factors such as soil fauna, and root activities" (Agelarakis, in manuscript), (Henderson, 1987). Hence, when the physical anthropologist receives a small collection of cremated human bones for identification of demographic and possibly of epidemiologic data, she/he inherits an incomplete archaeological entity which has been affected by multiple factors prior to the phase of analysis. Therefore, a meticulous, detective-like work awaits the trained physical anthropologist working with cremations.

The cremated human bones of the two sites came with varying color, chroma and hues of the bones ranging from the charcoal-like colors of the slightly thermally-altered bones that escaped higher temperatures, to the whitish chalk-like colors of the nearly calcined bones (McKinley, 1989). The weight of bone fragments differed as well, since shrinkage occurs by 1/3 of the volume of all osseous components exposed to temperatures greater than 700-900° Celsius during the firing activities of the cremation process.

It is possible to report here (Agelarakis, in manuscript; and personal communication) that no differences were observed between the osseous collections of the two sites with the exception of one significant variable, namely the sizes of the bone fragments involved. Although bone fragments of all sizes, from a few millimeters to several centimeters in length, were found in both the urns and the collections left behind on the burial beds, it was on a consistent basis that certain readily-visible, larger bone fragments were collected, and deposited in the urns. These bones consisted of the facial cranium, the cervical vertebrae, the anterior segment of the thoracic region (from the rest of the axial skeleton), and the tubular bones of the extremities (from the appendicular skeleton). On the contrary, the collections recovered from the burial beds contained the bone structures of the back and base of the cranium, the dorsal segments of the thoracic region including the thoracic and lumbar vertebrae, the dorsal segments of the pelvic bones, and the smaller fragments of the tubular bones of the extremities (Ibid.).

From an archaeological forensic point of view such a uniform discriminatory collection pattern of bones oriented on a supero-inferior, frontal section of the skeletal bodies indicated that the placement of the interments on the burial beds assumed in both sites an extended and supine positioning (Ibid.). Based on the *in situ* location of the dorsal segment of the skeletal body supero-inferiorly, the relatively well-preserved bone density and composition, the slight to moderate thermal alteration and charcoal-like color discoloration (specifically of the vertebral column, ribs, and ilio-sacral segments of the pelvis), it is assessed that "the interments in both sites were not placed on top of a series of wooden logs" (Agelarakis, in manuscript.) as is illustrated on ancient ceramic decorations depicting the burial custom (Garland, 1985). If that were the case, "the fire would consume and almost immediately destroy the vertebral structures and their cancellous components, very rich in body fluids" (Agelarakis, in manuscript.). Instead, the vertebrae preserved even their spinal processes contained within a sediment layer that revealed hardened qualities similar to those of baked mud-bricks (Ibid.). "A process of vertebral vertical settling within the hardened sediment of the burial bed would be relatively difficult at a time that would post-date the firing activities, since the high temperatures would bake the burial bed hard. Hence, it is suggested that the burial bed was prepared with unbound and unfastened soil, and as a consequence of this condition, the loose earth allowed the vertebral spines to settle in before the sediments hardened through the firing activities" (Ibid.). It is also strongly suggested that the interments were placed on the burial beds and were subsequently superimposed by fire wood, the fuel of the cremation process. For this reason, the ventral (or anterior) skeletons were cremated well, in contrast to the dorsal (or posterior) segments. In addition, such a location of the dorsal skeletal structures in the burial bed indicate that the interments were placed in an extended and supine positioning (Ibid.).

Considering the initial reflections pertinent to the issues of forensic evaluations of skeletal biology, most of the individual skeletal individuals in both sites had either an adequate to sufficient number of anatomically identifiable bone loci, or the availability to forensically calculate deterministic indicia relative to sex, and age. Basic analyses of cremated bones involved their segregation into subdivisions of the cranial, dental and infra-cranial skeleton in correlation with form and function of the osteological components. Measurements of all possible dimensions were recorded, fragment by fragment, coupled by estimations of volume and weight. Evaluations of all taphonomic features were then recorded, combined with the detection and identification of bone traits and characteristics that allow the physical anthropologist to determine the age and sex subgroup of the individual involved (Gejvall, 1963; McKinley, 1989).

It should be realized, however, that since bones of females and immature individuals usually do not preserve as well as those of adult males, the assessments could be inflated in favor of males by discriminating against the less well-preserved skeletal individuals (Agelarakis, in manuscript). That is, every time that osseous anatomical features are observed which exclude an assessment of "male," physical anthropologists evaluate the possibility that the remains are those of either a female or an immature adult (Gejvall, 1963). For this reason, instead of using arbitrary criteria to lump these "indeterminate" individuals to either of the two sex subgroups, in this project they were categorized as possible females, or possible males, subject to the anatomical points available through preservation (Agelarakis, in manuscript).

At this point, it must be underlined that more data are needed in order to derive deductive assessments relative to many aspects of the archaeological record. Continued research based on an inter- and trans-disciplinary milieu is necessary in order to better comprehend the human condition of our ancestors.

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Resolving a Historical Byzantine Riddle Through Analyses of the Archaeological-Anthropological Record

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This paper, part of a larger interdisciplinary archaeo-anthropological project, presents forensic information that challenges for the first time ever historical claims of the Late Byzantine era which affirm the strict exclusion of civilians, females, and children (at an *ante* as well as at a *post mortem* setting) from entering and occupying the physical and/or social environments of areas and architectural structures specifically allocated for the monastic occupancy of male monks. Physical anthropological analyses of human skeletal remains recovered from unusually elaborate sarcophagi, centrally located in pivotal ecclesiastic buildings of strictly male monasteries, provide unique information that supports the fact that a selected, privileged, segment of the civilian population was allowed to be interred within the walls of such a preferred, apparently, protective milieu for the endeavors of afterlife. Aspects of socio-cultural implications are offered through comparative osteological studies between this selected segment of the population and other synchronous populations in the region.

INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 1994, Professor A. Agelarakis from the department of Anthropology at Adelphi University in New York, led a selected group of students to Greece to study, in an *in situ* environment, human skeletal remains of the Byzantine time period. As part of a larger interdisciplinary project directed by the Greek Archaeological Service, the 12th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, Ch. Bakirtzis, Ephor, this paper presents information based on archaeological forensic analyses, as well as assessments of bioarchaeological and palaeopathological nature concerning a human skeletal collection unearthed by the Greek Archaeological Service, from standing imperial buildings dated to the 13th to 14th century A.D., the era of the Palaeologan Emperors in Byzantium. The historical buildings are located at the site of Didymoteichon (or double castle), in northeastern Greece and have been the forum of extensive archaeological investigations for the past 30 years.

SAMPLE SIZE, GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The sample size of the human skeletal population consisted of nine individuals; eight adults and one infant. These individuals were recovered from a luxurious marble sarcophagus with lavish relief decorations, centrally located at a pivotal locus of the most prominent ecclesiastic building of the historic site. The "communal" use of such a conspicuous burial place and the opulent material characteristics of the sarcophagus were very unusual mortuary habits and practices compared with other contemporaneous burials of the monks. Previous discoveries revealed only designated cemetery places outside the building areas, showing austere, and very simple burial customs (Agelarakis, personal comm.).

Based on the burial customs and practices and the state of preservation of the nine skeletons, it was assessed that they comprised a collection of secondary burials; that is they were placed in the sarcophagus following the deterioration of their soft tissues which had occurred in an undisclosed primary burial place (Agelarakis, personal comm.). Although in fragmentary condition human skeletons can provide important information concerning age and sex, genetic inheritance and biological growth, information about working conditions, dietary

patterns, epidemiology, as well as relative data pertinent to physical and social environmental conditions.

Aside from the main objectives of this archaeo-anthropological investigation, which were to provide demographic and palaeopathological information for the better elucidation of the human condition during this era, an integral goal of this project was to test the historical claims of the Byzantine era which indicate that no civilians (especially women, of any age) could enter *in vivo* and/or at *post mortem* the ecclesiastic buildings and monastery areas strictly and exclusively allocated for male clergy (Agelarakis, 1994).

Considering the preservation of the skeletons, out of the nine individuals, three were found to be in good condition of preservation, while the other six were sustained in a relatively poor condition. One of the skeletons was represented merely by a right incomplete innominate bone. Four individuals were found without dentitions, and two were found without any cranial bones.

The nature of the burial custom involving the excavation and redeposition of the interments, coupled by taphonomic processes of weathering had impacted these remains in a post-mortem setting severely affecting the preservation of bone surfaces. In addition, one of the skeletons showed greenish staining due to the effects of cupric acid, from deteriorating bronze artifacts. Most of the other bones revealed discolorations of a reddish brown hue which were the result of red ocher from the burial offerings, not from the properties of the sediments in the sarcophagus.

The bones were found to be brittle to the touch, therefore, we had to clean them carefully with dental tools and brushes, being careful not to scratch off or flake off the outermost layer of the bone surfaces which preserved much of the evidence applicable to archaeo-anthropological forensics and palaeopathology. After meticulous cleaning of the remains, we consolidated and inventoried the osseous record, documenting, studying and analyzing the bones using microscopes and other instruments such as spreading and sliding calipers, the osteometric board, cameras, etc.

ANALYSIS

Bones of earlier human populations have the ability to expose many of the mysteries of the past that artifacts and historical documents alone cannot reveal. Living bone has the capability to adapt to environmental and biological alterations and stresses throughout an individual's lifetime. Certain growth patterns occur at every stage of life and can be easily disrupted by organismal, external, as well as traumatic stressors. Bones, although affected by disease, have the capacity to heal after an infection or fracture (Brothwell, 1968). Through studies of the structural composition, anatomy, and recorded anomalies of bone structures, it was possible to assess demographic and epidemiological information relative to the reconstructions of the age at death, the sex, as well as conditions relative to growth patterns and health of the individuals at this site. This skeletal sample was later compared to neighboring, contemporaneous populations. Important implications of a socio-cultural nature were revealed based on the results of our findings and analyses (Agelarakis, 1994).

Seven of the nine individuals were assessed as adult males. The remaining two were determined as an adult female, and a child which could not be sexed, subject to the immature and incomplete skeleton. All adult individuals were 35 years old or older. The child was found to be approximately eight years of age, or within the Infancy II age group (6-12 years).

Age was assessed based on several cranial, dental and post-cranial components depending on what was available. Evaluations of the transformation of the anatomical relief and shape of the pubic symphysis was the main criterium for assessing sex and age. Additional data were retrieved from dental sizes, morphology, wear patterns, and pathogenesis of hard tissues. Degenerative osteoarthritic changes affecting synovial joints with lipping, porosity and osteophytic growth and spondyloarthropathies, affecting the vertebral column were recognized on several adult skeletons. Additional information, although relatively subjective, concerning the age at death, assessments were gathered by the observations of the cranial suturaleal synosteosis. Spaces between the sutural ends of the cranial bones usually begin to close, though a process of ossification around the age of twenty-five and continue to close throughout life, becoming eventually indistinguishable late in life (ibid.).

Sex was assessed by numerous cranial and post-cranial morphocharacteristics and calculations of forensic indicia. Although studies of anatomy, structure, function and modification concerning for example the innominate bones are central to such evaluations, we

rely heavily on forensic, mensurational, and multiple discriminatory analyses which provide assessments with accuracy ratios reaching scores of 90-95%. In these cases both cranial and post cranial bones can be used, however, in this project post-cranial measurements were essential in assessing the sex of individuals, according to the state of bone preservation.

PATHOLOGIES

All the skeletons were examined for cranial and post-cranial pathologies (Agelarakis, 1994). In this sample cranial bones consisted of vault, facial and cranial base bones, as well as dentitions with their supporting hard tissues. Unfortunately, four out of the nine skeletons were found without dentitions. The remaining five individuals, however, showed various dental pathologies such as Linear Enamel Hypoplasias (LEH), observed on the dental surfaces of three out of the five skeletons. LEH are permanent markers of stress, during the early stages of life, within the prenatal-perinatal and Infancy I & II age subgroups, indicative of stunned and improved growth, the result of undernutrition, malnutrition, temporary starvation high fevers, exanthemas, as well as in utero difficulties affecting the mother such as maternal hepatitis, nephrotic syndrome, etc. Such stressors cause the disruption of the growth of the enamel cells, the enameloblasts, producing a linear marker vertical to the long axis of the tooth and usually detected easiest on the labial dental surfaces.

It was also possible to determine the presence of moderate periodontal disease, a hard tissue indication for an infection which affected the soft tissue causing hemorrhage, enhanced the premature absorption of the alveolar bones, and endangered the fitness of individual dentitions, resulting in the loosening and the eventual loss of teeth. Supragingival calculus deposits were also observed on dental surfaces, a condition that is a prelude to advanced periodontal disease. Surprisingly, only one carious cavity was found on those individuals whose dentitions were preserved.

Post-cranial pathologies affected the rest of the skeletal body; the infra-cranial axial structures, and the appendicular skeleton. All skeletons, with the exception of one, presented osteoarthritic conditions such as lipping. Osteoarthritis was the most common pathological condition observed, produced by a gradual breakdown of the cartilage between the adjoining bones of a joint so that the articular surfaces come into direct contact (Ubelaker, 1989). Age is an important factor in the development of osteoarthritis. Osteoarthritic lipping develops usually after the middle of the third decade of life, progressing to more serious degenerative manifestations with aging. Such manifestations are the result of long term occupational and habitual stress, irritation of the cartilage, or a disruption of the circulation of the blood to the area of the synovial joints involved, as well as strenuous environmental factors.

Infectious and inflammatory conditions, assessed forensically to be the result of trauma, had affected several bone structures of the adult individuals. Active subperiosteal osseous reactions indicated a sudden disruption of osteoblastic activities by the incidence of death. It should be underlined, however, that the most common signs of trauma were observed at the supero-inferior surfaces of the vertebral bodies in the form of localized well defined depressions, or Schmorls' nodes, permanently marking the spines of four out of the five individuals that revealed any manifestations of trauma. These conditions are caused by traumatic events that impact the spines with a sudden, severe loading impact on an axial trajectory such as a serious fall from a galloping horse or a fall from a considerable height.

Markers of Habitual and Occupational Stress (MHOS) were recognized and examined. All adult male skeletons were assessed as unusually robust with very emphasized muscular imprints. Other MHOS manifestations were femoral plaque formation, femoral assessory facets, depressed fossa, tibial imprints, and radial tuberosity scored present on three of the nine skeletons, indicating locomotory adaptation patterns such as a rapid gait on uneven terrain, and moderate impact loading on the knee, and the femuro-accetabular joints at the squatting position .

The remains of the infant revealed manifestations of cranial hyperporosity a palaeopathological condition which could have been caused by a mild case of iron deficiency anemia.

IMPLICATIONS

It should be reported here that the presence of a female adult individual, and that of a child in this monastic, exclusively adult male environment is a first in the archaeo-anthropological record of this time period at this geographic juncture (Agelarakis, 1994).

Ecclesiastic buildings and monasteries allocated for males restricted any entry of females and children. These findings, however, proved otherwise. Never has this hypothesis been tested until the excavation of this site in Didymotheichon. The discovery of an adult female and a child in this supposedly exclusive environment go against every one of the historical claims, with one exception. It was the privilege of the Queen, and/or the mother of an Emperor of the Byzantine Era to have found a monastery with allocations of endowments in funds, and privileges of owning land to support the dietary needs of the monastic institution (Agelarakis, personal communication). These selected few women with their immediate family members alone were allowed to be buried in the monastery they had founded. This is the first documented archaeo-anthropological case of such a historical event in the region (Agelarakis, 1994). But what about the rest of the individuals, the males, buried in the sarcophagus. Can it be assessed through archaeological forensic analyses of their skeletal remains that they were civilian individuals?

The skeletal remains of these male adults indicated osseous morphological and palaeopathological characteristics that easily separate them, and set them apart, from the gracile, non emphasized void of trauma skeletons of the monks and clergy. These determinations were further supported by forensic analyses concerning the overall skeletal biology and the growth patterns of these individuals compared with the "typical" monk skeletal population. Once the nine skeletons were determined as characteristically different compared to the monk population, the initiation of an inter-site comparative study of skeletal populations in order to better evaluate our theory was implemented. The nine skeletons interred in the elaborate sarcophagus were compared with a synchronous civilian skeletal population from the nearby site of Polystylon (many standing columns); the site of Abdera in Classical antiquity. Even in this case there emerged significant differences between the two counterparts. The group in Abdera consisted of forty-five graves that held sixty individuals in wooden coffins. Females in Polystylon were affected by multiple markers of early child stress, infections, manifestations of poor diet, and increased mortality around the childbearing years. Males showed a reduction in robusticity compared with earlier periods, a decrease of their stature measurements by a mean value of 2 cm, as well as a degradation of general hygiene (Agelarakis, 1989). These conditions were entirely antithetical with the skeletal manifestations of the seven male adults unearthed from the elaborate sarcophagus.

It is therefore concluded that based on the skeleto-biological record alone, the seven male adults accompanying the privileged female individual with the child, comprised a selected subgroup of individuals, a very privileged part of the Late Byzantine Society, a civilian "social superstructure" favored in life as well as in death.

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Application of Activity-Based Costing To A Not-For-Profit Service Organization

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Activity-based costing (ABC), which is usually used to analyze costs in manufacturing firms, was applied to a not-for-profit service organization. In activity-based costing the first step is to determine the activities to be analyzed. Next, the cost drivers (an activity or transaction that causes costs to occur) are determined by breaking the costs down into components. The third step is to decide how to allocate the cost drivers to the activities. In a not-for-profit service organization, the activities are the services provided. The costs will be derived from the cost drivers, which are made up of individual components. The purpose of this research is to develop a computer model that will provide not-for-profit service organizations with a tool to determine first where money is being used, then provide the analysts with the ability to evaluate the effectiveness of total and individual expenditures.

BACKGROUND

Activity-based costing (ABC) is a cost system defined as an approach to costing that focuses on the fundamental cost objects. It uses the cost of these activities as the basis for assigning costs to other cost objects such as products, services, or customers (Horngren, 1994). In reference to ABC, O'Guin (1991) states "Today another cost accounting system equally revolutionary and equally significant is beginning its ascent. This system can restore America's competitiveness." ABC has not been used in not-for-profit service organizations very much, but it can provide service organizations with needed cost information that they have not had in the past with traditional cost systems (O'Guin, 1991).

In manufacturing, determining which products are profitable is a major issue. While it is relatively easy to determine the overall costs for a given manufacturing facility in a given year, it is much more challenging to be able to determine which of these costs are associated with a particular product. It is extremely important to have this information because it is a factor in the decision to kill a product or to expand a product line. ABC is being used to provide a clearer picture of the actual cost impact of any given product (Johnson, 1987).

A not-for-profit does not have a line of products, so there has been much less work done on assigning costs. This is certain to change in the current environment of accountability. It is going to become more and more important to know the costs associated with different activities so those responsible for the not-for-profit will know whether or not to provide a service. Allocation of resources is very important with a limited budget, so it is important for the most important services to be getting an appropriate amount of resources. ABC helps by highlighting the resources each service is receiving. This information can be used by decision makers to help determine which services should be discontinued and which should be provided with more resources. If there are charges, as there are with many not-for-profit services, ABC can be used to help set the charges or to highlight the difference between what the client is being charged for the service and what the service costs the not-for-profit.

APPLICATION

Activities

Defining the activities is the first major task in applying ABC to a not-for-profit or other service organization. Whereas in a manufacturing organization, costing the product

is the ultimate aim and there is little question of what defines a product, in a service organization, there can be considerable confusion about the distinction between a cost driver and an end activity.

The not-for-profit service organization analyzed for this project is a religious organization. To define the activities of this particular organization, representative members of the congregation met and discussed their mission. The members themselves took the responsibility for defining ten different activities that they determined to be the key reasons for their organization's existence:

Provide a physical location to worship.
Provide a properly ordained clergy.
Promote goodwill in the community at large.
Provide a religious school to educate youth and adults.
Provide proper observance of religious holiday services.
Provide proper Life Cycle services.
Provide personal counseling from spiritual leader.
Provide family educational and social activities.
Provide visitation to the sick and/or infirm.
Provide a physical location for social gathering.

Cost Drivers

The next step was to identify the cost drivers for the activities. A cost driver is an activity or transaction that causes costs to occur.

The first logical driver is cost of the clergy. Several of the expenditures made by the organization relate directly to clergy such as his salary, benefits, dues, travel, etc. Because he is directly involved in most of the activities as they were defined by the committee, his cost would be a major part of the cost of the activities. A questionnaire was designed for the clergy asking for an estimate of the time he spent on each activity to determine how the cost associated with the cost driver "Clergy" should be allocated.

The other cost drivers were set up as Building, General, and Direct. It would be possible to identify more cost drivers than these four, but any internal accounting should be justified by the cost-benefit of generating the data. The extra cost and complexity of establishing additional drivers simply did not justify using them at the present time.

Building as Cost Driver

Allocating the building's total cost to the ten activities is an interesting part of the process. First, allocation based on square footage was tried, but the problem that no area is utilized by only one activity arose. The sanctuary is used for religious school, for services, and for other activities. So allocation based on square footage alone is not possible.

Next, allocation based on hours used was tried, but again it did not really give a clear or good picture of each activity's utilization of the building. It was decided to use a double allocation. First the total costs associated with the building (maintenance, depreciation, insurance, etc.) was allocated to the major physical areas based on their square footage. Next, what percentage of time each activity utilized the area was determined and that activity was assigned the appropriate portion of the cost. For example, the building can be broken down into four major areas: Sanctuary, General, Social, and School. Each area gets a percentage of the building's total cost based on the amount of its square footage. Then an activity like "Observance of religious holiday services" is allocated an appropriate portion of the cost based on the amount of time it uses each area. For example, if "Observance" requires using the School Area 70 hours a year and the total number of hours in a year is 8,760, then that activity gets 0.80 percent of the amount of cost allocated to the School Area. After square footage was calculated, a meeting was held with members of the congregation to establish how much time each activity uses each area.

There is an inherent problem allocating cost based on the amount of time each activity uses an area. An area is not utilized 24 hours a day 365 days a year, but it exists for that full time. Two different ways of dealing with that issue were investigated. All the costs could be prorated to other activities, or the fact that the physical location is both a cost driver and a service activity could be accepted and the costs that were not tied directly to one of the other activities could be assigned to "Provide a physical location to worship".

To resolve this issue, the idea that the sanctuary is built to be a place of worship, and a real objective for the organization is to maintain such a place was discussed and accepted; therefore it seemed reasonable to assign any unallocated time in the Sanctuary Area to the category "physical location to worship". That costs associated with the building could be assigned to such a category and not be allocated to the other nine activities was recognized, but that would not be particularly informative for the kinds of decisions that will be made with the information being accumulated.

For the Social Area, the full amount of the cost not allocated to another activity is allocated to "Physical location for social gathering". The School Area excess is allocated to "Religious School". The unassigned costs associated with the General Area of the building were allocated half to "Physical location to worship" and the other half to "Physical location for social gathering". (Refer to Table 1).

Table 1 Building Allocation to Activities

Building Hours Model		Sanctuary								Social								
	Week	Month	Year	Sub Total	Total	%	$	Week	Month	Year	Sub Total	Total	%	$
Physical Location	0	0	0	0	8473	96.72%	$14,440	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0
Clergy	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0
Goodwill	0	0	5	5	5	0.06%	$9	0	1	2	14	14	0.16%	$21
Religious School	0	4	0	48	48	0.55%	$82	5	0	0	260	260	2.97%	$391
Holiday Services	0	0	175	175	175	2.00%	$298	0	0	175	175	175	2.00%	$263
Life Cycle	0	0	50	50	50	0.57%	$85	0	0	3	3	3	0.03%	$5
Counseling	0	0	5	5	5	0.06%	$9	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0
Family Educ & Social	0	0	4	4	4	0.05%	$7	0	2	0	24	24	0.27%	$36
Visitation Sick	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0
Building for Social	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	0	0	8284	94.57%	$12,457
Totals				287	8760	100.00%	$14,929				476	8760	100.00%	$13,173
Max HRS per Year	8760							8760						
Excess HRS	8473							8284						

	School							General						
	Week	Month	Year	Sub-Total	Total	%	$	Week	Month	Year	Sub Total	Total	%	$
Physical Location	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	0	0	4117	47.00%	$7,223
Clergy	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0
Goodwill	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	1	5	17	17	0.19%	$30
Religious School	5	0	0	260	8424	96.16%	$4,645	5	0	0	260	260	2.97%	$456
Holiday Services	0	0	175	175	175	2.00%	$96	0	0	175	175	175	2.00%	$307
Life Cycle	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	50	50	50	0.57%	$88
Counseling	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0
Family Educ & Social	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0	0	0	24	24	24	0.27%	$42
Visitation Sick	3	0	0	156	156	1.78%	$86	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%	$0
Building for Social	0	0	5	5	5	0.06%	$3	0	0	0	0	4117	47.00%	$7,223
Totals				596	8760	100.00%	$4,830				526	8760	100.00%	$15,368
Max HRS per Year	8760							8760						
Excess HRS	8164							8234						

Clergy as Cost Driver

When costs of the building were allocated and the excess hours issue was uncovered, it was realized that the same problem would happen when the activities performed by the clergy were examined. His total hours worked were calculated by his per week total times 52 minus number of weeks off. However, it was known that he would not be able to determine how he spends his time down to the hour so it was decided to allocate his excess time to the activity "Provide a properly ordained clergy". The clergy's excess hours were the maximum worked minus the subtotal of the hours already allocated.

Direct Expenses

The direct expenses were the easiest ones to allocate. The activity with which they were associated was established and then the direct expenses were allocated to that activity. For example, books for Sunday School would be allocated to "Religious School". The total direct costs for each activity are totaled and put on one sheet. It is worth noting that these are the only costs that would immediately be eliminated if the activity were discontinued.

General Cost

All the costs that were not associated with one of the other drivers were accumulated in a General category. The General Costs would be allocated based on the time that the secretary spends on the activities, since most of the General Costs are associated with an activity which the secretary performs.

An example to illustrate this reasoning is allocation of cost of mailings. Each activity may have mailings during the year, but it would not be cost efficient to keep track of the cost associated with a mailing for each activity. The secretary does most of the mailing. Therefore, taking the total of all expenses classified as general costs and allocating them by the amount of time the secretary spends on the activities seemed reasonable given the cost-benefit constraints.

A survey like the one that was sent to the clergy was sent to the secretary to fill out. However, the issue of allocating excess hours returned with a new problem. Providing secretarial service was not seen as an objective; therefore, it cannot be considered an activity. A way to allocate the unassigned costs to the ten activities that had been identified as core activities would have to be found.

Allocating unassigned costs evenly to the ten activities was considered, but it was decided to allocate the excess to each one based on the percentage each activity has of current overall total cost. The amount allocated by the General cost driver before excess hours are taken into account is the amount used for each activity's preliminary general cost. The preliminary allocation is added to the total allocation from the other three cost drivers and they are combined. Each activity's total is divided by the overall total to calculate its percentage of costs prior to this last allocation, which was then multiplied by the excess General Cost. The result was to allocate excess general costs to the activities in the same percentage that they have of all costs to this point. This was subjectively decided to be a fair allocation of the excess hours.

COMPUTER MODEL

In order for this kind of information to be most useful, it needs to be in the form of a computer program that will enable the users to generate and compare information each year.

The computer model begins with a sheet which lists all of the costs and tells what cost driver relates to each cost. An example is building maintenance, which is identified with a "B" in column four of the sheet, which means building maintenance is allocated by the Building cost driver. The letters stand for the cost drivers: B = Building, D = Direct, C = Clergy, and G = General.

After ascertaining which cost driver relates to a cost, the reader can refer to the appropriate section of the computer output to see other costs associated with that driver and the total. In the preceding example, a reader would look at the building model sheet and be able to tell how the total from the building cost sheet is allocated to each activity. Since the building has four areas, a total building cost sheet was generated which totals the four areas for each activity from the building model sheet. The computer model also has a sheet for the general and clergy cost drivers which totals the cost being allocated by those

cost drivers. The total from each sheet is multiplied by the specific allocation percentage of each activity for each cost driver. An example of this: Goodwill's allocation percentage from Clergy is 4.53%, and Goodwill's allocation percentage from General before excess allocation is 13.43%.

The direct costs also have a sheet where the total allocated to each activity by the direct cost driver is listed and totalled. This method is easier to read than trying to find all of the direct costs for one activity on the cost allocation sheet.

The final total cost sheet shows the full amount allocated to each activity by each cost driver and the percentage of overall cost. The final page of the computer output allows the user to see the result at a glance instead of having to look at four different sheets. It also allows the user to trace the costs to see if he/she agrees with the method of allocation. It is even possible to do simulations to facilitate planning. (Refer to Table 2)

Table 2 Total Cost Sheet

Total Cost							
	Building	Clergy	General	Direct	Total		%
Physical Location	$21,663	$0	$3,105	$1,200	$25,968		13.68%
Clergy	$0	$37,750	$5,127	$0	$42,877		22.59%
Goodwill	$59	$2,929	$4,694	$0	$7,682		4.05%
Religious School	$5,574	$3,662	$18,534	$22,000	$49,770		26.22%
Holiday Services	$965	$3,662	$2,682	$5,000	$12,308		6.48%
Life Cycle	$177	$6,713	$2,282	$200	$9,373		4.94%
Counseling	$9	$3,662	$498	$0	$4,169		2.20%
Family Educ & Social	$85	$1,465	$6,056	$950	$8,556		4.51%
Visitation Sick	$86	$5,859	$807	$0	$6,752		3.56%
Building for Social	$19,682	$0	$2,673	$0	$22,356		11.78%
Column Totals	$48,300	$65,700	$46,460	$29,350	$189,810		100.00%

CONCLUSION

One desired outcome was the capability to use this system for planning. It appears that it will be possible. For example, if a utility company announces a price hike, then the organization can see how much the cost of each activity would be changed based on the expected increase.

The project delivered some very useful information. The model showed where resources were being used and will allow the decision makers to decide where more or fewer might need to be used. This was one of the main results that were being sought. A survey is going to be sent to the congregation. Once they determine which are the most important activities, the decision makers will be able to see if the more important services are receiving an appropriate amount of resources.

Another important area to monitor may be the "excess" hours. If the percentage of time that cannot be directly assigned to an activity begins to rise, it may signal a need for some additional information.

While the information gathered during this project should be useful during the current year, it is likely to be even more useful in the future. The computerized activity-based costing system they now have in place is fairly user-friendly. It is not necessary to be an accountant to understand the output. An especially useful feature of the computer model is that the user can look at the last sheet and see the important information summarized and use it to make an informed decision.

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An Inquiry into the Firms that Practice Income-smoothing Techniques and the Associated Ethical Implications

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INTRODUCTION

It is typically not disputed that firms have and do practice various 'income-smoothing' techniques during their corporate existence. In fact, many empirical studies have produced evidence which suggests the validity of such a claim. Such studies, though, rarely consider the associated motivations for and implications of practicing these techniques within a *philosophical* context despite the fact that such behavior relates fundamentally to the area of ethics. This paper is primarily concerned not only with exposing the motivations which entice both firms and individuals into engaging in misleading activities (such as 'income-smoothing'), but also with demonstrating that such motivations are reflective of secular humanistic maxims. Moreover, this study shows how these humanistic maxims fail to provide meaningful and authentic dictates by which to either guide or measure business or personal conduct.

Before analyzing the phenomenon of 'income-smoothing' philosophically, the first section of the paper offers some helpful background information including; (1) a description of basic accounting theory and principle(s), (2) a definition of 'income-smoothing' with particular emphasis on its misleading nature, (3) a brief explanation of the way in which 'income-smoothing' is effected, and (4) a discussion of the current "restructuring dilemma" with particular reference made to its relation to 'income-smoothing'. The second section of the paper considers the phenomenon of 'income-smoothing' from a purely philosophical standpoint, wherein it is shown that since such practices are indicative of misleading behavior they, therefore, are unethical and do not constitute justified business (or personal) behavior.

DISCUSSION SECTION ONE: BACKGROUND

basic accounting theory and principle(s)

It is appropriate to begin by explaining the nature of accounting rules and policies. The body of rules that are concerned with determining and communicating proper accounting methodologies are referred to as Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP). As the name implies, these many and varied accounting rules are accepted, in general, by those who are concerned or connected with preparing and/or using accounting and financial data. More importantly though, the common and fundamental premise of the accounting rules involves the notion that particular rules are adopted in order that they provide accounting techniques whose use will result in the production of representative accounts of financial data since such data is necessary for making *informed* resource allocation decisions.

GAAP comprises a very extensive set of accounting rules, techniques, and methods. Since we are specifically interested in investigating a certain method of earnings management and reporting, what is of most concern in our inquiry involves the proper accounting treatment for both revenue recognition and, in particular, expense recognition . A fundamental principle which deals with the reporting of earnings involves "the matching principle." The matching principle states that revenues be recognized in the period in which they are *earned*, and that expenses related to the generation of those revenues be recognized in the period in which they are *incurred* (Delaney, et al, 1994). The matching principle demonstrates GAAP's concern with proscribing methodologies that when used, succeed in providing representative financial information to its customers.

'income-smoothing' defined and employed

We can now examine what is meant by 'income-smoothing' and moreover, what is its relation to existing accounting theory and principle. 'Income-smoothing' may be defined as the "dampening of fluctuations about some level of earnings that is considered to be *normal* for a firm"(Beidelman, 1993). The 'income-smoothing' of interest in this paper, however, is defined as "any practice which involves a *deliberate* attempt to manipulate earnings reports in such a way that income is (or will be in the future) reported in a *more favorable light*" (emphasis mine) (Ronen and Sadan, 1981).

Essentially, 'income-smoothing' is effected by *altering* either the revenue recognition pattern, the expense recognition pattern, or both (Ronen and Sadan, 1981). There are indeed numerous ways in which both revenue recognition and expense recognition can be manipulated even within the framework of GAAP. However, typically these actions are taken in an effort to

operate in compliance with GAAP and thus, reflect consistency with the nature and spirit of accounting theory which is specifically concerned with generating representative earnings reports. Conversely, *deliberate* 'income-smoothing' techniques are not entirely consistent with existing accounting principle and do not have as their objective generating representative accounting data. Consequently, its practice provokes concern amongst (especially) the business community.

the "restructuring dilemma"

A growing area of concern involves the fact that in the last few years, an increasing number of firms have been participating in very sizable internal restructuring programs. These programs are accompanied by varied and substantial costs. Restructuring costs involve "all those costs associated with reorganizing a firm", and the primary categories of costs include "charges related to employee benefits such as costs of severance and termination benefits, costs associated with elimination and reduction of product lines, costs to consolidate or relocate plant facilities, costs for new systems development or acquisition, costs to retrain employees to use newly developed systems, advertising/promotion costs to reposition company as smaller/leaner entity, outside consultant costs for tasks such as strategic planning, and similar" (EITF, 1994). Because of the increasing occurrence of these restructurings, the business community has become understandably concerned with determining the proper accounting treatment for the significant charges arising from these programs.

In order to determine the proper accounting treatment for restructuring charges, we must refer to GAAP. Restructuring costs (obviously) fall under the category of expenses, and so once incurred, they ought to be recognized. But what does it mean for expenses to be incurred? GAAP informs us that although proper expense recognition doesn't simply refer to whether funds were paid out, it certainly indicates that costs must actually be *suffered* in the period in which they are being charged and furthermore, that they must *not* be related to the generation of income in future periods (Delaney, et al, 1994). So in the case of restructuring, it seems that in order to be consistent with existing accounting theory, charges against income are legitimate in so far as they reflect the extent of the restructuring undertaken in that particular accounting period, and so far as they do not aid in the generation of future income.

In light of this, can the accounting for restructuring costs be thought of as a method of 'income-smoothing'? If indeed firms succeed in charging all 'restructuring costs' against income in one accounting period, and thereby succeed in treating them as having been incurred when they are no more than merely perceived costs, characterization as 'income-smoothing' seems warranted. In fact, firms' attempts to charge all conceivable restructuring costs against income in one period in order to report steady earnings streams in future periods reflects directly the spirit of 'income-smoothing'. And indeed, one of the reasons this issue is so compelling involves the major concern of the business community that suggests that firms are "seizing upon restructurings as an occasion to take a bushel of write-offs all at once, making an *'earnings turnaround'* look speedier and more significant when it happens" (Pullman and Berton, 1994).

motivation(s) for 'income-smoothing'

Naturally, though, we must ask why a *smooth* earnings picture is viewed as being positive. It is well-known in the business community that fluctuations in reported earnings figures are viewed negatively by readers of financial statements. The primary explanation for this phenomenon involves the notion that investors will pay more for a firm with a smoother earnings stream as it suggests earnings security and stability (Ronen and Sadan, 1981). As such, it is clear that the corporate manager wants investors to pay dearly (as lofty a price as possible) for his firm; indeed the manager wants to command a high price for his firm's stock. It is typically taken for granted that the corporate manager's desire for stock price maximization arises as a result of his emphasis on monetary reward and personal recognition. Indeed, these types of rewards often accompany rising earnings and stock prices. In fact, it is often the case that managers' compensation packages are tied *directly* to the firm's earnings and/or stock price. In light of the manager's emphasis on attaining monetary reward, we can see that any obstacle, either perceived or real, which threatens the attainment of maximum monetary gain *may* motivate the corporate manager to engage in techniques, such as 'income-smoothing', which succeed in making the reported earnings *appear* more attractive to both the investor and the potential investor, as well as those who determine compensation and bonus packages.

With respect to the "restructuring dilemma,", Robert Willens, an accounting analyst at Lehman Brothers says, "Investors love restructuring[s] because following a jumbo charge against earnings, a company's profit nearly always improves sharply since the company writes off certain expenses all at once that would otherwise be a drag to earnings over a longer period.....this is guaranteed to make future earnings look better" (Pullman and Berton, 1994). This statement clearly implies that firms may *intentionally* accrue costs in an attempt to make future earnings appear more attractive to the financial statement readers. As such, it makes sense that the business community directs its attention to such a dilemma since decisions regarding both individual and institutional distribution of wealth need to be based on *truly representative earnings reports.*

In Table 1 (below), evidence of income-smoothing's effects on stock prices is illustrated as applied to the 'restructuring dilemma.' The table highlights the effects of 'income-smoothing' on stock prices in the year subsequent to the 'income-smoothing' being employed. The results shown in the table confirm the claim that charging large restructuring costs against revenues in one accounting period as opposed to charging them against revenues in multiple accounting periods results in stock price increases.

Table 1: Evidence of Income-smoothing Consequences (figures rounded)*

Firm	Restructuring Charge	Stock Price in year of Restructuring	Stock Price in Subsequent Year
Borden, Inc.	$297.8M	$31	$22
Federated Dept Stores	$ 1.7M	$16	$22
Freeport McMoRan, Inc.	$ 20.8M	$22	$25
General Motors	$ 1.2B	$37	$45
General Signal	$ 85.6M	$29	$34
Grumman, Inc.	$ 85.0M	$33	acquired at $62
Sprint	$292.5M	$33	$38

* data taken from the Annual Reports for each respective firm

DISCUSSION SECTION TWO: PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

misleading others - is this proper?

Since we have defined the practice of 'income-smoothing' as involving the *deliberate* manipulation of reported earnings in a positive way, then we must recognize the ethical dilemma with which this phenomenon poses us. Indeed, we know that *deliberate* attempts to mislead individuals involve actions aimed at intentionally relaying some body of information that is either not entirely truthful, or that is not wholly complete. Right away we notice the ethical nature of such actions since they concern relations between individuals, and relations between individuals always involve ethical concerns and implications. Thus, we are wise to examine the ethical implications of any actions which mislead individuals, because such actions fail to treat individuals honestly, and honest treatment is a fundamental right due all persons. The practice of misleading individuals is an area examined by many philosophers in the area of ethics, not the least of whom includes Immanuel Kant. Kant developed a very well-known philosophical maxim known as "The Categorical Imperative" which is both fitting and helpful to examine for the purposes of our investigation. Kant's "Categorical Imperative" states that one should "*act only according to that maxim by which he can at the same time will that it should become a universal law*" (Rachels, 1993).

It should be clear how such a maxim can be appropriately applied to our investigation of 'income-smoothing'. Would managers who practice 'income-smoothing' techniques *will* that similar deliberate attempts to mislead *them* be undertaken? If they answer negatively, which most of us safely assume they would, Kant's "Categorical Imperative" would render the very same activities in which they participate unjustifiable.

the ethical implications of 'income-smoothing'

Moreover, in terms of respecting one's dignity (which was implicitly touched upon earlier), Kant claims that lying *in any circumstance* actually connotes "the obliteration of one's dignity as a human being" (Rachels, 1993). Indeed it is true that we would never will that lying become a universal maxim lest we be willing to risk that communication become futile. And certainly, most reasonable people recognize the *essentially fundamental nature of honest communication*. So it is certain that in its broadest, most comprehensive sense, lying is unjustifiable. However, we must explore further Kant's claim and ask if, in the case of 'income-smoothing', the *specific* circumstances provide justification for misleading others. The most appropriate way in which such a question is considered must concern itself with examining the *motive* of the 'misleader'. In the case of the "restructuring dilemma", our previous analysis discovered that managers are motivated to practice 'income-smoothing' techniques primarily because they believe such actions will result in higher stock prices. And the higher stock price typically brings with it rewards such as attractive monetary bonuses, praise from colleagues, and industry recognition.

So then, does misleading others seem justified on the basis that in so doing the 'misleader' is praised by others (colleagues and competitors) and/or succeeds in earning greater financial reward(s)? Before such a question can be answered, we must understand that in positing the *dignity of human persons*, we are in effect, asserting that *all* persons deserve an equal amount of concern and respect. Put differently, one's own needs are not thought to be more important than the needs of others, and more importantly, one's *desires* certainly should not come *at the expense* of others' needs. Having said that, in the case of 'income-smoothing', we can see that managers who practice such techniques are saying, in effect, that their own monetary gain(s) as well as their personal power and recognition are more important than is the basic need of persons not to be misled. Do we want to condone actions that allow *desires* for additional monetary gain and personal recognition to take precedence over the basic human need

and right of the individual not to be misled? It is not even necessary for the purposes of our investigation to consider the *specific* harm that might come to those relying upon and assuming the truthful representation of the financial data reported in the financial statements because the *inherent harm that results from being misled [at all] is universal and non-specific.*

improper orientations (subjective relativism)

Although I have shown how one's own desires for monetary gain and personal recognition do not deserve to take precedence over another's need not to be misled, another equally important aspect of this investigation involves examining the reason(s) for such a widespread phenomenon. Why is it that individuals desire such reward(s) (i. e. monetary gain) even at the expense of others' dignity? It seems as though individuals are oriented in such a way that monetary (and similar) objectives are thought to fulfill one's purpose in life. It is imperative though, that we see the weakness(es) of such an orientation. Indeed, if we understand one's objective to be none other than maximum monetary reward, then we can conclude that one is necessarily living a life both *guided and judged by subjective relativistic maxims.* And subjective relativism is an inherently faulty orientation because it posits a structure (by way of its definition) which is devoid of any unchanging foundation and therefore, it lacks stability and objectivity. Any orientation that attempts to render itself appropriate or legitimate must offer itself as an *objective* foundational structure or it will only serve to undermine its own purpose. In other words, a subjective orientation, per se, is not really an orientation at all but rather, it constitutes only a collection of temporary maxims that one need not waste his time conforming to. Unfortunately for those who are oriented primarily by monetary gain, they have dangerously attached themselves to what is simply one object out of a stew of other *humanistic* objects which happens to have found favor in modern secular societies. Put differently, it is man who has decided that money is one of the most important determinant measures of "success" particularly in a modern society. And since the secular world has allowed man to be the determiner of "success", it has necessarily embraced maxims (both ethical and philosophical) that necessarily dwell completely outside of any *objective realm wherein true standards or universal maxims can be found.* Moreover, without universal objective maxims to which one can refer in directing one's life and in seeking to understand one's purpose in life, one is hopelessly left to lead a less meaningful existence. Lives led by merely relativistic principles and norms fail to instill in individuals *proper* orientations toward the world and toward others. More importantly, such an inappropriate orientation unfortunately often manifests itself in actions characterized by selfishness and dishonesty.

Such a claim may seem quite *precocious* on two counts. First, it may seem unfairly extreme to claim that one cannot live a fully meaningful life when it is oriented toward relativistic and therefore, non-transcendent objectives. However, *evidence of such is found time and again not only within the ranks of the business community, but also throughout secular societies* . We witness both companies and individuals who, after acquiring and/or achieving countless successes (as measured by a combination of monetary and power-related criteria), still strive to attain the 'ever higher' but elusive position of power and/or notoriety, and even more financial prosperity. It seems a never-ending, and always disappointing struggle for these individuals. Indeed such firms and individuals are oriented toward and concerned with entirely shallow, less reflective, and ultimately unsatisfying objectives which result in a sort of unending and confused search for meaning in the world. Second, one might want to argue against the position that such a non-transcendent orientation necessarily results in a life characterized by selfish and dishonest ideals and practices. While it is true that we don't want to suggest that such an orientation always and only manifests itself in non-genuine activities, it is at the same time true that unless one looks beyond oneself, he cannot truly embrace, and therefore *consistently* direct his life such that honest relations (necessarily characterized sometimes by self-sacrifice) constitute the very foundation of his life. In other words, while some whose lives are oriented toward relativistic maxims may exhibit genuine personal characteristics (such as honesty), they cannot, however, be counted on to uphold them at all times because the source of these characteristics is not an unchanging, objective, absolute maxim but rather, a constantly changing, subjective maxim.

the relational aspect of life and its associated implications

One might, at this point, want to admit that his life (or his company's life) is indeed aimed at non-transcendent objectives and that it is entirely for him to choose his (or his company's) direction. However, such an argument fails to convince the careful observer because he recognizes that neither a firm nor an individual can ever live in pure isolation without having to relate and commune with others, and thus, his actions will either directly or indirectly affect others. Hence, while we might be persuaded to allow a person to choose his own course in life even if we don't agree with it, we necessarily impose rules which guide the conduct of individuals whenever they are in relation with each other. These rules (although they often fail) seek to foster environments wherein harm to individuals is either eliminated, or at least minimized. We demonstrated earlier how dishonest relations between peoples ultimately leads to a breakdown in the activity of communication and thus would be inconsistent with the spirit in which we both hope and expect to relate to and with others. Consequently, activities which

result in misleading others, such as the practice of 'income-smoothing', need to be (at least) minimized since they reflect a great and entirely fundamental harm to people.

the implications of moralistic claims

Moreover, it should not be overlooked that the same individuals who want to act in ways beneficial only to themselves (or to a select few) at the same time want to claim that there *ought* to be rules governing the conduct of business. They certainly don't suggest that business be conducted in a sort of "anything goes" environment. My own review of the EITF's meeting minutes regarding the "restructuring dilemma" testifies to such an *'incomplete'* orientation since it showed that while the business community was seeking guidance in terms of developing rules that benefit select groups, they failed to consider the *particular* effects on individuals as related to their fundamental right(s) not to be misled.

We must notice the problematic nature of the business community's line of thinking: any claim that suggests that something either 'ought', or 'ought' not to be done indicates (on the part of the claimer) that he is referring to some "objective standard", and just as importantly, to some *standard which applies universally*. Indeed, one cannot make any sound claim about what ought to be done unless he assumes the existence of some absolute standard by which he justifies his claim. Indeed, one only believes in the truth of moralistic claims (therefore, any claims asserting an ought), when he also believes them to have originated from some structure other than subjective relativism. Furthermore, if he realizes the universality of the rules for which he argues, he must subject himself to those same rules. The point of this discussion is found in the simple fact that, in effect, one contradicts himself if he wants to suggest rules grounded in truthfulness and fairness while claiming no absolute standards by which to measure the *truth* of such rules and by failing to admit their universal nature. Consequently, if one wants to undertake only those actions that benefit himself, he must reject any reliance on or participation in structures or institutions guided by rules lest he wants to contradict himself. Indeed, careful examination shows us that *all peoples naturally presuppose the existence of universal objective maxims,* and in order not to contradict themselves, they must at least acknowledge their orientation toward such even if they fail to achieve perfect harmony with the dictates that stem from such an orientation.

CONCLUSION

We have engaged in a study of the phenomenon of 'income-smoothing' that seems to be prevalent in corporate America. However, we have ventured beyond the perfunctory examination of the types of firms that practice 'income-smoothing' and the common 'income-smoothing' techniques which are accompanied by the careful correlations and conclusions typically drawn in business inquiries, to an entirely different analysis indeed. Specifically, this analysis contains a very detailed examination of the motivation(s) of firms and individuals who feel compelled to engage in misleading behavior(s) and it (the analysis) succeeded in uncovering the inherent weakness(es) in these individuals' fundamental orientation(s). It was shown how *proper* orientations can rid individuals from being motivated to practice dishonest actions, and instead can provide the impetus necessary to direct individual lives in more appropriate ways where respect for individuals is manifested and characterized by consistent genuine relations with others even when such ways of relating seem disadvantageous to themselves as judged by more secular criteria.

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THE ROLE OF ACCOUNTING IN JURY DECISION MAKING

by
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Dr.Ehsan Feroz

In the past decade, cases involving litigation of accountants and accounting firms have increased significantly. In fact, the awards given by jurors in cases involving litigation total more than is generated by the entire accounting industry. Therefore it is critical to research and understand how juries make the decisions and reach the verdicts they do. The methods used to conduct this research included qualitative and quantitative questionnaires which were employed during interview sessions. Various perspectives of the legal process were examined as to juries and their evaluation of accounting principles.

Methodology and Techniques Used in This Paper :

Examined and analyzed some of the research and literature on juror decision making and the relevant factors in determining legal outcomes Relationships between this information and cases involving accounting principles were made.

Actual jury cases were observed over a period of three months and observations were recorded . Common principles were evaluated and correlations made.

Interviews with professionals and jury researchers were conducted

Observations on how jury experts interpret data, and generally what they do to reach conclusions,are presented in part. A "voir dire" preparation of an attorney by a Minneapolis area jury researcher was also observed.

Questions and answers in an interview of this reseacher prior to observing the "voir dire" preparation are presented.

Difficulties in research were noted for future research. One such difficulty was the time factor available for researching such a relatively new problem. The distance involved in obtaining research information for the time period research was conducted is another factor.

Video tapes were reviewed on juries to observe the jury process in action. This is one of the most common ways to observe jury deliberation.

In the future, a simulation to study juries dealing with accounting principles will be designed for future project.

Various research methods and models of decision making have documented aspects of the decision making process and attempted to apply these discoveries to jury decision making and other forms of human decisions.

The Bayesian "likelihood ratio," for example, developed an application for measuring evidence. Juror task relationship models and the story model of Hastie and Pennington examined stages of decision making jurors experienced in an attempt to reach a unanimous verdict and a group decision. Probability theorists made still other inferences about the conclusions that a jury might reach after presented with certain forms of evidence. Loftus' reseach on eyewitness testimony examined still another perspective. The result of these investigations and other information gathered leads me to conclude that jurors have several methods of arriving at a decision , based on the specifics of a case.

When questioned during "voir dire ", for example, one juror who was determined to have a defense bias sided for the plaintiff. The extreme risk involved in a jury trial eliminates most cases involving civil issues. Thus only a small percent of total cases involve both juries and civil issues, accounting cases being among these. The priority of the courts for scheduling puts a limit on cases involving complex issues like accounting. In addition to this , a judge, when asked ,cited divorce cases as a majority of cases involving any accounting principle. These are almost wholly decided not by juries,but a judge.

One recent case involving accounting issues was denied jury trial by a judge because he felt it would take too much of the court's time to be heard by a jury. The only recourse then would be for the attorney to appeal Other factors take precedence over the accounting issues themselves Even in a decision made by jury related to an accounting issue , the predominant issue or weight of the case relied more heavily upon the law choice given to the jurors than on the correctness of how the jurors evaluated accounting issues. The courts in the past attempted to instruct jurors on methods of valuation and this method of instruction was discontinued , as it led to more confusion among jurors than when jurors evaluated and made determinations on their own.

Do jurors really understand accounting principles ? One reason for questioning the ability of a juror to understand accounting principles was the assumption that jurors are not educated enough to understand the accounting issues , and therefore make inferior decisions based on preconceived notions about accountants. However, in most cases where accountants and accounting issues are the major focus , the education level of the accountants involved , and not the jurors,was more relevant. Accountants are generally viewed by the courts and jurors as expert witnesses .

Current research indicates that there has been an increase in the number of cases involving accounting firms and litigation. In fact , as society has become more aware of their rights and the legal process , more actual cases are being litigated in many areas of the law. The changes which have taken place in society , and in the legal field itself , as currently accepted practice have led to many new influences on the legal system , the law , and legislation . In respect to accounting cases , many of these changes have had a profound effect on the accounting industry . The individual accountant must now evaluate his or her practice in terms of legal liabilities involved especially in a jury trial, expectations which are difficult to acc , due to the relative newness of litigation research in this area and the complexities involved with the research. The new legislation and the changing nature of legal liability under the law of tort makes this a very difficult task. Influences of the media , indirect yet critical in the outcomes of decisions made by jurors on accounting cases, significantly increase the complexity and value of this research.



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Appendices

STATE OF MINNESOTA

JURY SUMMONS

JUROR # _____

Pine County District Court

GREETINGS: YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED BY THE JURY COMMISSIONER THAT YOU HAVE BEEN SELECTED TO SERVE AS A TRIAL JUROR SUBJECT THEREFORE SUMMONED TO APPEAR AT THE TIME AND PLACE SHOWN BI STATUTE 593.42, SUBD. 4, STATES THAT ANY PERSON SUMMONED FOR J FAILS TO APPEAR AS DIRECTED WITHOUT GOOD CAUSE, IS GUILTY OF

LENGTH OF JURY S

3 months or 10 da occurs first

Kathryn Reiser
Jury Commissioner

REPORT TO:

Pine County District Court, Pine County Courthouse, (Top Floor) 315 Pine City, MN on Monday, September 12, 1994 at 1:00 p.m.

(INSTRUCTIONS — PLEASE READ CAREFULLY!)

STATE OF MINNESOTA.

DISTRICT COURT

County of _____

_____ Judicial Dis

Case Number _____

STATE OF MINNESOTA

_____

vs.

_____

_____

_____

Defendant

VERDICT

OF

GUILTY

We, the Jury, find the Defendant Guilty of the charge of _____

_____

_____

_____

Foreman/Forewoman

Date _____ 19____ City of _____

FILED IN OPEN COURT ON

Date _____ Time _____ ☐ A.M. ☐ P.M.

_____

Administrator

_____

Deputy

TO BE

COMPLETED BY

ADMINISTRATOR

_____

A Comparative Study Between the Methods of Marketing Accounting Services in the United Kingdom and the United States

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ABSTRACT

The marketing of professional accounting services has become a major topic all around the world, especially since 1984 in the United Kingdom and 1990 in the United States. This study compares the marketing methods of accounting firms in the U.K. with the marketing methods of U.S. accounting firms. A survey instrument evaluating 20 aspects of the marketing function was sent to 250 U.K. firms (with a 42% response rate) and 750 Maryland firms (with a 20% response rate). Comparative results are presented showing primary areas of difference in emphasis in the U.K. vis a vis the U.S.

BACKGROUND

The consent decree entered into on August 9, 1990 by the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants and the Federal Trade Commission had the effect of finally validating the use of marketing activities (solicitation, advertising, pricing, etc.) by U.S. CPA firms (Law and Bose, 1993). British (United Kingdom) Chartered Accountancy firms had been so empowered since 1984 (Institute of Chartered Accountants of England and Wales Guide to Professional Ethics, 1992). Since that time, the marketing of professional accounting services has become a major topic across the entire world. The primary influencing factors for this phenomenon have been greatly increased competition among all service deliverers, relaxation of state prohibitions against advertising, price reduction pressures from clients, and increasing costs for professional accountancy firms.

Previous U.S. and U.K. research on the marketing efforts of professional accounting firms has included evaluations of overall marketing efforts (Barrett, 1994; Gillet, Hiltner, and Elbert, 1993; Mendelssohn, 1991; Halliday and Chaplin, 1991; Honeycutt and Marts, 1991; and Allen and Arnold, 1991). The general consensus of these studies is that accountants are definitely developing an awareness of marketing but are not yet nearly aggressive enough to be truly effective. Other studies have focused on advertising (Folland, Peacock and Pelfrey, 1991; and Thompson, Smith and Jordan, 1991) and pricing (Segal, 1991; and Ferguson and Higgins, 1989). Again, the basic finding has been one of lack of sophistication in advertising efforts and pricing decisions.

In an effort to assess recent advances along the marketing front in both the U.S. and the U.K., a survey to evaluate the current state of the art was designed and pretested using U.S. marketing professors. Of the 250 firms surveyed in the United Kingdom, 42% responded, and of the 750 firms surveyed in Maryland, 20% responded. The three page survey instrument evaluates approximately 20 aspects of various marketing strategies, approaches, techniques, tools, and methods employed by professional accountancy firms. Comparative results address such issues as prospecting for clients, marketing plans and budgets, target markets, fee setting, advertising and public promotion activities, spending on advertising, client surveys,

employment of primarily marketing personnel, sales training programs, firm logos, office decoration, and choices of office location. The basic hypothesis was that British Accountancy firms would be employing more advanced forms of marketing methods and be ahead of U.S. CPA firms in the level and volume of their marketing activities.

RESULTS OF THE COMPARATIVE SURVEYS

The United States relies heavily on networks for prospecting for potential individual clients for tax, investment advice and estate planning services. Of the U.S. respondents, 57% use networks where as only 22% of the U.K. respondents relied on networks. Twenty eight percent of the British respondents use business directories and 22% of the U.S. respondents use business directories. Unfortunately, 42% of the U.K. respondents checked "other" on the U.K. survey. The majority of the descriptions written in for this category were client and personal referrals. The category "other" for prospecting for clients was also the second largest category on the American survey, and again, the majority of the descriptions written in were "client and personal referrals." Of all the respondents, only one American relied on education profile lists. Other evidently minor ways of prospecting in both countries are using income level profile lists, residence area lists, and new press leads.

Only twenty percent of the U.S. respondents have formal written marketing plans, while even fewer - only 16% - of the U.K. respondents have a formal written marketing plan. This finding suggests all accountancy firms have a long way to go in developing truly professional marketing programs. Considering marketing budgets, 37% of the U.S. respondents and 46% of the U.K. respondents (almost half) spend $1,500 or less on marketing. Furthermore, only another twenty-one percent of the U.S. respondents and 15% of U.K. respondents spend $1,500 to $4,500 on marketing. Britain's second largest category, and the U.S.'s third largest category, but at only 16% and 15% respectively, is for a marketing budget of $18,000 or more.

The top four target markets identified in the U.K. are: small businesses, individuals, producers, and established corporations. The top four target markets found in the U.S. are: individuals, small businesses, established corporations, and estates. Not-for-profit organizations are also a large target market for U.S. accounting firms. Considering their declared target markets, U.S. accountancy firms may not be using the best prospecting procedures to identify genuine individual and estate client candidates.

Fee setting is done mainly by "chargeable hours expended" in both countries. Discounting in response to market price sensitivity is used much more in the U.S. than in the U.K. (42% versus only 19%). Americans depend almost equally on job cost estimates, competitive bids, and fixed cost schedules to set fees.

Of the U.S. respondents, 91% use business cards and 90% use reputation and word of mouth for advertising and sales promotion media. These are also the two highest categories in the U.K., but only at 66% and 72% respectively. Sixty four percent of both the U.S. and the U.K. respondents use the yellow pages of the phone book which is the third highest category for both groups. Brochures and direct mail letters were another popular item among the U.S. firms. Brochures are being used by 44% of the U.S. firms (36% of the U.K. firms) and direct mail letters are used by 40% of the U.S. firms (25% of the U.K. firms). Newspapers are used by 20% of the U.S. firms and 22% of the U.K. firms. Specialty items are used by 28% of the U.S. firms and 9% of the U.K. firms. There was a lack of advertising usage with medias such as radio, television, bill

boards, and bulletin boards. A number of respondents (about 7%) in both groups wrote in the "other" category that advertising emphasis was on "quality personalized professional service." Types of advertising and sales promotion media are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1:

U.K.	U.S.	Advertising and Sales Promotion Media
66%	91%	Business Cards
72%	90%	Reputation and Word of Mouth
64%	64%	Yellow Pages of Phone Book
36%	44%	Brochures
25%	40%	Direct Mail Letters
22%	20%	Newspapers
9%	28%	Specialty Items

An accounting firm must pursue public promotion activities to keep their firm healthy and visible in their communities. Personal contacts are the primary public promotion category in both countries. Sixty-nine percent of the U.K. respondents and 82% of the U.S. respondents depend on personal contacts. Activities such as joining civic groups, writing newsletters, giving seminars, making speeches, issuing press releases from the firm, and participating in exhibitions are much more popular in the U.S. than in Britain. Sixty percent of U.S. firms belong to civic groups, whereas only 13% of the U.K. firms belong to civic groups. Newsletters are also much more popular in the U.S. than in the U.K.. Fifty-three percent of U.S. firms use newsletters versus 27% of the U.K. firms. Forty-nine percent of U.S. firms are giving seminars, whereas only 28% of U.K. firms are giving seminars. Thirty-eight percent of the U.S. professional accountants are making speeches, but only 13% of the U.K. professional accountants are making speeches. Twenty-eight percent of the U.S. firms are using press releases, but only 18% of the U.K. firms are using press releases. Sixteen percent of the U.S. firms are using exhibitions, but only 8% of the U.K. firms are using exhibitions advantageously. Also, articles in the media written by firm personnel are employed by 27% of U.S. firms and 20% of U.K. firms. Types of public promotion activities are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2:

U.K.	U.S.	Public Promotion Activities
69%	82%	Personal Contacts
13%	60%	Civic Group Memberships
27%	53%	Newsletters
28%	49%	Seminars
13%	38%	Speeches
18%	28%	Press Releases
8%	16%	Exhibitions
20%	27%	Articles in the Media

Only 5% of the U.S. respondents and 8% of the U.K. respondents employ an advertising agency. This is an interesting finding, considering the low level of in-house marketing expertise suggested by the lack of written marketing plans. No firms in either country spend more than 5% of their revenues on advertising. In the U.S., 77% of accounting firms are spending 0 - 2% of revenues on advertising. In the U.K., 76% of accountancy firms are spending 0 - 2% of revenues on advertising. Ten percent of the U.S. firms and 7% of the U.K. firms are spending 2 - 5% of revenues on advertising.

Sixty percent of the British firms emphasize their professional memberships as a primary focus in advertising. In Britain, 50% of accounting professionals emphasize their specific service areas, 35% emphasis firm size and 32% emphasis location. "Specific service areas" is the number one emphasis

in the U.S. at 56%. For U.S. firms, professional memberships, years of existence, and specific markets served via key products or services are ranked equally at 37, 38, and 39% emphasis respectively. Location received the same amount of importance in the U.S. (31%) that it did in Britain.

More American firms use client surveys to measure the level of customer satisfaction and concerns. In America, 29% use customer surveys. In Britain, only 17% use customer surveys. This suggests that Total Quality Management concepts and the marketing advantage they represent are not being seriously incorporated by accounting firms. Fifty percent of the American sample has a specific logo for their firm and 74% of them had it professionally designed. Almost identically, 46% of British firms have a specific logo for their firm and 72% had it professionally designed.

Some employees are hired by accounting firms specifically for their marketing expertise. Twenty one percent of U.S. professional accounting firms are hiring marketing capable employees, versus only 14% in the U.K.. Seventeen percent of American accounting firms have a professional marketing person on their staff, and only 13% of the British sample have a professional marketing professional. Ten percent of the U.S. firms have a formal business development department. Nine percent of the British firms have a formal business development department. Again all these very low figures suggest only the earliest beginnings of serious marketing programs.

A successful accounting firm should have a sales training program to develop the marketing ability of employees. Only thirteen percent of the U.S. firms do have such a program as do only 8% of the U.K. firms. Sixteen percent of the American respondents emphasize personal selling in sales training programs. Of the British respondents, only 9% of the firms emphasize personal selling in their sales training program. There is also a major difference between the countries related to encouraging employees to pursue oral communication or speech training outside the firm's programs. An example of this is Toastmasters International. Thirty five percent of the U.S. respondents but only 10% of the U.K. respondents encourage such activities.

A professionally decorated office is an indication of an appreciation of the impact of physical appearance on making an accounting firm more attractive and marketable. Fifty-two percent of the British firms have professionally decorated offices and 50% of the American firms employed professional decorators.

Seventy-four percent of the U.S. respondents have professional total billings between $150,000 and $1,500,000 (100,000 and 1,000,000 pounds). Seventy-one percent of the U.K. respondents have professional total billings between 100,000 and 1,000,000 pounds ($150,000 and $1,500,000). Fourteen percent of the U.S. respondents have billings over $3,000,000 (4,500,000 pounds). Fourteen percent of the U.K. respondents have billings over 3,000,000 pounds ($4,500,000).

The number of clients served by the firms sampled are summarized in Table 3 which indicates the U.S. has a larger percentage of smaller firms than exist in the U.K..

Table 3:

U.K.	U.S.	Number of clients
37%	66%	100 to 499
17%	14%	500 to 999
10%	16%	1,000 to 1,999
12%	6%	over 2,000

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Accounting is the delivery of a professional service. The

marketing of professional services is very difficult and complex because the customer has limited knowledge on which to base quality evaluations, is uncertain of products desired or needed, and may have difficulty putting a value on ultimate outcomes. Therefore, a firm offering professional services must have an extremely professional, well organized approach to its marketing program.

Clearly, the vast majority of survey respondents have not done this. Furthermore, few firms have the in-house expertise to do so. In ten years in the U.K. and 4 years in the U.S. progress has been minor; if anything, U.S. firms have surpassed their U.K. counterparts who had a six year head start.

The solution to this problem seems rather obvious. Absent demonstrated expertise, firms need to hire a gifted marketing consultant to assist them in developing an effective formal plan and powerful advertising.

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Genes and Jeans

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Many current magazine advertising campaigns for jeans are founded on a theme of gender difference. Advertisements aimed at women which posit a biologically determined difference between men and women and call upon science as an authority for this claim were examined in this study. The key selling point of the ads is: "Women are different from men, and we make jeans which fit women's bodies better." Ads were analyzed to determine how they were constructed. In what ways are the claims presented as truth? Are they really based on scientific fact? If not, what are they based on? How do the ads work visually to convince the viewer of their claims?

The research shows that the supporting evidence for biological difference used in the ads is not based on scientific fact. The claim that the jeans fit women's bodies better is also false, for the "women's bodies" the jeans fit best are a social construct. The jeans are designed to make the person wearing them appear more like our cultural ideal of a woman's body, not to be comfortable. The ads work on multiple layers of visual and verbal cues to convince the viewer of their claims. The concept of a "woman's body," as it is used in the ads, is based more on socially constructed ideas than on biological truths.

INTRODUCTION

Research into gender based differences in intellectual performance and behavior tend to be undertaken on the assumption that they actually do exist, and are biologically based. Such research is often seriously flawed, as good scientific practice falls by the wayside in the attempt to prove an assumption (Fausto-Sterling, 1992). Thus, commonly held assumptions that biological rather than cultural factors influence most gender differences are now being questioned. The supposed biological basis of gender based physical performance differences is also dubious, as evidenced by the ever decreasing difference in men's and women's marathon times. Our most basic assumptions and conceptions of the biological construction of gender are now being disputed.

Many current jeans advertising campaigns are predicated on a theme of gender difference. Ads are addressed to either men or women, and reinforce the belief that men and women are not at all alike. The ads focused on here, from the September 1993 *Redbook*, are aimed at women and posit a biologically determined difference between men and women. They focus on how women are special (because they are different) and manage to put women down in the process. They have a double edged nature because they do not stand on their own, but are part of a larger cultural debate which is "really about the question of social equality" (Fausto-Sterling, 1992). This debate focuses on these questions: Do women have different bodies from men? If women have different bodies are they physically equal? Do they also have different minds? If women have different minds are they intellectually equal? In any case, do women have similar capacities to men? Do they deserve equality in the home, workplace, or society at large? The ads do not acknowledge they are part of this debate, rather they naturalize gender/biological difference as a definite fact, reinforcing women's difference, and status as 'other.'

The ads invoke science, specifically biological science, as the authority for their claims: 'Women really are different from men, and look at the diagrams, even science says we're right! (now, how many pairs were you wanting?)' The ads are presented 'scientifically' because science is supposed to be unbiased, neutral, and objective. It is supposed to tell the 'Truth.' An ad campaign based on this 'Truth' will be more persuasive; people will believe the ads and hopefully purchase more jeans. But, there are two problems here. Firstly, the ads are really presented pseudo-scientifically; they only call upon the 'aura' of science and fail to present any real scientific evidence. Secondly, the assumption that science is unbiased, value neutral, and completely objective is false (Gould, 1981). "[M]odern science has been constructed by and within power relations in society, not apart from them;" furthermore, as a historically male discipline, it has traditionally only represented male experience (Harding, 1991). Indeed, it has even been argued that modern science has been gendered since its Baconian beginnings where it was described as masculine knower, and nature was described as the

feminine knowable to be conquered (Keller, 1985). So, we must wonder: can science really tell us anything useful about sex difference if it only knows one side? Is it a reliable authority in the these ads?

The ads discussed here are a classic example of advertising in which more is occurring than first meets the eye. While some analyses may seem to be a stretch at first, they will make sense in the end.

GENES

In Figure 1, the image of chromosomes through the microscope lends scientific authority. The ad begins: "The XY chromosome produces a boy. The XX chromosome produces . . ." not a girl but an other--that which is not male. The other being "someone who has a lot of trouble," or simply "trouble" itself. The XX chromosome has trouble finding genes (jeans) that fit. Here is a play on words and double meaning which continues throughout the whole ad. Woman is a mess, not only can't she find jeans, she is also incomplete and/or deformed.

It is "a simple fact of life" that women are different from men, the ad states. But for whom is this a simple fact of life? Not for women who daily must negotiate who they are. To demand equality in schooling and the workplace, or even in the home, women must prove they *aren't* different from men; whereas to get maternity leave or, sometimes, simply a date, they must prove they *are* different. Why then does the ad proclaim it is "a simple fact of life" that women and men are different? The unspoken assumption is that genetics has made them that way. Women are biologically different from men, and the ad has microscopic scientific evidence to prove it. But how much scientific evidence is there really?

The making of men and women is not as simple as XX or XY. There are people who physically look like one sex, but genetically look like the opposite, due to androgen insensitivity, gonadal dysgenesis, or other hormonal irregularities (Drew, 1992). There are girls who hit puberty and turn into men, and there are people with an extra X or Y chromosome (Fausto-Sterling, 1992). Sex is not simply and easily genetically determined. There is no easily determined two sex 'norm.'

Women and men are *not* 'simply' different. Nevertheless, the ad states: "[O]ur success in selling jeans has a lot more to do with biology than with marketing," in an elaborate attempt to naturalize difference between women and men so as to render the marketing invisible. It tells us *these* jeans follow the "natural shape" of women's bodies. But all one has to do is compare Marilyn Monroe to last year's hottest 'waif' model, Kate Moss, or to a Russian athlete, for that matter, to realize there is no "natural shape" to a woman's body.

The lack of evidence for the ad's claims is irrelevant; the ads need women to have biologically determined problems in order to save them. In the end women are helped out of biologically determined problems by the manufacturer giving them jeans that fit (male, once again, as standard; woman as other), and genes that fit. With jeans and genes to count on, women are now somehow magically (illusionistically) supposed to be equal to men. So equal, in fact, that the only way to tell them apart is by traditional (behavioral) methods such as tractor pulls. After all, if men and women are genetically different, one can only assume men and women's differing behavior is also genetically based.

SKELETONS

Figure 2 gains its credibility by playing on the rhetoric of the anatomy/medical diagram. A double meaning also runs through this ad in reference to 'make-up,' which refers to paint on the face, but also has the deeper meaning of biological / physical constitution.

In this ad we are told the difference between men and women is "more than merely cosmetic;" in fact, women have an "entirely different physical structure than men." Entirely? Women aren't a different species. Women and men are far more alike than different. But here we are told the differences are "not so subtle," with a diagram to prove the point. We can see from the picture that it is a woman's bone structure and musculature that makes her different. In fact, it is the structure of precisely those parts of "A Woman's Body" which have recently (or more precisely, always) been turned into a site of political struggle that are at stake in this ad: the pelvic area. Like all representations of sexual difference produced within our culture, this is an image not only of anatomical difference, but of the values assigned to it. The focus on the pelvis as the site of sexual difference shows that the values contained within this vision of sexual difference center around female roles of motherhood and womb. This precisely mirrors the values put forth in the mid 18th Century when this model of structural difference first arose as part of a backlash against women's demands for equality. Prior to the 18th Century, differences between the sexes were not viewed as structural. Indeed, Vesalius, the 'father of anatomy,' believed sex differences were contained solely in the reproductive organs and exterior body contours (Schiebinger, 1991).

In the changing cultural atmosphere of the early enlightenment, women demanded equal rights more forcefully than previously, enlisting the new philosophy to back up their cause. Enlightenment

thinkers needed a reason to continue the *status quo* subjugation of women without rescinding their central tenet that all men are by nature equal. The answer was the rise of complementarianism, a philosophy/ theory which avowed women as fundamentally different from men, and thus incomparable. Male and female bodies were granted 'opposing' teleologies. Men were created for physical and intellectual strength, and women were created for motherhood (Schiebinger, 1991).

One of the first illustrations of the 'female skeleton,' by Marie Thiroux d'Arconville in 1759 showed a smaller head, narrower ribs, wider hips, and a more curved spine than the male skeleton. Forty years later, Samuel Thomas von Sömmerring constructed a more accurate female skeleton which had a larger head in proportion to body size than the male, and had ribs only slightly smaller in proportion to its hips for, as it was noted, women's hips only appear larger than men's because the upper body is narrower. But Sömmerring's accuracy didn't fit with the prevailing ideology and the Thiroux d'Arconville skeleton was favored in Europe, especially England, for over half a century (Schiebinger, 1991).

One of Sömmering's students, Joseph Wenzel, argued (as is recognized by science today) "that a sharp physiological delineation between the sexes was impossible, given the great variation between men and women . . . individual variation was as important as group variation:" for "one can find male bodies with a feminine build, just as one can find female bodies with a masculine build" (Schiebinger, 1991). Yet, so often, this is still not recognized today. The jeans ads focus on the same body parts as Thiroux d'Arconville: ribs, spine and pelvis. These body parts are even marked, just to make sure we notice. The upper body, which is not important in this view/ideology of woman as procreating womb, is almost boyish. The curve in the back is accentuated. But the hips! The hips are splayed out wide. They are, in fact, wider than the shoulders. The implication is that woman has a huge pelvic area which the jeans will manage to cover; after all, they are made the way women are made: "roomier in the hips." "They're designed to look good no matter what your make-up [constitution]." And here's the punch line: not only will these jeans fit that large female girth, they are "a lot more flattering to your figure."

What are the ads really concerned with? Women looking a certain way, not their comfort. Flattering jeans equals tight jeans. Women often find men's jeans more comfortable than women's jeans--they're roomier and much better for bending over, riding a bike, sitting down, or even just standing up. In general, women can't wear men's jeans as tight as women's jeans because extra material is cut into them. In order to look flattering, women must give up comfort and wear tighter jeans. What really makes a pair of jeans flattering on a person is not that the jeans follow the "natural" shape of the person, but that they follow society's idea of what men's or women's bodies should look like. While it is socially acceptable for women to wear men's jeans, it is obvious that they are wearing men's jeans because their backsides hang down and spread out. On the other hand it isn't acceptable for men to wear women's jeans, just as it isn't acceptable for them to wear dresses. There is a tendency to think men in women's jeans look 'effeminate' because their backsides are compact and held up. The only men this is acceptable for are drag queens, and we marvel at how uncomfortable they must be. The fact the jeans are also uncomfortable for many women is given hardly any consideration.

These ads are not selling women jeans that comfortably conform to female bodies. What is actually occurring is a reversal of the ads' claims: jeans are *not* made to fit women's bodies, but women's bodies are made to fit jeans. The ads try to redeem themselves by telling us they don't really try to force women to fit their jeans. They create different fits of jeans because "women vary from one to another." But the variety of fits *aren't* for different body shapes, they're for different looks: regular, relaxed, and loose.

VISUAL ANALYSIS

The collaged images accompanying the diagrams and text interact densely with the rest of the respective ads. They have a framed credibility, i.e. they are carefully constructed to look like framed pieces of art (falling into the tradition of collage begun by Picasso), so they command cultural importance, which gives their messages heightened validity. In Figure 2, the diagram itself also commands cultural credibility, as the woman is rendered in the pose of a classical statue. By aligning the diagram with the tradition of Michelangelo the ad gains authority--the woman assumes a pose similar to that of "David:" a pose signifying 'vision' which sets her apart from the everyday, just as science, as it is used in this ad, is set apart. In the collaged image, between the head in the main picture and the inserted picture to the right, is the word "mother," taken from a book by or about Robert Motherwell, an abstract expressionist artist. What a referent to the ideology of woman's role in this ad! It is not arbitrary: the placement is too obvious, and, along with "Klimt," is the only non-fuzzy book title or cover in the ad (Klimt was a early 20th Century Viennese artist who utilized highly constructed women's bodies in his artwork). Under the inserted picture to the upper right is a dictionary fragment. At the bottom is the word "woman" which we're supposed to notice if we study the picture. The shred of the entry above it is for wombat. This is made to look random, but is not. It

only appears random so the viewer will not realize the ad is attempting to subconsciously manipulate: it will not affect the subconscious reading of the ad because "small bear" will be read as the dog in the image above it. At the very top of the dictionary fragment, above the picture, is the real reason for this fragment's inclusion in the ad: a cleanly and deliberately cut section of the definition of "witness," which tells us this ad is true, and [by extension,] this ideology is also true.

These jeans empower, the ad tells us, so women can go with "no make-up," and except possibly for the colored image to the lower left, the women doesn't look as if she is wearing any. The woman in this ad is active, projecting the sense of a free spirit and rugged individual. She is almost tomboyish, and in the main picture assumes a somewhat confrontational or defiant stance. She can be active because the diagram, copy, and word "mother" in the main photograph set her up as different from men, and put her in the proper place. She can appeal to women who are or want to be active and strong without upsetting the major ideological theme. By placing an active, tomboy-like, defiant woman within the boundaries of 'woman as different and womb,' this ad has proscribed the limits within which such a woman can exist. In conjunction with Figure 1, all the bases are covered.

The woman in Figure 1 is passive and obviously sexualized. Passivity works to construct her difference from men in reference to the text, which describes men doing active things like tractor pulls. This ad is not so densely ideological as the other, so the woman in the collage must be. She is highly sexualized: made-up, showing décolletage and assuming submissive and coy poses. She's waiting for the active guy(s) to come back from the tractor pull. This woman is the more traditionally feminine, and the ad is aimed at women who will identify with her.

The construction of the images also reflects this difference. Figure 1 has a photo sewn onto denim, and is not a highly constructed image, which makes it appear more feminine. Figure 2 is a more highly constructed and layered image, and uses nailed metal, which renders it less feminine.

CONCLUSION

These ads use science as an objective authority to naturalize a difference which probably does not actually exist, in order to sell jeans. As such, they are part of a larger cultural site of ideological contest over the viewing of women as different, as other. These ads exist not only to sell jeans, but to sell hegemony. They function to keep women different: separated from men and from power.

In these ads, the aura of science is called upon to back up social policy which views woman as incomplete and a problem, and promotes the main roles of woman to be solely womb and mother. Herein lies the danger of allowing science to appear completely objective. It can be enlisted to support political ends without acknowledging that fact.

A male friend of mine says that female naked bodies are not attractive, that it takes clothing to make women look good. Unknowingly, he has hit upon the crux of the argument presented here: that women's bodies in our society are the result of cultural not biological construction. Women's bodies have always been a cultural production motivated by economics (in both of its senses: motivation for the sale of other commodities, e.g. clothing, and motivation for women to have some economic stability through the 'sale' of their own commodified bodies in an obvious form such as prostitution, or a not so obvious form such as 'catching a husband'). The ads show this in their reference to women as commodities: "women are made," they "vary from one to the other," rather than from woman to woman (Figure 1), and "women come in a variety of shapes" just as jeans "come in more new colors than ever" (Figure 2). From corsets and bustles to flapper's bound breasts: women's bodies have always been constructed. Today we think we're free from these 'atrocities of the past,' and don't see the connection with dieting to fit into jeans one size smaller, or lamenting an 'unwomanly' feature.

The ideology put forth in these ads under the rubric of science is disheartening. It does nothing to enhance the status of women, and devalues valid scientific endeavors. Until the general public gains the basic skills necessary to evaluate if claims which appeal to science are valid or not, ads like this will continue.

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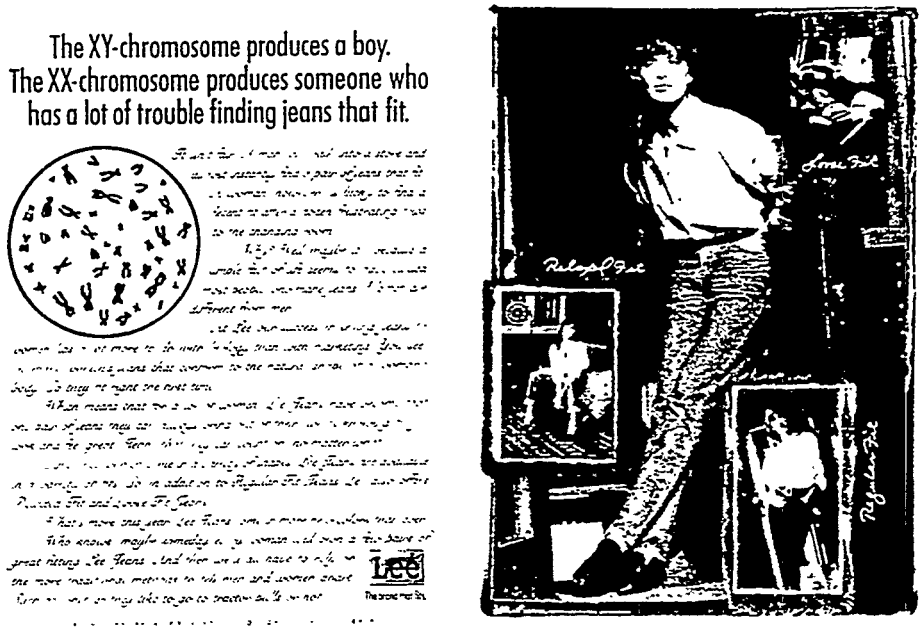


Figure 1

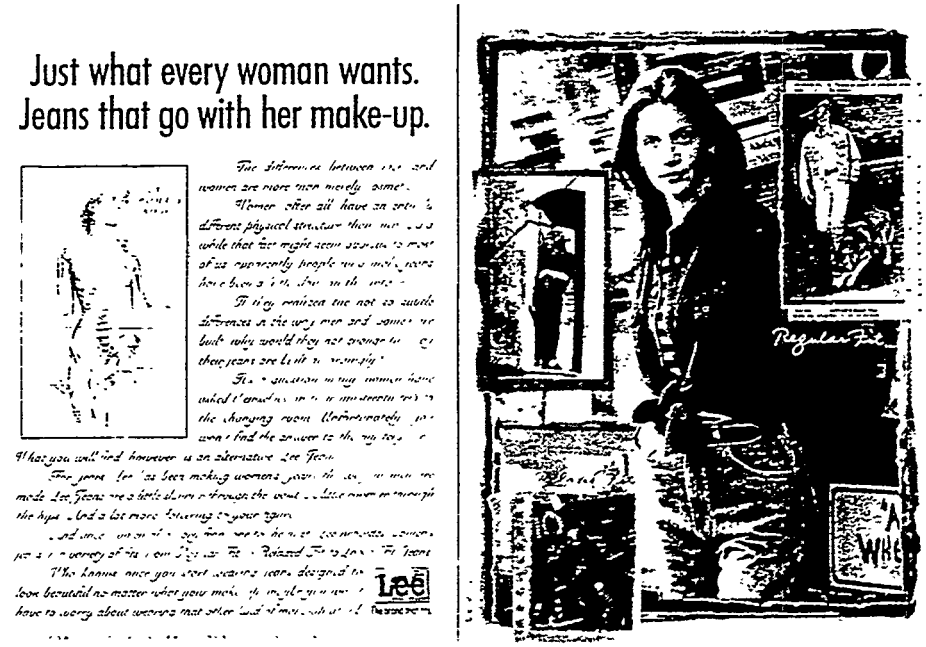


Figure 2

Selling Difference: Otherness as Exotic in Women's Magazine Images

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Abstract:
This paper is an interdisciplinary examination of dichotomous systems of social power and how they influence imaging of the female body in women's magazine advertising. Specifically, it explores the coupling of racism and sexism in presenting the female body as exotic and as a commodity.

note: The spelling of the word "womyn/woman" is significant in this paper. The etymology of the word "woman" is "wife of man." Thus, in her very designation, an adult female is defined as a relation of a man. Her importance is in terms of that relation and is defined by it. To resist that reduction, "womyn" is used here to speak of an adult female as an entity in herself. "Woman" is utilised to refer to an adult female as she exists in and in terms of the patriarchy. For example, the ads studied address women and not womyn.

REPRESENTING THE OTHER AS EXOTIC

This paper discusses the colonisation of Womyn through the fetishisation of her body. This is specifically about the three-part process of alienating the female form from womyn, designating that form (and therefore womyn) Other and the subsequent attachment of meaning to that separate and distanced body. Womyn is made a sign.

Her body becomes significant in that it signifies difference. That signification is complicated when racial/cultural difference is also involved. Womyn as Other is pushed even further out on the fringe. She, as different, both emphasises the racial/cultural Otherness and makes that strangeness acceptable (to view vicariously or as an object).

Appropriation: Womyn Becomes a Tool

It is presumed, in discussing this phenomenon, that there exists a "matrix of domination" which is a social power structure made up of the patriarchal, white supremacist and capitalist systems.

The manifestation of this oppression relies often on the acceptance of constructed dichotomies such as masculine/feminine, passive/active, primitive/modern. Speaking from the perspective of the dominant group,(in any one system or in the matrix overall), it is necessary to establish as Us/Them, Self/Other opposition that allows for self-definition as well as facilitating identification of the subjugat.ed/able. This results in a somewhat circular society, in which the dominated occupy the circumference while the dominant occupy the central, largest space, as well as a vertical, linear, hierarchical society.

The creation of the Other has two immediate effects - marginalisation (Invisibility) and exotification (Alienation). This double-burdened state of being both invisible and alienated is at the basis of being socially oppressed. In speaking here of womyn and, particularly, womyn of colour, their colonisation by the patriarchy and by white supremacy is achieved directly through these processes of marginalistion and exotification. Womyn, herself, is first rendered insignificant and the natural and complete antithesis to all that is human (Man's) and rational (male).

The Male/Female dichotomy (in which Womyn exists as Not-man) is also the Rational/Emotional, Social/Natural, Sexual/Sexualised dichotomy. In this (set of) opposition(s), Womyn can only be acted upon, defined. She cannot be an actor. If she tries to be, she cannot be effective. Her primary function is as potantial benefit or use for the patriarchy or for those who are dominant (relatively) within that system. Womyn can, therefore, be valued only through the gaze of a straight man; and that gaze is mythologised.

In specifically looking at Womyn, she is colonised through the appropriation of her body. Of course, this cooptation of her body does not happen merely in terms of the gaze but extends into violence and legislation. Nonetheless, the roots of the cooptation and the most easily socially acceptable method of cooptation is through the gaze. Who will/does control Womyn's image? Who will/does decide what is valuable about her

figure? Who will be/is the one looking? Womyn is denied the right (and,as a result, the ability) to adequately see herself. So, first, in the appropriation of the female body, we witness the appropriation of the image of the female body.

This does not suggest that the female body was not subjugated or controlled before its (re)presentation was. Patriarchal violence against womyn is ancient as is patriarchal control of the (re)presentation(s) of the female form. This suggests only that, currently, men (and womyn) within the patriarchy learn that womyn's images are important mainly in terms of the male gaze before they learn (at least consciously)that womyn are importantmainly in terms of male needs.

Before the female body can be appropriated by the patriarchy, it must first be separated from the female. It becomes alienated from her, supposedly no longer signifying Womyn but sex or nature or mother. The trick here is that, of course, the female body cannot really be separated from the female. Therefore, while it is being interpreted in terms of sex, nature or mother, it is also being interpreted in terms of Womyn without that second interpretation being acknowledged or addressed. This, though, allows a connection to be made bwteen what the female body means within the patriarchal system and what Womyn signifies in the patriarchy. For example, if images of womyn are used routinely to denote sex and,as such, to advertise products, advertisers and consumers are saying that womyn signify sex (or sexual promise) and are valuable only if they are successful as advertisements for a product (or, more accurately, the sexual appeal of that product).

So, the female body becomes distanced from Womyn symbolically and artificially (in a masculine, active way)has meaning attached to it. Womyn is fetishised. When speaking of exotification, we speak mainly of the referral to Womyn as a referral to sex, nature or the maternal.

The White Upremacist ystem worksin a very similar manner to colonise people of colour through the cooptation of their bodies (first, the (re) presentations of those bodies). Images of people of Colour are accepted as signifying the Sexual, the Unknown, the Natural (again,in a masculine/ feminine dichotomy, people of colour are feominised. Similarly,in a Self/ Other dichotomy, people of colour are relegated to fringe status and defined in relation to the dominant group).

Capitalism operates on a principle according to which the underclass exists to serve the upper classes and is not active but is acted upon by those in the domiannt group.

The Exotic: Mythologising Difference

Colonialism has always dealt with difference through primitivism. Diference must be established to safeguard the integrity of the dominant group, and that which is different must be shown to be inferior. The colonising forces of patriarchy and white supremacy primitivise womyn and pweople of colour respectively - reducing these people to a few concrete and functional characteristics.

Womyn's magazines revel in womyn's "difference." Rather than criticise the male-centred society that makes womyn's issues "special" issues and necessitates the formation of "women's centres" and "women's magazines" and "women's organisations" to address womyn's matters which are ignored or trivialised by the broader (male-based) society, the journals enhance and celebrate that state of solidarity in Otherness (it would not be impossible to foster unity while decrying Otherness).

Contributors constantly focus on the inability of womyn and men to understand each other and equate quirkiness with femaleness. Womyn are idiosyncratic; men are unfathomable. Their articles are centred on men and straight relationships and revolve around the "wild and crazy" oppositionality of these interactions. In the table of contents in the November 1993 Cosmopolitan, there are titles and blurbs for articles. A very unusual feature on lesbians in the nineties talks about "them" whereas most blurbs address "you" or "us."

"What they want, the things they do." The implication is that these few pages may answer the age-old heterosexual question, "But what do lesbians do?" The topic of lesbianism can be brought up, but it cannot be supposed that the readership would include queer womyn. This illustrates how difference is used in these journals. The whole group can deviate from those outside the group, but there can be no actual variation within it. All those who do not conform must be expelled or assimilated.

> The function of most ideologies is to contain difference or antagonism, and the most effective way to do this... is to set up difference.... The whole drive of our society is toward displaying as much

> difference as possible within it while eliminating where at all possible what is different from it. The supreme trick of bourgeios ideology is to be able to produce its opposite out of its own hat. And those differences represented within, which our culture so liberally offers, are to a great extent reconstructions of captured external differences. Our culture, deeply rooted in imperialism, needs to destroy genuine difference, to capture what is beyond its reach; at the same time, it needs constructs of difference in order to signify itself at all. (Williamson, 100)

Real difference within the gender group is masqued by trivial ones. The distinction between the gender group and those outside it is emphasised, and sexual difference becomes the most important factor in identifying individual womyn and men. After all, what could seem more natural than the distinction between the female and the male; this is the basic constructed dichotomy of humanity.

Williamson calls Woman, the patriarchal Other, the vehicle of this difference. Women's magazines use sexual difference to unify womyn, but that distinction serves also to create a solidary patriarchal unit.Sexual difference can make class differences seem insignificant,creating a false sense of inter-class camaraerie. It can work, though, in tandem with racial difference - creating an increasingly complicated web of marginalisation.

A MEDIA MANIFESTATION

A. Aramis uses difference to sell their Lift Off! moisture formula for men to womyn. In the December 1994 issue of Allure, Aramis has placed a two-page ad based on Adam and Eve and the male/female dichotomy. Above a picture of Adam handing Eve an apple is written "Did you ever wonder why men age better than women?" At the top of the next page is a box containing a picture of a 19th century womyn next to one containing a picture of a 19th century man. "VS." is stamped between the two boxes. The text of the piece makes the Eve-and-Adam-with-the-apple motif relevant by pointing out that the product being sold contains Alpha-Hydroxy fruit acids.It also says, though,

> For men, age has always been seen as a sign of character. Unfortunately, women haven't been quite as lucky. Happily, that perception is beginning to change.... But why should a woman put a man's grooming product on her delicate skin? Well, think about how soft a man's skin feels immediately after he shaves. No matter how much he denies it, skin in that condition is as sensitive as a baby's.... In the spirit of equality... it's time to take back the Garden....Now there won't be anything women can't do as well as men. Not that you ever thought there was. (text from advertisement)

This advertisement not only capitalises on the constructed man/woman opposition but appropriates feminism (or a version of it). The image of Adam and Eve represents, perhaps more readily than any other in Western culture, the basic distinction between women and men.

Aramis makes explicit that it is playing the sexes off each other and raising a sense of competition to promote this product. The text clearly states the double standard ofsociety accepting aging more comfortably in men than in womyn. It then suggests that this double standard is disappearing before proceeding to praise and push a lotion designed to masque evidence of age in the complexion.

The ad utilises a conversational tone as well. It seems that someone "from the other side" has come over to present women with secret information about a secret weapon the men have. The mood of the piece is casual. Sections of the text are titled "Hey Baby" and "Oh you kid" and the copy answers questions as if it were conversing with the reader and the two were responding to each other. It focusses on specific differences between men and women and explains why, when men are rough and women are fragile, any woman would want to use a man's product and, then, neutralises that male roughness - makes it not threatening but endearing. "No matter how much he denies it, skin in that condition [just shaven] is as sensitive as a baby's." Men may pretend to be tough,but itis just an act. Not only should he not be feared, a man, like a baby, should be nurtured. Aramis makes the dichotomy appealing.

Later, they make the dichotomy appealing in a different way. Men perhaps need to be cared for by our maternal sides, but let us not forget that we are playing a game we intend to win. "In the spirit of equality," why do we not, as women, dabble in the liberation promised by the E.R.A. and the women's movement started in the sixties? We can do this without

taking any risks by "daring" to approach the men's counter in a department store (not exactly the secret bastion of male solidarity that was entered when womyn walking into men's university lecture halls and men's dining clubs at the turn of the century) and asking for a cosmetic product meant for men. "Then there won't be anything women can't do as well as men," and, girlfriend-like at the end, "not that you ever thought there was."

As women interested in liberation and self-actualisation, Lift Off! moisture formula must be used to attain the same advantages men have.In the battle of the sexes, Aramis suggests it would be a powerful move.

B. Further on in this same issue is an ad for Yves Saint Laurent's Opium "parfum." This is presented as "sensuality to the extreme." In the very name of the perfume, Asia (generally) is evoked. The Opium trade, the Opium wars bring to mind a time when China and the non-specific Orient were full of mystery and adventure in the American imagination andwhen they were associated with unknown decadence. The very practice of smoking opium is associated with certain qualities - ecstasy and debauchery and a very decadent and opulent culture. The ad suggests these qualities.

It also manages to work with the difference implied by Woman (Womyn) as well as by racial/cultural Other. The model in the ad is dressed to resemble a slave. She lounges on deeply coloured satin and cushions and is clearly a white womyn with dark hair slicked back from her face and wearing dark make-up. Heavy jewellery chains hang around her neck and encircle her ankles. Around her throat, she wears a choker of large metal links. On her arms are large solid bangles. All her jewellery alludes to constraints. Her skirt is slit open to reveal her leg to the top of her thigh,and her tunic is pulled off of her shoulder. Her posture is such that she is semi-reclined and supporting herself on one arm - perhaps just raising herself from a fully reclined position or lowering herself into one. Her expression is intense. Evidently, her exoticism as a woman (as patriarchal Other) is compounded by the exoticism of the scene as foreign (as white supremacist Other).

The scene is a fantasy for the patriarchal white supremacist or for anyone who can identify with that position. Apparently, it is also a fantsy for the womyn who read Allure and buy Opium perfume. How does this make sense? Womyn are being told that they should buy this product because it will associate them with a dark and disempowered marginalised fantasy. Why is that attractive to them?

C. Another perfume is Boucheron's Jaipur. Jaipur is also an Indian city. In the promotion - a shadowy image depicted in shades of gray - one sees the back-view of part of a womyn's naked body. The photograph is cut from the middle of her back to the middle of her thighs. Her hands are brought together behind her and held together by a large bracelet.

Boucheron's Jaipur is supposedly inspired by the old Indian Raj which resided in the Indian state this city is in. Because of this, the perfume is marketed in bottles designed to resemble jewellery.

It is easy to see why this image represents control. A depersonalised woman (womyn) with no head or legs is shown naked with her hands bound behind her back. She is not only objectified - deprived of personality - but also deprived of fredom. This is (re)presented as sexy. There are allusions to S&M, to power plays, but the reader is given no context. S/he sees only this picture with "Jaipur" written across it. The fact that he hands are bound by a heavy and expensive looking bracelet may imply that she is held captive by wealth. It also evokes the resplendence of the mythical East. However, several people, on seeing this ad, stated they had no idea where or what Jaipur was but did make the exotic association.

No context is given in this piece because no context is necessary. This ad, as the Opium one before it, operates on the notion that the exotic evokes sexiness. Woman (Womyn) is Other. The foreign, the dark, the "non-white" is also Other. The Other is mysterious, unknown, sensual and best when controlled. These ideas are so much a part of our culture that they can be used to sell products even to those who are themselves designated Other (of course, everyone is in some way - by some scale - Other). In emphasising and obscurity of that which falls out of the familiar and "normal" circle, issues of power and contorl have the focus taken away from them.

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An Analysis of Political Violence in Twentieth-Century Southwestern Pennsylvania Coal Company Towns

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In southwestern Pennsylvania, the transition from an agriculture-based economy to an industrial economy would have been impossible without the influence of bituminous coal mining in the region. Although much has been written with regard to the role of the national government in the coal industry, relatively little information has been researched concerning the political climate at the state level, particularly in the southwestern Pennsylvania region. In several coal company towns in southwestern Pennsylvania, political violence emerged both from the coal miners and the coal companies as a means of gaining regional political control. Labor and industry violence, involving miner's strikes and subsequent company retaliation, and nativist political violence, stemming from intolerance of foreign workers, are the two types of coal company town political violence that were researched in this study. Both forms of political violence were applied to and tested against four theories of political violence to determine the most probable motive(s) for each form of violence.

BACKGROUND AND METHODS

Between 1880 and 1920, a marked increase in the expansion of the coal industry occurred in southwestern Pennsylvania. Along with this growth came an increase in the number of immigrant workers employed by young coal companies. Social and cultural dislocation became a way of life, as did the harsh realities of life in coal company towns. The purpose of this research was to identify possible causes of incidents of political violence in coal company towns by using the town of Revloc, Pennsylvania as a case study. Incidents of political violence included conspicuous beatings of coal miners by the company-hired Coal and Iron Police, cross-burnings sponsored by the local Ku Klux Klan, bombings and riots associated with strikes, and other similar activities that were either a result of company-worker relations, cultural nativism, or a combination of the two.

The research problem was approached in three specific stages. A single coal town in southwestern Pennsylvania was selected for a case study in the application of four specific theories of political violence to the activities of the town during its time of operation. Because many of the coal company towns are no longer in operation, an accessible town founded by the Monroe Coal Company in 1917 called Revloc was selected. This research involved extenve travelling between State College and Revloc to conduct interviews of the coal miners and their families who still resided in the town in 1994. Questions were asked of the coal miners that directly pertained to acts of political violence, such as whether or not beatings of the workers by the coal company police occurred, what the economic conditions were, how the mine laborers were treated compared to the management, what determined job placement, etc. From this information obtained from testimony by the coal miners, historical research was conducted to validate their stories.

The evaluation of historical sources was critical to the execution of this project. The complete history of Revloc was researched at the Cambria County Historical Society in Ebensburg, Pennsylvania and obtained as many records from the Monroe Coal Company that still remained in existence. Following the sale of the company in the mid-1940s, most financial and occupational records were destroyed. Newspaper accounts of activities in the town remained, however, and were used in conjunction with private collections to create a composite of what life in this particular town was like. In addition, information was obtained about other southwestern Pennsylvania coal company towns that were also in existence at this time, which helped to support the information obtained from the previous accounts.

To supplement the personal accounts by the coal miners and local historical research, the microfilm of the Fourteenth Census of the Population, Cambria Township, Village of Revloc, 1920 was obtained. This census contains essential data such as address, ethnicity, ability to read, write, and speak English, job status, and year of immigration to the United States The information for Revloc was manually entered into the Minitab statistical software program for analysis and least squares linear regression model specification The purpose for the statistical analysis was to gain precise information about the population living in Revloc three years after the start of its coal mining operations.

The results of these three research techniques were then analyzed and compared with four theories of political violence The first of these theories is the social control hypothesis - This hypothesis contends that stable, overlapping group affiliations serve to restrain impulses to engage in violent or disruptive behavior. When individuals are tightly bound to a variety of stable groups, such as families, churches, clubs, and neighborhood friendship groups, those organizations tend to regulate behavior and discourage the use of violence. Where those affiliations are weak or absent, violent impulses are less controlled and, therefore, more likely to produce actual violence. The second theory, the political calculations hypothesis, contends that political violence is the result of relatively rational political calculations. People resort to violence, in this view, because they believe that it will help them achieve their policy goals. The third hypothesis, the cultural or subcultural orientations hypothesis, contends that political violence emphasizes cultural or subcultural orientations at the mass or elite level regarding the use of violence. In this case, violence may be encouraged by norms that indicate that it is relatively acceptable behavior or by elites who indicate that its use may be justified in some circumstances or at least deserves understanding in view of the nature of a particular problem. Finally, the economic forces hypothesis contends that occurrences of political violence are centered on economic forces. Because economic growth is a source of dislocation, and therefore instability, economic growth can produce new centers of economic power, and, consequently, political power. Political violence is used as a means of opposing or supporting the new political and economic forces at work.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The coal miners interviewed had a great deal to say about life in a company town One of the men interviewed contended that the company consistently gave unfair weights for coal, meaning that the company made a direct profit by paying less to the miners for the coal they mined for the day. This same man stated that the housing at the town was rented by all of the miners for the company, and that rent was taken directly from the paychecks of the miners. The type of job in the company also determined where the miners and their families lived in the community. Baseball was the main form of recreation, and those men who could play a good game were given the best jobs in the mines, and therefore, the best houses. Another man interviewed stated that the "Slovaks always got the worst jobs in the mine." Given the testimony by the other man interviewed, if this man was correct, the Slovaks also got the worst housing in the town as well. This man also reported that the company would hire Coal Company Police to beat the union agitators into submission.

The historical research conducted led to the discovery of several accounts of nativist violence in coal company towns as a response to the large immigrant populations. In one doctoral dissertation on the company town of Windber, it was suggested that the coal company bosses actually organized their local Ku Klux Klan groups to intimidate their immigrant workers into political submission. Other local historical accounts depict coal company towns as economically brutal, with company store prices usually being much higher than private store prices. In addition, rents were charged for houses with upwards of 10 people residing in them, making for some rather unpleasant living circumstances.

Most accounts of company town life portrayed the communities as separate entities from the rest of the surrounding area. Miners were economically, socially, and politically tied to the towns. Because they were immigrants and many could not speak English, the miners stayed in communities where they were accepted and understood, such as the segregated housing indicated by the interviews in Revloc. In one account of coal company life, miners were given easier jobs in the mines if they agreed to buy all of their necessary goods at the company store. In most cases, however, scrip was used to economically dominate the miners. Scrip is a type of money printed by the company and paid to the workers for their daily activities in the mine. The drawback of the scrip, however, was that it could only be spent at the company store. Thus, not only were miners forced to buy their goods at the company store at higher prices, they could not

spend their money on what they wanted to buy. In many coal company towns, basic civil rights were taken away from the miners and they were forced into a life dictated by the coal company bosses.

The U.S. Census data from Revloc in 1920 was formatted to fit a discrete binomial probability distribution function, defined as follows:

$[n!/((k!)(n-k)!)]\ [p^k\ (1-p)^{n-k}]$, where k = number of successes, n = total number in sample, and $p^k\ (1-p)^{n-k}$ = probability of any arrangement of k successes and n-k failures in a specific order.

The data set from the 1920 census of Revloc used in this project includes only those men who were listed as being employed by the coal company (at that time, no women were working for the Monroe Coal Company). These men were divided into two groups for each binomial probability distribution, group 0 and group 1. Strengths of correlations in job status and country of origin were tested for, as well as job status and ability to speak English, and job status and ability to read and write. For job status (y-axis dependent variable), men were categorized as having labor-related occupations in the coal company (group 0) and non-labor occupations in the coal company (group 1), which included company administrators, doctors, clerks, etc. based on the information listed in the census. For the country of origin variable (x-axis independent variable), men were categorized as either being born in continental Europe (group 0) or not being born in continental Europe (group 1), which included men who were of British, Scottish, Welsh, Canadian, and American origin. The results of the analysis confirmed what was indicated in the interviews of the coal miners of Revloc.

Less than 1% of the continental Europeans were assigned non-labor related jobs, whereas over 26% of the non-continental Europeans were assigned non-labor occupations. This follows from the assumption that the mean of the binomial distribution is equal to np with variance npq, where q = 1-p. The probability of continental Europeans in non-labor-related jobs was exactly 0.00862 ± 0.00858, and the mean of men not born in continental Europe who held non-labor-related jobs was exactly 0.26531 ± 0.06307. The equation for the least squares regression line in this example is the following:

(1) $\quad Y = 0.256685X - 0.08621 \qquad r^2 = 0.8026$

In other words, as non-continental European ethnicity increases, so does non-labor-related job status. The graph of this example is shown in Figure 1. In Figure 2, a similar example is shown depicting the relationship between the type of job and the ability to speak English. 0% of the men in non-labor-related jobs could not speak English, whereas nearly 10% of the men in labor-related jobs could not speak English. The regression equation for this example is:

(2) $\quad Y = 0.09859X \qquad r^2 = 0.6600$

In other words, as the ability to speak English increases, so does job status at the mine. The regression equation for job type vs. ability to read is:

(3) $\quad Y = 0.121739X \qquad r^2 = 0.7994$

and the regression equation for job type vs. ability to write is:

(4) $\quad Y = 0.115702X \qquad r^2 = 0.7983$

CONCLUSIONS AND APPLICATIONS

The ramifications of the distribution of people in Revloc for the social control hypothesis are not as distinct as they are for other hypotheses. Many of the immigrants belonged to fraternal and church organizations, but most were ethnically separate, thus organizing groups did exist, but not usually across ethnic divisions (with the exception of the United Mine Workers of America). Thus, the usefulness of this hypothesis for this project is uncertain at this time.

By forcing the continental Europeans into the "worst jobs in the mine", the company was maintaining its political control over the miners. Beatings by the coal company police and public displays of intimidation on behalf of the coal company led to the reinforcement of these

political motivations in the town. By maintaining control of the workers, the company continued to make a profit from the mine and they continued to keep their political authority, and this follows the hypothesis of political calculations.

The cultural orientations hypothesis would apply to the nativist incidents reported in southwestern Pennsylvania coal company towns. By intimidating the immigrant workers with nativist violence, the mass level of discrimination against "outsiders" was reinforced. In addition, by deliberately placing immigrant workers in the worst jobs, it reinforced the nativist ideal that immigrants were somehow inferior to the workers who were not of continental European ethnicity.

The economic forces hypothesis is a strong predictor for the political violence observed in southwestern Pennsylvania coal company towns. Miners who were unsatisfied with their wages and treatment by the coal company went to strike. To protest these strikes and union activities, the company hired coal company police to "keep the workers in line" and suppress any uprisings. In this case, violence and intimidation by the coal company was used as a means of opposing the new political and economic force of the union activity.

This project has revealed through actual testimony from coal miners, as well as historical research and statistical analyses from U.S. census data, that discrepancies existed in job status, as well as political and economic status as a result of racial discrimination on behalf of the coal companies of southwestern Pennsylvania. Political violence, most logically as a result of economic forces and political motivations, was a prevalent form of maintaining order in company towns, and nativist violence most likely stemmed from the discriminatory ideals of the Ku Klux Klan and other similar groups in the area of the company towns.

Further research on this problem will include the determination of the statistical strength of the relationship between housing assignment and job status, in other words, ethnic housing segregation within the towns that was noted by one of the men interviewed. In addition, it has been suggested by some historical research sources that the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan were also the leaders of the coal companies. The actual data behind this suggestion could be quite important in this study.

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An Aristotelian Analysis of Communication on the Net

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In *The Rhetoric*, Aristotle states, "For it is not enough to know *what* we ought to say; we must also say it *as* we ought." (1403b, 15-17.) Aristotle's treatment of style as it relates to audience and purpose can help bridge some of the language and cultural barriers facing the new challenges of the Internet, the communication labyrinth linking thousands of computers and millions of human beings worldwide. In order for the Net to reach its full potential, users must consider: behind every word written and received a human being exists. With all its advantages as a powerful tool for uniting cultures worldwide, this complex and diverse medium requires careful consideration. Hatemongering, racial bashing, and unscrupulous postings are among its current deteriorations. This paper will provide an Aristotelian analysis of communication, connectivity, audience, and purpose within this medium.

INTRODUCTION

The Internet is the world's largest computer labyrinth, linking services to an estimated audience of 45 million human beings. The Cyberspace community has opened up a flood gate of communication possibilities. The user can initiate discussion groups, access journals, research material from around the world, and communicate with people from different races, ethnic backgrounds, religious beliefs, socioeconomic stratas, age groups, and sexual preferences.

Because the Internet reaches so many diverse human beings, it has the potential to break down barriers among different cultures and unite people worldwide. In so doing, however, it not only bridges the vast physical space among humans, it also introduces some new stylistic and cultural complexity issues.

Since language, style, humor, and symbolism all shape cultures; since formal and informal communication rules determine the "correct" use of language, style, humor, and symbolism; and since cultures vary dramatically in their definition of "correct" usage of the rules, the medium poses the danger of excluding and insulting people by virtue of its vast, complex framework and the anonymity of its users.

This change in human communication and interaction creates a new frontier, a global village the scope, complexity and potential of which even McLuhan could not have predicted. Since the "medium is the message," the purpose of this paper is to examine the essence of the medium called the Internet. Aristotle, as in countless times in the past, can once again provide us tools for use in such an examination. By looking at his understanding of human beings within the challenges of communication in Cyberspace, we can better understand this communication medium. Aristotelian rhetoric provides "a way for large numbers of people to come closer to a practical intelligence of human affairs...[and] this is the most critical contribution of Aristotelian rhetoric to an enlightened cultural praxis." (Farrell, pp. 142-3.)

AUDIENCE

In order for the Net to reach its full potential, users must consider (in spite of evidence to the contrary) that behind every word, written and received, a human being exists. Or as Aristotle would say, "For it is not enough to know *what* we ought to say; we must also say it *as* we [as humans] ought." (*The Rhetoric*, 1403b, 15-17.)

Without an audience, our words are in vain. In his study of *Norms of Rhetorical Culture*, Thomas B. Farrell notes that, "rhetoric literally could not come into existence without a certain type of hearer, what we understand as the audience." (p. 68) To Aristotle, the audience is the intrinsic quality in any form of communication. Farrell, again, interpreting Aristotle, states that

> ...it is clear that the speaker and the audience are each regarded as moral agents, bound together in a relationship of civic friendship, in which each party is accountable to the other and to the common good...the ethical domain of our rhetorical norms derive from the situatedness of praxis in a culture. To do what is proper in this ethical sense is to do

> and respond to what we are called on to do, in character and in response to the recurring constraints of rhetorical settings. (p. 132.)

When visiting or "surfing" the Net, the explorer (audience) can stumble upon an infinite number of Net sites (rhetorical settings), each created and written by a human being (speaker), character unknown, name perhaps unknown. Compared to the oral tradition of Aristotle, Cyberspace comprises thousands of rhetorical settings at the click of a button. And instead of physically visiting the local coffee shop, theater performance, or shopping mall in one's "community," it is possible to be in China, Zimbabwe and Peru, all within a few minutes of "real time."

In fact, the Internet provides the means to free us from the constraints of "traditional" communication. Robert Wright, writing in *The New Republic*, says

> The attraction of Cyberspace isn't so much that it radically transforms human interaction as that it leaves the feeling of interaction intact. The things it changes are the arbitrary constraints on interaction. Distance is not an impediment. Race doesn't matter. Being a big strapping male or a nubile female won't affect the amount of deference you get. (pp. 26-7.)

This new definition of audience, (immediate, non-time bound, and potentially anonymous), demands consideration. In *The Electronic Word*, Richard A. Lanham believes that,

> The interactive audience of oral rhetoric obviously has returned in force. The ritualistically silent audience of the nineteenth century was an audience of 'readers' observing a print convention. The rowdy and involved audience that the Futurists and Dadaists teased and abused into being is an audience from what Father Ong would call 'secondary orality.' The electronic audience is radically interactive. (p. 76.)

AUDIENCE AND SPEAKER

How, then, does the "radically interactive audience" of the Net affect human beings? The Cyberspace audience is more diverse than any in the world. This, coupled with the anonymity of individual users, leaves people vulnerable to hatemongering, racial bashing, and unscrupulous postings. Consider a file called HOMOBASH which describes shooting a gay person in the face with a handgun. Or a graphic entitled MONKEY picturing blacks copulating with animals and suggesting this was the start of the AIDS virus.

Aristotle would be alarmed by this use of pathos. But more importantly, these speakers are clearly out of their "ethical domain." The actual words and message of written discourse directly reflect the person behind the words, and "The most powerful rhetorical proof...is ethos--the character of the speaker as it is manifested through the speech" (*The Rhetoric* 1356a 5-15).

Farrell defines speaker responsibility as involving "the internalization of the voice of others as an encounter with conscience [which] may be thought of rhetorically as the state of acting as an audience and a witness for what one is and does." (pp. 308-9.)

The anonymity of the speaker in Cyberspace represents new challenges, involving this notion of responsibility as well as ownership and accountability for effective communication in a technological world.

The basis of communication is determined by speaker and audience within *human interaction* and *shared experiences*. All users within the Net must be aware of the human aspect. The social community of the Net incorporates the human differences that make each individual unique. The construction of this complex community is social, and Ann Hill Duin and Craig Hansen argue that

> The basic idea of social construction is that groups of people, bound by shared experiences or interests, build meaning through an ongoing process of communication, interpretation, and negotiation. Facts, beliefs, truth itself result from a social process of conversation and consensus building. Communication between individuals, however it is carried out, is the central means for creating culture: social construction describes, in essence, an aggregate process. (pp. 90-1.)

"Audience" from this perspective takes on a slightly less-individualistic, and important, for the purpose of this paper, meaning. Maurice Charland, is his article, *Rehabilitating Rhetoric: Confronting Blindspots in Discourse and Social Theory*, explains that

> Rhetorical analysis proceeds with 'audience' as its ground. It is important to note, however, that its audience is not the concrete individual human beings who listen to or read and interpret a discourse. Rather, following Aristotle, rhetorical theory considers the audience as a *class*...That audience, more than an assemblage of individuals, is rhetorically constituted as a collective ethical subject through an articulation of experience. (pp. 254-6.)

As the Information Revolution rages on, history will be the ultimate judge of its success or failure. Will the Internet revolutionize communication? Will it save us, or destroy us? As long as the Net is utilized by human beings, human nature will prevail. William Grimaldi notes, "[Aristotle] is quite aware...that one is always speaking to a person, who is a complexus of reason, feelings, emotions, and set attitudes." (Farrell, p. 68.)

CONCLUSION

Aristotle could not have predicted the transformation of communication to its current state. His visions of human interaction (speaker-message-audience) was more concrete and face-to-face. Nevertheless, Cyberspace is a rhetorical forum in which "the computer is not just a tool; it is an extension of the environment in which we think and communicate." (Costanzo, p. 21). If communication and social interaction create culture, human beings have the responsibility to understand their intended audience and impact of their words, and be willing and able to take responsibility for their words and actions. The moral obligation of communication is not excluded from the as-yet-untamed environment of the Net.

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Group Development and Performance Among Business Students

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In recent years there has been an increase in the number of group activities incorporated into undergraduate business classes. This change has been brought about by demands from employer, accreditation, and professional groups, that undergraduate business education include the development of interpersonal skills such as the ability to "work effectively" in groups (Accounting Education Change Commission, Fall, 1990).

The purpose of this study was to analyze students' attitudes about group activities. Specifically, the researcher sought to determine if group activities in business courses are perceived by students as beneficial. The variables examined included individual satisfaction, productivity, participation, grade point average and group work grading. The results may be used to improve outcomes from group activities in business courses.

With these objectives in mind, some general theoretical beliefs were developed to guide the research study. In groups arranged or selected by the instructor (hereafter referred to as instructor-selected groups), students were expected to be less satisfied and less productive than students in student-selected groups. Previous research by Goodman and Leyden (1991) indicates that group composition can have an effect upon the productivity of groups. Another expectation was that as grade point averages (GPAs) increased, students would be indifferent and perhaps even antagonistic about group activities. Conversely, as GPAs decreased, students were expected to favor a policy where everyone in the group received the same grade. Smith (1955) found that college students preferred individual grades over group grades. Another issue of concern in this study was whether or not there is a difference in the perception of the amount of work contributed by high GPA students vis-à-vis other group members. Anecdotal evidence suggests that high GPA students perceive themselves as working harder than other group members.

A 19-item questionnaire was developed and administered to 89 upper division undergraduate business students. Lower division students were omitted from the survey due to their limited group activity experience in business classes. Paired t-test and analysis of variance were used to test the results for statistical significance.

Students responded to items in the questionnaire using a seven-point rating scale with seven representing the most favorable response. The mean score for the importance of group work was 5.48. (See Table 1.) The result shows that students believe that group work is important. Given the importance of group work in business education, an even higher mean score was expected. A comparison was made between student-selected (n=51) and instructor-selected (n=38) groups. The means were 5.90 and 4.92 respectively. The difference between the means was statistically significant (P=.0021). These results indicate that the method of assignment of students to groups has a significant effect on students' perceptions of the importance of group work in the classroom.

Table 1: Group work is important in the classroom.

	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
Sample	5.48	2.31	1.52
Student-Selected	5.90	1.41	1.91
Instructor-Selected	4.92	2.93	1.71

An analysis was made, also, of students' attitudes based on GPAs. For purposes of analysis, students were grouped by GPA into the following classes:

Classification by Grade Point Average
Class A: 3.5-4.000
Class B: 3.0-3.499
Class C: 2.5-2.999
Class D: 2.0-2.499

As GPAs increased, students' attitudes toward the importance of group work in the classroom decreased (See Table 2.) However, the differences among the groups were not statistically significant (F=1.57, P=.20).

Table 2: Group work is important in the classroom.

Class	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
A	4.33	2.25	1.50
B	5.50	1.75	1.32
C	5.51	2.29	1.51
D	6.00	1.80	1.34

The next variable studied was students' attitudes toward individual work in the classroom. The purpose of focusing on individual work was to see if there was an inverse relationship when compared with group work. The sample mean was 5.89. The mean for instructor-selected groups was 5.84; the mean for student-selected groups was 5.92. (See Table 3.) The results indicated that both student-selected and instructor-selected groups have an equal interest in individual work (P=.997). Although the difference in the means was minimal, an opposite ranking was observed between attitudes on individual work and group work.

Table 3: Individual work is important in the classroom.

	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
Sample	5.89	1.94	1.39
Student-Selected	5.92	1.93	1.39
Instructor-Selected	5.84	2.05	1.43

The means of grade point averages on attitudes toward individual work are shown in Table 4. As a reference, the sample mean was 5.89. These averages are not significantly different (F=.58, P=.63). It should be pointed out that the class means for individual work (Table 4) were higher than the respective class means for group work (Table 2). This relationship supports the theory that as GPAs rise, students' perception of the importance of group work decreases.

Table 4: Individual work is important in the classroom.

Class	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
A	5.83	0.51	0.71
B	5.71	1.69	1.30
C	5.80	2.52	1.59
D	6.40	0.44	0.66

The next variable examined attitudes about the importance of group activities in preparing for careers. The results are presented in Table 5. The sample mean was 6.10. This result indicated that students perceive group activities as important to their career. However,

as expected, the mean for student-selected groups was higher (6.27) than the mean for instructor-selected groups (5.87). The difference between the groups was significant (P=.077). An apparent contradiction is indicated when results in Table 1 are compared with results in Table 5. Most students felt that group activities are helpful in preparation for their careers (M=6.10) but were less strong in their feeling that group work is important (5.48). It should be noted, however, that no significant differences were found among the four classes regarding the value of group activities in preparation for careers (F=1.08, P=.36). (See Table 6.)

Table 5: Group activities are helpful in career preparation.

	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
Sample	6.10	1.12	1.06
Student-Selected	6.27	1.04	1.02
Instructor-Selected	5.87	1.15	1.07

Table 6: Group activities are helpful in career preparation.

Class	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
A	5.50	0.92	0.96
B	6.29	0.89	0.95
C	6.04	1.19	1.09
D	6.30	1.01	1.00

The next issue addressed was whether students were satisfied with their groups. The sample mean for group satisfaction was 5.33. As expected, satisfaction levels for student-selected groups were higher than for instructor-selected groups. The means for student-selected and instructor-selected groups were 5.80 and 4.68 respectively. (See Table 7.) The difference between the groups was significant (P=.004). However, no significant differences were noted among the four classes (F=.13, P=.94). (See Table 8.)

Table 7: Were you satisfied with the group you were in?

	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
Sample	5.33	3.19	1.79
Student-Selected	5.80	2.56	1.60
Instructor-Selected	4.68	3.52	1.88

Table 8 : Were you satisfied with the group you were in?

Class	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
A	5.67	0.85	0.92
B	5.33	4.09	2.02
C	5.24	3.30	1.82
D	5.50	2.45	1.57

Group satisfaction can be influenced by many variables such as the instructor's evaluation method. Some professors award the same grade to all members of a group. Smith (1955) found that college students who were given group scores for discussion effectiveness rather than individual grades were dissatisfied with their group incentive system. In the current study, students were asked to indicate their agreement with the following statement:

"Each member of the group should receive the same grade". The sample mean response was 4.63. Again, the mean for student-selected groups (M=5.02) was higher than the mean for instructor-selected groups (M=4.11). The difference between the groups was statistically significant (P=.027). (See Table 9.)

Table 9: Group members should receive the same grade.

	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
Sample	4.63	3.75	1.94
Student-Selected	5.02	3.66	1.91
Instructor-Selected	4.11	3.37	1.84

One possible explanation for the above result is that instructor-selected groups have a more uneven work distribution than student-selected groups. The idea of uneven work distribution may indicate that some members are not assuming their share of the workload. This phenomenon is referred to as "social loafing". (Latanè, et al).

The results for the classes are presented in Table 10. As the table shows, the results were mixed, making interpretation difficult. However, it is interesting to note how strongly opposed Class A (the highest grade class) was to students receiving the same grade. Also, it is interesting to note that this question generated the lowest favorable averages of the study. The differences among the groups, however, were not statistically significant (F=.67, P=.57).

Table 10: Group members should receive the same grade.

Class	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
A	3.67	2.53	1.59
B	4.92	3.63	1.90
C	4.65	4.09	2.02
D	4.50	2.65	1.63

The last variable examined is the amount of work contributed by each group member. The survey asked students the following: "If the amount of work done by each member was ranked on a scale of 1 to 7, how would you rank yourself?" The results are presented in Table 11. On the seven-point scale, the sample mean was 5.76. As anticipated, the mean for student-selected groups was higher (M=5.82) than for instructor-selected groups (M=5.68). However, the difference between the groups was not statistically significant (P=.529). Therefore, students reported that they work as hard in instructor-selected groups as they do in student-selected groups.

Table 11: Amount of work done.

	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
Sample	5.76	1.04	1.02
Student-Selected	5.82	0.89	0.94
Instructor-Selected	5.68	1.21	1.10

Table 12 presents results by classes. A direct relationship was observed between GPA and student perception of the amount of work done. The class means suggest that not all students perceived themselves as working as hard as others. However, the differences among the groups were not statistically significant (F=.13, P=.94).

Table 12: Amount of work done.

Class	Mean	Variance	Std. Dev.
A	5.83	1.18	1.09
B	5.83	1.09	1.05
C	5.73	1.02	1.01
D	5.60	0.84	0.92

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The major limitation of this study was the use of a survey to focus on group processes. The information obtained is from the viewpoint of the individual members and not the group as a whole. There is also the well-known risk associated with self-reported data which may be biased. Also, it should be noted that Class A and D were not represented equally in the sample. However, their representations in the sample probably reflect their percentage representation in the school. In addition, students were not given instructions on making judgments using the ratings in the survey. It has been shown (Hamblin, 1971) that the correlation between scales based on questionnaire responses can be improved greatly if subjects are given instructions on how to make judgments. Another limitation of this study was that only students at one university were included. The results cannot be generalized to students in other classroom settings. Lastly, students in the sample may have had a student-selected group with a "good" professor and a teacher-selected group with a "bad" professor. So, the nature of the selection may have had little to do with how much they enjoyed and got out of the project.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to analyze student attitudes about groups activities in business classes. The sample was separated into instructor-selected and student-selected groups. Analyses were also made by GPAs. Students were asked about the importance of group and individual work in the classroom, and whether or not group work is important to career preparation. Other variables examined included satisfaction levels, group participation, and group work grading.

Several interesting results were observed. Members of student-selected groups reported a more favorable outlook about group activities in the classroom than did those in instructor-selected groups. In addition, student-selected groups were more satisfied with their groups than instructor-selected groups. However, higher satisfaction did not result in higher productivity. Both groups felt that group work is important to career preparation. The results indicated that students do not support the practice of awarding a group grade. Finally, attitudes about group work do not appear to be related to GPAs.

These results suggest the need for further research concerning students' attitudes about group activities. Information is needed about instructional preferences and practices. Also, student and instructor preferences need to be reconciled in order to improve outcomes from group activities.

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A Brief Discussion for those Considering Year-Round Schooling

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American educators are currently reevaluating the traditional agrarian school calendar and deciding whether or not their districts should restructure the attendance schedules into a year-round school plan. This article presents the various issues involved in the Year-round School debate. After explaining the pros and cons of many calendar plans, the conclusion recommends that school districts adopt a Multi-track 45-15 Year-round School Calendar, which means that one fourth of the student population is always on a fifteen day break following forty-five days in the classroom.

Introduction

America's public education system has traditionally run on an agrarian year. Originally, children would only go to school when there was less work for them to do on the farms. This period of freedom from work usually coincided with the winter months, but with the coming of spring and the planting season, students would stop going to school until the growing season was over. When people moved away from the farms and into the cities during the industrial revolution, they also moved away from the time constraints of running a farm. This gave the children who customarily worked on the farm more free time to attend school. Different regions had various educational systems, based on the local economy's need for child labor. In the early 1900's state governments became heavily involved in the educational process. Hermansen and Gove (1971) report, "Gradually, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, the school day became standardized with a legal minimum 180 school days a year, established in most state codes" (p. 10).

In the past several decades, there have been pressures on the American educational system to abandon this traditional agrarian school-calendar in favor of either an extended school year or a year-round educational year. While these programs sound similar, they differ considerably. When talking about "extended school years," educators usually reference the attempt to lengthen the traditional 180 day school year to approximately 200 or 220 days for all students. Educators who want to increase the length of the current school year feel that this will give students a better chance to excel in the global community. While not necessarily opposed to lengthening the number of days that an individual may attend school, those in support of the "year-round school" are instead pushing to have the schools open on a year-round basis so that the educational system can be made more efficient and the school plant will not sit idle during the summer months.

Proponents of year-round schooling cite two major arguments. The first is that the school district can save money with a year-round school plan by forestalling construction of new buildings. Shepard and Baker (1977) report that of twenty-four schools surveyed, "Nearly half indicated they were motivated to study YRS (Year-round schools) by overcrowding and financial pressures" (p. 31). Secondly, many believe that the educational process can be improved and accelerated by offering a year-round program that allows individuals to attend school for more than the typical 180 days. In 1974, Educational Research Service, Inc. defined seven rationales for year-round schooling. The rationales state:

1. Schools that operate on a year-round basis can utilize facilities and resources more effectively;
2. Overcrowding can be alleviated or avoided without the expensive construction of new schools. School districts that are fairly stable in population can discontinue use of outmoded facilities through more effective use of other school buildings;
3. Boredom and extensive learning loss over the long summer vacation can be avoided through scheduling shorter vacations;
4. Teachers can have the opportunity to practice their profession during the summer vacation, increase their annual salary, and improve their financial status;
5. Shorter terms and courses can provide more variety in subject matter;
6. The shorter course is a refinement toward continuous progress in an ungraded class. Faster learners can continue through courses at their own pace, while slower learners will have more frequent opportunity for remediation; and
7. Students can have the opportunity to attend school year-round for acceleration, remediation, or part-time employment. (p. 1)

Year-Round School Plans

In looking at year-round schooling, one sees that there are a variety of ways to organize year-round education programs. One of the most basic, and fairly common, plans for year-round schooling incorporates an extra session known as summer school. Most people do not think of the remedial summer school programs as year-round education, but Philip Mulvihill (personal communication, August, 1993), the Assistant Commissioner for Elementary and Secondary Education in Pennsylvania's Department of Education, acknowledges that the traditional summer school is part of year-round education program. However, he knows of no state agencies that keep records on how many districts throughout the state actually offered summer school. Districts that offer summer sessions often give students a chance for remediation without actually

changing the way that the standard 180 day school year is run. When a student fails a course during the regular academic year, he/she may then be given the opportunity to attend class during the summer, so that the entire class does not need to be repeated during the regular school year. In this way slower students may remain with their peers and yet continue to get the remediation that they need to succeed.

Several of the year-round school plans were designed specifically with the idea of reducing building costs by lowering the number of students that need to attend school at the same time. The three main plans of this kind are: Trimester, Staggered Quarter, and Quinmester Plans. Each of these three plans breaks the year and the student body into several populations, then puts them on a rotating vacation schedule. The Trimester Plan divides the year into three terms while the student body is divided into three populations. Each division of students attends school for two terms and then goes on vacation for one term. The schedule is constructed in such a way that only two of the three populations are in the building at one time. The Staggered Quarter Plan, which originated in Bluffton, Indiana, during 1904, varies from the Trimester Plan in that the year is divided into four terms and the student body is broken into four groups, so that only three populations are in the building at one time (American Association of School Administrators [AASA], 1970). Finally, the Quinmester Plan breaks the year and the student body into five parts. In another publication AASA (1973) continues, "Four of these terms are scheduled at dates corresponding to the traditional 180-day year and the fifth during summer months" (p. 21).

The Trimester, Staggered Quarter, and Quinmester Plans are not the only ways to divide the students into various attendance groups. Another way to divide the student body is to use one of the variations of the Multi-track 45-15 Plan. With the Multi-track 45-15 Plan, the student body is again divided into four sections. Fifteen school days after the students in the first section start school for the year, those in section two begin. The third section continues this sequence by starting its session fifteen days after the second section. Finally, the fourth section begins classes fifteen days after the third section, which also corresponds to forty-five days after the first section began its session. The day before those students in section four start classes, those in section one have their last day of classes for fifteen days. This pattern continues with one section starting fifteen days after the previous section, continuing for forty-five days and then taking a break for fifteen school days. In this way, theoretically, twenty-five percent of the student body is on vacation during any given school day. The entire year is finished after all students have had one hundred eighty days of class.

Several variations of the Multi-track 45-15 Plan have been designed. Some of these variations are the 60-20, 60-15, and 90-30 plans. As explained by Peltier (1991), "The 45-15, 60-20, 60-15, and 90-30 plans indicate the number of days the students are in school and on vacation" (p. 121). These plans may also be run as a Single-track instead of the Multi-track. In explaining Single-track plans, Peltier continues, "In single-track strands, all students in the school are on one track, the entire student body vacations at the same times."

Probably one of the most innovative plans for year-round schooling is the Continuous Progress Plan as explained by the AASA (1973):

> The school year is not divided into any rigid quarter or quinmester terms because such arbitrary time spans are viewed as irrelevant to varying rates at which individual students make progress. Pupils are counseled to pursue school work and related out-of-school experiences in whatever combinations and at whatever times are deemed most beneficial to them. Use of self-pacing minicourses and work-study experience is extensive. Points of entry and exit are numerous and flexible. (p. 17)

Advantages and Disadvantages of Year-Round School

Understanding the daily structure of various year-round schooling plans does not give the required information for one to determine whether a school district should maintain the traditional agrarian calendar or opt for some type of year-round plan. The summer program is quite popular in today's public school systems, probably because of the relative ease in which it may be added to the school calendar without public outcry. The main advantage to having a summer school program is that the weaker students receive an opportunity to improve their skills, without being held back for an entire year and repeating the courses which they have failed. While not commonly practiced, some schools will even allow students to take courses for enrichment and/or original credit. If a school offers summer classes, there is an increased expense occurred by employing the teachers, but this can be reduced or completely eliminated by charging the students for their summer courses.

Monetary Issues

> There is no quick and easy answer that can be applied to all school districts. Current and future building needs, population growth trends, availability and cost of land, life-styles and value judgments of the local people, state and local funding procedures and laws and other complex factors determine the economic feasibility of year-round education. (McLain, 1973, p. 37)

If a school district chooses use to the Trimester Plan, the buildings will theoretically hold fifty percent more students than they did originally because one third of the student population is always on an extended vacation. One major drawback to this program is that it is impossible for all three attendance groups to attend school for 180 days in one calendar year. In order to make up for the missed days, without delaying the students' progress through the educational system, extra hours are often added on to the regular school day. Under the Staggered Quarter Plan students do not need to attend longer school days in order to complete 180 days of school in a year, but the gain in efficiency of the number of students served by the school plant is not as great. The school plant can only hold thirty-three percent more because only twenty-five percent of the population is on vacation at one time. The Quinmester Plan is even less efficient than the Staggered Quarter plan as the buildings can only hold twenty-five percent more students. This means that twenty percent of the students would be on their extended vacation at all times.

All three of these plans do allow the buildings to hold more students, so construction does not need to occur as often, but there are increased costs in operating such staggered plans. To run them all year requires teachers to be active in the classroom and busses to run year round. This has a tendency to reduce the monetary savings. When considering a year-round plan for financial savings, one must also look at the added cost of air conditioning the rooms during the summer months. Another problem with these plans is that, while parents may have no problem with the idea of their district operating on such a staggered plan, many do not want their children's extended vacation to fall in the middle of winter.

If districts look solely at trying to save money on the costs of construction, the Continuous Progress Plan, in which students progress at their own rate, is not a viable option. There is no predictable way to determine what percentage of the student body will be attending school at a given time. However, it does allow a highly individualized program of instruction. Since the students are free to come and go, depending on when courses are offered, it makes sense to revise the curriculum into shorter self-contained courses, so that the order in which these courses are taken does not matter.

Impact on Learning

All of the variations of the 45-15 Plan eliminate the problem of students having an extended vacation over the winter months by staggering the vacations throughout the year. It is through these short staggered vacations that another positive aspect of year-round schooling comes to light. The phenomena known as "summer learning lag" has been explained by Shepard and Baker (1977):

> The first few weeks (even months) of TSC (Traditional School Calendar) school in the fall are spent in resocializing the students to school life and in reviewing material that has been forgotten over the summer. This time is wasted and no new learning goes on. (p. 67)

Ballinger (1988) generally agrees with this statement as he writes:

> A less interrupted flow of instruction throughout the year will certainly enhance the education of the most able students, who learn continuously, whether in or out of school. Likewise, average students are also ill-served by the traditional calendar because the long review early in the year is largely wasted time for them. (p. 9)

The summer learning lag phenomena tends to be even more pronounced in students from the lower socioeconomic class as Shepard and Baker report (1977). They report tthe results of a study done by T. C. Thomas and S. H. Pelvin entitled *Patterns in ESEA Title I Reading Achievement* at the Stanford Research Institute in 1976:

> found that Title I programs, the federal government's major compensatory education program, are quite successful during the school year. It is not unreasonable for a Title I program to produce 1.3 to 1.5 months of academic gain for each month of instruction during the school year. However, the portion of this gain that is in excess of the normal gain for disadvantaged students not in compensatory programs (about .7 months per month) vanishes over the summer. (p. 67)

Peltier (1991) follows up on this by saying:

> If less review time is needed it would seem that there would be added time for instruction in the year-round calendar and recent research does indicate student academic gains in the year-round schools. (p. 122)

He supports this statement with, "Evidence that secondary students can also benefit academically was offered by dramatically higher test scores at a rural Virginia high school" (p. 122). In his report, Peltier also references an article entitled, "Some USA Schools Never Close," by P. Ordovensky in 1986 that says, "Since 1981, when more than 80 percent of Oxnard's students enrolled in the YRE schedule, scores on the state's annual reading writing, and mathematics scores have increased" (p. 122).

As with many issues, there is conflicting evidence regarding the success of year-round schooling in promoting educational excellence. Rasberry (1992) reports:

> A 1988-1989 Los Angeles Unified School District evaluation of year-round schools found that the verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test scores for year-round students were much lower than at traditional schools and somewhat lower in math. (p. 1)

The article continues to say:

> After surveying administrators, parents and teachers during the 1985-86 school year, at the height of Houston's year-round enrollment with 25 schools, HISD (Houston Independent School District) observed:
>
> > Students attending year-round schools had no significant difference in achievement scores from children in traditional schools. Students transferring from a year-round to a traditional school often lost a month of instruction and had to "catch up" once they changed schools. This is especially significant because the transfer rate in Houston Hovers between 50 and 80 percent. Children attending two or more intersessions scored slightly lower than those enrolled in traditional schools. (p. 2)

Some individuals think that grades should not be the primary measure of a school's educational success, because they believe that just being in school will help students. Dave Mason, York City's Supervisor of Curriculum and Instruction, explained that his committee found for districts which went to a year-round plan, "the drop-out rate did decrease and attendance improved not only among students, but among instructional staff and noninstructional staff" (*York Sunday Times.* 1993, p. A-6).

Other Arguments

When districts contemplate adopting a year-round school program, there are two additional points that may become major stumbling blocks if not taken care of in the initial planning stages. The first is simply the way in which it is decided how the student body will be broken into attendance groups. This becomes more complicated when parents realize that there is a possibility that all of their children will not be in the school at

the same time. If not addressed, this situation can lead to major problems for those considering year-round schooling. But there is a simple solution. According to Pleasant Valley Board member and Chair of the Year-round Schooling Committee, Robert Gress (personal communication, August, 1993), this problem can be alleviated by having the parents choose in which track, of those offered, they want their children to be enrolled. He further explained that when this is done, at least on variations of the 45-15 plans, the numbers enrolled in each track tend to average out fairly well.

The second problem that often comes to light is the difficulty in traditional extracurricular programing at the secondary level. In order to eliminate this problem, Gress's committee is aiming at a 45-15 Single-track program at the secondary level, while running a 45-15 Multi-track program for the primary grades in order to reduce building costs. Another method for dealing with extracurricular activities while a student is on a scheduled vacation is to look at the individual's academic eligibility on the last day of classes for the current cycle. If an individual was eligible for extracurricular activities on the last day class, as determined by the individual's district, the eligibility will continue through the entire break. If on the other hand the student was ineligible on the last scheduled day of class, no extracurricular participation will be allowed for that individual.

Those that live in areas where tourism is a major industry may argue that if schools adopt a year-round educational system, their local economies will be destroyed because families will not be able to travel. However, this is not the case, in fact, when looking at actual numbers the economy should improve. Instead of having an area that does well in the summer for a short time and poorly for the rest of the year because all of the students are back in school, year-round education will distribute the tourist economy throughout the calendar year. When looking at parental support of year-round education, Shepard and Baker (1977) found that many parents, "enjoyed taking family vacations during times of the year when the majority other families were not vacationing." (p. 48).

Conclusion

After completing my review of the literature and having talked to various educators around the state of Pennsylvania, I feel qualified to state that I am generally in favor of the Multi-track 45-15 Year-Round School Plan for all grade levels. In my explanations, I did not mention anything about remedial work, other than that in the summer school program, which I feel is a must for schools that decide to remain on the traditional agrarian school year. I intentionally omitted remediation from of the general discussion because I did not want to confuse matters. However, remediation is one of the strong points for all of the 45-15 variations. During the 15 day break, students can be tutored in the subjects in which are having difficulty, whether it is Multi-track or Single-track. In the Multi-track program, if as Hermansen et al. (1971) explained, courses are broken up, "into 45-day self-contained units" (p. 144), then the students who fail courses could be given the opportunity to skip their 15 day break and continue with their classes immediately, so that they would not lose as much time in repeating a course. This would also give advanced students the opportunity to work ahead, without having to skip an entire year.

One can see that this would tend to eliminate the efficiency of the buildings as far as being able to hold more students. Further, I am making my recommendation based on Gress's suggestion that the parents be able to choose which track their children attend and his knowledge that the schools may still hold between 15-20% more students instead of the optimized 25%. This plan would save on construction costs, but as stated previously, the costs for staff would increase, so each district must do its own research if it is considering year-round education as a means to save tax dollars. In general, due to the economies of scale, large districts will realize at least a slight savings in cost, while smaller districts will actually spend more money to institute a year-round education program.

While I support this idea because I think it will help students, there are more issues to deal with in the Multi-track 45-15 Year-Round School Plan. From a professional standpoint, the year-round school plan would help teachers. The schools will need more hours of work, so if teachers want to work a full year, they will have the ability to increase their salaries by up to 33%. While salary scales may have changed, one can expect that percentages would remain relatively stable in that Hermansen et al. (1971) reported that for the 1970-71 school year, the average teacher made 27 percent more on their 45-15 Multi-track Plan. Teachers often fear that they will not be able to continue their education with vacations that are only three weeks long. While not all universities currently offer three week courses, there are those that do, such as East Stroudsburg State University in eastern Pennsylvania. If this program of year-round education were to become popular throughout the state or the country, colleges and universities would most likely adapt their programs so that teachers could continue their own education.

The biggest problem that I see with the Multi-track 45-15 Year-Round School Plan is the community. If the community does not want it, the program can not work. In York, Pennsylvania, Thomas Hall, acting York City School Board President said:

> Year-round education is like a puzzle—all the pieces fit together to make it work. The town has to be behind it, the teachers have to like it, administrators, maintenance staff, etc. Year-round education is definitely a team effort, and if you don't have all the players on the team, it probably is less than successful. (Solomon, 1991, p. A-3)

Therefore, school districts considering the plan must move cautiously, without hiding anything from the community members.

East Stroudsburg School District, not related to East Stroudsburg State University, is looking at an optional 45-15 year-round plan. According to Superintendent of Schools Dr. John L. Grogan (personal communication, October, 1993), the number of people in the district desiring their children to be on the year-round program will determine whether they go to a Multi-track or a Single-track plan. The district has put in a separate telephone line to answer questions about the proposed year-round program that is planned to start in the 1994-95 year (Koomar, 1993). When one calls this number, one hears a recording promising to return the phone call and answer the caller's questions if a message is given. By having the secretarial staff defer all

questions about year-round schooling to the hot-line, the everyday work in the office does not suffer as much from the interruptions caused by questions about year-round schooling. If a district does put in such a hot-line, care should be used to make sure that all phone calls are answered expediently. This should not be a problem if the phone line is used as frequently as East Stroudsburg's. Their phone line went into operation in August, 1993 and by the beginning of October, Grogan explained that only about six calls had come in and that most of them were simply requests for more information.

Quinlan et al. (1987) has made several recommendations to those districts considering Year-round education:

1. Involve the community in the planning of the year round program from the beginning. The cooperation and support of the community are important to the success of the program;
2. Allow adequate time for planning. Experienced administrators recommend a planning period of approximately 18 months;
3. Examine several calendar options to determine the one best suited to community needs. When selecting a calendar to accommodate elementary level demand, consider future secondary level needs, including an appropriate calendar. It is desirable for the district to coordinate its calendars if it uses more than one calendar;
4. Provide a clear and convenient option for parents who wish to have their children on a traditional calendar;
5. For the multitrack year-round program, develop a track assignment procedure that will serve the best interests of the student;
6. Investigate state incentive programs and special funding for air-conditioning and insulation of year-round schools; and
7. For a multitrack year-round program, plan for extra maintenance and for storage space for instruction materials. (pp. 97-98)

Even when keeping the community members informed, school districts may still face sizable opposition when considering the switch to a year-round school calendar. During the 1992-93 school year, the Methactin school district in Pennsylvania was researching a Multi-track system based on one of the variations of the 45-15 Plan. Dr. David Evans (personal communication, September, 1993), Assistant Superintendent of Schools, explained that Methactin had a very active and well informed community when it considered year-round schooling to alleviate the problems caused by the exploding student population. The district's plans were to keep from spending its money on a vast building expansion system and to reduce the educational downtime that the students experienced in the summer. Evans explained that Methactin schools are still operating on the agrarian school calendar, not because the savings could not be realized, but because the school board did not want to, "fly in the face of community opposition."

One of the major arguments against any of the year-round school programs, especially those like the 45-15 plans, is that the families will not be able to go on vacations together. However, this would be an exception rather than the norm. While attendance would be mandatory for one hundred eighty days, as previously stated, parents would have the opportunity to select their child's track at the beginning of every school year.

Obviously, not all those who read this will agree with my conclusion that the Multi-track 45-15 Year-Round School Plan is the best choice, especially since I do not appear to be concerned about saving money. I hope that my logic has been understood, and that my caring about the future of the American Educational System has been seen because my purpose in writing this paper is to in some way improve our system, even if my ideas are not those that come to fruition. Whatever decision a community makes, I believe that if both the teachers and the parents are behind the decision, the students will benefit, and this, after all, is what schools are meant to accomplish.

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Gifted Students with Learning Disabilities: How Can We Help?

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The combination of great academic deficits in one area coupled with great gifts in other areas characterizes gifted and talented students with learning disabilities (GT/LD). Because these students are both gifted and learning disabled, educators often fail to identify them. Methods for identifying GT/LD students are described. Emphasis on learning strengths can allow GT/LD students to circumvent their weaknesses. This research focuses on suggestions for adapting classroom curriculum.

CASE STUDY

Brent, a quiet and observant fifth grader, lets out a disgusted groan when I remind him he should be silently reading. He shuffles over to the table where the free reading books are kept. Taking a quick glance at the books, he judges them by their covers. Only the slight lift of an eyebrow shows he is interested when I point out a book on computer languages. He sits down at his desk and starts to read. After five minutes, he looks up to get my attention. "This is baby stuff," he informs me. "I learned how to do this basic programming when I was in third grade!" I try not to act surprised as he tells me about the computer programming languages he knows and describes some programs he has written. Seeing a chance to get this reluctant student to write, I ask him to transfer what he is telling me to paper. Brent rolls his eyes, but obediently takes out his notebook and starts to write. Ten minutes later, I glance over his shoulder at his work. "i lik kuters and progrmg and my dud hs alto kuters gms an fvrt gam is Wer in th wuld is krmn sandego? an i now alt bot kutrs.," his first sentence reads. I squint and turn my head sideways trying to decipher his sentence. Finally I compliment him on his effort and ask him to read it for me. " I like computers and programming. My Dad has a lot of computer games. My favorite game is 'Where in the World is Carmen SanDiego?'", he translates smoothly. " I know a lot about computers." I marvel at the contrast between the content and the written work. For the fifth time that day I am surprised at his obvious gift yet obvious learning disability.

This is just one of the many experiences I had this summer while teaching a class of eleven students with severe learning disabilities. One ten year old student was a talented artist, but could barely read on a third grade level. Another second grader could not read at all, but loved being challenged in math. Marveling at the contradictions in these students' learning styles, I wondered how I could best teach them. Why was it that they could effortlessly calculate complex equations or sketch realistic animals, yet would struggle with a simple second grade text?

Within the past fifteen years, educators and researchers have been asking themselves the same questions. They agree that these unique learners need individual attention, but disagree on how to meet their basic needs. Are these students gifted or learning disabled? Is it possible to be both? Should educators focus on correcting their academic deficits or nurturing their gifts? To best meet the needs of gifted students with learning disabilities, educators need to recognize the possibility of a child being both gifted and learning disabled and adapt classroom curriculum accordingly.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GT/LD STUDENTS

The first step in helping these gifted students with learning disabilities students is recognizing the characteristics that make them so unique. As the name implies, gifted students with learning disabilities have characteristics that are associated with both learning disabled and gifted students. A learning disability is simply "a discrepancy between potential and actual performance or achievement" (Ellston, 1993, p.18). Brent and his five peers were in a language arts class. Although they were in fourth and fifth grade, they were reading and writing on a first or second grade level. The five second grade students that attended my math class were still

calculating and reading on a kindergarten or first grade level. Thus there was a gap between their potential and their actual achievement.

Like Brent an individual with learning disabilities may have "outrageous or phonetically based spelling" (Toll, 1993, p.35) or poor organization and study habits (Van Tassel-Baska, 1991). The eleven students in my class had a variety of learning disabilities. Several of the students were dyslexic, meaning they tend to reverse letters and words when reading and writing. Obviously, reading comprehension and spelling were two of their main areas of weakness. One student had an auditory processing disability. He could not transfer the sound of letters into words. When he would come to a word that was unfamiliar, he would fill in another based on the content of the sentence. When pressed to say the word he skipped, he would struggle unsuccessfully with sounding out the word. My second grade math students were still struggling with the concept of addition and subtraction. On a worksheet of 100 simple addition facts, the class average was 29. These inabilites to read and add were not a result of laziness or lack of schooling. Seven out of the eleven students had attended summer school for two years in addition to their regular schooling. They worked hard but were easily frustrated. Because of a malfunction in their brains, these students simply could not understand the concept being taught. It is important for educators to recognize that these students "cannot read, spell or write, as opposed to will not"(Ellston, 1993, p.19). All these traits are typical of students with learning disabilities.

Despite these academic impairments, gifted learning disabled students also have qualities of the gifted and talented. Five out of the eleven students (including Brent) had obvious talents despite their learning disability. John could not sound out words, but would happily spend time drawing remarkably realistic pictures of animals. Aaron, a second grade math student, did very well in math. He already knew most of his multiplication tables and loved to be given challenging multiplication and addition problems to calculate. Richard, a fifth grader, was a member of all-star baseball and soccer teams in the community. When asked to illustrate a class magazine, Natalie showed a remarkable talent as a cartoonist. One high school sophomore interviewed could not read and write on a fifth grade level, but had just finished a beautiful chest of drawers out of wood. All these students are learning disabled *and* gifted. Their gifted behavior matches Huntley's (1990) definition of gifted: "above average ability, creativity, and task commitment "(p.53). Gifted students with learning disabilities have many of these traits.

Thus gifted students with learning disabilities have a great talent in one area, but an academic deficit in another. These students have a variety of ways of dealing with their uniqueness. In fact, one researcher classified gifted students with learning disabilities in three separate categories. These categories are "Subtle Gifted LD, "Hidden Gifted LD" and "Recognized LD"(Toll, 1993, p.35). The students described in the case study are in the recognized learning disabled (LD) category, but it is important to be aware of how to recognize gifted students with learning disabilities in all programs. Students who are "Subtle gifted LD" are easily recognized as gifted. They are often involved in gifted and talented programs and not recognized as learning disabled. However, as they grow older, their academic deficiencies prevent them from keeping up with their gifted peers. Since these students are in a gifted and talented program, they are not considered to be learning disabled. In fact, Van Tassel- Baska (1991) claims that these students are often labeled "underachievers" and accused of being lazy (p. 247). "Hidden Gifted LD" students are not recognized as having a disability because their gift often compensates for their weakness. Toll (1993) explains, "Their superior intellectual ability is working overtime to help adjust to weaknesses caused by an undiagnosed learning disability"(p. 35). These students often get good enough grades in other subjects to maintain a high grade point average and thus go unnoticed. They are also skilled at avoiding work that requires them to use their academic weakness. "Recognized LD" students are usually in a learning disabled program where their gifts aren't recognized. A student's reading deficits may shield a teacher from noticing his or her skill and interest in science or talent in mathematics. Brent and his peers had been in learning disabled programs since first or second grade. Because their gifts were not acknowledged, they considered themselves "dumb" and "stupid". Educators who are not aware that a student can be gifted and learning disabled at the same time often prevent these students from receiving the specialized attention that they need.

CURRICULAR ADAPTATIONS

While educators must learn to recognize the learning disabled and gifted traits in their students in order to identify those who might be gifted and learning disabled, they must also be

willing to adapt classroom curriculum in order to best meet the needs of these students. In doing so, gifted students with learning disabilities will be able to reach their academic potential.

Classroom curriculum can be adapted in a variety of ways to enhance students' gifts as well as teaching them the academic skills they lack. Educators need to accept "atypical learning styles and [be] willing to use a variety of materials and teaching techniques" (Vail, 1988, p.12). As a teacher, I tried to give my students a variety of ways to complete an assignment. This allowed them to choose an activity that best met their learning style. For example, the students were given a list of twenty different spelling activities to choose from. Activities included: Record yourself spelling your words into a tape recorder, then listening to your words while spelling them, Make up rap song using your spelling words, Make up a story using your spelling words, Write a spelling word that you have a hard time with on a piece of art paper and illustrate it, Find a letter or sound pattern in your words, Write a poem using your spelling words, etc. I purposefully chose a wide variety of activities that the students could choose from to help them learn through using their gifts. The artists in the class obviously liked to illustrate their words. This helped them remember the word better. Brent and Richard worked on a rap song to practice their words. The students were learning the basic skills that they lacked (spelling) while enhancing their gifts at the same time. My math students learned their multiplication tables through songs. As Baum (1988) explains, " learning behaviors, time on task, and motivation showed marked improvement when the students selected their own interest area, became personally involved with their product, and were directed toward a goal " (p.229). Such was the case in my class of gifted students with learning disabilities.

Educators also need to adapt their ideas of classroom setup in order to help these students develop their gifts and talents. Baum (1988) recommends that students be allowed to choose and plan their own learning projects. In my language arts class, the students worked on a class newspaper based on the children's book, The Mouse and the Motorcycle. As a class, they decided what articles should be included in a newspaper. They then decided what each of them should write. The newspaper was composed of a sports page, advertisements, a comic strip, a main article, movie reviews, TV guide and an obituary section. After all the students had typed their articles on a word processor, the finished project was copied and passed out to their peers. The students were excited and interested in the project because they choose the project. Baum suggests letting the students choose their own research projects. She describes a class that met with professionals, did empirical research and had a chance to display their projects. When students have a chance to use their gifts to learn basic skills, they develop " a more positive self-concept and a more realistic awareness of [their] future as...artist[s]" , computer specialists, scientists, athletes, mathematicians, etc. instead of being learning disabled (Levey & Dolan, 1988, p.11).

However, because these students do have learning disabilities, they need to be taught how to deal with and compensate for their weaknesses. Baum (1988) suggests one way to teach students to "circumvent weaknesses to accomplish their goals" by using a word processor for those with writing and spelling problems (p.230). My class enjoyed typing their newspaper articles on the computer. After reviewing and editing their articles, they could easily make corrections on the word processor without having to start over. The spell check function was also a valuable tool in helping them spell correctly so they could express their ideas. Seeing the finished printed newspaper with their names on it gave my students a sense of success and accomplishment. They finally were able to communicate their creative ideas. Vail (1988) suggests using tape recorders as another means of communication for students who have motor function disabilities that effect their handwriting. Spelling tests and reports could be given orally if the student cannot spell well enough to communicate. Students may choose to make a videotaped presentation of characters in a book for a book report (Williams ,1988) Calculators also help students who are otherwise gifted in math but can not do addition (Ellston, 1993). By teaching students ways to overcome their disabilities, teachers are helping students express their ideas as well as be excited and confident about learning. While it is important that students learn how to read, write, and calculate, these tools can help gifted students with learning disabilities express their creative ideas. In this kind of learning environment, real growth takes place.

CONCLUSION

Like my students, gifted students with learning disabilities are often confused and discouraged. They are intelligent and bright but are hampered by learning disabilities. By recognizing and encouraging these students' gifts and talents, they will be able to see that their

ideas and talents are important. Together teachers can teach their students ways to deal with heir disability while fostering their talent. All those involved in these student's education need to understand that "trying harder is not the answer" for these students (Toll, 1993, p. 35). These students need the help of teachers who will look beyond the traditional views of teaching. This will not only help gifted students with learning disabilities succeed academically, but will give them the tools to use their skills to benefit others in the future.

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Is It Really Fair For Girls?: Gender and Communication in Middle School Math Classes

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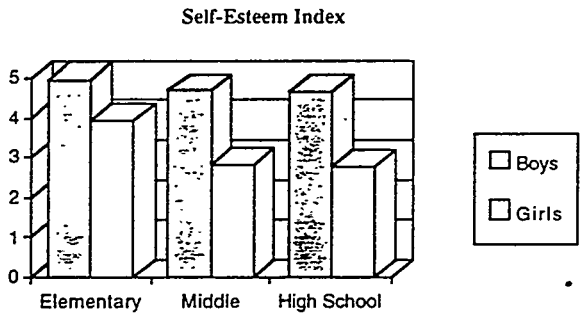
The American Association of University Women (AAUW) commissioned a report in 1992 addressing the gender gap between girls and boys in school. The AAUW study found that girls' self confidence decreased sharply in the middle school years. The present study consisted of extensive observation in sixth grade math classes to test the AAUW findings. Methods included tallying teacher responses, interactions with individual students and group interactions. Even "gender sensitive" teachers were found to exhibit gender bias in their classrooms.

RESEARCH

One reason that females are treated unfairly in classrooms is that stereotypes of women still influence many of today's teaching practices. Although more people are becoming aware of these stereotypes and their dangerous effects, these stereotypes have had a lasting effect on everyone, including teachers. Myra and David Sadker, renown gender specialists, assert that, "teachers, like members of other professions, have been raised in a society where sexism is prevalent" (Sadkers, 1982, 97). Therefore, regardless of how much teachers strive to treat their students equally, their own experiences have a definite impact on their attitudes. It is these unintentional biased messages that tend to reinforce the sex-role lessons of childhood and early adolescence. From elementary school to graduate school, females are exposed to a large degree of stereotyping, and consequently, biased instruction.

Early studies of girls' success in school may at first appear positive, which leads to the perception that females are doing okay. Females are initially ahead of boys in several areas: they get higher grades and receive fewer punishments. In the teachers' eyes, they are the ideal students because they are more conforming, calm, neat and quiet. However, some girls become invisible because of their silence: "[Girls] learn they are pleasing but not necessarily that they are capable." (Skolnick, Langbort, & Day, 1982, 20) Girls' good behavior allows the teacher to spend more time with the rowdy boys. Although girls are perceived better in this respect, the result is quite damaging: "girls receive less time, less help, and fewer challenges. Reinforced for passivity, their independence and self-esteem suffer. As victims of benign neglect, girls are penalized for doing what they should and lose ground as they go through school."(Sadker, 1994, 44)

The biggest shifts in self-esteem occur from the elementary to middle school years. During adolescence, girls' self-esteem takes the biggest plunge while more boys enter and leave adolescence with higher self-esteem.(See Chart 1)



	Elementary	Middle	High School
Boys	4.99	4.68	4.65
Girls	3.93	2.80	2.77

Chart 1: Source: American Association of University Women (1991) *Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America.*

Math and science have the strongest relationship to self-esteem for females. As they learn they are not good at these topics, their sense of self-worth and career goals deteriorate. With lower self-esteem, girls have lower ambitions and are likely to believe they are not smart enough to achieve their dreams. A devastating cycle begins: lower self-esteem leads to lower self-confidence, in turn, leading to lower achievement, and consequently, fewer opportunities. The ultimate result, again, is lower self-esteem for girls.

Fennema and Peterson developed one model of learning that attempts to explain causative factors that influence the development of gender-related differences in mathematics achievement. They ascertain that students participate in autonomous learning behaviors (ALBs) that allow the student to develop the cognitive skills necessary to acquire math skills. The ALB model works in this way: the external beliefs that children receive from peers, teachers, parents and society influence what they believe about themselves. These internal beliefs affect the motivation that the children have to learn mathematics. If students receive more negative influences, then their motivation will be significantly lower than if the students receive positive influences. The motivation levels of the students are ultimately what influence the differences in mathematics achievement. (See Chart 2)

Autonomous Learning Behaviors and Gender-Related Differences in Mathematics Achievement

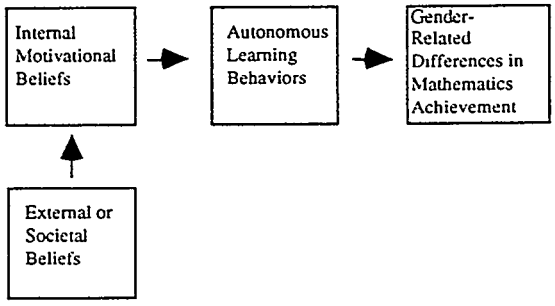


Chart 2: Source: Fennema and Sherman, 1977.

Fennema and Peterson define autonomous learning behaviors as behaviors that "include working independently on high-level tasks, persisting at such tasks, choosing to do and achieving success in such tasks." (Wilkinson & Marrett, 1985, 20-21) ALBs develop as a person grows and is allowed, expected, or forced to exhibit them.

Classrooms are where children participate in ALBs. According to one study performed by Fox (1976), "the classroom itself serves as one area in which social roles in science and mathematics are learned through interactions with teachers and peers." (Wilkinson & Marrett, 1985, 38) The two most influential variables in the classroom are teacher-student interactions and learning activities in which students participate. Fennema and Peterson state that some types of teacher-student interactions "influence the development of one's internal motivational beliefs and/or directly influence the participation of ALB." (Wilkinson & Marrett, 1985, 27)

Less confidence in their own abilities coupled with the unintentional messages of non-importance, causes many females to begin prefacing their remarks with "self-put-downs." According to the Sadkers, "self-put-downs" include phrases such as, "I'm not sure if this is what you want," or "This probably isn't right but...," ..."I'm not really sure," or "This is just a guess." (Sadker, 1994, 171) The girls have learned to devaluate themselves because they are girls, and subsequently, their self-esteem is lowered. The loss of self-esteem is one major problem that females do face in the classroom setting, especially during the middle and junior high school years. Instead of believing in themselves and becoming a unique self, females break down and begin to define themselves according to the norm. And as their self-esteem declines, so does their ability to express their opinions and ideas in the classroom and they become reticent. According to a study by Carol Gilligan, "girls' self-confidence is shaken in their early teenage years, and they lose their willingness to speak openly and to take risks." (McMurdy, 1992, 67) They quit raising their hands in class, begin to diet, and look to parents, teachers, classmates and friends for reactions: "Ironically, when girls shy away from academic success, they relinquish the very behavior -- the achievement orientation -- that leads to high self-esteem." (Sadker, 1994, 102)

With low confidence and self-expectations, girls are more prone to slip through the cracks, unless someone is there to give them encouragement. Teacher expectations have a profound effect on student outcomes. In a highly acclaimed study, *Pygmalion in the Classroom*, Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson documented the effect of teacher expectations on their students, concluding that high teacher expectations cause students to make exceptional gains. (Sadker, 1994, 253) Little signals such as a smile, a little extra praise, and the opportunity to ask just one more question, were encouraging to these "intellectual bloomers," and allowed them the extra support they needed to excel. These signals sent out nonverbal messages such as "I believe in you. You can do it. You are capable." Studies have shown that females are more apt to pick up on the nonverbal messages that teachers send out: "Consequently, women students are especially likely to benefit from behaviors that recognize them as individuals and encourage them -- for instance, making eye contact and nodding." (Hall, 1982, 7)

According to the Sadkers, classroom participation helps students have a more positive outlook on school, which ultimately enhances learning. Participation in the classroom allows students to take an academic risk. Peggy Orenstein writes that: "students who talk in class have more opportunity to enhance self-esteem through exposure to praise; they have the luxury of learning from mistakes and they develop the perspective to see failure as an educational tool."

(Orenstein, 1994, 12) Since females do not participate with the frequency that males do, their self-esteem has limited growth possibilities. Numerous studies have proven that boys interact more with teachers than do girls; for instance, teachers are more apt to ask boys probing, direct, open-ended, complex or abstract questions, while being more apt to ask girls fact oriented questions. Boys also receive more detailed instruction. Skolnick (1982) writes, "Since individual attention from the teacher is a form of recognition and helps probe a child's thinking about the subject matter, children who receive more of it are at an advantage." (Skolnick, Langbort, & Day, 1982, 18)

Classroom discussions pose another threat to females' learned silence. Males typically dominate classroom discussions by either blurting out their answers or raising their hands and shouting, "Ooh! Ooh! Me! Me!" Studies show that teachers can overtly discourage females from participating in class discussions by doing any of the following: "asking males higher order questions and reserving the factual or lower order questions for females, interrupting females and allowing others to interrupt them, establishing less eye contact with females and more with males, or responding differently to the same behavior depending on the sex of the student." (Hall, 1982, 3) The amount of wait or "think" time that teachers allow is another area of concern for females. Teachers often proceed with their lessons, offering little think time after questions. This think time is crucial to females, as they are generally less assertive and process their answers longer instead of just shouting out as their male counterparts do. The Sadkers assert that, "Waiting longer for a student to answer is one of the most powerful and positive things a teacher can do. It is a vote of confidence, a way of saying, 'I have high expectations for you, so I will wait a little longer.'" (Sadker, 1994, 57)

The classroom is a complicated environment with constant energy and action occurring consistently throughout the day. The messages students receive come from stereotypes, both the hidden and official curriculum, teacher expectations, interactions and teacher feedback. With these aspects of the classroom environment in mind, the present study was completed in four sixth grade math classes.

OBSERVATION AND RESULTS

The observation strategies for this study were replications of several methods employed by the Sadkers, including keeping the phases of gathering and analyzing data separate. The study occurred in three phases: 1) researching observation methods used in previous studies of gender issues in the classrooms; 2) observation; and 3) analysis of data. As described in the first section of this paper, phase one was a review of research on the topic, narrowing the research to middle school math and science classes because this is the period of greatest decline for girls.

Phase two consisted of classroom observation. The school was a math-science-technology magnet school in an urban setting. Each teacher has approximately thirty students and the option of opening up the folding doors that exist between two classrooms. Students sit in mixed gender groups at tables. While one teacher instructs, the other teacher typically circulates throughout the room. Four sixth grade teachers were observed during one hour long math classes. The four teachers observed did open their doors during the math classes, creating two rooms each with two teachers and sixty students. The teachers use an overhead to teach their lessons. Sometimes the teachers use a video that shows students how to complete problems. The daily math lesson entails three different sections. The first section is a "daily oral math" problem placed on the overhead for students to complete. After students have attempted to solve this problem, the answer is discussed. The second section is the daily math lesson. If time permits, the third section consists of time allowed for group work.

The four teachers observed all stated that they were conscious of gender bias as a whole, and attempted to correct the problem. However, despite their efforts, they knew that they were not exempt from this problem. In order to randomize and hopefully balance which students are called on, the teachers used a deck of cards with each students name on a card. However, the strategy did not always work as planned, and the males still ended up being called on more frequently due to factors including the teachers' attempts to correct their behavior.(See Charts 3 and 4)

The first step of observation was to obtain demographics. This included counting the number of students, the number of male students and the number of female students, noting the type of table the students sat at (circular or square), counting the number of groups and how many students in the group, and, asking the teachers how the groups were assigned. The second step was to "draw" the classroom, charting where students sat in the rooms. The Sadkers refer to these drawings as "gender geography maps." These maps served a two-fold purpose: they were used to show the set-up of the room and they were used to tabulate how many times a particular student interacted in the classroom.

The third step of observation was to chart the teacher-student interactions. A chart that had columns designating the gender of the student, how students were called on, and how teachers responded to them was used for this method. For instance, if a teacher called randomly on a student and asked them further questions after they answered, a mark was recorded in the "pick" category under "probe." If a teacher called on a student after choosing their name from a deck of cards and said "Yes" "Okay" or "Uh-huh", a mark was recorded in the "card" category under "accept." In order to make the observation results more valid, an additional observer charted the student interactions on the gender geography maps. Each classroom was also observed more than one time to increase validity and compare day to day interactions. Charts 3 and 4 show the raw scores of the two-day observations.

Chart 3: Teacher Response Tally Raw Scores for Rebecca and Cathy

	Day 1	Male	Female	Day 2	Male	Female
Behavior		18	0		8	6
Question		8	8		5	7
No Response		8	13		7	9
Probe		14	8		14	8
Accept		8	4		5	6
Restate		2	1		4	7
Total Interactions	142	58	34	103	43	43
Percentage	35%	41%	24%	17%	42%	42%

Chart 4: Teacher Response Tally Raw Scores for Sally and Grace

	Day 1	Male	Female	Day 2	Male	Female
Behavior		18	1		9	1
Question		10	8		6	6
No Response		22	18		5	6
Probe		9	1		13	4
Accept		2	0		7	4
Restate		6	2		8	1
Total Interactions	119	67	30	93	48	32
Percentage	19%	56%	25%	14%	52%	34%

The fourth step of observation was to look at the mixed gender group interactions. Behaviors found included: boys talking exclusively with each other, same gender students choosing to sit on the same side of the table, and boys having their own books while girls had to share. Boys often explained problems to the girls, and would say "You're mixing me up" when the girls tried to explain problems to them. Girls would respond "Well, I don't know" when boys questioned or challenged their explanations and boys were adamant about their answers being correct.

In the classroom labeled Sally and Grace's, the boys were called on over half the time on both days of observation. A good portion of the times that males were called on was due to behavior problems. For example, on day one, Sally and Grace interacted with misbehaving boys 18 times, or 27% of the total interactions with boys on that day. On the second day of observation, Sally ended up pulling a chair over by the misbehaving boys and sitting at the table with them. Unfortunately, in situations like this, the misbehaving boys are capturing more than their share of the teachers' attention, drawing focus away from the lesson, and making the behaving students, often girls, become almost invisible.

In Rebecca and Cathy's classrooms, the boys and girls received a more balanced amount of attention. This is evident in the second day's observation when both the males and females were called on an equal number of times. On the first day of observation, a good deal of time was spent asking the entire class or the mixed gender groups questions. Although Rebecca and Cathy have a more balanced interaction with the students in their classroom, the types of responses that students are receiving still need attention. For example, Rebecca and Cathy still ask more probing questions of the male students, and do not respond at all to female students' answers more than to male students' answers.

Even though these teachers tried to be careful to use neutral language in their instructions, students presumed male dominance. In one assignment, the teachers asked the mixed gender groups to draw what they envisioned as a "Billion Dollar Being." The teachers were conscious of using neutral language in their instructions, yet the group observed drew a male being. When this group was asked to explain their "Being", they responded: "Well, he has strong muscles, the power to see through anything, teleport, and money to buy what he wants." When asked why this group made their "Being" a male, they responded: "Because he has short hair and lots of muscles." The observer responded that females have strong muscles too and all the students had to do was make the lines longer for the hair. The group then made their "Being" female. The observer then asked the females in the group how they felt, and they responded: "Good. I'm glad she's a female."

Another example of the subtle gender messages girls and boys receive is exemplified in a video the teachers showed their classes about the importance of math. The video explained that math is used in almost everything a person does -- from designing tennis shoes to completing taxes. However, the video showed only male professionals, while the females included talked about how they used to think math was boring but it kept coming up in their lives. It is these
subtle messages that add to the students' unconscious beliefs that math is a male domain.

On a positive note, the teachers that were observed did use reassuring remarks for all students. Cathy and Rebecca made comments such as: "Don't feel stupid raising your hands with a question," "It's okay to have different answers" (referring to groups working on

problems,) and "I'm glad to see that there are so many hands in the air who think they know the answer." Remarks that Sally and Grace made included "You are all winners," and "We believe in you."

CONCLUSION

Even "gender sensitive" teachers such as those that were observed used communication behaviors described as gender biased by education experts such as the Sadkers. Most were subtle such as not responding to female student answers, asking the males more questions following an answer, and merely restating females' answers.

Progress has been made in regards to gender bias in the classroom. The Gender Equity in Education Act of 1993 was established to deal with communication and gender in "establishing gender equity training programs for teachers and other education personnel (or parents)." Goals 2000, signed into law by President Clinton, strives to make states true laboratories of educational innovation, and this goal is working. Many state education departments have used their grant money to accelerate their efforts to improve curriculum. However, too many people remain oblivious to the dangerous effects that the subtle messages of gender bias have on the students, especially females. It is these ignorant people who continue to limit the female voice in the classroom and prolong the devastating effects. Those who are aware and are able to see not only the effects of gender bias but the forms it takes in the classroom, must share their knowledge with others, so that everyone can be proactive and the classroom can be a place where everyone is treated equally.

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An Econometric Analysis of the Price Elasticity of Demand for Residential Electricity

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This study focuses on the residential sector and provides information on the relationship between price and electricity consumption. Although typically, disaggregated data has been used by researchers, the results of this study indicate that using aggregate data for the period 1971 to 1991, with a flow-adjusted model, provides comparable results. The short run price elasticity is estimated within expected range. This study also shows that using OLS techniques, the effect of substitutes such as natural gas is insignificant. A theoretical analysis of the problem created by block rate pricing is also done. An important policy conclusion that can be verified from this study is that price increases may not be the solution to short term attempts to ration the use of electricity.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

Energy is a vital component in the economic and social well-being of any nation. Within the complex system that comprises energy, electricity stands out as the one source of energy without which normal day to day life would be seriously hampered. In the residential sector in particular, electricity is used as the main fuel that runs appliances. The determinants of the demand for such a good and the effect of prices on the demand make an interesting study from both an economic as well as econometric standpoint. The problem of modeling the demand for residential energy and electricity is one that integrates economic theory, engineering, operations research and management science. The purpose of this study is to model and test the demand for residential electricity from an economic and econometric perspective, using regression analysis as the primary tool.

RESIDENTIAL ELECTRICITY DEMAND:

Residential energy demand for electricity can be expected to be a function of both economic and non economic factors. Relevant economic factors include 1) The price of electricity. 2) The price of complements or end use appliances such as refrigerators, stoves and ovens, HVAC units, etc. 3) The prices of substitutes such as natural gas, coal, etc. 4) The level of income of the consumer. Non economic determinants of electricity demand include climate, demographic variables, and the particulars of the housing stock.

THE PROBLEM OF MODELING RESIDENTIAL ELECTRICITY DEMAND:

Energy, in the form of electricity is consumed as an input to a household production process, to provide heating, lighting, etc. The level of electricity consumption is determined by the household technology as well as behavioral decisions on utility. For example, electricity consumption on cooling is indirectly influenced by the thermostat setting(behavior of consumer), the weather (exogenous conditions), HVAC system efficiency (technology) and also the price of electricity (beyond consumer's control). Thus assuming a rational consumer, we see that the choice is *ex ante* rather than *ex post*. Furthermore, due to the durable nature of the installed appliances, we note that responses to unanticipated price shifts may involve long lags. Also, the marginal electricity costs for each appliance may not be apparent to the consumer due to the fact that the billing procedure combines the use of all units. Thus even highly rational consumers are faced with a confusing situation in which they may not be able to make decisions based on the complex factors involved and instead rely on simple models of cost inferred from historical experience. One implication of the special dynamic features of residential energy consumption is that neither purely technological nor purely behavioral models are likely to forecast electricity demand satisfactorily(Cowing, 69).

ELECTRICITY AS A GOOD WITH BLOCK RATE PRICING:

Assuming a rational consumer, it is expected that as the price rises, the quantity demanded of a good, tends to fall. In the case of electricity, this simple relationship is not easily observable because the price schedule generally used for electricity is one of declining block rates. The price of the marginal unit purchased is constant within each block of consumption but decreases between blocks. The average price paid for all units is constant and equal to the marginal price only in the first block. After the first block, average price decreases continuously with quantity purchased. Thus, the consumer is not faced with a

single price for the commodity but with a schedule of prices based on the level of consumption selected.

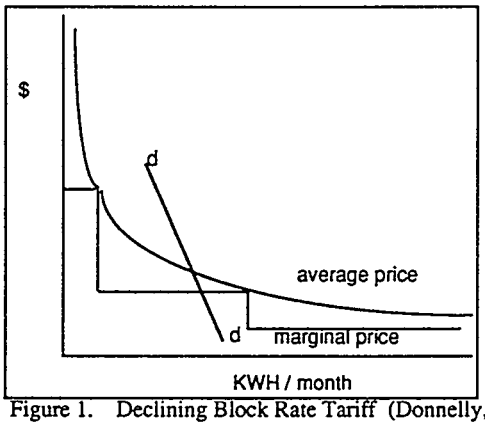


Figure 1. Declining Block Rate Tariff (Donnelly, 78)

When considering utility maximization, it is known that the consumer equates marginal rates of substitution to the ratios of marginal prices. Thus marginal prices rather than average prices should be the center of focus. In Figure 1, the d-d curve represents a household with a relatively low level of electricity demand. A small shift in the demand function, either to the right or left would not change the marginal price charged to the household. In fact, the average price paid changes, posing problems of simultaneity because consumption and price charged are interrelated. Thus we see the advantage of using marginal price information in analyzing changes in the demand for electricity with changes in the price of electricity. However, for the purposes of this study, it can be safely assumed that both marginal and average price are smoothly continuous functions of quantity purchased.

OPERATIONAL HYPOTHESIS:

The flow (or demand) of electricity in the residential sector, is negatively influenced by the price of electricity in the residential sector.

THE MODEL:

Using Box-Cox transformations and RESET tests, researchers have posited that the Cobb-Douglass form or log-linear model is best for studies such as this.
The general model tested for the period 1971 to 1991 was:

$$\log(RES_t) = \alpha + \beta_1 \log(PRICELE) + \beta_2 \log(PRICEGA) + \beta_3 \log(PCI) + \beta_4 \log(STOCK_{t-n}) + u$$

...Eq.(1)

RES = Consumption of electricity in the residential sector (billion kilowatt hours).
PRICELEC = Average price of electricity measured in 1987 dollars(cents per kWh).
PRICEGA = Average price of gas (dollars per thousand cubic feet).
PCI = Per Capita GNP deflated to 1987 dollars.

A point to note here is that the model was tested with lagged installed generating capacity as the STOCK variable as well as the lagged dependent variable as the STOCK variable. In both cases results were almost identical. In order to reduce multicollinearity, PRICEGA was dropped. Additionally, lagging the STOCK variable by two time periods (n=2), completely removed multicollinearity.

Results :

The results are summarized as follows (An L before a variable name indicates that logarithmic values were used):

Eq.(2) :

$$LRES_t = 3.22 + -0.25\ (LPRICELE) + 0.41\ (LPCI) + 0.3E-02\ (STOCK_{t-2})$$

t = (41.82) (-6.67) (57.37) (1.76)

16 Degrees of Freedom. Using a two - tailed test at the 10% level of significance, the critical t value is ± 1.746

$F = 1491.2$ $R^2 = 0.99$

No multicollinearity was observed. The value of the price elasticity estimated at -0.25 is well within expected range. STOCK was measured as the lagged installed generating capacity.

Eq.(3) :

$$LRES_t = 3.22 + -0.25\ (LPRICELE) + 0.40\ (LPCI) + 0.3E-02\ (RLFLOW_{t-2})$$

t = (41.40) (-6.67) (56.54) (1.76)

16 Degrees of Freedom. Using a two - tailed test at the 10% level of significance, the critical t value is ± 1.746

$F = 1491.8$ $R^2 = 0.99$

Almost identical results were obtained by using a lagged flow variable as the stock variable. No multicollinearity was observed.

ECONOMETRIC PROBLEMS:

Initially, when the price of natural gas was included in the model, high multicollinearity was observed along with insignificant variables. After dropping LPRICEGA, and lagging the stock variable two time periods, multicollinearity was removed. Although the regression was run as a time-series, since the data were in logarithmic form, Durbin-Watson test statistics could not be obtained. By checking the Durbin-Watson on the data before putting it in logarithmic form, it was concluded that autocorrelation was not a problem in the model.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

All versions of the model showed an R^2 of above 0.99, indicating that 99% of the variation in the demand for residential electricity is explained by the variation in the independent variables. The F values in both equations indicate that the combined influence of the independent variables in the model is statistically significant at both the 5% and 1% level. The value of the short run price elasticity of demand was estimated to be -0.25 in equations (2) and (3) indicating that if the average price of electricity were to go up by one cent per kilowatt-hour, the demand for residential electricity would decrease by 0.25 billion kilowatt hours in the short run. The estimated short run income elasticities from equation (2) was 0.40 and in equation (3) was 0.41 implying that if per capita GNP (proxy for disposable income) were to go up by one dollar, demand would increase by approximately 0.4 billion kilowatt hours. The coefficient on STOCK and RLFLOW was 0.003 indicating that if the installed generating capacity (proxy for stock of appliances) were to go up by one billion kilowatt hours, the demand for residential electricity would increase by 0.003 billion kilowatt hours. The extremely close results obtained when using installed generating capacity as the stock variable and lagged consumption as the stock variable seem to validate this researchers argument that installed generating capacity is a good proxy for the psychological stock of appliances. Initially, the extremely close results seemed suspicious since it was pointed out that the installed generating capacity included the residential, commercial, industrial and other sectors, but a possible explanation for this is could be that these sectors are all highly correlated and act as good proxies for each other. The results of this study do not go against theory but instead help validate the results of current research in the field. In conclusion, it can be said that one policy implication supported by this study is that rationing of electricity in the short run cannot be achieved by increasing the price of electricity.

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Economic Development for Puerto Rico
An Economic Analysis of Two Main Strategies

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the prevailing economic strategy in the Caribbean (the neoliberal plan) and the strategy proposed by Governor Rossello for Puerto Rico Both plans demonstrate the trend toward liberalization and privatization which is characteristic of the emerging global environment The neoliberal plan stresses the need for development from without. The policies and goals of the plan rely heavily on external agents to fuel the development process. Essential characteristics of the neoliberal plan include, for example, "dynamic forms of export growth; the raising of . . competitiveness, and the increase in savings and investment."[1] This emphasis on the external marketplace is a facet of the trend toward liberalization Also in the neoliberal plan are goals that seek to privatize, or downsize the government sector The plan calls for a "reduction, flexibilization, and greater efficiency of the state apparatus."[2] In the past, the Caribbean has used increases in government spending to fuel growth, now, the trend has reversed

Puerto Rico has also adopted the reversed trend by adopting the New Economic Model proposed by Governor Rossello in February of 1994 Like the neoliberal plan, the New Economic Model focuses on liberalization and privatization. Included in the New Economic Model are provisions for "increased competitiveness, promotion of exports, promotion of external investment "[3] All these factors exemplify the same reliance on external factors as demonstrated in the neoliberal approach Similarly, the New Economic Model advocates a "smaller government which acts as a facilitator instead of a competitor "[4] At first, both plans appear to be identical, but, the New Economic Model's emphasis on social concerns coupled with its different policy mix separates it from the neoliberal plan

As a part of the United States, Puerto Rico enjoys an enviably secure status However, the global move toward a freer trade arrangement, and recent Congressional acts which put some of Puerto Rico's tax advantages in jeopardy, have stripped Puerto Rico of its somewhat secure situation Currently, Puerto Rico is one of the wealthier Caribbean states but it faces critical social problems because of the disparity between the standard of living in Puerto Rico and that of the United States. As an indication of the lower standard of living experienced by Puerto Ricans, Puerto Rico has significantly higher rates of unemployment and poverty than the United States and has substantially lower income per household, and level of education attained (see Table 1)

Table 1: U. S -- Puerto Rico Comparative Statistics (1989)

		U S	Puerto Rico
EDUCATION[a]			
% with high school diploma or more	male	82 7	66 4
	female	85 5	73 0
% with a Bachelor's degree or more	male	22 9	15 6
	female	22 6	22 9
POVERTY[a]			
% living below poverty level		13.1	58 9
INCOME[a]			
median income of households ($)		30, 056	8, 895
mean income of households ($)		38, 453	13, 777
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES (annual, for all workers)		5 2[c]	14 4[b]

Sources [a] Census 1990, U S & P R Tables 1, 16, 17, 37, 38 ; [b] Governor's Report, Puerto Rico, 1993, [c] Economic Report of President, 1993

Driven by social and economic problems such as increasing unemployment and "cuts to the Section 936 federal tax breaks, the start of the North American Free Trade Agreement and other changes in the international economy that have eroded Puerto Rico's competitive edge,"[5] the current administration under Governor Pedro J Rossello has taken the initiative to develop a new economic model The New Economic Model, as it is referred to on the island, is an attempt
at incorporating the ideas discussed by "business and government into a single document that, for the first time, sets down the guiding principles and assigns priority areas for action "[6] It is based somewhat on the neoliberal principles of increased competitiveness and decreased government In addition to the neoliberal elements, explicitly written as one of the goals of the New Economic Model is. "Our aspiration is that Puerto Rico is able to achieve and maintain levels of standard of living comparable with those of the United States in respect to per capita personal income, the proportion of the population living below the poverty line, and rates of unemployment in a reasonable amount of time."[7] Unlike other Caribbean and Latin American countries, Puerto Rico is a part of the United States, and, therefore, can not set interest rates or control the exchange rate Interest rates are a crucial tool governments use to implement economic models In the theoretical section, the methods for evaluating the two economic models are outlined and the importance of interest rates is made clear

RESULTS OF ANALYSIS [8]

The results of the neoliberal plan can be seen by studying Venezuela and Mexico. Although Venezuela and Mexico are significantly different from each other and from Puerto Rico in terms of size, population, political structure, and the make up of the economy, they were chosen for this study because both Venezuela and Mexico are part of the Caribbean or Latin America, have instituted the neoliberal plan in the early 1990s, and data is available in order to analyze the effects of the plan

Goal 1 of the neoliberal plan: Export Growth

In the neoliberal program, "new dynamic forms of export growth" were to be accomplished by either an increase in foreign income or a depreciation of the currency As can be seen by Figures 1 and 2, [9] the exchange rate did increase, meaning that the currency was devalued

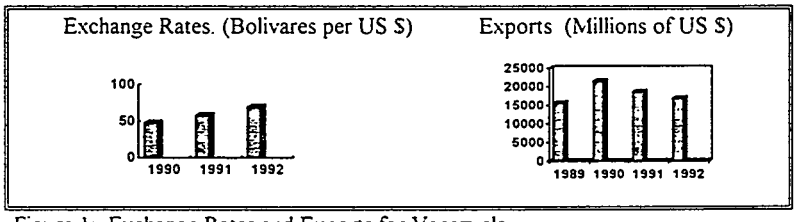


Figure 1: Exchange Rates and Exports for Venezuela

The exchange rate in Venezuela has gone up since 1990, indicating an ↑R -- meaning that the Venezuelan Bolivare has depreciated against the US dollar As a result, exports initially increased and then tapered off, perhaps due to the "beggar thy neighbor" principle which states that a depreciation of one country's currency, while resulting in export growth and increased output and employment at home, ends up exporting unemployment and decreased income to its trade partners by decreasing the amount of imports. The exchange rate in Mexico has also increased, although, exports have continued to increase instead of initially increasing and then tapering as in Venezuela. This may mean that Mexico has not yet experienced the "beggar thy neighbor" phenomenon

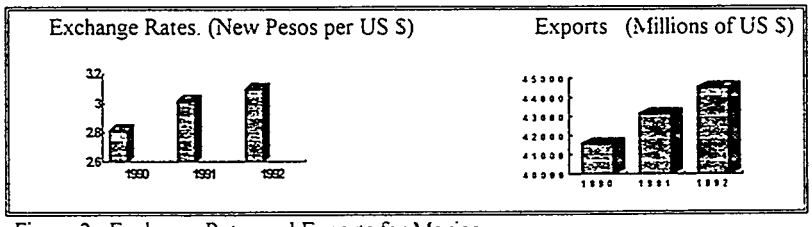


Figure 2: Exchange Rates and Exports for Mexico

Goal 2 of the neoliberal plan: Increase Savings and Investment

Another principle of the neoliberal plan is increased saving and investment Without interest rate data, this theoretical relationship is difficult to prove, however, an increase in the exchange rate did occur that did eventually lead to an increased equilibrium income The depreciation of the currency (↑R) seen in both Venezuela and Mexico under goal 1 did result in an increased level of income (Y^0) for both countries. Because of the assumption that GDP = AD = Y^0, the increased level of income can be seen through the increased GDP (see Figure 3)

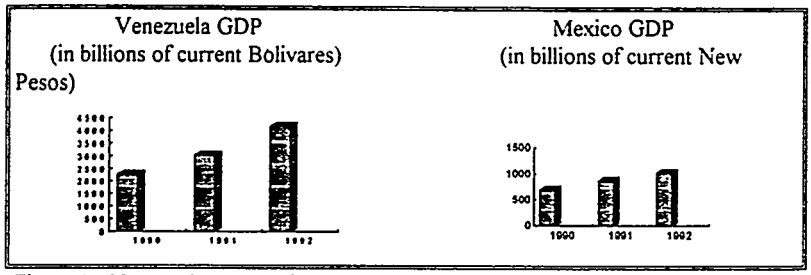


Figure 3: Venezuela and Mexico GDP

Goal 3 of the neoliberal plan: Decrease Government Spending

Instead of decreasing government, a crucial aspect of the neoliberal plan, government spending in both countries actually increased. (see Figure 4). Both Venezuela and Mexico seem

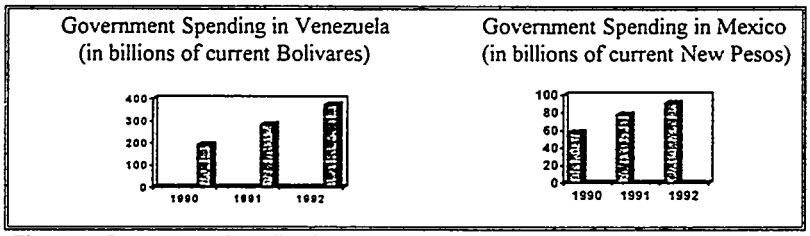


Figure 4: Government Spending in Venezuela and Mexico

to have ignored goal 3 of the neoliberal program. The probable explanation for this apparent oversight lies in the time it takes government to respond to reform attempts. Because in this case, no conclusive evidence suggests that a decrease in government spending decreases income, the effect of a change in government spending on income was predicted by using a series of regressions. With a R - squared of . 0.980623 (meaning that the data fit the hypothesis almost perfectly), the results of the regressions indicated that for every Bolivare (Venezuela) decrease in government spending, income will drop by 10.47520 Bolivares. And, with a R - squared of 0. 994859, the result was that for every New Peso (Mexico) decrease in government spending, income will drop by 9. 8082096 New Pesos.

The New Economic Model for Puerto Rico

Even with the predicted decrease in income due to a decrease in government spending, the focal point of the New Economic Model is decreased government spending. The use of government spending or fiscal policy can be seen throughout the model. Fiscal policy is central to the Puerto Rican plan because it is the only policy tool available to the Puerto Rican government; interest rates and monetary policy are set for Puerto Rico by the Fed in the United States.

The two main aspects of the New Economic Model for Puerto Rico are to reduce costs and increase competitiveness. To be able to achieve its goal of a balance of payments surplus by using fiscal policy (decreasing government spending) this is what must happen:

(1) To get a balance of payments surplus by decreasing imports (m):

- The amount by which m needs to decrease can be estimated by using the marginal propensity to import (μ)* and the multiplier:

$$\frac{1}{1-c(1-t)} \qquad (1)$$

* μ denotes the amount decrease in m per dollar decrease in Y^0

According to noted economist, Trent Boreman, Puerto Rico's marginal propensity to import is equal to 0.779 (rounded to equal 0.780), which means that for every dollar decrease in Y^0, imports will decrease by 78 cents. [10]

• What decrease in Y^0 is needed to get a balance of payments surplus?

Assuming exports remain constant, m would have to decrease by the amount of the current balance of payments deficit -- S 2, 926 (in millions of current dollars, as of 1993)[11] A decrease in imports of S2, 926 means that Y^0 must decrease by S2,926 ÷ 0.78 which equals a decrease in Y^0 of S3, 751. 282

• What decrease in Government spending (G) is needed to decrease Y^0 by S3,751. 282?

Using the multiplier for Puerto Rico (α) calculated by Boreman, the change in government spending necessary can be determined as follows:

$Y^0 = \alpha(\Delta G)$ (2)

where α is defined as $\frac{1}{1-c(1-t)}$ and c = 78 and t = 0.15

$$Y^0 = \frac{1}{1-c(1-t)} \Delta G \quad (3)$$

$$3,751\ 282 = \frac{1}{1-0\ 78(1-0\ 15)} \Delta G$$

$3, 751. 282 = 2\ 97\ \Delta G$

$3, 751. 282 \div 2.97 = \Delta G$

$\underline{\$1, 263. 0579} = \Delta G$

Government spending would have to decrease by S 1, 263. 0579 to get the balance of payments in equilibrium assuming that imports are decreased and exports remain constant. To get a balance of payments surplus, government spending would have to decrease by an even greater amount.

(2) To get a balance of payments surplus by increasing exports (x):

• Assuming exports increased and imports remained the same, by how much will the increase in x increase Y^0?

• x must be increased by S2, 926 to bring the balance of payments to equilibrium. Using the same concept as with imports, the effect on Y^0 can be determined as follows (as calculated above, α = 2.967359 or 2.97).

$\Delta Y^0 = \alpha\ \Delta x$ (4)

$\Delta Y^0 = 2.97\ (2, 296)$

$\Delta Y^0 = \$\ 8, 609. 22$

If exports were increased by S 2, 296 and imports remained constant, output, equilibrium income and GDP will increase by S 8, 609.22.

SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

In the neoliberal program, as seen in Venezuela and Mexico, a depreciation of the currency was used to increase competitiveness. Although the plan also stated a decreased government sector, Venezuela and Mexico have not lowered government expenditures. A lowering of government expenditures is a highly unpopular move, especially in countries facing economic crises The economic crises of a low standard of living have not been alleviated by the neoliberal program. Growth in Venezuela and Mexico has meant "either short-term low-paying construction jobs or highly paid managerial jobs " [12] The economic growth has benefited the wealthy without making its way down to the poor. Although an increase in Y^0 did take place under the neoliberal program, and even though that growth is supposed to continue "through the end of the century," United Nations economists say that "no progress will be made in reducing poverty, creating the potential for more social unrest." [13] While striving to achieve economic goals and improved statistics, the neoliberal program forgot the human element of the economy.

The results of the neoliberal program need to be taken into account while reviewing the New Economic Model for Puerto Rico as well. Considering that Puerto Rico places great emphasis on the general well being of the population, the New Economic Model has several flaws. The first flaw is based on the fact that Puerto Rico can only use fiscal policy to achieve the goals stated in the New Economic Model, meaning that Puerto Rico is limited to using changes in government expenditures to implement the plan. According to the New Economic Model, Puerto Rico should decrease government spending. In Puerto Rico a decrease in government spending not only decreases income, but could also lead to serious social

repercussions because as of 1990, 13.8 % of the workforce was employed in the government sector [14]

Second, to achieve its goal of increased competitiveness, Puerto Rico would either have to decrease imports, increase exports or both To do this, the New Economic Model suggests the "providing support for the various sectors of the economy " [15] How can Puerto Rico provide support when it has already committed itself to decreasing government spending? Each part of the plan works together and is not an individual goal which can be attained without influencing the ability to attain all the other goals. Since Puerto Rico can not provide monetary support to industries due to the proposed decrease in government spending, the options left are for Puerto Rico are to decrease imports or increase exports. As stated earlier, Puerto Rico would have to decrease government spending by $1, 263 0579 to get a positive balance of trade Since government spending in 1993 was $1, 384 50, to decrease government spending by $1, 263 0579 means to almost completely eliminate the government sector. Realizing how unfavorable this is, Puerto Rico could instead increase exports by almost 50% to get a favorable balance of trade Such an increase in exports is extremely difficult considering the make-up of the Puerto Rican economy. An economy based on services and tourism has a difficult time increasing exports

At this moment, the option left available under the current plan for Puerto Rico is to decrease government spending. The extent to which government spending must decrease accompanied by the repercussions of such a decrease in government spending will have on the economy of a country already in crisis make the current plan unacceptable if Puerto Rico wants to achieve levels of income and standard of living comparable to those of the United States

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper was to analyze both the neoliberal program and the New Economic Model for Puerto Rico My original intent was to indicate the superior strategy for Puerto Rico. After carefully studying both plans, I found that the people of Lesser Developed Countries will suffer from these plans Unless, of course, foreign investment increases domestic income

Foreign investment in a region just getting over the devastating effects of colonization is not a positive trend. If the economies of the Caribbean, Latin America and Puerto Rico allow themselves to be governed by foreign investment, a colonial period unlike any previously experienced will choke and suffocate them. Just thinking about the prospects of new colonization makes me remember an old adage I once heard -- "If you give a man a fish, he will eat today, but if you teach him how to fish, he will eat forever " It is time for the Caribbean, Latin America and Puerto Rico to learn how to fish!

ENDNOTES

1 & 2 Osvaldo Sunkel, "From Inward- Looking Development to Development From Within," in *Development From Within: A Neostructuralist Approach for Latin America* Osvaldo Sunkel, ed (London Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1993) 44.

3 Consejo de Productividad Economica, Oficina del Gobernador, *Nuevo Modelo de Desarrollo Economico* (San Juan, P.R.: Oficina del Gobernador, Febrero 1994) 11-12

4 Consejo de Productividad Economica 14

5 & 6 Ivonne Garcia, "Rossello Unveils Plan for Renewed Development," *San Juan Star* (23 Feb 1994) 8.

7 Consejo de Productividad Economica, Oficina del Gobernador, *Nuevo Modelo de Desarrollo Economico* (San Juan, P.R.: Oficina del Gobernador, Febrero 1994) 9

8 Rudiger Dornbusch and Stanley Fischer, *Macro Economics* 6th ed (New York McGraw-Hill, Inc 1978) 8-11.

9 Data for Figures 1-4 is from: The World Bank *World Tables. 1994.* (Baltimore, Maryland. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.)

10 Trent Boreman, "U.S. -- Puerto Rico Relationships " Thesis (UNC- Asheville, Asheville, NC, 1994)

11 Junta de Planificacion de Puerto Rico, Informe Economico al Gobernador,1993 (San Juan, P.R.. Oficina del Gobernador, 1994) 3. Also, assume amounts are in millions of current dollars as of 1993 unless otherwise specified.

12 & 13 Nathaniel C. Nash, "Latin Economic Speedup Leaves Poor in the Dust " New York Times 7 Sept. 1994: A7.

14 Junta de Planificacion de Puerto Rico, *Informe Economico al Gobernador.1993* (San Juan, P R . Oficina del Gobernador, 1994) IV, 6

15 Consejo de Productividad Economica, Oficina del Gobernador, *Nuevo Modelo de Desarrollo Economico* (San Juan, P.R.: Oficina del Gobernador, Febrero 1994) 11

Dietary Delocalization in a Yucatecan Resort Community in Quintana Roo, Mexico: Junk Food in Paradise.

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Massive tourism along the coast of the Yucatan Peninsula has influenced many Mayan to leave their traditional, agrarian based communities to seek employment as service personnel at seaside resorts. With this profound change in life style, traditional dietary habits have changed as well. This descriptive exploritory study was conducted among the Mayan Community servicing the seaside resort of Akumal. Four major areas are included in the findings: 1) describes local food items available for purchase, 2) documents present dietary patterns, and compares these with subjects report of pre-migrational nutritional habits, 3) assess the nutritional status of school children through anthropometrics and 4) draws implications from these dietary patterns as they affect the health of the community.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This research was conducted as part of a of a larger exploratory study (Thomas, Pi-Sunyer, 1994) concerning the effects of tourism on the indigenous Mayan population living on the Yucatan Peninsula in the state of Quintana Roo, Mexico. The eastern coast of this region has experienced a massive influx of tourism over the past two decades. While the focus has been on the benefits of the macro-economic development and material transformation, little attention has been paid to the inevitable effects that modernization has wrought on these Native American people.

Until the early 70's, this eastern portion of the Yucatan peninsula was one of the most underdeveloped areas of Mexico. The lowland Mayan people of this region have traditionally lived in small, inland based, agrarian communities dependent on slash and burn farming, bee-keeping, hunting and kitchen gardens as strategies for maintaining a self-sufficient livelihood.

Tourism brought a number of economic changes to these previously isolated communities. As the Maya were drawn into the cash economy, they came to be viewed as a large, cheap labor pool by both the government and tourist industry. Many of the Mayan men now work, part time, for wages, often at distances far from home. Some Mayan women have also entered the wage earning work force, and/or now have the total responsibility of maintaining the household while their husbands area away. Because most of the tourist related activity is taking place on the coast, many Maya have migrated there in order to take advantage of the wage earning opportunities. According to Daltabuit (1994), and Thomas and Pi-Sunyer (1994) when the focus of labor shifts substantial reorganizational change will take place in the local patterns of life. Areas particularly vulnerable to these disruptions are: gender, social and work roles, and the integrity of cultural identity. One important component of cultural identity is the pattern of food consumption. As the culture changes these patterns are affected, and may in turn influence the health of the entire community. Pelto and Pelto (1983) identify a phenomenon which they describe as "dietary delocalization", where "an increasing portion of the daily diet comes from distant places usually through commercial channels." Being directly exposed to the dietary practices of tourists, dietary delocalization is expected to be particularly pervasive both in the number of households affected and in the degree of reliance on processed foods.

The focus of this study is to identify the food consumption patterns, and their nutritional consequences, presently practiced by two communities of Mayan migrants who live, and work, at the coastal tourist resort of Akumal. Present dietary practices are documented, as well as perceptions of the changes in dietary patterns that have occurred since migrating. The dietary habits of school age children were noted separately and used in conjunction with anthropometrics in an attempt to assess the nutritional status of the children.

The resort of Akumal was chosen as a representative, for two reasons. First, it is one of the oldest tourist resorts on this coast, where both recent and long established migrant families make up two service communities. La Crusera is adjacent to the Akumal resort and Ciudad Chemuyil (a new housing development) is 4 km. to the south off the main high way. Secondly, the Mayan mostly work as service personnel for the resort. The significance of their residential proximity to the resort means that the Maya living in these two service communities, and particularly the children, have high exposure to the food and eating habits of the tourists and resident North Americans. The original Akumal Mayan settlement, La Crusera, is located outside the wall of the luxurious tourist hotels and apartments that occupy the waterfront. The government, at the request of hotel and owners who consider La Crusera an "eye sore", is presently trying to relocate the residents to the Cuidad Chemuyil housing development that was built specifically for hotel employees.

SAMPLE AND METHODS

Three samples make up the dietary recall and the semi-structured interviews. They consists of ten households (accounting for 50 people), seven single adults, and fourteen children (4 girls and ten boys) between the ages of 6 and 12 years old. There were 35 males in the sample; 18 were 15 years or older and 36 females; 18 were 15 years or older (71 individuals). One person representing the household, and each individual representing himself is refereed to as the key informant. There were 17 adult key informant; 12 women, and 5 men, and 14 child key informants; 10 boys and 4 girls. All perticipants were Maya migrants, or children of migrants, living in either La Crusera or Cuidad Chemuyil.

Data collection took place over a five week period. The collection methods consisted of a semi structured interview of questions about dietary patterns, food preperation and attitudes toward exercise, and a 24 hour dietary recall, covering a one two or three day period. The dietary recall took place a day following the semi-structured interview. In almost all of the household interviews, other members of the family participated which supplied greater detail. Specific questions were asked concerning amounts of food consumed by each family member and if the recall was a typical pattern of consumption. Often recipes were volunteered, and methods of preparation were discussed in detail.

Questions concerned food availability and price. Participants were asked direct questions and encouraged to discuss and compare previous dietary patterns practiced before migrating to those practiced presently in Acumen. The informants perception about why these differences existed were also included in the discussion. One question concerning physical exercise was included in each interview. Questions were left open-ended and participants were encouraged to talk freely.

A total of ten family and seven individual adults interviews took place. All family interviews were conducted in Spanish. Contacts were initially made through another resident, or by simply knocking on doors and requesting an interview. All interviews were conducted by at least two researchers. I was present at all of them. The accompanying researcher varied but all spoke Spanish from an advanced- intermediate to fluent level. Once the relationship was established, return visits to many of the households were made. An in-depth analysis of the stores and food venders in the area was made to collect adjunct information about availability and demand of food items. The 14 interviews with the children took place at the school or outside the store. The hieght and weight of the children were obtained at the school during class time.

Observation and taking advantage of any opportunity for conversation were other important source of information. Several people who did not meet the sampling criteria, but were involved members of the community were also valuable sources of information. By living in the hub of the community (not as tourists, but in similar conditions to the Maya), and just being present in community meeting places (stores, the school and the playing court) much informal information was collected. These techniques of fact gathering are well justified by Robert Chambers (1985) in his article on rapid rural assessment. In this article he emphasizes that local people are a wealth of valuable knowledge; they are the teachers, and the investigator, the pupil. It is important that the investigator be available, and blend in as much as possible with the local way of life.

RESULTS

Using the 24 hour recall a total of 111 meals were analyzed out of the 37 recalls collected (see table 1 for results). White breads, sweet breads and various types of cookies and

potato chips were grouped together for convenience, and as noted made up either the entire, or a large part of, 23% of the meals. Few foods other than these were reported in the dietary recalls.

Table 1: Most frequently Consumed Foods at Meals

foods	% of meals	foods	% of meals	foods	% of meals
tortilla	60	red meat	27	eggs	20
Coke	45	bread/		tomatoes	18
beans	37	cookies/	23	coffee	16
		chips		chicken	10

Beverages were difficult to track, because they were often drunk in between meals. "Refrescos" could refer to any soft drink, though Coca Cola appeared to occupy a category all its own. A soft drink break had social and ritualistic qualities akin to our western coffee break tradition. All participants, both adults and children, reported drinking Coca Cola and other soft drinks (see tables 2 and 3).

Table 2: Soft Drink Consumption - Adults

number of Cokes	% who drink	other soft drinks	% who drink
1-2	39	1-2	72
2-3	37	2-4	28
3-5	27	-	-

Table 3: Soft Drink Consumption - Children

Number of Cokes	% who drink	other soft drinks	% who drink
1-2	64	1-2	71
2-3	36	2-3	29
3-5	-	3-5	-

Other commonly consumed beverages were Kool Aid or Tang type (highly sweetened) powdered drinks, and juice drinks made from sugar, water and 1.1% concentrated fruit flavoring. 53% of the adult respondents reported that before moving to the Akumal area, they drank less Coca Cola and other soft drinks.

Three mothers reported that children under six months should not drink coke, because it causes gas. I did, however, observe mothers giving Coke and other soft drinks, in baby bottles to children under one year old. 90% of the children interviewed also reported liking, and drinking chocolate milk on a regular basis. 71% of the children participating in the dietary recall reported drinking chocolate milk one or more times in the 24 hour period. This is supported by the analysis of the five primary food stores in Akumal and Chemuyil. At least seven different types of chocolate milk were available for purchase in each store. Plain milk consumption was reported by 29% of the children.

Further analysis of the stores found that while highly sugared drinks were more than plentiful, it was almost impossible to buy a drink, other than water and milk, that did not have added sugar. Even juices that were advertised as being 100% juice had added sugar. They were also expensive when compared to the price of other beverages.

90% of the family informants reported serving coffee to the whole family at breakfast. Two families reported serving it at dinner as well. Of the seven single respondents only one reported not drinking coffee. 84% of the children interviewed reported drinking coffee with breakfast. 71% of the children's dietary recalls included at least one cup of coffee. One 8 year old boy told me that coffee with sugar was his "favorite drink".

The most frequently reported snacks to be eaten by both adult and children were: 1)Sabritas (a brand name for a variety of potato and corn chips), and 2) cookies. 88% of the adult informants described this pattern of snacking. 24% of the adult informants reported eating Sabritas, and 24% reported eating cookies in their dietary recall. Fruit was mentioned as a snack food by 53% of the adults, though only 11% actually reported snacking on fruit.

100% of the children reported 1) Sabritas, and 2) cookies as the foods most typically snacked on. When asked to estimate their daily Sabrita intake 65% of the children estimated eating 1-2 bags (28-45 grams) per day. The remaining 35% estimated that they ate 2-5 bags per day. 65% of the children actually reported having eaten one or more packages of Sabritas in the

past 24 hours. 60% of the children reported having eaten cookies during the past 24 hours. Individually packaged cakes and sweet breads were also reported as popular snack items. On the three non-consecutive days I accompanied the school children and their teacher to the store during break time, the typical purchasing pattern observed was to buy one bag of Sabritas and one soft drink. Approximately 50% of the children also purchased an additional item, such as: Sabritas, cookies, cake, popsickle or candy. Three children bought cookies instead of sabritas. The teacher expressed that the children ate a lot of "junk food" as these items were relatively inexpensive and served to fill them up. She felt that the parents were poorly educated about nutrition and basically let the children eat what and when they wanted. Lack of money, not nutritional concern, was sighted as the primary deterrent to the purchase of these items. This opinion was echoed by five key informants not included in the survey.

Fruit, other than tomatoes, was only reported eaten 12 different times out of the 37 dietary recalls, although adults and children alike all reported liking it. Interestingly, four informants each accounted for eating fruit twice within the 24 hours. This means that only seven different recalls included fruit. Five of the seven were from homes were both husband and wife had full time employment. The variety was limited to avocado (6 times), banana (2 times), watermelon (2 times), and mango (2 times). 100% of the adult participants responded that they eat less fruit and vegetables since moving to Akumal, and that this is a major difference in their diet since migrating. The difficulty in obtaining affordable fruit of reasonable quality was particularly emphasized. 94% of the adult respondants sighted expense as a deterrent to purchasing fruit and vegetables, and 89% sighted difficulty in obtaining it. The store survey supported both of these responses, as did the reports of the 4 informants not included in the sample.

Tomatoes and onion and chile were the most frequently eaten vegetables. Traditionally, these ingredient are used in egg and meat preparations, as well as in salsa. 82% of the adult informants reported eating salsa and vegetables less often since migrating to Akumal. The 12 female informants, all involved in food preparation, sighted difficulty in obtaining fresh ingredients, high cost, poor quality, and lack of time as reasons why vegetables were less frequently served..

The results of the anthropometrics done on the children revealed that in the sample of 32 children between the ages of 6 and 14 years, when compared to the US, National Center of Health Statistics (NCHS) standards, the average height for age of the boys was -1.71 standard deviations below the NCHS average, for girls it was -2.05 SD below. Weight, however was -0.85 SD below the NCHS average for the boys, and -1.10 SD below average for the girls. This means that, as a whole the children were short, but stocky. Verging on chunky.

All adult interviews ended with a question about whether or not the respondent felt that exercise was important. 33% felt that it was moderately to very important, 28% felt it was important for children, and 17% felt it was not at important at all. Of the 12 women interviewed, 75% felt that housework and walking about was sufficient exercise. Two women reported actually exercising, but on an irregular basis. The five men all felt that exercise was moderately to very important, and 4 reported actively exercising on a regular basis. Observation revealed that young men and boys enthusiastically engaged in team sports on a regular basis; mostly football and basketball, but that young women and girls did not.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The dietary recalls, observations and discussion elicited from semi-structured interviews suggests that the diet is adequate in protein and calories. These results are further confirmed in a twenty-four hour recall analysis done by Keenan, Leatherman and Goodman (1995). Observation and discussion about food preparation revealed that the diet is high in fat due to the way meat is prepared (the fat is retained and served with the meat) and the large amount of oil added to food in the cooking process.

Keenan, Leatherman and Goodman (1995) also found that the diet provides adequate amounts of vitamins A and C, however it does lack in a variety of fresh fruits and vegetables, especially when compared to the pre-immigration diet of most participants. Also, adults and children alike expressed a desire to have greater access to both; particularly fruit.

Fruits local to this area, and traditionally eaten in the Mayan diet, are no longer readily accessible to this population. This may be a result of the inflated prices in the area, which are targeted at the tourist population. These tropical fruits are particularly high in beta carotenes as well as vitamin C, and their anti-oxidant and phytochemical properties are known to play a role in deterring cancerous cell growth.

Dietary delocalization is most evident in the snacking patterns reported in this study. The diets of both adults and children have high quantities of non-nutritive sugar and fat calories. consumed via the numerous soft drinks, chips and cookie snacks. These have replaced fruit as the more traditional low calorie, high fiber snack. As one informant told me "I see these things and I want to taste them." Weight gain may be a result of this change. It was a concern mentioned by only three men and two women. The men sighted a more sedentary life style as the primary reason for this. Other informants echoed this sentiment that the life style now is more sedentary than that of the past. This, in combination with the trend toward a more "westernized" diet could increase the prevalence of obesity, and contribute to the significant health problems related to obesity such as hypertension, heart disease, diabetes, gallbladder disease and muscular/skeletal problems (Weiss, Ferrell, Hanis, 1984). The effects on dentition from high sugar and soft drink consumption is evident as many as many residents display decayed or obviously repaired teeth.

Children in this sample regularly consume 250-300 empty kcal with each chip and soft drink snack. As most children reported eating two or more of such snacks on an average day, and at least one additional soft drink, children may be consuming 650 or more non-nutritive kcals per day. For a child requiring approximately 1800-2000 kcal/day, 35% of those calories may be being met with soft drinks, chips, cookies and cake type items.

In addition to a diet high in non-nutritive snacks, many of the children in this sample reported consuming a large amount of caffeinated beverages. A child consuming one cup of coffee, two cokes and one glass of chocolate milk (a typical consumption pattern) is ingesting approximately 240 mg. of caffeine per day! Caffeine is a psychoactive, addictive drug, known to cause irritability, anxiety and restlessness. It depletes the adrenal gland and robs the body of vitamins and minerals. Coffee in particular interferes with the body's ability to absorb calcium and iron (Albertson, 1995).

In conclusion, along with the economic growth and employment opportunities that tourism has brought to the Mayan people living in this coastal area of the Yucatan, it has also brought profound dietary changes as well. The eating patterns practiced by these two Mayan service communities are a combination of the traditional and the new, where unfortunately the "new" consists of high fat, high sugar "junk foods" with little nutritional value. Such a diet has a resulted in a high incidence of dental caries and foreshadows obesity, high blood pressure and associated disorders which are particularly severe in Native American populations (Weiss et al 1984). Before other serious health related problems become prevalent, simple preventive measures could be implemented. Nutritional education and dental hygiene could be included in the school curriculum, and offered to parents as well. Exercise programs, particularly those aimed at women, could be offered to residents of all ages. Nutritious school snacks, such as fruit could be provided through a cooperative pooling of funds, rather than purchased individually. And finally, wholesale fruit and vegetables could also be purchased in this fashion. With a small concentrated effort now, future, larger scale problems might be averted.

There seems to be growing concern about these issues by both community members and the hotel directorate. This research will therefore be presented to the people of Akumal with the hope it can be of assistance initiating preventative action.

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The Effectiveness of Informal Health Promotion on Chronic Disease Management of Children with Insulin Dependent Diabetes

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Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus is a chronic disease with a significant morbidity and mortality. Survival management skills, understanding the disease and psycho-social adjustment are essential to good diabetes control. This study assessed the impact, as perceived by parents, of informal health promotion and diabetes education of a summer camp program on the skill acquisition, cognitive growth and psycho-social development of young boys with IDDM. Data analysis indicated significant improvement in diabetes control.

INTRODUCTION

Overview Of Problem

Diabetes is a serious disease that effects over 14 million people in the United States. More than 200,000 deaths are attributed to diabetes annually. Further, diabetes is a leading cause of blindness, and significantly increased risk of heart disease, stroke and kidney disorders. In 1993, the Center for Disease Control and Prevention released the results of a ten-year investigation of the effect of blood sugar levels on long-term complications. This study demonstrated that normalizing blood sugar levels could significantly reduce the risk of long term microvascular and neurological complications in patients with Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus. It indicated that good management of diabetes on a daily basis is the most vital step in reducing the risk of long term problems. Clearly, it is most significant that people with diabetes control their disease and manage it carefully. The patient with diabetes must develop both management skills and strategies.

Etiology Of Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus

Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus (IDDM) is a common endocrinologic disorder with a significant morbidity and mortality. Diabetes is defined as a state caused by an insufficient amount of insulin. Insulin insufficiency, in turn, disrupts the way the body metabolizes fats, carbohydrates and protein. For about 75 years it was thought that diabetes was a simple condition, involving only an insufficient amount of insulin, and that if this insulin defect were corrected this condition would be cured. This may be true in general, but it has become obvious that the condition is more complex. There is now substantial evidence that diabetes is a genetically determined disease in which there is a long phase of beta cell destruction occurring. According to Bach, "IDDM is unquestionably an autoimmune disease, as reflected by the presence of beta-cell-mediated transfer of the disease in nondiabetic mice, rats and humans and disease sensitivity to immunosuppressive therapy (1994)."

The development of IDDM is a process involving several stages, beginning with genetic susceptibility, and ending with complete beta cell destruction. First, there appears to be an obligatory genetic predisposition (Keller 1991). An event, either mutational or environmental, may trigger the beginning of the long destructive stages that leave the body without enough cells to produce adequate insulin. It is possible that many different events play a role in initiating beta cell damage. The moment at which the destruction reaches a certain threshold, the process appears to continue to overt diabetes. Overt diabetes is often made evident during a time of stress probably resulting from the lack of insulin (Eisenbarth 1988).

Management

Good diabetes control requires keeping blood glucose at the normal (70-140 mg/dl) or near normal range to restore the body's ability to use food. Cornerstones of control are medication, nutrition and exercise. The person with diabetes must know how to correctly prepare and inject insulin, understand the time actions of insulin, select foods that will keep blood glucose as near normal as possible, and understand the benefits and risks of exercise. To achieve the essential balance between medication, food and exercise, the person with diabetes must also know how and when to test blood sugar and how to use the results. Further, he/she must understand the importance of urine testing for ketones. Finally,

acceptance of diabetes and emotional adjustment are imperative to living well with the disease.

Joslin Diabetes Camp

The Elliot P. Joslin Camp for Boys with Diabetes located in Charlton, Massachusetts was founded by Dr. Joslin in 1948 and is operated by Joslin Diabetes Center. The emphasis of the camp is having fun, enjoying the out-of-doors and friendship. Central to its mission is to improve diabetes control and increase self-esteem of the campers. Each summer over three-hundred boys learn more about diabetes in a safe environment. Over 50 different recreational activities are offered. The camp staff is dedicated to taking advantage of the "teachable moment" to further develop diabetes skills and knowledge, and serving as positive role models. More formal educational sessions are also scheduled. Living, learning and playing together fosters each individual's ability to accept and to live well with a chronic disease.

RESEARCH

Hypothesis

This investigation was proposed to test the hypothesis that informal health promotion and diabetes education provided in a summer camp has a positive impact on the diabetes management skills, cognitive growth and psycho-social development of children with Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus.

Study Design

To test the hypothesis of this study a survey to evaluate the impact of a two-week summer camp session on the daily management of children with IDDM, as perceived by parents, was designed. Twenty-seven questions focused on three major areas: management skills essential to survival, cognitive growth and psycho-social development. Survival skill questions were relevant to insulin administration, regulation of diet and glucose and urine monitoring. Cognitive growth focused on the basic diabetes education necessary to achieve a balance between insulin, diet and exercise. Pyschosocial questions were directed at diabetes acceptance. All questions were non-threatening using words and phrases familiar to the respondent. Consideration was given to clarity and length. Both objective and subjective questions were included. An appropriate range of non-threatening responses was provided. And, space for general comments was included. The survey was approved by the Joslin Diabetes Center.

Subjects

One-hundred boys under the age of twelve who attended a two-week Joslin Camp session in the summer of 1994 were randomly selected. The survey was sent to parents of the subjects with an appropriate cover letter and directions. The anonymity and confidentially of participants were protected by not requesting names or signatures and the inclusion of a self-addressed envelope for return. Eighty-three of the subjects responded.

Data Analysis

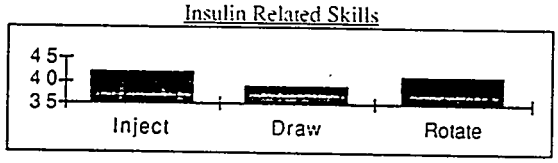
The frequency of response to each question was used to determine the impact of the camp program on survival skills, cognitive growth and psycho-social development. Frequency was converted to percentage of the 83 respondents. Median values and mean were not applicable.

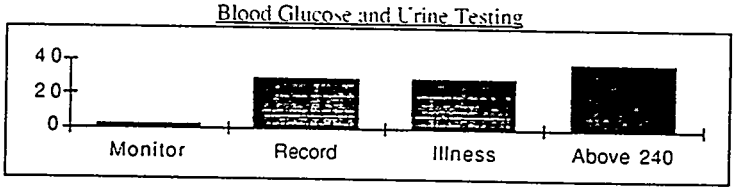
Results

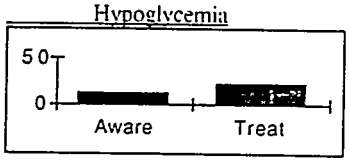
This study clearly indicated that, with the exception of measuring food, the majority of campers learn management survival skills before the camp experience. The results of this survey indicated that 53% of the children arrive at camp knowing how to self-inject insulin, 57% can draw the insulin into the syringe, and 54% know how to rotate the cite of insulin injection. Similarly, 98% are able to test their blood glucose level, and 59% understand how to record test results. 59% test for ketones during illness, and 50% test for ketones when blood glucose levels are above 240 mg/dl. 78% have previously learned to recognize hypoglycemia and 28% have learned to measure food and judge proportions. Further, 66% have learned what foods to avoid.

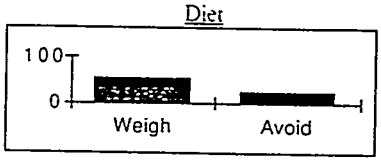
Although many campers demonstrate competence in diabetes management prior to the summer camp experience, a significant percentage of children do learn to draw and self-inject insulin at camp. And, a substantial number of campers learn to rotate the cite of insulin injection at camp. Only a small percentage of boys leave camp without acquiring basic skills. A number of them also learn to test their urine for ketones during illness and when the blood glucose level is above 240 mg/dl. Some of the campers also learn to weigh and measure food

and what foods to avoid at camp. The following graphs illustrate the percentage of boys that developed skills at camp:

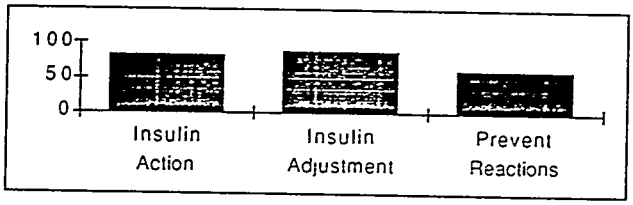








With respect to cognitive development, the camp experience increases understanding of the disease and management processes as illustrated by the following graph:



Following the Joslin Camp experience, 83% of the campers indicated a greater understanding of insulin action with respect to blood sugar and energy level, 87% demonstrated a greater understanding of adjusting insulin dose in accordance with blood glucose level. And, 60% indicated an understanding of preventing insulin reactions by balancing medication, food, and exercise.

In addition, to the cognitive development reflected in the above graph, 76% of the campers reported a better understanding of blood glucose testing and inslulin adjustment during illness, 68% were more willing to take insulin, and 55% reported more frequent blood testing. 47% of the participants indicated a greater willingness to record blood sugar levels and insulin. 58% reported more frequent participation in physical activities.

Psycho-social growth was indicated by the 54% of the campers who talk more about their diabetes and the assessment of camp as a positive experience by 95% of the survey participants. Further, 69% of the parents reported learning something new about diabetes from their son following the camp experience. Many comments on the surveys indicated an increase in self-esteem and greater acceptance of the disease following the camp experience.

Improvement in overall diabetes control was perceived by 84% of the parents: 23% reporting great improvement, 61% noting some improvement and 15% indicating no improvement.

CONCLUSIONS

This study clearly demonstrated the positive impact of a two-week summer camp session on the disease management of boys under the age of twelve with Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus. It indicated that the majority of children learn basic survival skills before the camp experience. Yet, camp plays an important role in helping a significant number of youngsters to acquire and refine management skills. Evidence strongly suggests that camp

plays an important role in promoting cognitive understandings that underlie good daily control. Camp is also perceived by parents as having a positive impact on the acceptance of diabetes and self-esteem. A specific need for continued, and perhaps greater, emphasis on food proportions and recording test results is indicated. Further, parental comments suggest that the survey met a perceived need to evaluate the camp experience and provide feedback.

In summary, the results of this survey are in accord with the recent studies of Smith(1991) and Metroz-Dayer (1990) that summer camps are valuable in improving diabetes knowledge and control. The data gathered in this survey support the hypothesis that the informal diabetes education and health promotion of a two-week summer camp session does enhance the survival skill, cognitive growth and psycho-social development of young boys with Insulin Dependent Diabetes Mellitus.

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Combating Global Warming with an International Transferable Permit System

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An international system of transferable rights to emit carbon dioxide has been suggested as an effective policy to mitigate the effects of global warming. Under a system of transferable pollution rights, nations cooperatively determine a ceiling for global carbon dioxide emissions. In accordance with this global target, rights or permits to emit carbon dioxide (CO_2) are distributed among nations, who then trade these rights among themselves. At the domestic level of environmental regulation, a well-designed tradable emissions permit system is an efficient method of attaining environmental quality goals; however, implementation of such a system at the international level presents special challenges. These problems include allocating permits; inducing participation in a global warming treaty; developing rules for trading permits, and establishing an administrative body to monitor trades, national emissions, and compliance with the system.

GREENHOUSE EFFECT

Global warming occurs when heat radiating from the earth's surface is trapped by clouds in the earth's atmosphere. Although these clouds are comprised mostly of water vapor, carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases such as methane, chlorofluorocarbons, and nitrous oxides also contribute to the greenhouse effect. The most abundant greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide, results from the combustion of fossil fuels and from the burning of rain forests.

Concern for global warming arises upon examining the potential consequences that may occur. Although the change in temperature may affect regions differently, an overall increase in average global temperature may disrupt current ways of life. First, scientists predict an rise in sea level due to ocean thermal expansion and melting of glacial ice sheets. This effect could impose high costs on island nations and in coastal regions in the form of population displacement and coastal maintenance. Secondly, a change in average temperatures may alter global weather patterns. Some countries may experience an increase in the frequency and severity of tropical storms. Others may be affected in agricultural sectors. A shift in weather patterns could be particularly damaging for agrarian-based economies, especially developing countries lacking the mobility and financial resources to adapt.

Included among the proposed policies to confront global warming is an international transferable permit system. A subject of lengthy economic study, permit systems focus on basic market principles and incentives to promote environmental protection. A permit system combines environmental values with property rights by assigning an allowable level of emissions to each permit, which are then distributed as property rights to participants. These permits may be traded among participants to realize most cost-effective reduction of emissions. Upon receipt of permits, the polluter may reduce emissions in accordance with the allotment or purchase more permits from others to maintain the current level of emissions. Permit systems are attractive because of their cost-efficient nature and reliance upon participant autonomy. In addition to guaranteeing a constant level of emissions, a tradable permit system allows a participant to determine the most efficient method of system compliance whether by purchasing permits or reducing emissions.

MONTREAL PROTOCOL AND CLEAN AIR ACT AMENDMENTS

Two examples of current environmental legislation that can provide precedents for an international transferable permit system are the 1987 Montreal Protocol for Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer and the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments. The first policy, the Montreal Protocol, having developed in response to global concern about the damaging effects of ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons, provides a working example of international cooperation on a global environmental issue and offers hope for the feasibility of a global warming treaty. The Protocol establishes incentives for international cooperation such as trade benefits for signatories and countries in compliance and a multilateral fund, available to developing countries to facilitate their compliance with the terms of the Protocol. The Montreal Protocol also develops mechanisms for enforcement and monitoring that could be translated into a global warming treaty. The use of trade sanctions punishing

nonsignatories and noncompliant countries can help enforce provisions of a global warming treaty. Also, the use of nongovernmental organizations may facilitate data verification, help monitor countries' level of compliance, and improve national transparency and accountability.

The Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 provide an example of a functioning permit system to combat another environmental problem--acid rain. Under Title IV of the Clean Air Act, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) establishes a permit system limiting sulfur dioxide emissions and acid rain. The EPA has delegated the Chicago Board of Trade as an auctioneer for permit allocation and as the official bulletin board for permit trades. Although the system is relatively new, having held only three auctions, the Chicago Board of Trade reports a large degree of utility participation. The EPA tracking system reveals that over 19,000 transactions have occurred since the inception of the program.

CONDITIONS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRANSFERABLE PERMIT SYSTEM

In order to realize the origin of an international transferable permit system, certain conditions must exist. Initially, any global warming treaty will require an international consensus on an acceptable global emission level. Once this ceiling of carbon dioxide emissions is determined, permits will be allocated to countries that correspond with their initial permissible emission level. These countries, bound by their ratification of the system, will be responsible for complying with their allotted permits or for purchasing more permits if emissions exceed the allotment. Countries will also be expected to enforce trade sanctions on countries guilty of noncompliance, to submit data on domestic policies for compliance, and to resist strategic behavior. Other participants in an international permit system would include nongovernmental organizations (NGOs.) Performing a function similar to the one maintained under the Montreal Protocol, NGOs could help monitor countries' emissions, verify self-reported data, and submit their own reports on national compliance. These actions create more transparency regarding national compliance and induce cooperation with the system.

Furthermore, trading permits among countries requires that nations regularly submit data on demands for permits and on permits available for sale. By releasing information about permit availability, countries can be better informed about the market-clearing price of permits and therefore maximize the benefits from trade. This submitted information may be better managed by the international body discussed later that can act as a bulletin board for permit transactions.

Inducing national participation in an international transferable permit system requires the creation of specific incentives for different countries. Because a global warming treaty will require industrial and developing countries to make costly sacrifices, the treaty must include incentives to outweigh these costs in order to attract participation. In addition to the inherent benefits of a permit system (i.e., the allowance of national autonomy in developing domestic policies for compliance, the internationally cost-minimizing nature of the system, and the possibility to realize a profit from the sale of permits), industrial nations, because of the burden of compliance, will demand extra incentives prior to participation. First, there is a general sentiment that, as global economic leaders, the nations of the industrial world are expected to lead the world in global warming policy. This international pressure may motivate some countries to develop a global warming treaty or else recognize the possibility that no action may be taken. By initiating policies on global warming, certain industrial nations can achieve a competitive advantage through foresight and technological innovation. Industrial nations are also driven by the reciprocity incentive, i.e., a country will comply with the treaty while expecting that such action will be reciprocated or induce others to do the same. Other incentives for cooperation include trade benefits and sanctions similar to those developed under the Montreal Protocol. An additional incentive for developing nations includes a multilateral fund to improve third world technologies and assist in compliance.

A final condition for the realization of an international transferable permit system is the development of an international administration or the expansion of the role of the treaty's Secretariat. A Secretariat would maintain records of participants and their activities and function as the center for further negotiations. In addition to regular duties of a Secretariat, this body would compile and evaluate self-reported data regarding national compliance; facilitate trading by organizing information regarding permits available for trade and nations interested in purchasing permits, and coordinate activities with NGOs to monitor countries' emissions and improve national transparency and accountability, thereby increasing the level of compliance.

PROBLEMS WITH CONTINGENCY

The detailed and numerous conditions required for the operation of a permit system make implementation of such a system quite formidable. The real world presents many challenges for the realization of a system. The first problem involves the initial allocation of permits. Many formulas have been proposed by academics and policy-makers including auctioning permits to the highest bidder, grandfathering permits or allocating permits to countries based on historical emissions, or distributing permits according to a function

dependent upon variables favoring particular countries. While the first two suggestions have received less attention, the debate over an appropriate formula for distributing permits has heightened tension between the industrial and developing nations. Industrial nations prefer a formula based on current emission levels and industrial base whereas developing nations favor a formula based on population figures. Because permits have the potential to redistribute global wealth, both groups of countries will fight to receive more permits, and the debate over initial allocation may only deepen the chasm between the industrial and developing countries. In an attempt to compromise, a formula that incorporates both population figures and current emission levels relative to a predetermined global target may meliorate tensions somewhat.

Assuming allocation is feasible, deterring participants from engaging in strategic behavior becomes the next greatest challenge to the system. Driven by the motive of self-preservation, many countries may pursue policies that better themselves at the expense of the system. Because prevention of global warming is a public good, i.e., benefits everyone and cannot be withheld from nonsignatories, many countries may attempt to free-ride on the emission reduction efforts of other nations, thereby, undermining the effectiveness of the system. Additionally, some countries may attempt to manipulate permit trades by withholding information about permit availability and permit demands or by flooding markets with permits to alter the price. Countries may also establish alliances or cartels for holders of permits to manipulate the price of permits. Other examples of strategic behavior include avoidance of self-reporting or cheating by over-emitting. This engagement of strategic behavior disrupts the efficiency of the permit market and threatens the efficacy of the system.

In a system where monitoring and enforcement capabilities are limited, strategic behavior is even more difficult to deter. At the international level, no policing or governing body exists with enforcement powers comparable to a domestic government; therefore, enforcement of any treaty depends upon signatories for enforcement and upon built-in incentives that deter strategic behavior. Under a system managing global carbon dioxide emissions, monitoring actual levels of carbon dioxide is quite difficult. The atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide varies from season to season and between different altitudes and latitudes. Given the transboundary nature of carbon dioxide, determining from which country the emissions originated is nearly impossible. If monitoring reveals total global emissions greater than total permits, enforcing punitive action is complicated since the offender is unknown. The trade sanctions incorporated in the treaty may become difficult to enforce as countries may be reluctant to initiate punitive sanctions because of the domestic consequences. However, NGOs may ameliorate the monitoring and enforcement situation and help to improve transparency, an invaluable tool in inducing compliance.

CONCLUSION

The afore-mentioned problems may appear numerous and insurmountable. Although an international transferable permit system has the potential to provide many countries with benefits, its implementation may be quite challenging given current circumstances. A recent article in The Economist stated that although many countries publicly admit that global warming is definitely a problem that deserves attention and would require international cooperation, few countries are actually moving toward a global warming solution. Nevertheless, once global warming becomes a more imminent problem, politicians, scientists, economists, sociologists, and others will be looking for a solution. This thesis suggests that effort be dedicated to minimizing these problems and that an international transferable permit system be considered as a viable solution to global warming.

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Development of the Mafia as an Institution in Russia

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Due to the fact that much of what is reported on the Mafia comes from a Western perspective and that this information fails to recognize a Russian perspective, the writer felt that it was necessary to obtain first hand knowledge about the Mafia and in the process get a non-Western perception towards the Mafia. In order to retrieve such primary sources, the writer traveled to Russia and Estonia for 10 days from December 26 to January 6, 1994-5. Through this opportunity it was possible to gather valuable information in the form of current periodicals and interviews with various Russians ranging from students to professional workers. In addition, research included interviews with Estonians including students, a political statistician, and an Estonian reporter on the Mafia.

The Mafia, in terms of how it is perceived in Russia, is a broad term which includes all forms of organized criminal activity. Due to the political turmoil and economic instability in Russia, this "Mafia" has developed into an institution with considerable influence which threatens to drastically change the way politics and business are done in Russia. Furthermore, the Mafia creates a number of other problems in Russian society. These problems include an increase in criminal activity, corruption in political institutions, and negative influence on youth. As a result, such Mafia-created problems can produce a Russian society which neither recognizes nor understands a true democracy with a capitalistic market economy.

Defining what the Mafia means to a typical Russian is a difficult process because the Russian people are still struggling to identify themselves and their place in the new world order. It is difficult for them to distinguish what is right or wrong regarding certain business activities, making it hard for them to decide what is considered unlawful activity and what is related to the Mafia. Furthermore, varying viewpoints exist as to what the Mafia represents in Russia. One example is that of the "classical" view of a Mafia, that is, a Mafia similar and related to the one in Italy. A professor at one of the major Russian universities who wishes to remain anonymous for protective reasons believes that, as in Sicily, the Russian Mafia grew out of desperation for a need of protection due to lawless conditions (Russkaya). These conditions prevailed throughout Russia during the transitional period from the USSR to Russia. In Russia, the lack of political and socioeconomic institutions after the collapse of Communism created a lawless situation in which the Mafia rose to take power. Like the Italian Mafia, this Russian Mafia has a hierarchical system of power led by godfathers, or a "thief-in-law", as the Russian godfathers are known (Kislinskaya 25). This sort of Mafia exists, but in reality it is only a small fraction of the organized crime world.

Indeed, other viewpoints define the Mafia differently. Upon interviewing and reading articles, one sees that the word "Mafia" begins to take on a much broader concept which covers all the organized criminal and corrupt activity within Russia. For example, the Russian people interviewed all agreed that the Mafia is a blanket term used to describe all sorts of organized criminal activity. Nikolai Betextin, a former Russian military pilot who now works as a designer and resides in Saint Petersburg, believes that the classical Mafia exists, but it is not such a strong unified force that controls all the illegal activity (Betextin, Nikolai). Another viewpoint, held mostly by the police and politicians, stems from the Soviet habit of defining the Mafia as "anyone who possesses what seems an unreasonable amount of money"(Handelman 83). This last view is of special interest as it adds to many Russian misperceptions about capitalism and the West. Finally Toomas Sildam, an Estonian reporter on the Mafia, said that the word 'Mafia' is used by the media in the context that it is because "it is shorter and everyone knows what it means" (trans. by Vladimir "Vova" Ossipov, Jan. 6).

Furthermore, the Russian Mafia is not controlled by one omnipresent power. On the contrary, the Russian crime world is organized into many different gangs which may or may not cooperate with one another. This includes an estimated 3000-4000 gangs (Handelman 83), and 740 godfathers ("MM Checklist" 8), throughout Russia. These gangs are generally organized into ethnic groups each specializing in a certain trade. In Moscow, for example, the Russian and Slavic gangs specialize in extortion and racketeering. Some of these gangs also have close connections through sports with the Italian Mafia and a branch of the Japanese Mafia called the yakuzi. Other gangs include the Azeris who control much of the drug trade,

surprisingly in cooperation with the Armenians who also control the smuggling of weapons (Kislinskaya 25). However, as one Moscow resident noted, (an English-Russian interpreter and tour guide who wishes to remain anonymous for protective reasons) it is the Chechens that many consider to be the most notorious and powerful of the Moscow gangs. The Chechens are involved in all kinds of illegal activity, and as stated in The Economist, Moscow's 500-600 Chechens will do just about anything just as long as it is illegal and would "kill for fun, not just for business," said one rival ("More crime than punishment" 20). They do, however, specialize in the automobile business, stealing cars with the help of their many foreign contacts or by car-jacking foreign cars throughout the East. In addition, the Chechens control "produce markets, the sale of deficit commodities and their transportation to Chechenya, as well as heterosexual and homosexual prostitute rings, and numerous shops in downtown Moscow." (Kislinskaya 25-6).

Of course, these gangs didn't appear overnight. On the contrary, there already existed an organized underground Mafia even before Gorbachev's rule. During the Brezhnev era, for example, there was a "gray market" controlled by the Mafia in order to help keep the Russian economy alive by circulating privately-produced goods or state-owned materials in cooperation with factory managers (Handelman 86). During the fall of the government in the summer of 1991, it became apparent that there was no clear-cut boundary between the Mafia and legal activity. This problem continues because Russian policy makers "tried to develop a free market before constructing a civil society in which such a market could safely operate" (Handelman 89). Moreover, the pre- established "gray market", combined with the following milieu, created a level of organized crime which is prevalent throughout Russian society today.

Unfortunately, with the growth of the Mafia comes a growth in crime and violence as seen in the following statistics. Since the fall of Communism, the number of contract murders has dramatically increased. As the first four months of 1994 indicate, there already have been more than the 1992-3 figures combined ("MM Checklist" 8). A reason for this includes increased violence among gangs as they dispute power and spheres of influence. In Moscow, gangs are desperate for power and money, and therefore will do anything, including risking their own lives, to stay in power. Also, gang members carry high-powered weapons which make it easier to kill. For example "Svo", a well known Godfather, carried until his death the latest-type assault rifle which is used only by the United States security organizations (Kislinskaya 26). Moreover, the increase in contract murders between rival gangs produces more problems as the deaths of Mafia leaders creates disunity and other gang members struggle to gain power. This disintegration provokes more violence as groups fight to reorganize themselves and gain a position of power.

An excellent example of this power struggle is occurring between the Chechen and Russian underground. According to Moscow Magazine, the Chechens have had the upper hand for some time but recently the Russians have taken a stronger stance as the different Russian factions are becoming united against the Chechens. Further support comes from the recent release of the 'Jap', a well-known Russian godfather now residing in America. At a recent Mafia conference in Vienna, the 'Jap' proposed "teaching the criminal upstarts and 'blackies' (or Caucasians) a good lesson." Interestingly, some people in the Moscow mayor's office approved the idea and national newspapers even asked for the 'Jap' to return and tidy up Moscow (Kislinskaya 28). This leads one to the notion that the war against Chechenya was provoked by the Mafia to teach the 'blackies' a lesson. It is known that President Jokhan Dudayev of Chechenya has connections with the Mafia and that all the Chechen Mafia bosses come from the Chechen capital Grozny. As reported by Moscow Magazine, "The country is in effect run along Mafia lines, President Dudayev having surrounded himself with known criminals" (Kislinskaya 28). In fact, the Chechen Mafia made it possible for Chechenya to have weapons to fight against the Russians. Thus, it is possible that the Russian government may have given in to Mafia bribes to start a war and cut off the Chechen Mafia in Moscow. This example further demonstrates the possibility for corruption within various governmental institutions.

Another result of the Russian organized crime effort is the increase in innocent victims being killed or swindled. The bloodier the conflict becomes between the gangs, the more and more innocent people there are becoming victims. For example, the attempted assassination of Boris Berezovskikh, a big time businessman in the car trade business, brought about an explosion, killing his driver and injuring 10 pedestrians. More would have been killed and injured if it wasn't for a tram that left just in time and sheltered much of the explosion from the pedestrians on the street (Kislinskaya 28). Another example includes the death of an American exchange student on September twentieth of this year, who according to official sources committed suicide but was probably killed by the Mafia for the fact that he lived in an apartment building occupied by the Mafia (Englund).

Such occurrences are not uncommon. In fact, real estate and apartment swindles have become another major problem brought about by the Mafia. According to Moscow Magazine statistics, an average of 30 apartments are robbed daily in Moscow ("MM Checklist " 8). Robbers break in and steal anything of value such as stereos, televisions and video recorders. "Stolen goods are sold to dealers in commercial kiosks at a third of the original price" (Osheverova 38). Another issue concerning apartments has to do with a phenomenon that

occurs mainly in the center of Moscow. People who lived in these apartments were offered better ones further from Moscow as Mafia based groups bought off entire buildings for their use. In some cases, where the owner didn't cooperate or the Mafia wanted more of a profit, apartment owners were simply killed to avoid paying for a new apartment somewhere else. This interest in real estate by organized gangs is not surprising when looking at the market value of the area. In fact, the Mafia owns all the major real estate in downtown Moscow, increasing in value daily. According to Moscow Magazine, Sergei "Friol" Frolov, who before his assassination was the leader of the Balashikha gang, controlled the market so well that "no decent plot of land in the Moscow region could be bought without his personal approval" (Kislinskaya 26). Such unlawful activity is not only threatening to the average Russian, but to governmental structures as well.

The effect the Mafia is having on many Russian institutions is evident, as seen through the crime and violence which accompanies the Mafia. However, there are even more far-reaching effects that the Mafia is having on Russian society. For example, due to the fall of Communism in 1991, there has been an ongoing search by the Russian people for a new identity. As a result, the Mafia has become an influencing factor due to its financial power, and is now helping shape this new Russian identity. Increasingly, the Russian people are losing faith in their government which also means losing faith in democracy and capitalism. Most people however, believe that democracy is good, but a true democracy perhaps isn't the best for Russia. The Russian people I interviewed, which included a bank worker and tour guide in their 20's, a professor at the Saint Petersburg State University in her thirties, a former air force pilot who now works as a designer, and an interpreter in her fifties, are looking for Russia to have its own unique type of democracy ("Russkay" asks to remain anonymous for protective reasons). Whatever the case may be, it is evident that organized crime activity is giving the average Russian a warped sense of how a true democracy with a market economy works.

An excellent example demonstrating how the Mafia can affect these perceptions is evidenced by a Russian I interviewed who wishes to remain anonymous for protective reasons. She is a professor by profession and was able to come to the West and earn some extra money. This money she earned was comparable to several years' salary in Russia. When she came back to Russia, some of her friends talked her into investing this money together with them into a newly formed company. They gave their money to a middleman or broker and were to later receive 15% monthly interest. After several months of not receiving this interest she began to get worried and inquired to the broker why they were not receiving their money. He never called back. The group asked someone in the police to help, but this person was "too weak", which means that he didn't have the right connections to get the job done. Then they decided to go to another connection, someone in the KGB. Through this person they learned that the broker to whom they gave money had too high of a "roof" or, in other words, the broker also had connections within the KGB which were at a higher level. According to the Russian I interviewed, the KGB is divided into two groups. One of them, the Alpha type, is concerned with getting money back from debtors, such as this situation. However, the connection in the KGB pulled only enough weight to be able to get one person's money out. The Russian I interviewed realized that the situation had become too dangerous and decided to not pursue the matter further for the safety of her and her family (Russkaya).

This story is probably not that uncommon as similar situations occur frequently. For example, Time reports that the firm 'Independent Oil Co.' "simply disappeared after collecting $3.8 million from investors in exchange for promises of fat profits after just three months" (Rudolph 44). One of the biggest scandals of this nature concerns the investing group MMM. The company was Russia's largest and most well-known stock fund agency, collecting shares from over 5 million investors. Unfortunately, and to the dismay of millions, MMM suddenly collapsed leaving millions with worthless shares of company stock. Many viewed this collapse as an example of corruption in which the government could have intervened but purposely did not. Nikolai Betextin, the Russian designer I interviewed, believes that this scandal is an example of corruption within the government because it failed to intervene on behalf of the Russian people (Betextin). These stories add to the Russian perception that capitalism is corrupt, and therefore weaken their trust in a market economy.

The Russian people have a legitimate concern in regards to their everyday safety and the working of an effective political and economic system. However, the Mafia creates a greater problem which threatens not only Russia but the whole world. The fear is that through corrupt government officials, the Mafia may have access to the Soviet military arsenal. As FBI Director Louis Freeh stated, "We are gravely concerned Russian organized-crime members may have already attained or will attain the capacity to steal nuclear weapons" (Trimble 17). Already several cases of smuggling have been reported in Germany. For example, during the summer of 1994 alone, a plutonium sample was found, uranium-235, a canister of nuclear fuel, and .05 grams of the purest plutonium (Bogert, 30-1). These incidences are sending a warning to the West that Russian security isn't doing their job. Regarding the possible escape of nuclear materials, Vladimir Kolesnik, the deputy chief of St. Petersburg's organized-crime department stated, "The problem, is that security standards have slackened, and virtually everybody who has access to nuclear materials could steal something" (Nelan 47). Moreover, this is even more of a threat because having access to these materials is tempting when considering that the

smallest amount of material can bring millions of dollars when sold on the black market. The threat is there, and it is obvious that the US government has taken notice as witnessed through the recent undercover transferring of bomb-grade nuclear materials from Kazakhstan. The operation was a success as the material is now in the US and under safekeeping. With regards to the material, one US official said, "It was insecure, and we wanted to get it out of there before anyone was tempted to make a run on it" ("Nuclear..", New York Times). This possible corruption within the military is yet another aspect of the Mafia which threatens what little trust Russian citizens have in their institutions.

Another area of Russian society effected by the rise in underground criminal activity concerns that of the youth. Today, Russian children are confronted with numerous problems which allows them to easily give in to the pleasures of crime. According to Russia's Interior Ministry, juvenile crime is growing 10 times faster than adult crimes, and juvenile delinquency has grown three-fold in the last 10 years (Osheverova 36). This increase resulted from a growing number of children who come from broken homes, or homes where both parents work leaving no one to supervise. Also, the former communist institutions for supervision have disappeared which adds to the children's lack of guidance and being left to their own devices. This in turn leads many children to a world of crime. For example, because of capitalism, many children see all the toys and candy advertised on commercials which they can't afford. These commercials create temptations forcing the children to commit crimes in order to get their wishes. To work more effectively, many children are naturally following in their adult role model's footsteps and organizing themselves into gangs. According to Moscow Magazine, 6o percent of all juvenile crimes are done in groups. Often children are connected to adult gangs and do much of the adults' dirty work. Even at school, children are surrounded by crime. For instance, "each Moscow school has its own "Black Market" in which students sell practically everything from chewing-gum to clothes, to VCR's" (Osheverova 38). Even extortion takes place at many of the schools as kids gang up and take money from other classmates. With the current economic situation, it is no wonder why children turn to the Mafia for survival. Unfortunately, turning to the Mafia only reinforces the problems associated with juvenile delinquency. Indeed, Russians are concerned because, "many of the children see no future except through joining the Mafia or prostitution" (Russkaya). Such concerns are reasonable because juvenile delinquency is a problem which will take a long time to improve and is destined to effect Russian in the long run as these children grow up taking the place of today's workers and leaders.

Within the last few years, the Mafia has expanded both financially and demographically in the Russian Republic. This increase supported by such examples as an increase in crime, corruption throughout Russian society, and a negative influence on the youth, the Mafia clearly has had a negative impact on certain institutions. In fact, the Mafia continues to thrive in the newly emerging Russian market because the environment for growth of such an institution is perfect. Unless serious efforts are taken by the government to combat this environment, such negative effects on the Russian society will only continue to increase.

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NSAMANFOO: THE ANCESTRAL BELIEFS AND RITUALS OF THE AKAN PEOPLE IN NYAFOMA, TECHIMAN OF GHANA, WEST AFRICA

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Employing quantitative and inductive approaches, this study examines the effects of Western religion and the resilience of traditional religions in Nyafoma, Techiman of Ghana. A simple random sample of 30 Akan people was used to generate survey data for this study. The substantive findings derived from the data analysis suggest that age and religious beliefs had effects on the Akan people's ritual practices and their subsequent attitudes and views toward traditional religions.

INTRODUCTION

The study of religions in Africa is relatively young and not long ago many observers doubted whether there was any African religion, just as many had questioned whether there was any African history. Much research has now been conducted in the present century on the effects of foreign religions and the resilience of indigenous religions on the continent. However, this research comprises case studies of little theoretical value because they are not systematic.

Is it important to have a good communicative relationship with one's ancestors? To many of us raised in the West, this question may seem quite frightening and also quite ridiculous. However, in many indigenous societies before imperialism and colonial rule, ancestors were never forgotten and were communicated to in many different ways. In Ghana, a West African country, the invasion of European cultures and religions caused traditional cultures and religions to be in crisis.

Ghana, along with many other developing countries, not only had to deal with economic and political imperialism but also cultural imperialism. Kottak (1995:375) defines cultural imperialism as "the rapid spread or advance of one culture at the expense of others or its imposition on other cultures, which modifies, replaces, or destroys--usually because of differential economic and political influences." The following question may thus be asked: How strongly has the influence of Christianity affected the attitudes of Ghanaians toward their own religious and spiritual customs?

Indigenous people throughout the world, especially the Akan in Nyafoma, Techiman of Ghana, have been affected by Western domination and have been portrayed in many negative ways since the 1800s due to their differences in religion and culture. Polygamy, libation, African dancing and drumming were vehemently preached against. Even the sacredness of the chiefs was not tolerated because chieftaincy was the custodian of traditional culture, which Westerners condemned.

As a result of European ethnocentrism, the African was portrayed as ignorant and in need of education and a better religious system. In reality Africans already had both, but they were not European-inspired. Hopefully, the findings of this research will positively affect both those from the West and those in Africa by showing that traditional religions have and will continue to persevere, though much has been lost due to the ignorance of both Europeans and Africans.

SCOPE AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

There are two major objectives in this study. First, it attempts to examine the existing attitudes of the Akan people in Nyafoma, Techiman of Ghana, toward ancestral beliefs and rituals. Second, it seeks to determine how strongly Western religion has infiltrated and undermined traditional religions even in a small village setting. These objectives are important in determining the longevity of traditional religions and customs against the bombardment of "Western civilization."

In light of these objectives, ten survey questions were developed. Using a face-to-face survey instrument and a participatory observation method, these ten questions were asked to delineate the existing attitudes toward traditional Akan ancestral beliefs and rituals: (1) How do you view your ancestors and which of the deceased are considered to be ancestors? (2) Do you feel ancestors exist in the spirit world? (3) Are the ancestors important? (4) Do you communicate with your ancestors? (5) Can your ancestors help you? (6) Do you use any means of representing your ancestors? If so, what are the materials used and how are they made? (7) Do you believe in reincarnation? (8) Do ancestors possess people? (9) How do you view ancestral possessions? Are they good or bad? (10) Do you one day wish to be an ancestor? These questions are important in determining whether the fundamentals of traditional Akan religion--the beliefs and rituals surrounding the relationship between wo/men and their ancestors--have been negatively affected by Western influences.

The data for the face-to-face survey instrument were derived from 30 individuals that resided in Nyafoma, Techiman of Ghana. These respondents were interviewed to answer questions about the ancestral beliefs and rituals of the Akan people in Ghana. Both closed and open-ended questions were asked. Using a simple random sampling technique, which allows each person to have an equal chance of being selected, these respondents consisted of fifteen males and fifteen females, 22-90+ years old.

The major operating factors in this study are *ancestors* and the *Akan people's attitudes and views toward their ancestors*. Other significant factors include the *age* and *religion* of each of the villagers interviewed. Thus, the hypotheses examined in this essay are

H_1: The older an Akan person, the greater her/his participation in ancestral rituals which will lead to a highly positive attitude and view toward her/his ancestors.

H_2: The stronger the religious beliefs of an Akan person, the greater her/his participation in ancestral rituals which will lead to a highly positive attitude and view toward her/his ancestors.

The constraints of this study lie in the fact that the majority of the data were derived from the four-week (from July 27 to August 8, 1994) ethnographic study conducted by the author. This factor might have possibly permitted some of the author's biases to be reflected in the analysis. However, to guide against such biases, the data gathered were analyzed using systematic quantitative tools, the discussion of some of which are beyond the scope of this essay.

DATA ANALYSIS

The survey data collected were analyzed at the *univariate* level: that is, looking at each variable individually and the distribution of the values assigned to it. This level of analysis is therefore descriptive, because it involves the summary of the values of each variable.

The statistic used for this analysis is referred to as the *percent* or *percentage* (%). This Statistic provided a convenient form for making comparisons between age groups and also between religious groups. With percents, the analyst can see at a glance what fraction each part is of the whole and s/he can also compare parts to each other with ease.

The results on age and ancestral ritual practices, summarized in Table 1, suggest that the older a respondent, the more s/he was inclined to practice ancestral rituals. All respondents that were 57 or older (8 or 27% of the total number of respondents) practiced ancestral rituals. This is compared to 7 (or 23% of the total number of respondents) out of 15 respondents who were between 22 and 36 years old and 4 (or 13% of the total number of respondents) out of 7 respondents who were between 37 and 56 years old who practiced ancestral rituals.

Table 1
Age by Ancestral Ritual Practices

	Ancestral Ritual Practice			
	Yes		No	
Age	N	%	N	%
22-36	7	23%	8	27%
37-56	4	13%	3	10%
57+	8	27%	-	-
TOTAL	19	63%	11	37%

As Table 2 also reveals, the older one got the more likely s/he engendered a positive attitude towards ancestral rituals. Here again, all respondents (8 or 27% of the total number of respondents) aged 57 and older had positive attitudes toward ancestral rituals. For those respondents who were between 22 and 36 years old, 7 (or 23% of the total number of respondents) had positive attitudes, 5 (or 17% of the total number of respondents) had negative attitudes, and 3 (or 10% of the total number of respondents) had neutral attitudes toward ancestral rituals. A total of 4 (or 13% of the total number of respondents) of those respondents who were between the ages of 37 and 57 had positive attitudes, 2 (or 7% of the total number of respondents) had negative attitudes, and 1 (or 3% of the total number of respondents) had a neutral attitude toward ancestral rituals.

Table 2
Age by Attitudes Toward Ancestral Rituals

	Attitudes					
	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
Age	N	%	N	%	N	%
22-36	7	23%	5	17%	3	10%
37-56	4	13%	2	7%	1	3%
57+	8	27%	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	19	63%	7	24%	4	13%

From Table 3, it can be seen that Christianity had a profound effect on whether or not a respondent practiced ancestral rituals. Those respondents who belonged to Christianity were more likely not to practice ancestral rituals (11 or 37% of the total number of respondents). As can be expected, all those respondents who belonged to traditional religions (15 or 50% of the total number of respondents) practiced ancestral rituals.

Table 3
Religions by Ancestral Ritual Practices

	Ancestral Ritual Practice			
	Yes		No	
Religion	N	%	N	%
Christianity	4	13%	11	37%
Traditional	15	50%	-	-
TOTAL	19	63%	11	37%

Finally, Table 4 also suggests that Christianity had a profound effect on a respondent's attitude towards ancestral rituals. Many respondents who were Christians had either negative attitudes (7 or 24% of the total number of respondents) or neutral attitudes (4 or 13% of the total number of respondents) toward ancestral rituals, while 4 (or 13% of the total number of respondents) held positive attitudes toward such rituals. However, all of the respondents who belonged to traditional religions (15 or 50% of the total number of respondents) had positive attitudes toward ancestral rituals.

What the preceding analysis reveals is that age and religion seemed to have influenced ancestral ritual practices and attitudes toward those practices in Nyafoma, Techiman of Ghana. Therefore, the two hypotheses suggested for this study can be accepted: H_1: The older an Akan person, the greater her/his participation in ancestral rituals which will lead to a highly positive attitude and view toward her/his ancestors. H_2: The stronger the religious beliefs of an Akan person, the greater her/his participation in ancestral rituals which will lead to a highly positive attitude and view toward her/his ancestors.

Table 4
Religions by Attitudes Toward Ancestral Rituals

	Attitudes					
	Positive		Negative		Neutral	
Religion	N	%	N	%	N	%
Christianity	4	13%	7	24%	4	13%
Traditional	15	50%	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	19	63%	7	24%	4	13%

CONCLUSION

As the preceding data analysis indicates, Christianity has become a dominant religion in Ghana. Ignorance of the real facts has created many false images of traditional religions, and inadequate observations have led to exaggerations. Despite all this, traditional Ghanian religions have remained resilient. Tordoff captures this truism about Africa when he writes:

> The imposition of Western institutions and values upon the colonies disrupted social structures and cultural life of the subject peoples. European rule, while sometimes psychologically damaging in so far as it instilled a sense of black inferiority and a tendency to imitativeness, also gave rise to a cultural self-awareness and a pride in the African past (1993:42-43).

Europeans, misguided by their views of black inferiority, damaged more than sometimes the African psyche and infrastructure. However, as the preceding analysis reveals, traditional Ghanian religions have been resilient and enduring. Hopefully, the strength of the African ancestors can inspire their descendants to restore respect for the traditional ways and to regain the pride that was lost during colonial rule.

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The Path of Least Resistance. Fighting Environmental Racism in Alabama

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The term "environmental racism" was coined to describe the disproportionate burdening of minority communities with environmental hazards and the general indifference of mainstream environmental groups to the issue. This study of environmental racism focuses specifically on Alabama, and examines two questions: Does environmental racism exist in Alabama? How are African-American communities in Alabama responding to environmental threats? Demographic data was studied to determine the existence of environmental racism in Alabama, and personal interviews, review of government documents, and site observation were used to examine the response pattern of grass-roots environmental groups The study reveals a state-wide pattern of environmental racism and a common development pattern for grass-roots groups in response to environmental threats.

INTRODUCTION

In 1982, residents of Warren County, North Carolina, found themselves in a difficult situation. The state had quietly selected the rural county as the site for a toxic waste landfill to dispose of carcinogenic polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) that had been dumped along state roads. Warren County residents organized, along with the aid of Rev. Benjamin Chavis, Jr , then deputy director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice When word of the planned site in the predominantly Black county spread, "our antennas went up," claimed Chavis.[1] The PCBs went in but plans for another landfill and incinerator were stopped.

Following the Warren County conflict, Rev. Chavis began to see links between the environment and racism. He ordered a study, Toxic Wastes and Race, which was published in 1987 The study provides strong evidence indicating "environmental racism," or the disproportionate burdening of minority communities with environmental hazards and the general indifference of mainstream environmental groups to the issue. The Commission's study used systematic and statistically analyzable data to determine if the distribution of commercial hazardous waste facilities in minority communities nationwide was inequitable The study found that race is the single best predictor of where these facilities are located and stated that it was "virtually impossible" for such disproportionate distribution to occur by chance [2]

Minorities are underrepresented in all aspects of the environmental movement, from corporate decision-making to local land-use planning. Underrepresentation on governing bodies has lead to limited access to policy-makers and a lack of advocates for minority interests. Because industries tend to take the path of least resistance, minority communities are subjected to "economic blackmail: big business promising jobs to impoverished communities in return for support of or acquiescence in environmentally undesirable industries."[3] Residents often are not organized and lack the resources of time, money, contacts, and knowledge of the political system necessary for taking action.

According to Robert Bullard, author of Dumping in Dixie, "this is not random siting Minority communities are deliberately targeted as sacrifice zones."[4] He also believes that "institutional racism" influences the siting of facilities as well as local land-use planning. As a result, a new form of environmentalism is emerging, promoted by grass-roots leaders from communities threatened by environmental hazards

The environmental concerns of minority communities are often life-and-death issues, fundamentally different from the concerns of the mainstream environmental movement. The lack of minority involvement in national environmental groups does not imply a lack of interest in environmental issues. It illustrates that the doors to the mainstream movement have long been closed to minorities, causing minority environmentalists to "create their own outlets for expression of environmental concern and action quite outside of the environmental mainstream."[5] They have done so primarily through the formation of grass-roots organizations that combine environmental issues with issues of social justice.

METHODOLOGY

Often the grass-roots groups that have developed in response to environmental threats are led by women, and in the case of protests specifically against environmental racism, by people of color--"two groups noticeably absent from the leadership of the mainstream NGOs."[6] Beyond the leadership differences between mainstream groups and the new environmentalists, larger, fundamental differences exist, such as organizational structure, organizational emphasis and direction, and issues and strategies.

It is based on these three main characteristics of "new environmentalists" groups versus national organizations that four grass-roots environmental justice movements based in Alabama were examined. Additionally the type of environmental conflict, tactics, and resolution of the conflict were examined based on a model developed by Robert Bullard in Dumping in Dixie.[7] The analysis examines the development process of environmental justice issues, from inception to resolution, based on the following characteristics: issue crystallization and focus, leadership type, opposition tactics, resolution mechanisms, and outcomes.

Four sites in Alabama were selected for examination. The sites varied from rural, suburban, to urban, and were as varied with their environmental concerns. In each community, demographic data including race and income was compared with statewide averages to determine if minority communities in the state, specifically African-American communities, were being disproportionately burdened by environmental hazards. Local grass-roots organizers and leaders were interviewed, as well as local government officials and industry officials. Additionally, the review of government documents and local newspaper coverage of the environmental issues provided useful background information on the issue and its importance to the local community. The selected communities were: Triana, Birmingham/Titusville, Emelle, and Theodore/Mobile County. The following case studies describe each community's environmental battle.

Case Study #1: Triana, Alabama

The industrial growth of Huntsville, Alabama, during the 1950s and 1960s, both in the chemical industry and the space industry, brought more than jobs to the residents of the nearby all-Black town of Triana--it brought contamination. And the contamination "blew our building program to bits," according to former Triana mayor Clyde Foster.[8] The pollution came from Redstone Arsenal Army missile base where Olin Chemical Company produced and used DDT from 1947 to 1971. Following the 1971 ban of DDT, Olin's plant was closed and more than 4,000 tons of DDT residue remained buried in the area.[9]

In 1978, Mayor Foster was notified of tests done by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) on fish samples from Indian Creek that showed extraordinarily high levels of DDT. Foster then traveled to TVA headquarters in Knoxville, TN, to verify the reports before taking copies of the test results to virtually every agency with potential jurisdiction. He finally got a response from the Centers for Disease Control. A CDC doctor sampled the daily catch from Indian Creek as well as twelve Triana residents and found some of the highest recorded DDT levels ever. The entire population was then tested, and high DDT levels were found along with high levels of PCBs.

After receiving "not one iota of attention" from the major environmental organizations, the community filed a class-action suit in 1980 against Olin Chemical Company and the United States government.[10] The case against the government was dropped when the government joined Triana's suit against Olin. The lawsuit was finally settled out of court in 1983 for $25 million. On the question of whether environmental racism was at the root of the lack of government response, Triana resident Marvelene Freeman claimed "they knew that only Blacks lived there...you just cannot fight power and money."[11]

At the time of the lawsuit, the average income in Triana was below $3,000. Today the average income is around $7,500,[12] as compared with a state-wide average of $14,998 in 1990.[13] Even now, nearby Huntsville wants to site a landfill in Triana. Freeman argues "it did not stop with the DDT. It is happening continuously."[14]

Case Study #2: Birmingham/Titusville Community, Alabama

On April 1, 1993, residents of the Titusville community in Birmingham heard through news reports that Browning-Ferris Industries, the nation's second largest waste disposal corporation, planned to locate a recycling plant and transfer station in their community. Residents of the predominantly African-American community (estimated at 99% African-American)[15] banded together to form the Total Awareness Group, or TAG. BFI was permitted to build its facility by Birmingham's Urban Planning Department without approval of City Council, despite a city ordinance that required such approval. Sixty-seven Titusville residents filed suit to force the city to halt construction of the facility. Following TAG's actions, the City Council authorized the mayor, Richard Arrington, to negotiate with BFI for purchase of the facility. However, negotiations failed when BFI and the city ended $10.5 million apart.[16]

The City Council then voted unanimously to join TAG's fight against BFI. Mayor Arrington argued that "hundreds of garbage disposal trucks and tons of garbage going in and out of the North Titusville neighborhood daily can only have an adverse impact on the citizens there."[17] BFI, in response, sued Birmingham, asking a judge to prohibit the city's condemnation of the facility, claiming that the City Council knew of their plans.

By September, the Birmingham City Council developed "the best piece of environmental legislation that has come down in the state of Alabama in the last 15 years," according to Attorney General Jimmy Evans.[18] The law, which passed September 14, 1993, requires the disclosure of past compliance problems and lawsuits when solid waste permit applications are filed. In March 1994, BFI settled its $17 million lawsuit against the city for $6.75 million.[19]

Case Study #3: Emelle, Alabama

"Unique New Industry Coming: New Use for Selma Chalk to Create Jobs" the Sumter County Record headlines read on May 29, 1977. Residents of the 70% African-American county had no idea that their community was to become the site of the "Cadillac of Landfills."[20] Governor George Wallace's son-in-law, Jim Parsons, and several partners from Tennessee, purchased plots of land near Emelle, a small community with a population of little over six hundred, almost 90% of which were Black. The local group sold its holdings to Chemical Waste Management (CWM), a subsidiary of Waste Management, Inc. (WMI), the nation's largest waste disposal company.

When the Chemwaste facility was first sited in Sumter County, the power base of the community was grounded in an all-white three member County Commission. Most of the residents of the poverty-stricken county were concerned with feeding their families. "The politics were perfect," claims Cleo Askew, of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives.[21] Since, Chemwaste has managed to tighten its economic grip on the community to the point where the county is completely dependent on the company for its economic welfare.

Chemwaste's landfill is now the largest employer in the county, and local officials declare "we cannot do without it."[22] From 1980 to 1986, Chemwaste paid $11 million in disposal fees to Sumter County. In addition, Chemwaste gives financial support to Livingston University, Sumter County Public Schools and dozens of charitable projects, as well as PAC donations to political leaders and one year, $30,000.00 in Christmas Bonus checks to Alabama legislators.[23] Their economic power "effectively nullifies a local outpouring against the dump on the issue of poisoning the environment."[24] A Chemwaste employee claimed "I have two kids that are eating better and sleeping better than anybody ever has in my family. Don't talk to me about closing Chemwaste. Let those outsiders worry about their own jobs...leave mine alone."[25]

These factors have worked against the community's ability to organize a fight against Chemwaste. The county is effectively split between those who view the benefits of jobs and money for the county as outweighing the costs to the community, and those who see the long-term costs and potential environmental nightmare as far outweighing the donations to charity and jobs for a declining few. In spite of the conflicts, in March 1983, Alabamians for

a Clean Environment, a non-profit watchdog group was formed to monitor the performance of Chemwaste

Case Study #4: Theodore/Mobile County, Alabama

Residents of Mobile County, a highly industrialized South Alabama county have only recently begun to organize protests against the environmental degradation resulting from the oil and chemical industries located throughout the county. Lax environmental enforcement, and industry self-monitoring has resulted in land degradation, air, and water pollution.

When Holnam Cement sent a "good neighbor" letter to residents in south Mobile County, an area with a large African-American population, about their plans to burn fuels recycled from toxic wastes in their plant, area residents joined forces to form People Opposing Pollution, or POP. The watchdog group primarily functions as a public relations and information service for residents of Mobile County, and in particular for African-American residents the Theodore area. Members of the group fear that the Alabama Department of Environmental Management is too closely tied to industry Gwen Johnson, an area resident and member of POP, describes ADEM as "about as much of nothing as I've ever seen."[26]

When local officials pushed for an industrial park to be sited in Theodore, members of POP were outraged. The county already has five National Priority List Superfund sites throughout the county. Members of POP express fear about the safety of living in such areas, particularly with the lack of emergency evacuation plans in case of gas releases, explosions, or other dangers associated with local industries.

POP, a relatively "young" environmental justice group, began its efforts by lobbying the executive branch of Alabama's state government--in particular, the office of the Attorney General, Jimmy Evans. Evans holds monthly meetings with state environmental activists in order to gather information and find areas in which to begin investigations. POP has been active in sending representatives to these meetings. They also regularly gather information from ADEM to monitory its efficacy. Their primary focus at this point is protecting the safety of area residents. Area industries have been reluctant to implement safety measures such as evacuation alarms and drills in case of explosions of gas leaks. According to Johnson, "They fear they're scaring people and if you're scaring people, you're hurting industry."[27] Once again, the debate between jobs and the environment prevails.

CONCLUSION

The results of these four case studies show that local residents and community leaders have recognized the urgency of the problems they are facing, and instead of waiting for mainstream environmental organizations to acknowledge the environmental problems challenging African-American communities in Alabama, these communities have begun their own fights. Each group has sought resolution through various means, and while several have achieved resolution directly for their problems, solutions to the overall problem of environmental racism have not developed Lawsuits, for example, which have been one of the most effective resolution mechanisms, have not been successful at proving environmental discrimination. In fact, the resolutions achieved through the courts have only, at best, provided relief to the communities directly affected. They do not provide any broad-based outcome that could help similarly burdened communities or determine a course of action for government officials and political leaders. Perhaps the most successful resolution mechanisms for providing some means of preventing future environmental discrimination is through legislation. For example, in Titusville, the environmental regulations developed by the City Council provided protection for the Titusville community itself while also protecting Birmingham as a whole from environmental degradation.

The problem of environmental racism is not one easily solved. In each of the communities studied, environmental problems were a manifestation of larger problems facing the communities. At the root of each problem was a historical pattern of racism that led to African-American populations being concentrated in certain areas and being harmed by certain industries. Perhaps in finding an answer to the problem of industry following the path of least resistance, the conditions that led to the creation of that path can be overcome

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Punctuated Pluralism: The Case of the Civil Rights Act of 1990/91

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Within the evolution of analysis in the study of legislative outcomes, two opposing models have been developed. One, proposed by Gerald M. Pomper in his book Elections in America, asserts that the nearness or anticipation of an election determines the fate of a policy proposal. The second, expressed by Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter in their book Politics by Other Means, asserts that "institutional combat" (e.g. the conflict between the President, the Congress, the Courts, etc.) has increased in importance in determining legislative outcomes compared to electoral competition. This rivalry actually masks a surprising interrelationship between these two explanations in special legislative circumstances. What follows is a case examining the weakness of each model and a process which I will term "punctuated pluralism", which actually makes each of the previous explanations a variant of the other.

TWO OPPOSING THEORIES

"Politics by Other Means":

Scholars such as Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter maintain that "America has now entered an era in which institutional combat (e.g. the conflict between the President, the Congress, the Courts, etc.) has increased in importance relative to electoral competition,"(Ginsberg and Shefter, 31) and that electoral competition is almost insignificant in light of the policy making power the government bodies, in conjunction with interest groups, possess. Ginsberg and Shefter point to the low percentages of voter turnout in recent elections and conclude that as far as policy is concerned, the voting public plays little if no role in molding policy. They cite relationships between the Courts and Congress, the Congress and the Presidency, and the relationship of the Presidency, the Congress and interest groups as possible framers of civil rights policy in particular. Through this, they imply that the organized voting public plays little or no role in policy making.

"Elections in America":

Rivaling Ginsberg and Shefter's view, Gerald M. Pomper has maintained that elections do play a role in determining legislative outcomes. Pomper has reasoned that policy makers act in anticipation of voter response. In his book Elections in America, Pomper wrote, "In most cases, the voters can affect policy only through the election of politicians who will take actions desired by the majority of citizens" (Pomper, 12). Furthermore, "the actions of politicians might not be controlled in detail by ballots, but they [politicians] might still act in anticipation of voter reactions" (Pomper, 13). Concerning the role of institutional combat, Pomper wrote that "elections . . . provide a means of defending and advancing the specialized goals of groups" (Pomper 31). Perhaps Pomper stated his argument best in the phrase: "In a theoretical sense, elections are significant not as a *power in* government, but as an *influence on* government (Pomper 253) . . . voters are aware of their particular interests, even though they are not typically concerned with the broad range of issues.

Certainly the divisive border between these two theories has been drawn, yet through examining the case of the Civil Rights Act of 1990/91 I have found that the two ideologies can actually complement each other and produce a process which I term "punctuated pluralism."

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1990

On February 7, 1990 S. 2104 and H.R. 4000 were introduced by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass. and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins, D-Calif. The objective of this legislation was to overturn six Supreme Court decisions that made it more difficult to prove job discrimination and easier to challenge affirmative action programs (Biskupic, 10 Feb. 1990, 392). From the introduction of the bill the Bush administration seemed to be unclear on its position on the legislation. Business representatives maintained that expanding the protections of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 would greatly increase employer exposure to lawsuits charging job discrimination; hence, many business representatives felt that the bill would force them to adopt hiring and promotion quotas to avoid such actions (Biskupic, 21 Aug. 1990, 1197). In response, bill supporters said that the bonanza predicted from plaintiffs and their lawyers would not materialize, but "Bush, his Hill allies and the business

community argued that to avoid frivolous suits business would resort to hiring quotas" (Biskupic, 21 Jul. 1990, 2312).

On July 18, 1990 the Senate passed S. 2104 over the furious objections of the GOP leadership and in the face of a presidential veto threat. Dissatisfaction over the bill's substance was mostly due to the urgency of action and the feeling by some senators that they had not had enough time to study the language of the bill. Since 1990 was an election year for many Senate and House members, there was increased concern because many Congressional members had a personal stake in the bill since it appealed to the passions of civil rights activists and the economic needs of a competition-based business community.

On August 3, 1990 the House voted 272-154 to pass H.R. 4000, after adopting two politically inspired amendments aimed at shoring up the crucial support of conservative Democrats and getting within striking distance of overriding a veto. On October 11, 1990 House and Senate conferees scaled back the omnibus bill in an effort to send a measure President Bush would accept, this action is a good illustration of Ginsberg and Shefter's idea of "institutional combat." Despite this, the bill (scheduled for a vote the week of October 15, 1990) still faced a veto threat and some civil rights activists said conferees made concessions with no payoff (Biskupic, 13 Oct. 1990, 3428). On October 22, 1990 President Bush vetoed S. 2104 (House Report 101-856). Two days later, the Senate failed 66-34 to override Bush's veto (Biskupic, 27 Oct. 1990, 3610).

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1991

In March of 1991 House democratic leaders introduced H.R. 1, which was civil rights legislation almost identical to the original S. 2104 and H.R. 4000. As H.R. 1 was being debated in committee hearings, the Bush administration proposed a compromise bill (H.R. 1375, S. 611) that went only part way in reversing the court decisions and would limit damages under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the bill was swiftly defeated by the Education and Labor committee (Biskupic, 16 Mar. 1991, 683). Since the White House administration and congressional leaders could not come up with a compromise, talks began between a big-business consortium (called the "Business Roundtable") and civil rights groups. But when rumors surfaced that the Business Roundtable and civil rights leaders might be close to a compromise, small business banded with the White House to attack both the bill and the big corporations. Under that pressure, the lead negotiators for the Business Roundtable announced April 19 that talks were called off (Biskupic, 20 Apr. 1991, 989). By scuttling big business' negotiations on civil rights, the White House may have demonstrated that if a bill was to pass it would only be through a deal with President Bush. Although this may be seen as a difference from the 1990 negotiations, it should be noted that despite the attempts to compromise, business leaders ended up taking the same stance that they had taken in 1990.

As a result of the big business pullout April 19, a raft of other business groups, that had not actively participated in the talks, mobilized against the legislation (ibid.). Because of the Democrats and civil rights groups weakened position over H.R. 1, the legislation was revised with an inclusion of the same provisions the October 11, 1990 negotiations had provided (another example of "institutional combat"). Despite these changes, President Bush renewed his veto threat on May 23, 1991 (Clymer, 7 Jun. 1991, A1). After months of intense lobbying and difficult tradeoffs the civil rights bill offered by House Democratic leaders passed 273-158 June 5, 1991, with no more support than it had in 1990 when S. 2104 and H.R. 4000 fell to a veto (Biskupic, 8 Jun. 1991, 1498).

Senator John C. Danforth offered a compromise job-rights package in the Senate in which he split the concentration of the entire proposed legislation into three, thereby making the less controversial issues more likely to be passed (S. 1207-9) (ibid.). On June 6, Bush told reporters that his aides were "taking a hard look at the Danforth bills" (ibid.). By late-June of 1991 Danforth walked away from negotiations with the White House and "suggested that the Bush administration was stalling" (Biskupic, 29 Jun. 1991, 1498). On June 27, 1991 Danforth reintroduced legislation (S. 1407-9) and incorporated 23 changes earlier requested by the White House which primarily addressed the type of language used within the bill (ibid.). The revised Danforth legislation moved closer to the White House position, particularly in how employers justify hiring practices that indirectly discriminate against classes of people.

At the beginning of August 1991 controversy over the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court eclipsed the debate over the civil rights legislation. Meanwhile, on August 1, 1991 Senator Danforth announced that President Bush had rejected his latest compromise. On October 5, 1991 the controversy over the Thomas nomination exploded into a furor when Anita Hill made public her accusation that Thomas had sexually harassed her while she worked for him at the Department of Education and the EEOC. Angry women started to ask whether the male-dominated institution recognized the seriousness of Hill's charge and why the full Senate had not been told about her allegations of sexual harassment (Biskupic, 12 Oct. 1991, 2949), (this example illustrates the heightened concerns of the electorate by an issue related to a piece of proposed legislation, as proposed by Pomper). Despite the revealing hearings, Thomas was confirmed on October 15, by 52-48.

Suddenly, on October 25, 1991 Bush told reporters that he would sign the compromise civil rights legislation (S. 1745), crafted by Senator Danforth, if it cleared Congress

unchanged. S. 1745 covered the same six Supreme Court decisions as the civil rights legislation in 1990; as well as other decisions concerning discrimination abroad and discrimination in governmental employment and provided for a Glass Ceiling Commission to study the hiring, training and reward structures for business (Fessler, 26 Oct. 1991, 3124). The only visible changes between the two pieces of legislation were minor changes in the language used (important for lawyers, but not for political science purposes). While both sides claimed victory the administration appeared to have made the most concessions as it tried to avoid a veto fight it was not certain to win. Members on both sides of the aisle speculated that Bush was reluctant to veto civil rights legislation after the battle over Clarence Thomas.

QUESTION:

What caused this sudden position change for President Bush? During the four months from June to October 1991 (and during the entire session of 1990) he seemed almost dead set against signing any of the proposed legislation. The revised legislation he finally signed was similar to H.R. 1 and H.R. 4000; and, as mentioned, many congressional members felt he signed the same bill he once vetoed. How does the argument of institutional combat fit into the case of the Civil Rights Acts of 1990 and 1991? The struggle between liberal and conservative congressional members remained constant throughout the debate concerning the two Acts; as did the continual lobbying by civil rights and business groups. When civil rights leaders and the Business Roundtable tried to broker a compromise, it fell through under pressure from smaller business and the White House, and led to both groups taking the same position they had taken on the Civil Rights Act of 1990. The content of the legislation remained constant with the exception of a few minor changes in the language used and the extension of protection to workers abroad and government staff employees. *Two things were present in 1991 that were not present in 1990.* First was the nearing conclusion of a Presidential term and the beginning of an election year; second was the introduction of the Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill issues.

THE ROAD TO RECONCILIATION

Ginsberg and Shefter contend that electoral competition is almost insignificant and institutional combat is the true predictor of policy outcomes. If this is so, why did the Civil Rights Act of 1990 fail when the Civil Rights Act of 1991 passed, even when "institutional combat" battles remained constant? The answer lies in the presentation of Anita Hill and her allegations of sexual harassment. As a result of this, President Bush saw the bleak defense he had against the institutional artillery of congressional members against Thomas and for S. 1745. These members were newly armed with the activation of women's groups and the increasing concern about gender equity among the electorate. As a consequence, Thomas was confirmed and the Civil Rights Act of 1991 was passed.

The argument proposed by Pomper serves as an especially useful model to explain the passage of the Act during the onset of an election year. Pomper's argument clearly establishes reasons to explain why policy makers would become interested and change their positions on issues of interest to the electorate. However it does not explain why Bush passed the Act only in light of the Thomas/Hill hearings role in transforming the institutional combat battle.

<u>The Bridge: Punctuated Pluralism:</u>

The concept of punctuated pluralism can fill the gaps left by Ginsberg and Shefter' s model and Pomper's argument. Punctuated pluralism is the heightened competition for legislative outcomes which occurs when institutional forces spill onto an electoral agenda. Institutional combat can generate issues which then shape electoral battles; these electoral battles, once redefined, can determine the outcome of an institutional battle. The concept of punctuated pluralism can combine the two theories, as proposed by Ginsberg/Shefter and Pomper, that have previously been viewed as antagonistic.

Punctuated Pluralism accounts for why President Bush changed his position on the Civil Rights Act of 1990/91 only after the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings generated the issue of gender inequity and presented it in a public forum, thus stirring up electoral concerns. This event mobilized factions against Thomas and for the Civil Rights Act of 1991 and gave them extra ammunition to fire against those in support of Thomas and against the Act within the arena of institutional combat.

The case discussed and the concept of punctuated pluralism raises the challenge and the hope that we can enhance our analytic understanding of legislative outcomes. If we are to improve our knowledge about the full complexity of the processes which determine legislative outcomes, further research should be done upon both institutional combat and electoral competition. Within the scope of my own research, I have attempted to show that recognizing a feedback loop between the legislative arena and electoral process may be necessary to heighten our understanding of the full complexity of policy making process.

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A Case Study of the Baby M Trial Involving Surrogate Parenthood as a Method of Exploring the ways in which the Courts Create Social Policy

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GOALS

The goal of this research was to thoroughly examine the decision of the Baby M case and to determine the social impact created by the decision, and further to uncover the impact a court ruling could create on social policy. This case was ideal to study because it brought controversial issues to the court with little guidance offered by either legislation or previous rulings in New Jersey. The case included the issues of children, the family institution, individual privacy, class, state intervention in procreation and parenthood and women's issues.

METHODS

In researching the specifics of the Baby M case, I interviewed Gary Skoloff, Edward O'Donnell, and Frank Donahue who acted as counsel for the Stern's. I also interviewed the trial judge, Hon. Harvey Sorrow and the appointed guardian ad litem to the child, Lorraine Abraham. These interviews offered great insight into the case. The majority of my research involved reading articles, books, and various publications on the issues of surrogate parenthood, the Baby M case, the creation of social policy, and the attributes of adjudication.

BACKGROUND

The Baby M case originated in Bergen County, New Jersey. On February 6, 1985 the Sterns and Mrs. Whitehead entered into a surrogate agreement through the Infertility Center of New York. Mrs. Whitehead was promised $10,000 for her services. This included becoming pregnant, carrying the child to term, and then doing whatever was necessary to terminate her maternal rights so that Mrs. Stern could then adopt the child. After several artificial inseminations, Mrs. Whitehead became pregnant and gave birth to the child referred to as Baby M on March 27, 1986.

Mrs. Whitehead claimed she realized almost immediately that she had bonded with child and would not be able to relinquish the child. Despite her feelings, Mrs. Whitehead gave the child to the Sterns on March 30 as agreed in the contract. The following day she then went to the Sterns' home and requested to have the child for one week. Due to Mrs. Whitehead's hysterical state and threats the Sterns cooperated. When it became obvious that Mrs. Whitehead had no intention of returning the child, the Sterns became concerned and filed a complaint seeking enforcement of the surrogate contract. At this point, Mrs. Whitehead fled to Florida with child. After four months the child and the Whiteheads were found in Florida. Pursuant court order, the nursing child was taken from Mrs. Whitehead and turned over to the Sterns. Pending a final decision, Mrs. Whitehead was awarded limited visitation.

The Stern's complaint to the trial court sought custody of the child, and enforcement of the contract. Pursuant to the contract, the complaint asked that the child be permanently placed in the Stern's custody, that Mrs. Whitehead's rights be terminated, and that Mrs. Stern be allowed to adopt the child, and that for all purposes the baby would become the Stern's child. (109 N.J. 396, p.4)

COURT RULINGS

The trial court in Bergen County, after a period of over two-months, found that the surrogate parenting contract was valid. It ordered Mrs. Whitehead to terminate her parental rights and granted sole custody to the Stern's. It also allowed Mrs. Stern to immediately adopt the child. The major portion of the trial court's decision was based on the "best interests" of the child. (109 N.J. 396)

On appeal the case went to the New Jersey Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ruled that the surrogate parenting contract conflicted with the laws prohibiting the use of money in connection with adoptions, laws requiring proof of parental unfitness or abandonment before termination of parental rights is ordered or adoption is granted. The Court further ruled that the contract conflicted with state public policy.

Furthermore, the Court found that the right of procreation, interpreted from the constitutional right to privacy, did not entitle the natural father and his wife to custody of the child. In the "best interests" of the child, and not because of the contract, the Court granted the Sterns custody of the child. Mrs. Whitehead received visitation with the child, though this decision was sent back to the trial court.

IMPLICATIONS

The courts impact society in the creation of their decisions. The courts are forced to make a decision on the cases brought before them. Unlike the other branches of government, the courts are unable to avoid an issue. A "non-decision", maintaining the status quo, is even interpreted as a decision. In the Baby M case the court was forced to comment on surrogacy in the State of New Jersey.

While ruling on a case there are many factors which influence the decision. One impact is that the judge is the decision maker. The life experiences and "socialization" of the judge inevitably effect the decision. This includes the community in which the judge was raised and the schools the judge attended. The judge rules on an individual case and simultaneously sets precedent on the issues involved in this case.

Another consideration is that the courts are a reactionary body. The courts can only rule and impact on cases that are brought before them. Attorneys therefore affect the system because in most cases an attorney must be willing to take a case so it can be heard before the court. The courts receive their information at the discretion of the attorneys in the form of social facts and historical facts. The most common method of presenting social fact is to call expert witnesses to provide their expert opinion. As in the Baby M case, the courts are sometimes forced to decide on issues that have no existing legislation, this grants the court a large responsibility.

The court chose to focus the decision on the right to procreate rather than the right to privacy. Some experts argue that this choice was an intentional way for the court to avoid deciding on certain issues and allowed for a minimal decision. If the right to privacy had been decided on then the courts

would have been infringing on a fundamental right, forcing the court to scrutinize the relevance of the existing adoption laws. Instead the courts were able to utilize the existing laws to make their decision.

The courts made a traditional decision and used the existing adoption laws as a guideline. Surrogacy was defined as analogous to a private placement adoption for money and the contract was determined unenforceable because of the exchange for money and the irrevoccability of the woman's decision. The remainder of the case was treated as a custody battle. The implications of this decision on society are far reaching. The courts ruled not to uphold the surrogacy contract. This action acts a deterrent regarding the use of the surrogate arrangement involving money, because the court has set the precedent that the contract will not be enforced if violated. But, the Supreme Court did not rule that surrogacy is illegal. The practice is still allowed to occur and would not violate any statutes as long as there was no exchange of money violating the adoption laws and the women had an opportunity to change her mind after the child was born. Otherwise the contract would violate public policy by determining the custody of the child before it was born.

The court further ruled that the "best interests" of a child alone are not grounds to terminate parental rights and that it is natural for a mother to want to raise and nurture her child. This acts as a protection for the mother,and further acts as a protection for the child.

The difficulty the courts faced in creating a decision on such controversial issues with so little guidance was recognized by the State of New Jersey. Even in the actual decision, the courts invited the legislature to take action in creating legislation. After the decision a Bio-Ethics committee was created. It consisted of experts in the related fields as well as in the actual Baby M case. Hearings were held in attempt to find consensus on the issues. This consensus was to be offered to the Legislature as a form of guidance, should legislation on the issue be generated. The decision of the Bio-Ethics Committee agreed with the decision rendered by the Supreme Court.

In reaction to the case, the Council of the Family Division of the New Jersey Bar Association also addressed the issues. The Bar Association created the Model Surrogacy Act. Which proposed a surrogate contract for the State of New Jersey. This suggestion contested the Supreme Court decision and diverged from the consensus of the Bio-Ethics Committee. This contract was presented as a balanced solution to the problem. The Council stressed that one major difference in this proposal is the recognition of the right one has to waive a right. The contract would give both the surrogate mother and the adoptive parents the right to enforcement of the contract. It would allow women to make their own decisions and would avoid robbing infertile couples one of the few options available to have a child.

Surrogacy can act as a vehicle to allow a stronger family unit. A woman can feel the delight of having a child, if this is her choice, and a child with the fathers attributes can be born. Surrogacy agreements can not violate public policy or adoption laws. The issue would benefit from the creation of strong legislation. This would protect the process and could ensure that money was not an issue.

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Testing of Infant's Bodily Fluids for Controlled Substances: A Comparison of State Policies

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The capacity to bear children has often been used to legitimate distinctions between female and male citizenship. In the past, gender distinctions in the law have had negative ramifications for the civil liberties and responsibilities of women. Today, these distinctions pose even greater ramifications. With recent developments in medical technologies, political pressures, and social and economic structures, relations between female citizens and the state have become even more strained. This new conflict has arisen in large part from the growing distinction between pregnant woman and fetus (Daniels, 1993).

BACKGROUND

In the past, the pregnant woman and her fetus had been viewed as a single organic unit, with the fetus completely devoid of any status as a social actor. Today, however, a growing segment of society has come to see the fetus as the "tiniest citizen," (Daniels, 1993, p. 3) having certain rights and needs; expecially protection from threats. According to Cynthia Daniels, professor of political science at Rutgers University, this personification of the fetus emerged with the rise of the anti-abortion movement. She claims that medical technologies like ultra-sound bolstered this perception by providing a physical picture of the fetus. In addition, current reproductive technologies have finally split the old conception of "mother/baby organic unit" into two separate entities: the host and the fetus (Daniels, 1993). With this current distinction between host and fetus, the state faces a complex debate between the advocates of maternal rights and the advocates of fetal rights. The debate is complex because of the special relationship of the pregnant woman to her fetus. Although they exist together physically as a unit, the state is forced to see the debate in terms of two separate opponents (Cole, 1990).This appears to be the basis of the new debate surrounding the health problems associated with drug abuse during pregnancy (Daniels, 1993).

The ingestion of licit or illicit drugs during pregnancy produces a cascade of problems for the fetus and subsequent newborn: problems include inadequate prenatal care, impaired fetal growth, premature delivery, low birth-weight, developmental deficits, birth defects, or infant mortality. The costs to society may involve extensive use of health and social services, special education for drug-affected infants, and displaced families (Center for the Study of Bioethics [MCW] & the Wisconsin Association for Perinatal Care [WAPC] Proceedings, 1991). To address these problems, states have adopted various policies ranging from punitive measures thought to discourage the use of drugs during or after pregnancy, to supportive programs that attempt to rehabilitate addicts and their children. To accomplish either of these ends, states test the bodily fluids of either the pregnant mother or the newborn for controlled substances (Glovier Moore, 1990).

Punitive measures may include (1) mandatory reporting of positive tests to child protection agencies or child abuse and neglect agencies, (2) criminal prosecution for delivery of drugs to a minor, and (3) involuntary incarceration to control behavior during pregnancy. These measures have received criticism from a variety of professionals. Physicians argue that these laws effectively make them agents of the state, and violate the confidential nature of the physician/patient relationship. They argue that one likely result of this violation is that patients will submit incomplete medical histories, severely limiting the physicians' diagnostic and treatment abilities. Punitive measures have also been criticized because these measures would encourage pregnant women to forego prenatal care or seek

abortions to avoid prosecutions and/or loss of the child. As a further consequence, these women go untreated for their drug addictions. Critics of involuntary incarceration, thought to control behavior during pregnancy, point to both the limitations of medical facilities in prisons and the availability of illicit drugs in prisons (Cole, 1990). In the broader context, critics argue that these punitive measures illustrate the ramifications of gender distinctions in contemporary law (Daniels, 1993). That is, these measures seem to penalize women more for the crime of having children or being of child-bearing age than for the drug violation itself. At a recent conference, Dr. Richard Schwarz, president of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, spoke to this issue: "Men are not subjected at the birth of their babies to drug screens reportable to the state with the threat of losing child custody. Nor are they 'sentenced' to surgically implanted long-acting contraceptives" (1992).

In contrast to the criticism given to punitive measures, many physicians, obstetricians, and feminist scholars advocate the intervention of rehabilitative agencies to treat the problem as a medical illness. The March of Dimes, American Medical Association, and American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, have all come out in favor of an integrated supportive approach to the problem of drug abuse during pregnancy ("Groups", 1992; March of Dimes, 1990). Supportive measures may include (1) inpatient and outpatient treatment programs for pregnant women; (2) treatment programs for drug-affected newborns and/or their mothers; and (3) laws that preclude punitive measures based solely on a positive toxicology test (Glovier Moore, 1990).

Advocates of supportive measures have raised concerns about the current inadequacy of treatment programs. According to Schwarz, the drug abuse treatment system is male oriented: "The perception has been that drug abusers are men" (1992). Indeed, research on drug abuse involved primarily male subjects. In addition, the 1980's "war on crime" amounted to a law enforcement solution directed at a perceived threat from criminally violent males. Although social agencies are beginning to rectify this gender bias, serious problems with treatment programs still persist. For instance, many programs simply refuse to treat pregnant women because of liability concerns (Cole, 1990). Treatment is also insufficient because of under-funding and inadequate staffing, and because of the limited availability of health-care training for the treatment of perinatal drug-addictions. Perhaps the largest failure of the system of treatment is the scarcity of inpatient services, meaning that addicts who find treatment must, most likely, return to harmful surroundings each night (Schwarz).

Most states attempt some combination of both punitive and supportive measures; Wisconsin is one of those states. Sections 146.0255 and 146.0256 of the Wisconsin statutes prescribe general criteria for the testing of infants for controlled substances. Lawmakers in Wisconsin were among the first to create state policies addressing some of the apparent ethical problems associated with this testing of infants for controlled substances. While these laws require consent prior to testing, they also require that positive test results be reported to social agencies (punitive), and that rehabilitative services be offered to the mother and child (supportive)(MCW & WAPC Proceedings, 1991).

At a recent symposium held at the Medical College of Wisconsin, several health care, legal, and bioethics professionals expressed concerns about Wisconsin's laws. What is the purpose for testing? Is the test performed to punish or to help the mother? Is the test performed to help only this child, or to learn more about the prevalence and effects of drug abuse in the general population? Who gets tested? Does the system of referral for testing precisely determine those newborns at risk? Is the test an invasion of privacy (MCW & WAPC Proceedings, 1991)? Critics also observed that since the laws have been in effect, confusion has resulted regarding the law's intentions and consequences. Varying interpretations of the law by health care providers and legal representatives have produced inconsistent health and social policy throughout the state (MCW & WAPC Proceedings, 1991). The following study will gather information on other states' policies in order to: (1) evaluate the ethics of their policies, (2) provide information to Wisconsin lobbyists and lawmakers, and (3) make recommendations.

METHOD

A questionnaire was written to solicit the appropriate information and mailed to several social, legal, and health care agencies in each of the 49 states and the District of Columbia (Wisconsin was not contacted). The questionnaire sought the following information: Do court cases or laws regulate the testing of newborns for controlled substances? Is informed consent required of the parent or guardian? What laws or procedures exist for reporting of positive tests? Who makes reports? What is the current prevalence of positive tests? What impact do child abuse and neglect laws have on reporting of positive tests? And what impact have existing treatment centers had on rehabilitation? National legal, social, and health associations were also contacted to solicit compiled studies that also provided information sought from the questionnaire. Policies were charted for state to state comparisons. If information was omitted from a state's responses to the questionnaire, the information was filled in from compiled studies–if available.

RESULTS

Twenty-five responses to the questionnaires were received from states' attorneys general. Thirty-three responses were received from states' public health agencies. Four states have laws that regulate the testing of an infant's bodily fluids for controlled substances. Five states have laws requiring consent before testing. Twelve states have mandatory reporting requirements to social or health agencies. Ten states make this reporting voluntary. Twenty-two states have child abuse and neglect laws that also impact on the reporting of positive results; six of these states classify drug-affected newborns as abused or neglected neonates. Results of the questionnaire and compiled studies are listed for state to state comparison in Table 2. Prevalence statistics of perinatal substance abuse were obtained for twenty-two locations. Perinatal drug addiction ranged from 2.9% to 31.0% in inner city/urban areas, and from 0.5% to 11.9% in rural or suburban areas. Prevalence statistics are listed for comparison in Table 1.

Table 1
Prevalence of Perinatal Drug Addictions

Site	Population	Frequency
Brooklyn, NY	inner city	11.5%
California	entire state	5.16%
Darby, PA	suburban	11.8%
Detroit	inner city	31.0%
Englewood, CO	suburban	0.5%
Florida	rural	11.9%
Harlem, NY	inner city	12.8%
Hartford, CT	entire city	3.4%
Maryland	inner city	30.0 %
Minneapolis & St. Paul	urban & suburban	5.6%
Minnesota	rural	1.2%
Missouri	rural	0.6%
Missouri	entire state	4.0%
Ohio	private/suburban	1.4%
Oregon	entire state	6.0%
Philadelphia	inner city	15.3%
Rhode Island	entire state	7.5%
Texas	urban & suburban	15.2%
Utah	urban & suburban	2.9%
Utah, Wasatch	not available	8.9%
Washington	inner city	21.0%
Washington	suburban	8.5%

Table 2
Description of State Policies for Toxicology Testing of Newborns and for Drug Addiction Treatment

	Laws or Court Cases Regulate Testing	Reporting of Positive Results	Impact of Child Abuse and Neglect Laws	Treatment Programs Exist for
Alabama	NO	NO	NO	PW, NB, M
Alaska	NO	VOLUNTARY	YES-8	NA
Arizona	NO	NO	NO	NA
Arkansas	NO	NA	NO	PW, M
California	NO	MANDATORY-5 7	YES-8	(PW, NB, M)-14
Colorado	NO	VOLUNTARY	NA	PW-12, NB M
Connecticut	NO	VOLUNTARY	NA	NA
Delaware-1				
Washington DC	NO	NO	NA	PW-11,12, NB, M-11,12
Florida	NO	MANDATORY-5 6,7	YES-9	(PW,M,NB)-11,12 13,14
Georgia	NO	NO	NA	NA
Hawaii	NO	VOLUNTARY-7	NA	YES
Idaho	NO	MANDATORY-5 7	YES-9	PW-12,13, M-12,13
Illinois	LAWS-2 3	MANDATORY-5 7	YES-9	NA
Indiana	NO	MANDATORY-5 6,7	YES	(PW NB M)-11,13
Iowa	LAWS-2	MANDATORY-5,6,7	YES	PW-12,13
Kansas	NO	NA	NA	PW
Kentucky	NO	VOLUNTARY-5	YES	NA
Louisiana	NO	NO	NO	PW-13, M-12,13
Maine	NO	NO	NO	NA
Maryland	NO	NO	YES-8	PW-12,13,NB-11,12,13 M
Massachusetts	NO	NO	YES-9	(PW, NB, M)-11,12,13,14
Michigan	NO-4	NO	YES-8	NA
Minnesota	LAWS	MANDATORY-5,7	YES-9	(PW, NB, M)-11,12
Mississippi	NO	NO	NO	PW
Missouri	NO	VOLUNTARY	YES-8	PW, M
Montana	NO	NA	NA	NA
Nebraska-1				
Nevada	LAWS-2	MANDATORY-5,7	YES-8	(PW,M)-12 13,14 NB
New Hampshire	NO	MANDATORY-5,6 7	YES-8	PW, M-13
New Jersey-1				
New Mexico-1				
New York	NO	VOLUNTARY-7	YES-8 10	NA
North Carolina	NO-2	VOLUNTARY	YES-9	PW-13
North Dakota	NO	NO	NO	M
Ohio-1				
Oklahoma	NO	MANDATORY-5,7	YES	PW-13, M-13
Oregon	NO	VOLUNTARY	NO	PW, M
Pennsylvania	NO	NO	NO	PW-12, M-11,12,13
Rhode Island-1				
South Carolina	NA	NA	NA	NA
South Dakota	NO	NO	NA	PRIVATE ONLY-13
Tennessee	NO	NA	NA	NA
Texas	NO-2	MANDATORY-7*	YES-8	PW, M-13
Utah	NO	VOLUNTARY-5 7	YES	(PW, NB-13, M-13)-14
Vermont	NO	NA	YES	M-11,12
Virginia	NO	NO	NO	PW, NB-13
Washington	NO	MANDATORY-5 7	YES-8	PW, M-12,13
West Virginia	NA	NA	NA	NA
Wyoming	NO	NO	NO	PW-12

Abbreviations PW = Pregnant Women NB = Newborns M = Mothers

Legend: Table 2
1. Did not respond to questionnaire.
2. Consent from parent or guardian required.
3. Testing newborns for controlled substances often involves an emergency situation; emergency negates requirement for consent.
4. Some hospitals test routinely.
5. Physician reports positive test result.
6. Social worker reports positive test result.
7. Requires reporting to social services agencies for assessing needs.
8. Positive result, alone, not sufficient for report of child abuse or neglect.
9. Under child abuse and neglect laws, presence of controlled substance in a newborn's bodily fluids is classified as child abuse or neglect.
10. Laws prohibit prosecution for positive test.
11. Inpatient facility.
12. Outpatient facility.
13. Residential.
14. Data on impact of treatment available.
* = Agencies disagree on policy.
NA = Sources could not provide information

DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that most states have some combination of punitive and rehabilitative policies–just as Wisconsin does. In addition, most states are unable to determine the extent of their problems associated with perinatal substance abuse because of (1) an absence of prevalence studies, (2) testing procedures that fail to detect all drug-affected newborns, and/or (3) inconsistent reporting requirements. Wisconsin is among those states in need of prevalence studies.

Studies of prevalence are important for several reasons. Schwarz has said that, "physicians see the woman's addiction as hopeless and untreatable" (p. 3); they see medicine's positive effect as being completely undone by abusive behavior. Perhaps many physicians, themselves, need to view perinatal drug-abuse as a medical illness–not as merely a reckless choice of behavior. If physicians were educated about programs that successfully rehabilitate addicts, then perhaps physicians would address the problem of perinatal substance abuse with greater optimism.

Studies have also shown that some physicians fail to detect perinatal substance abuse because of incorrect attitudes about which socio-economic groups are at risk. Physicians may be unaware of studies showing that perinatal substance abuse is a significant problem for women of all socio-economic groups (Chasnoff, 1990). A recent study has shown that Wisconsin physicians are also likely to use inappropriate socio-economic criteria in selecting newborns for toxicology tests (Shapiro, 1993). Inevitably, many Wisconsin physicians will over look drug-affected newborns and mothers who do not match their preconceptions. In addition, the study found that physicians violated the Wisconsin requirement for informed consent almost universally when ordering toxicology tests for newborns of African-American women (Shapiro).

The results of the current study indicate that Wisconsin remains as beleaguered as most other states by confusing contradictions in policy. It is recommended that lawmakers amend Wisconsin's policy by removing a majority of its punitive measures. In addition, Wisconsin should implement blind prevalence studies. These studies are needed to assess the extent of Wisconsin's problems and to educate physicians, policy makers, and society about the true demographics of perinatal substance abuse in Wisconsin.

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The Effects of Individualism on the Moral and Political Choices of American Lifestyles

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The influential 1985 book Habits of the Heart (Bellah, *et al*) concludes that "the language of individualism, the primary American language of self-understanding, limits the ways in which people think." The central idea of the book is that individualism has caused a disintegration of the "moral ecology" of America. This "moral ecology" must be reconnected if there are to be morally strong American communities. Bellah's conclusions are based on 4 focused interviews out of some 200 middle-class persons from around America.

Although I share many of the concerns of Bellah and his colleagues, I wish to argue that the disintegration shown in Habits of the Heart is the result of a drift from responsible individualism. Furthermore, this issue must be resolved prior to working for a strong American community -- one of individuals. This paper draws support from 4 focused interviews of middle-class Americans living in the Pacific Northwest. Respondents were asked essentially the same questions as those interviewed by Bellah, and were found to have startlingly different opinions and ideals than those expressed in Habits of the Heart. Based on these interviews, I suggest that an ethical philosophy of responsible individualism is the best and perhaps only morally acceptable route for Americans to take in resolving the social crisis in the United States. Topics mentioned include perceptions of the American Dream, community, civic responsibility, personal relationships, and social welfare in a framework of individualism.

INTRODUCTION

While studying at Seattle University I took a course investigating individualism and community in the context of political theory and American political thought. The book Habits of the Heart (Robert Bellah, *et al*) was one the textbooks we used in our study of this topic. As the class progressed, I became intrigued in the thesis of that book as many of its reflections and conclusions were contrary to my own experiences and beliefs.

Based on four focused interviews of some 200 middle-class Americans found in referrals from colleagues and other persons known to the researchers, Habits of the Heart presents a cultural (rather than exactly psychological or sociological) case study of American values. As a case study, it strikes me as important to note that the potential for interviewer bias is always present.

The theme of the book is that individualism has caused a disintegration in the "moral ecology" of America which must be restored if there are to be morally strong American communities. While I have sensed a similar sort of "moral disintegration", it has been my opinion that it is the result of a drift from responsible individualism. The shirking of individual responsibilities and evasion of moral judgment seems to me to be America's first priority, because a strong community depends on strong individuals.

It was from this perspective that I was inspired to simulate the interviews of Habits of the Heart with some middle-class, white Americans from the Pacific Northwest. As also noted by Bellah, I do not wish to claim a random sample or perfect cross-section of American viewpoints. Instead, the interviews serve the purpose of showing the deep and vocal commitments some Americans have to values, virtue, and moral integrity.

From the preface of Habits I asked the following questions: "How ought we to live? How do we think about how to live? Who are we as Americans? What is our character?

How should we preserve or create a morally coherent life?" (p. vi) Again, following the example of Habits we discussed "their lives and what matters to them; their hopes and fears in relation to larger society; and their perceptions of public and private responsibilities" (p. vi).

In addition, I asked for perceptions of personal relationships; the American Dream; the role of community (what it is, what it should be); civic responsibility; social welfare; and virtue. I taped some interviews, and spoke with the interviewees on several occasions at great length, informally for clarification in addition to the formal interview setting. Although the ideas that I heard were not necessarily identical to my own, they were very different from the communitarianism professed in Habits.

PROFILES

"Jim" is in his late forties. He has been with his wife for more than 25 years and is the father of three children: two sons (ages 24 and 12) and one daughter (age 18). Jim holds a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of Santa Barbara. He works out of his home and as a volunteer case worker/advocate in the juvenile court system in a mostly rural county.

Among Jim's primary concerns was one that the community can be oppressive when trying to "enact" healing upon the individual. As he suggested from his work as a case worker, both the individual and the community can fail to thrive because they are too busy fighting each other to see where solutions can be found. This has little immediate effect on the community, but the "fights" (particularly in the sense of court actions) can wreak tremendous damage on the individual. In the long run, the community is hurt because that individual can't or won't contribute due to the prior alienation and abuse.

"Michelle" is 42 years old. She married and then divorced when she was younger, and then she remarried in her early thirties. She has two daughters (ages 8 and 5), and works as an accountant. She owned her own business for about 15 years, but closed it in order to cut hours and spend more time with her children.

After discussing the nature of her work and moving on to her concerns about Americans, Michelle talked about "being an accountant who cares about accountability." This theme cropped up again and again, and when asked why she was concerned about this, she stated "nothing happens when people do bad things because we're afraid of hurting their feelings". I asked her to clarify what she meant, and she expressed her perception that in the openness and upheaval of the 1960's and 1970's, Americans lost the accountability of their actions. From Nixon and Watergate to the next-door neighbor's children, she told me that she thought we have replaced deserved shame and punishment with cynicism and amorality.

"Sean" is a 38-year old engineer. The father of three boys all under ten years of age, Sean has been married for 15 years. As the sole provider of monetary support to his family, Sean works many long days while also trying to fulfill his obligations as father and husband. A cheerful man, he sees his life situation as "a challenge, not an obstacle." Among these challenges is his deep involvement with the PTA of his children's schools.

When discussing the topics of virtue, civic responsibility, and how to preserve or create a morally coherent life, Sean mentioned that he was concerned with what I like to call "opinion-poll politicking." Although he votes in every election, he finds it difficult to find candidates to support who actually have a philosophy of their own. He told me that their problem was that "they only bite when we bark". He also thought this lack of convictions or stated values and positions is more disenchanting to him than any sophisticated negative election campaign television advertisements.

"Mike" is in his mid-fifties. He is the owner of a very successful retail furniture store. His children are grown and out of college, and he divorced several years ago. A careful businessman, Mike has been pleased to see his work become rewarding not only monetarily, but in many other ways as well.

Among these rewards have been the ability to use his business in a manner consistent with his belief (which his former wife instilled in him) that the personal is political. Mike was worried about the difficulties workers have finding jobs with living wages and other benefits. In addition, he was concerned about the high employee turnover in his business that was hurting his ability to make profits. Mike decided to solve these problems by introducing incentives for employees to stay in the business: flex time, job sharing, health care, and a retirement savings plan. Since he began those programs, his employees have stayed longer, worked harder, and he has started to believe in the ability of each person to make a positive difference in the world.

DISCUSSION

Like Bellah, I heard concern with the lack of participation in the political process, familial breakup, and the absence of values in the public spheres. However, the people I spoke with did not indicate that individualism was the problem. Instead, what I heard were frustrations at a lack of virtue and a desire to see greater personal accountability.

Also as reflected in Habits of the Heart was agreement on a lack of community or "neighborly spirits", to use the words of Michelle. She talked about how people don't bother to get to know each other, but reflected that "it's probably not because they're scared (of each other) but because of apathy." She explained her opinion that this apathy comes from "burnout" -- people lose interest in learning about others because "they know if something (bad) happens, nothing will ever come of it. You can get away with anything, even against you're neighbors, so why bother? Anyway, why would they bother to worry about you?"

In a discussion with Jim about where the values of community might have gone, it was mentioned that we live in an era which focus on personal gain, rather than on personal responsibility. What was inspiring about these discussions was the fact that all four interviewees are trying to shift that focus by living lives of private and public example.

In Habits of the Heart, people who are actively participating in changing their communities through personal action are referred to as "concerned citizens" (p. 181-185). Their is a condescending implication is that what the individual may do can not bring about "real" change or "real" community action. This seems to me to be contradictory to desires for community. How can these social heroes, these "concerned citizens", be anything less than extremely valuable and important? Perhaps it is difficult for the world-weary minds of academia to relate to the enthusiasm of a father for his PTA work, or the passionate commitment to virtuous living held by a businessman, but perhaps it is also belittling to discount the power of their actions.

However, it is not entirely surprising that the communitarian viewpoint denigrates the individual in this manner. Where the goals of the individual (however virtuous those goals may be) are held as less morally important than those of the community, it follows that the individual actions of the community affiliates will be held as less important than actions which come from the "whole".

In my opinion, this communitarian social philosophy, with its lack of centrality for the individual found in theories of liberal justice, is incompatible with American viewpoints -- and liberty. In addition, it is far too simplistic to assume that liberal justice is by definition devoid of possibilities for community participation and moral vitality. On the contrary, by bringing virtue into the discussion of individualism as a moral ecology, it may be possible to end the conflicts between individuals and the community seen in Habits of the Heart.

In discussing the notion of virtue with the interviewees, I was somewhat surprised by the comfort they had in using the word. It is possible that this is a generational trait (in my experience, people my age are unfamiliar with and often unfriendly towards "virtue"), but that does not necessarily make it invalid to speculate that notions of virtue can easily be grasped by Americans. With little variation, virtue or acting virtuously was discussed in such as Sean's, who said "being virtuous means doing what's right, taking care of your responsibilities, doing your part (in society) and not demanding more than you deserve."

As we talked about social welfare programs, the idea of virtue and acting virtuously came up often. I found it interesting that rather than an ideological opposition to helping the poor, the people I spoke with were opposed to handing out ineffectual "aid" in a system that encourages everything except virtue! Furthermore, frustration towards waste and abuse was high, while disapproval of benefits received was low. It was not that giving aid to the needy was seen as a bad idea. Rather, they disliked seeing vast amounts of tax money disappear while governments dole out petty change, hardly easing the problems of poverty (poor education, drug and alcohol abuse, under- and unemployment, lack of family planning, etc.), much less eliminating them. The perceptions were that welfare recipients are neither encouraged to help themselves nor aided in any meaningful way. Furthermore, the people I spoke with were more concerned and angry about waste, fraud, and abuse within the government than with waste, fraud, and abuse among welfare recipients.

Another area looked at in Habits of the Heart is that of the "invisible complexity" of the system of American politics. The suggestion is that Americans do not participate because we cannot see how politics work. If we can see it, we think that our individual inputs do not matter. However, I did not see support for this notion, perhaps because the people I spoke

with had the above-mentioned faith in the impacts of their own actions. Furthermore, they seemed quite knowledgeable (at least anecdotally) about the system of American government. They were all voters, and participated in politics in other ways as well (PACs, letter-writing, campaign volunteering, etc.). Perhaps this is anomalous to the behaviors of other Americans, but perhaps it is not. Indeed, perhaps it is the result of a belief in civic duty or civic responsibility that they tried to be well-informed, active citizens.

A concern for virtue in the area of personal relationships was also discussed. Noting the divorce statistics of the group (50%) , I was intrigued that they were most concerned with the effects of divorce upon children, and not quite as concerned with divorce among childless couples. The explanations given to me about why there is so much divorce in America was not that divorce is too easy, but that alternatives to uncomfortable marriage are found particularly attractive to people unconcerned with the morality and effects of their actions. However, that is not to say that I was told about an immorality of divorce, although both divorcees were bothered by what might be called "frivolous" marriages and separations.

Bellah and other critics of individualism have suggested that love is doomed by individualism, because individualism by nature focuses on the self, rather than concerns beyond the self. As noted in Habits of the Heart, "individuals may want lasting relationships, but such relationships are possible only so long as they meet the needs of the two people involved" (p. 108). Bellah suggests that this is the root of many domestic conflicts. Neither party wish to give up "individuality", and thus both are forced to separate if they are to be true to their beliefs. However, it seems that this is an area where the definitions of individualism are unfairly limited, particularly if the discussion is complicated by the issue of children. The notion of justice that is part of individualist theory requires (at times) compromising one's *temporary* wants. (1) Seen this way, the labors of love are not sacrifices. Ayn Rand noted, "if a mother buys food for her hungry child rather than a hat for herself, it is *not* a sacrifice . . . (it is sacrifice only) for those who have nothing to sacrifice -- no values, no standards, no judgment" (p. 954) -- and no virtue. Exchanges of the self are not sacrifice by definition, and seeing them as such is not love.

Thus what to "do" about divorce is part of the questions, what to do about America? One possible answer is that divorce could be less of a problem for a society concerned with the values, standards, and judgments inherent in virtue rather than one's passing fancies. Making wise decisions for oneself -- as an individualist -- also includes making wise decisions about the lives of one's existing or future children. The link between private life and public responsibility can thus be joined in that the private actions one makes today can become the public problems of tomorrow.

Finally, we talked about that elusive notion of the American Dream. Underlying many criticisms of America is the idea that what is wrong with our society is the goal of conforming to an American Dream. I asked the interviewees exactly what they thought that dream was, and what I heard was anger that "the dream" is assumed to be a purely materialistic one. In addition, there was a yearning that others might see it as they do, as a dream of freedom for bringing about a greater good concurrent with individual achievement. Michelle talked about how this could be brought about by working on an individual basis to build an ethical society, much in the way of Mike's life example.

In light of the despair expressed by some communitarians about the fragmentation of American society, it was interesting that interviewees first prefaced their answers to the questions of an American Dream with a disclaimer. The disclaimer was that "what I think about the American Dream is probably not what others think." As I understand the point of the similarities in their answers, what is missing in the chain of community might be communication. Perhaps this a problem which can be alleviated in this age of information and Internet discourse.

CONCLUSION

Thus I have hope that the public philosophy of America can evolve beyond the problems of materialistic narcissism, and towards a society of "virtuous individualism". Appropriate measures of reform should be found which are consistent with individual rights, the American Dream, and notions of virtue in personal and public affairs. As responsible moral agents, it is the requirement of individuals to act according to virtue and work for changes from within the human heart. These changes are not located in a "second language" of community as suggested in Habits of the Heart, but rather in the traditions of virtue and responsibility that make up existing American political thought.

The discussions in Habits and the discussions I had alerted me to the difficulty in straddling the fence of political theory, that gray area between political science and philosophy. After all, it seems difficult to prove one's rhetoric by merely quoting "what people have told me" in support of one's own beliefs. This method ambiguity leads me to wish I'd had the chance (and that Habits had the chance) to attempt somewhat more "scientific" types of research.

Additionally, the diversity of opinion between Bellah's group and mine serve to remind me of the problems of trying to assert a concrete knowledge of a definable belief. Even our middle classes hold widely differing opinions on some subjects, easily mislabeled and misused by persons with a political agenda. However, this should not invalidate the opportunity for some generalizations. It merely places a signal of caution before the eyes of researchers and policymakers.

To sum the difference between my study and that of Habits of the Heart, I heard a desire for a community of strong individuals, rather than a desire for a society wherein individuals exist for the sake of community. This is contrary to the message of Habits of the Heart, which hopes for "organic" communities of Americans. In that vision, the community is envisioned as a being with intrinsic moral value, constantly threatened by individual rights. In my opinion, that view can only further strengthen the rifts between Americans and ignore the valuable contributions of virtue in society.

Among the similarities of both case studies are important messages of hope. In Habits of the Heart, there is hope that there will be a renewal of the commitments between American individuals and community. In my interviews, there was a hope for an end to what might be called a false dichotomy between individualism and community. Real social evolution can come from working within American society to establish a public philosophy of virtue *and* individualism. Without such evolution, the American crisis will surely continue and worsen. Mike told me "I had to do something, doing nothing wasn't working and made me feel bad." I suggest that we use these examples of individual moral thinking combined with action so that inaction will not make us feel worse.

NOTES

(1) Obviously, this does not refer to cases of abuse, which would require a situation change for safety reasons. No theory of justice or morality can encourage remaining in abusive relationships.

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Neighborhood Based Services: A Rochester Case Study

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ABSTRACT

Recent political changes and budgetary cutbacks have prompted a reevaluation of existing services and programs to help families. Currently, in Rochester, there are six settlement houses and six family resource centers representing two different models: meeting neighborhood needs and building on individual assets and resources. These distinct agencies are converging in their practices of grant-seeking, organizational structure, and service provision. However, in order to compete for funding and program participants, each agency must maintain a specific niche in the community. These respective niches are defined in terms of philosophical differences, the geographic areas served, and the maintenance of specific political characters. Individual agency entrepreneurship inhibits service linkage in the short-term; however, collaborative efforts and integration may be possible in the future.

INTRODUCTION

Budgetary constraints and efficiency considerations are the driving forces behind any discussion of service integration and funding consolidation, including services for families and children. This study focuses on settlement houses and family resource centers in Rochester.

Since their creation in the 1890s, settlement houses have transformed from neighborhood-based informal networks into professional social services agencies that provide for basic needs, case management services, and programs for at-risk youth. As a result of the increasing institutional nature of settlement houses, a newer type of neighborhood-based services emerged in the 1970s. Family resource centers operate more informally and focus on family development through parent and early childhood education.

FOCUS AND METHODS

This project is a result of three months of research during which I interviewed agency directors, funders, and local government officials. I also examined the literature about each type of organization to understand their respective historical and philosophical origins. With all of this information, I have drawn a number of conclusions about short and long term trends in the organizational behavior of these agencies and the prospects for integrating services.

THEORETICAL MODELS

This project examines neighborhood-based services within the framework of two competing models of community-building: the deficit model and the asset model. The deficit model focuses on individual needs and constructs social problems as either individual deficiencies or societal shortcomings. These social problems could include unemployment, crime, drug abuse, or family deterioration. Once a problem is defined within the deficit model, there are two competing constructions: the exceptionalist viewpoint and the universalist viewpoint (Baker and Northman 1981, 11-12). The exceptionalist viewpoint, or medical model, explains a social problem in terms of individual deviance that can be classified and treated by some professional intervention. The universalist viewpoint, or public health model, considers problems experienced by individuals in the broader social context and targeted interventions should be focused on changing the environment. The asset model, as proposed by John McKnight, seeks to develop resources and capacities within individuals and neighborhoods by connecting people through community institutions like churches, libraries, parks and schools (McKnight and Kretzman 1993). This model emphasizes the ability of each individual to act on his or her own behalf. Table 1 gives an overview of each model.

TABLE 1

AN OVERVIEW OF THE MODELS

	DEFICIT		ASSET
Characteristics	*Exceptionalist*	*Universalist*	*Asset*
Focus	Deficiency of individual	Deficiencies of social arrangement	Individual strengths and capacities
Method of Helping	Professional intervention with individual	Attempt to improve social conditions around individuals	Getting individuals to recognize and use the resources around them
Rationale for Helping	Individual must be treated to eliminate a singular, named problem	Societal barriers must be eliminated to help individuals	Groups or individual can help themselves if they have ability to obtain resources
Relationship between provider and recipient	Professional specialist and client	Professional generalist and client	Partnership

The deficit model and the asset model have the same goals including helping people, strengthening families, and building communities; however, the method of help differs. The deficit model suggests that the solutions to individual or social problems are to bring professionals in from outside the community to provide services. The asset model suggests that individuals within the community have the ability to work together to solve problems by pooling resources and seeking outside help if needed. McKnight explains the differences by saying that systems are the tools that professionals and experts use to solve problems and associations are the tools that citizens use to solve problems ("Language" 1992). This dichotomy provides a useful paradigm for studying neighborhood-based services in Rochester as aspects of each are expressed in the settlement houses and family resource centers.

MOVING TOGETHER: CONVERGENCE IN SETTLEMENT HOUSES AND FAMILY RESOURCE CENTERS

Recent trends indicate that the practices of settlement houses and family resource centers in Rochester are converging. The factors causing this convergence include funding and evaluation guidelines, efficiency considerations in agency administration, and the provision of appropriate services. As the available financial resources diminish, settlement houses and family resource centers face increasing pressure to provide comprehensive service and demonstrate the impact of such services on the community.

Settlement houses and family resource centers gather support from a variety of funding streams. Settlement houses receive funding primarily from the United Way, county government contracts and public support. Family resource centers receive funding primarily through the foundations, city government via the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG), and church contributions. Most of these funders value the creative use of community resources and citizen involvement in the problem solving process. At the same time, they maintain a deficit-oriented funding structure. This contradiction encourages settlement houses to adopt some characteristics of the asset model by collaborating with neighborhood groups and local schools. For example, some of the settlement houses are involved in an initiative, funded by the United Way, the county and the city, to link school children and their parents to the settlement houses by offering services and programs at the schools. Similarly, funding constraints force family resource centers to focus more on deficiencies: rigorous deficit-based evaluation standards and criteria often accompany stable funding streams. For example, the family resource centers are able to receive CDBG funds as they are located in low to moderate income areas; this income measure represents the deficit based orientation.

The organizational structures of settlement houses and family resource centers are converging. Both attempt simultaneously to reduce administrative overhead and expand service offerings. The pressure to meet the needs of the "customers" has led to specialization within each organization and growth in the number of staff members as the agency matures and expands programming. The character and size of settlement house staff have changed remarkably over time as professionals replaced "settlers." Settlement houses began originally as gathering places for recent immigrants to organize and adjust to American life by offering

TABLE 2

CONVERGENCE IN SETTLEMENT HOUSES AND FAMILY RESOURCE CENTERS

POINTS OF CONVERGENCE	Settlement Houses	Family Resource Centers
Funding Major Current Sources	• United Way • Government grants and contracts for services	• City of Rochester • Foundations • Churches
New Initiatives	• Capital improvement campaign including gifts from various foundations and corporations • Initiative with city schools funded by city, county, and United Way	• Grant from county for evaluation • Special grant from county for preventive services • Success by Six - United Way program
Organizational Structure Staff Size	• Ranges from 25 to 45	• Ranges from two to 14
Umbrella Organization	• Two umbrella organizations that work closely together • All groups are incorporated independently • Administrative organization is funded by United Way and settlement houses • Foundation is self-funding and serves as distribution point for settlement houses	• Single umbrella group to coordinate fundraising and administrative tasks and set policy for all family resource centers • All family resource centers will eventually share non-profit status of umbrella organization • Umbrella organization will serve as the distribution point for most family resource center funds
Services School Relationship	• Services to middle school students and parents at school-based site • Truancy prevention programs provide counseling and home visits to families	• Provide early childhood education and parenting classes • Attendance Project offered by one family resource center pays center participants to visit parents of children with poor attendance
Range of Services	• Offer services to all ages • Service offerings include youth recreation, job skills, child care, preschool, emergency assistance, transportation	• Some centers include programs for grandparents raising grandchildren • Larger center offer job skills programs and self-help counseling
Asset-based and Deficit-based Services	• Some offer asset-based programs like tool-lending libraries and citizen police patrols	• Some family resource programs are applying eligibility requirements for programs

informal preschool education and help for young mothers. Currently, settlement houses provide emergency services, youth programs, substance abuse programs and services for the developmentally disabled. Family resource centers are experiencing similar changes as they expand to offer a greater range of services. The oldest family resource center, with a combined part-time and full-time staff of 14, offers early childhood education programs, parenting skills, transportation, job skills training, and home visits. In contrast, one of the newer family

resource centers operates with a staff of two offers only the basic programs including early childhood education and parenting skills.

The umbrella organizations for the settlement houses and family resource center are moving toward a corporate structure to improve administrative efficiency and maximize staff time for programming at individual centers. Both umbrella organizations conduct fundraising activities and act as a central distribution point for some grants. Both umbrella agencies are currently investigating computerization to aid in program evaluation.

Settlement houses and family resource center are also converging in terms of the services each offers. In particular, education and family support services, the range of service provided and the balance of asset-based and deficit-based services all indicate convergence. As settlement houses move from an individual to family focus, they are working to create linkages between schools, parents, and human services. This mirrors the relationship between preschool children, parents and family resource centers. Finally, there is a blending of the models within the types of services offered by each agency. Settlement houses offer some asset-based programs that provide physical resources to individual like tool lending libraries and neighborhood improvement grants. Family resource centers are at the same time prone to becoming deficit-based as they may be forced to eventually apply more stringent eligibility requirements for services. A program offered at one of the family resource centers requires that women must be on public assistance and may not be involved with any other agencies.

DEFINING A NICHE: HOW SETTLEMENT HOUSES AND FAMILY RESOURCE CENTERS DIFFERENTIATE THEMSELVES

Although settlement houses and family resource centers are converging in their practices and behaviors, these agencies appear to be differentiating themselves in order to maintain funding sources and compete for clients and participants. These agencies operate in separate spheres based on philosophical differences, differing definitions of neighborhoods, and the maintenance of separate political characters. The Rochester settlement houses have successfully ensured their survival as an organization through their ties with the United Way and other stable funding sources as well as with government service contracts.

The family resource centers, on the other hand, are at a critical juncture in their growth. In order to survive, they must reinforce their niche and find stable funding sources. Family resource centers have been able to grow as they present an alternative to more institutionalized human service agencies. Family resource centers capitalize on this perception and advocate a return to the original ideals of the settlement houses that seem to have been lost to bureaucratization. Instead of providing only services, the family resource center philosophy promotes asset-based principles to govern interactions with participants and promote interdependence between center and participant. Family resource centers reject case management and have refused funding from sources that would dilute their philosophy. The Rochester family resource centers do not accept reimbursements from Child Protective Services as reporting information about participants could undermine the relationship between the participants and the center.

Another mechanism that family resource centers use to distinguish themselves from the settlement houses is in their definition of the neighborhoods they serve. Family resource center service micro-neighborhoods, consisting of a few blocks, to eliminate transportation barriers to participants and facilitate informal relationships among participants. Settlement houses serve macro-neighborhoods encompassing larger geographic areas with more diverse ethnic composition. These competing definitions of a neighborhood also influence the growth patterns of each agency. Settlement houses expand by creating a larger center with more services, including Department of Social Services branch offices. Family resource centers expand by replication so that services retain their local ties. Thus, it is possible for both a settlement house and a family resource center to be operating in the same neighborhood and still reach different families by offering different programs in different environments.

The settlement houses and family resource centers each rely on different political allies as advocates for programs. Settlement houses appear to promote the status quo in terms of service provision and are associated with liberal government spending. Traditionally, the settlement house movement has aligned itself with social reforms through the labor movement and housing reforms; however, this association has weakened over time.

Family resource centers reject the notion of large programs. While settlement houses benchmark their performance on efficiency standards in order to appeal to corporate contributors, family resource centers emphasize self-sufficiency to appeal to churches and local

government. Weissbourd (1991) asserts that family support principles reinforce self-sufficiency to allay conservative fears about dependency and liberal concerns over a lack of public support for families. Both settlement houses and family resource centers modify their public image to adapt to the current funding environment and state and federal government funding initiatives.

THE FUTURE: WILL SETTLEMENT HOUSES AND FAMILY RESOURCE CENTERS CONTINUE TO COEXIST? IF SO, HOW?

Settlement houses are ensured a continued existence based on strong historical relationships with the United Way, the Department of Social Services, and powerful community members. Family resource centers, on the other hand, have an uncertain future as the same features that make them unique also create difficulties in garnering steady financial support. Family resource centers have continued to flourish in an unstable environment based on the individual commitment of the first and second "generation" leadership who strictly adhere to the original mission and philosophy. The institutionalization of family resource centers necessary to preserve the organization has the potential to undermine the philosophy and inhibit the creativity of each individual center.

In the short term, the only relationship that will be possible between the family resource centers and other agencies is an informal "feeder" relationship. Family resource center staff are in an ideal position to informally refer participants to services available through other agencies.

In the long term, if family resource centers maintain a continuing existence, it may be possible for family resource centers and settlement houses to coordinate services under the umbrella of family support principles. It is conceivable that a neighborhood family center concept could be implemented in Rochester as many inputs are already in place including job skills programs, neighborhood improvement programs, citizen police patrols, and opportunities for informal networking.

The concept of convergence and the future potential for linkages begs to question: why should both types of agencies be maintained? One reason is that family resource centers work to keep families out of governmental programs, while settlement houses administer some government programs. The size and location of settlement houses and family resource centers may also justify their dual existence. Finally, settlement houses and family resource centers may appeal to different donors and supporters who provide resources for each agency that would be lost if either agency type were to disappear.

CONCLUSION

Settlement houses were the pioneers of neighborhood-based services in an era before the rise of formal social services. In order to survive as an organization, the settlement houses have changed over time in both their philosophy and practices. As a result of the transformation, family resource centers have emerged largely as a return to the original settlement house principles. However, family resource centers are now facing similar challenges to assure their survival and maintain a separate neighborhood niche. It is still too early to tell whether family resource centers can entrench themselves as the settlement houses have been able to do. The family resource center organizational structure is undergoing a rapid transformation to meet this challenge. Once the environment has stabilized, further research should be undertaken to evaluate the philosophical and operational changes at the settlement houses and family resource centers.

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The Role of Attitudes in the Management of Diabetes in Children

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ABSTRACT

In recent years an effort has been made to identify the psychosocial variables that are believed to have an important role in the effective management of diabetes. Attitude is one psychosocial variable that has been consistently identified as a significant contributor to well-managed diabetes. This study examined the effects that attitudes towards diabetes have on the management of diabetes in children. Twenty youth (ages 10-14 yr) with insulin- dependent diabetes participated in this study. Information was obtained through three questionnaires. It was found that attitudes do play a role in individuals' treatment of their diabetes, and therefore may play a crucial role in the course of the disease.

INTRODUCTION

Insulin-dependent diabetes mellitus (IDDM) is a chronic disease that affects an estimated 1.4 million people in the United States. This disease can develop at any age, but it is usually diagnosed during childhood or adolescence. The causes of IDDM are unknown. IDDM affects the pancreas so that a person with diabetes produces little or no insulin, a hormone that is necessary for glucose to be used properly, resulting in elevated blood glucose levels. There is presently no cure for diabetes, but it can be managed through a treatment regimen.

Treatment for IDDM involves daily injections of insulin, diet, regular blood glucose monitoring, and exercise. This regimen is complex and involves many changes and adjustments that must be made by the person who has just been diagnosed with IDDM. Jacobson (1986) described the treatment of IDDM as a complex set of skills that must be mastered and then applied against habits, social pressures, and personal preferences. Management of diabetes entails how a person with diabetes cares for the disease. It is through good management that persons with diabetes can have their diabetes under control.

It is vital that the person with diabetes follows their prescribed treatment regimen as it can greatly decrease the risk of developing complications due to diabetes. Control of diabetes is achieved by balancing diet, exercise, and insulin in order to obtain blood glucose readings in the near-normal range. The Diabetes Control and Complications Trial (DCCT), a ten year study that looked at the relationship between control and complications in two groups of people with IDDM, found that having blood glucose levels in the near-normal range can make a significant difference in whether or not complications develop (Blakeslee, 1993). In some instances good control reversed the effects of a complication.

There are numerous psychosocial factors, but attitude is one psychosocial factor that has been consistently identified as an important contributor to well-managed diabetes (Greene, Beaudin, & Bryan, 1991). Attitudinal factors are believed to play an essential role in how a person with diabetes adheres to the prescribed management regimen (Jacobson & Hauser, 1983). Dunn, Beeney, Hoskins, and Turtle (1990) examined the effects of a formal diabetes education program on knowledge specific to diabetes and also attitude towards diabetes in order to investigate the relationship between these characteristics and individual metabolic control of the disease. The duration of the study was fifteen months and questionnaires were used to collect information from the 309 subjects. Dunn et al. (1990) found that a change in attitude, in respect to a person's perception of emotional adjustment to diabetes, was predictive of subsequent improvement in a person's control of the disease. This probably occurred through greater compliance

of the subjects in regards to the prescribed medical regimens. Attitudes may predict how a person cares for diabetes so it is an important factor that needs to be addressed.

Taylor (1983) studied women with breast cancer and found that those with the best prognoses and lowest relapse rates were likely to make downward comparisons, comparing themselves favorably with women who were less fortunate than they were. Using social comparison process to enhance one's self-esteem is intriguing as it connects social psychological processes with clinical outcomes.

In addition to the positive effects such psychosocial variables may have on the physical health of those with IDDM, positive self-enhancing attitudes may also benefit their psychological well-being. Since IDDM is a chronic, highly behaviorally challenging disease, individuals who are newly diagnosed may suffer enormous challenges to their sense of well-being. Better attitudinal adjustment to diabetes may be a key factor in maintaining good mental health in such individuals.

The present study

The DCCT proved the importance of well-managed diabetes. Other studies have shown how attitudes may affect management of diabetes. The purpose of the present study was multifold. One objective was to explore the relationship between attitudes towards diabetes and management of diabetes in a sample of children. It is important to study this age group since this is when IDDM is typically diagnosed, and therefore presents profound challenges to individuals' mental and physical well-being. The hypothesis was that those children with more positive attitudes about their diabetes and its impact on their life would have better managed diabetes than those with more negative attitudes towards diabetes. Another objective was to examine how social comparisons may affect how a person views and manages diabetes. The hypothesis was that those who make more downward social comparisons will have more positive attitudes towards diabetes and better managed diabetes than those comparing themselves unfavorably to others. The final objective was to explore how self-worth may be affected by having diabetes. The hypothesis was that better management of diabetes may be related to higher self-worth when compared to the self-worth of those with poor management. To test all of these hypotheses, all subjects completed three questionnaires that addressed attitudes towards diabetes, management of diabetes, and other related issues.

METHOD

Subjects

Twenty subjects (11 males and 9 females) with insulin-dependent diabetes participated in this study. The subjects ranged in age from 10 years to 14 years old. The duration of the disease in the subjects ranged from less than a year to greater than ten years. A variety of socioeconomic backgrounds and ethnic groups were represented by the subjects. The subjects were attending a week-long camp for children with diabetes. The subjects volunteered to be in the study and consent was received from their parents/guardians.

Measures

Information was obtained from the subjects through three questionnaires that focused on subjects' self-perceptions, their adjustment to having diabetes, their management of their diabetes, and their attitudes concerning diabetes. Each measure is described in the following sections.

Perceived competence. Harter's (1985) Self-Perception Profile for Children was used to measure the subject's self-perceptions of personal competence in several domains. This 42-item scale considers scholastic competence, social acceptance, athletic competence, physical appearance, behavioral conduct, as well as global self-worth. Global self-worth is a measure of the extent to which the child likes themself as a person, is happy with the way they are living their life, and is generally pleased with the way they are (Harter, 1985). This measure provides a global judgement of a child's worth as a person and was used in this study.

Diabetes adjustment. The Diabetic Adjustment Scale (DAS), developed by Sullivan (1979), was used to evaluate the subject's psychosocial adjustment to having diabetes. This 68-item scale provides information on the subject's adjustment scores for the following categories: dependence-independence, school adjustment, family relationships, peer adjustment, and attitudes toward the body and diabetes. This study used all the measures from the DAS.

Attitudes and management of diabetes. The researcher developed a questionnaire to address the issues of attitudes towards diabetes and management of diabetes. Twelve statements were developed concerning management of diabetes. These statements pertained to the following areas: blood glucose monitoring, administration of insulin, diet, exercise, carrying supplies to treat a reaction, and informing others of condition. Ten statements were created to address attitude of subject towards diabetes. These statements focused on control of diabetes, comparison to others with diabetes, and attitude towards the disease.

Procedure

The subjects who volunteered to participate in this study were informed that throughout the week of camp they would fill out the questionnaires during their rest times. The questionnaires were administered to the subjects in a counterbalanced order. Before subjects filled out a questionnaire they were given instructions on how to do so. One questionnaire was completed each session for a total of three sessions during the week. The subjects were also informed that if they had any questions that they should ask the researcher when the researcher collected the completed questionnaires.

RESULTS

Diabetes-related attitudes and management. It was found that attitude towards diabetes is a difficult psychosocial variable to identify. Correlations were run to determine which statements affected management. These statements were then grouped together to form a composite attitude component which included 6 statements. The statements that represented attitude focused on specific attitudes towards diabetes, attitudes towards others with disease in comparison to self, and attitudes towards control of diabetes. The statements on management pertained to the following areas: blood glucose monitoring, administration of insulin, diet, exercise, carrying supplies to treat a reaction, and informing others of condition. This correlation between management and attitude was significant ($r = .73$, $p < .01$).

Given the significant correlation between the composite attitude score and management the sample was divided into two groups ("good attitudes" and "poor attitudes"), using the median-split procedure, for further analysis. Those subjects with good attitudes towards diabetes had an average management score of 41.36 compared with that of 33.44 for subjects with poor attitudes towards diabetes. An analysis of covariance (with years as the covariate) was run and yielded a significant main effect for composite attitude ($F(1,15) = 8.07$, $p < .05$). That is, attitudes towards diabetes tend to improve with the duration of the disease.

Social comparison and attitudes towards diabetes. Another objective of this study was to examine how social comparisons may affect how a person views diabetes. Social comparison was measured by subjects responses to two statements concerning how individuals viewed self in comparison to other people with diabetes. It was discovered that those who compared themselves more favorably to others had better attitudes towards diabetes than those who compared themselves less favorably. The average attitude score for those who thought well of themselves was 26.56 as compared to 22.55 for those who thought lesser of themselves ($F(1,15) = 7.36$, $p < .05$).

Social comparison and management of diabetes. It was found that those who view themselves better in regards to others had higher management scores than those who view themselves poorer in regards to others. The average management score for those who thought well of themselves was 39.89 while for those who thought less of themselves it was 36.09. However, this difference was not statistically significant.

Management of diabetes and self-worth. One of the objectives of this study was to explore how self-worth may be affected by diabetes. It was found that those with good management had a better sense of self-worth than those with poor management. The subjects with good management had average total discrepancy scores of -0.94 as compared to -1.52 for those with poor management. A similar trend was seen for self-worth scores. The subjects with good management had average self-worth scores of 18.70 as compared to 17.90 for those with poor management. However, these differences were not significant by analysis of variance.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study showed that specific attitudes towards diabetes, attitudes

towards others with disease in comparison to self, and attitudes towards control of diabetes as a whole had an impact on management of diabetes. The hypothesis that good attitudes about diabetes should result in better managed diabetes was supported by this study. Attitudes towards diabetes in previous studies (Greene, Beaudin, & Bryan, 1981; Jacobson & Hauser, 1983; Dunn et al., 1990) had been identified as an important psychosocial variable as it may influence how a person with diabetes manages the disease. Because management of diabetes influences the type of control that a person has of their diabetes and the type of control influences whether or not complications will develop it is an essential area that requires more research. Specifically, what appears to be needed is research that will concretely identify what attitudes towards diabetes are.

One of the purposes of the present study was to examine how social comparisons may affect how a person views diabetes. Taylor (1983) found that social comparisons played an important role in the recovery process for women with breast cancer. In the present study support was found for the role of social comparisons. It was discovered that those children who thought well of themselves relative to other kids had better attitudes towards diabetes than those who thought more poorly of themselves. This result supported the hypothesis that making downward social comparisons may result in better attitudes towards diabetes.

It was also found that making social comparisons may affect how one manages their diabetes. Those children who thought well of themselves relative to other kids managed their diabetes better than those who thought more poorly of themselves. However, this relationship was not significant. In regards to social comparison it appears that social comparison has a greater influence on attitudes as opposed to management.

Another objective of the present study was to explore how self-worth may be affected by having diabetes. It was found that subjects with good management had better self-worth than those with poor management suggesting that having diabetes can affect one's self-worth. The difference between the subjects with good management and those with poor management in regards to self-worth were not, however, statistically significant. An important question to ask and that needs to be answered by future studies is: Does diabetes contribute to lower self-worth among those with the disease as compared to those without diabetes?

An important point that needs to made is that due to the nature of the present study it was not possible to predict the direction of the effects. It may be that good attitudes about diabetes leads to better management of diabetes or it is possible that better management of diabetes leads to better attitudes about diabetes.

The primary weakness of the present study was the small sample size, although it was found that diabetes camp was a good place to do a study like this as the subjects were all in one location for a week. An improvement would be to have a larger sample size.

In future studies it would be valuable to have a matched control group. This would allow the area of self-worth to be more fully examined as self-worth could be compared among those with diabetes and those without to see how diabetes impacts the self-worth of an individual with the disease.

Concluding Remarks

The present study has shown the importance of viewing diabetes not only from a medical viewpoint, but also from a psychological perspective. This study has shown how attitudes towards diabetes may influence how one manages their diabetes and the DCCT has shown the vital importance of management. This study has also shown how social comparisons may affect how a person views diabetes and how self-worth may be affected by diabetes. Further studies are needed to more concretely identify attitudes towards diabetes and how self-worth may be impacted by diabetes. Diabetes is a disease that needs to be cared for not just medically, but also psychologically. Doing so will improve the life of an individual with diabetes and also the course of the disease.

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A Study on The Value of Family Relationships

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Abstract

This study focuses on the value placed on family relationships as a function of age. It was hypothesized that younger people would tend to value personal goals above family commitments, whereas older people would place a greater value on family commitments as compared to personal goals. Thirty people were selected out of a group of 80 that were present at a family reunion. The subject's ages ranged from 12 years old to over 60 years old. There were 14 males and 16 females. Subjects responded to a survey requesting information about their feelings toward family. The result of this study supported the hypothesis. While everyone valued family ties, the younger adults (29 years or younger) placed a greater emphasis on their personal goals. Older adults (over 50 years old) placed greater emphasis on family ties and relationships over personal goals.

INTRODUCTION

The family can be defined as a small group of individuals with intense one-to-one relationships or bonds in which the welfare of one affects all. It is the famework best equipped to handle individuals of more than one generation, individuals of different age levels and different needs from those around them. When it fulfills its functions successfully it becomes the smallest unit of a larger group, a society (White, 1978, p.115). It is the unit that has evolved to meet the physical and emotional needs of its members. These needs include the need to be loved and valued. A value is the worth a person places on something. An individual may defend his own values as he defends his own self. Values provide orientation to the relations of individual, family and society. They give meaning to a person's position in life. As the individual moves through time, his perspective is influenced by this continuously evolving process of value change, which parallels his membership in a progressive series of changing groups. It is by a recognition of values that we attach meaning to differences among people. The young and old hold different values. Values are distinct for each era of life: childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age (Ackerman, 1958, p.336).

How much do people value their families? The family structure constantly changes as each individual ages and this causes a shift in values. The causes for this shift can be for several reasons. Career plans toward higher paying jobs and the attractiveness of an exciting career as well as the economic insecurity we are faced with. This shift in values also relates to the changes in family structure.

Many more women are in the job force than ever before. Barbara Blum, during the state hearings held before the subcommittee on Children, Families, Drugs and Alcoholism (1991), stated that the last 20 years have brought dramatic shifts in the American workplace as women make up larger and larger proportions of the workforce. This trend is expected only to intensify. Along with more women in the workforce, more fathers are also taking a more active family role other than the breadwinner.

The family varies at different places and in different times, and reflects changing individual needs and changing societies. The time frame with which the family adapts, however, is built into the biology of its individuals. This fixed time schedule for physical and emotional development, as contrasted with a fluid world of rapidly changing institutions, expanded opportunities, easy disorganization, and chaotic variability makes for some of the problems that burden the family today (White, 1978, p.16).

In the present study, family values were examined to see if young adults (29 years old and younger) placed greater emphasis on private materialism while older adults (50 years old and above) committed themselves more towards their family. It was hypothesized that younger people would tend to value personal goals above family commitments, whereas older people would place a greater value on family commitments.

METHOD

Participants

Thirty subjects were selected out of a group of 80 that were present at a family reunion taken place at a resort. There were 14 males and 16 females. Eleven of the subjects were 29 years old and younger, eight subjects were between 30 and 49 years old and 11 subjects were over 50 years old. Participants came from a variety of backgrounds.

Materials

Subjects volunteered to fill out a survey that consisted of a total of eleven questions. There were five open ended questions regarding the importance and value of family, and one question that asked subjects to circle four words that best described their relationship with family members; there were eight positive words and eight negative words to choose from and there was a scale from one to five to rate the importance of family to the person. Finally, there were four demographic question.

Procedure

Participants at a family reunion were asked to fill out a survey regarding family relationships and values in three different locations of the resort they were staying at. Individuals were found either in the hallways of the resort, or the dining area, or in the nightclub. There was no need for any debriefing.

RESULTS

Questions one through four on the survey were demographic questions. Pertaining to questions five through seven, any answers on the survey that talked about school, work, careers, or personal needs, were considered personal goals. For example, most of the people surveyed in the youngest group expressed their concerns and aspirations in either their work or their education. Any answer on the survey that pertained to family importance and commitments was in the category of family importance. The oldest group talked a great deal about enjoying and helping out with their grandchildren, and also talked about taking family trips. They generally spoke with pride about their family and fiends. A Chi-square was used to analyze questions five through seven. Questions eight, nine, and ten gave a general idea of how each person in the study felt overall about family. In these three questions all groups replied with answers similar to one another. All remarks were extremely positive. Even question eight which asked, "What is the worst thing about family?" Most people responded,"nothing" in all three groups. Finally, a t test was used to analyze question 11 on the survey which dealt with a scale of importance of family.

Table 1: Family Survey

Circle One
1. Male / Female
2. Age Group: Under 20 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60 or over
3. Married / Single
4. Children? Yes / No
5. What is going on in your life at this point? (It could be negative or positive).
6. What does this family reunion do for you? Why do you want to spend time together?
7. What is most important about this weekend to you?
8. What is the worst thing about family?
9. What is the best thing about family?
10. For the most part, circle the 4 words most that describes your relationship with family members: encouraging / openness companionship / jokingly / understanding / affectionate / gives good advise / always there / critical / not trusting / just okay doesn't seem to care / narrow minded / not understanding discouraging / wish it were closer
11. Circle the importance you place on family: 5 a little 10 somewhat / 15 important / 20 very important

The mean importance rating for the older adults (ages 50 and above, using a scale from five through 20 (5 being the least important and 20 being very important), was 20. The mean importance for the young adults (ages 29 and younger) was 14.09. The mode for the older adults was 20 and the mode for the younger adults was 15. The results from the independent t test clearly revealed a substantial difference between these groups. $t(20) = 3.11$, $p < .05$.

Table 2: Importance Scale of Family

RESPONSES	PEOPLE'S RESPONSES					
VERY IMPORTANT 20	1	2	1	2	4	7
IMPORTANT 15	3	1	3	2	0	0
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT 10	2	1	0	0	0	0
A LITTLE IMPORTANT 5	0	1	0	0	0	0
AGES	UNDER 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & OVER

A Chi-square was used for questions five through seven from the survey. These results also indicated a significant difference. X^2 (4, n = 30) = 22.18, $p < .05$.

DISCUSSION

The results of this experiment supported the hypothesis that younger people placed personal goals above family commitments, while older individuals placed a greater value on family commitments.

This is not to say that younger people did not think family commitments were important. Their family relationships were important. However, they were concerned with and planning their own future. They were geared more towards their personal goals and achievements.

The oldest adults surveyed felt strongest about family values and commitments. There isn't the struggle that the younger adults are faced with. The older adults were more content in who they are and can focus on family commitments better.

As for the group of individuals between 30 years old to 49, although we were not interested in looking at this particular age group, it was obvious that they showed a serious outlook toward family commitments also. This group had stronger values than the younger group, but again, their values were not as strong as the older people surveyed.

This study has just touched upon family values in regard to aging. This particular study has opened up an interesting area that future researchers might continue to study.

Each group comes from a different time in which they grew up in. What are the possible cohort effects regarding family obligation and ties?

Another area to investigate is how families support or do not support the younger members who are trying to obtain their personal achievements.

The family is crucial for values in a society,how we relate to others and to help withclear definition of what we want to do with our lives.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOMOPHOBIA, PEER COUNSELING EFFECTIVENESS, AND PEER COUNSELING SELF-CONFIDENCE

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The relationships between a peer counselor's level of homophobia, their self-perceptions of counseling ability, and their effectiveness as a peer counselor were examined. Resident Assistants (RA's, N=27) completed the Index of Homophobia (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) and the Peer Counseling Comfort Scale. Resident students (N=159) evaluated their RA's performance and ability as a peer counselor. Results from the three surveys were correlated. A significant correlation was found between homophobia scores and peer counseling self-perception. Implications for counseling practice and directions for future research were discussed.

INTRODUCTION

College is a time when, "free from the scrutiny of family and high school friends, lesbian and gay youth may acknowledge their feelings and begin to expand the network to whom they disclose their orientations" (D'Augelli & Rose, 1990, p. 485), perhaps for the first time in their lives. A barrier to this acknowledgment comes from homophobic attitudes expressed by the students around them. A study conducted by D'Augelli and Rose (1990) found high levels of homophobic attitudes in a sample of college freshmen. Of those surveyed, 29% believed that the university would be a "better place" if only heterosexual students were allowed to attend. Almost 50% found gay male sexual behavior to be "plain wrong" and described gay males as "disgusting."

Many colleges and universities utilize Resident Assistants as paraprofessional staff members providing peer counseling services for students living in the residence halls. In many instances, a Resident Assistant is the initial link in the counseling process, providing peer counseling for a variety of issues and, when necessary, referring students to the university's counseling center or other appropriate service providers (Blimling & Miltenberger, 1990). Resident Assistants engage in peer counseling with the students living on their residence halls and are, in fact, the single largest group of peer counselors on most college campuses (Supton & Wolf, 1983). Deluga and Winters (1991) found that a primary reason cited for becoming a resident assistant was the opportunity to help students with personal problems.

Peer counseling is broadly defined as "the use of active listening and problem-solving skills, along with knowledge about human growth and mental health, to counsel people who are our peers" (D'Andrea & Slalovey, 1983, p.3). Shipton and Schuh (1982) offer a broader definition of "helping students make choices, . . . bringing about changes in their pattern of actions, thoughts or feelings; or referring students to mental health professionals on campus for personal assistance" (p. 247). Delworth, Sherwood, and Casaburri (1974) described the Resident Assistant's competency as a counselor as the major criterion used for judgment of their effectiveness.

A study by D'Augelli (1989) found that students applying to be Resident Assistants had attitudes towards gay males, lesbians, and bisexuals similar to those found in the general college population. Seventy-seven percent had made homophobic comments or told homophobic jokes. Male Resident Assistants were found to have significantly more homophobic attitudes than were females.

Resident Assistants' views about and actions toward gay males, lesbians, and bisexuals affect their ability to relate to gay male, lesbian, and bisexual students living on their residence halls. Gay male, lesbian, . and bisexaul students avoid contact with individuals who express views hostile to them and their sexual orientation.

According to D'Augelli (1989), Resident Assistant attitudes and actions related to gay males and lesbians are important for two reasons. First, the Resident Assistant is likely to be the most immediately available representative of the university for their resident students. Second, if harassment, discrimination, and/or violence does occur, the Resident Assistant may be the first person to whom a gay male or lesbian student turns. A homophobic RA might not be responsive to a students situation and might not take action to prevent further harassment from occurring. This cannot help but lead to the student's failure to report incidents, increased secretiveness on the part of the student, and increased fear for the student (Lance, 1987).

One of the tasks which Supton and Wolf (1983) identify as critical to effective peer counseling is putting one's personal values aside in order to help the client deal with his or her problem. Unfortunately, this may be difficult to do with a value as deeply held as homophobia. D'Andrea and Salovey (1983) outline "eight commandments" of peer counseling. One of these, "Be Empathetic" has particular relevance for the current discussion. They define empathy as "the ability to see a problem from the counselee's point of view and, accordingly, to be warm and supportive" (p. 5). A peer counselor who holds homophobic attitudes is unlikely to be able to be truly empathetic with a gay male or lesbian student. Winston, Ullom, and Werring (1984) state that to be an effective peer counselor the RA must: "establish relationships of mutual trust and respect, communicate their willingness to be of assistance, and make a commitment to expend the time and energy required to help residents deal with their personal concerns" (p. 53). A "relationship of mutual trust and respect" may, however, be difficult to establish between an RA with homophobic beliefs and a gay male, lesbian, or bisexual student.

D'Augelli and Rose (1990) suggested that further research concerning homophobia in Resident Assistants should assess the impact which their homophobic attitudes have on their behaviors in the residence hall setting. This study examined the relationship between Resident Assistants' levels of homophobia and their effectiveness and confidence levels as peer counselors in the residence hall setting. It was hypothesized that, because of the problems discussed above with displaying proper empathy, developing a counseling relationship, and putting values aside in a counseling situation, homophobic attitudes would be negatively correlated with counseling effectiveness and self perceptions of counseling ability.

METHOD

Participants

All participants were students at a small, public, four-year university in the Southeastern United States. In Phase One of the study, 27 Resident Assistants (17 women and 10 men, mean age = 20.5 years) volunteered to participate in the study. In Phase Two, 159 Resident students (110 women

and 49 men, mean age = 19.7 years) living on the residence halls of the RA's who participated in Phase One were surveyed. All participants were treated in accordance with the Ethical Principles in the Conduct of Research with Human Participants (American Psychological Association, 1982).

Survey Instruments

In Phase One, the Resident Assistants completed the Peer Counseling Comfort Scale (PCCS) designed for use in this study and the Index of Homophobia (IHP; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980). The PCCS is a modification of the Counseling Self-Estimate Inventory developed by Larson, et.al. (1992). The scale consists of 20 Likert-type items and delivers an general measure of self-confidence regarding peer counseling (GS) as well as six subscale scores: microskills (M), process skills (P), difficult client behaviors (DCB), cross-cultural counseling skills (CC), and awareness of counseling values and ethics (AV). Each scale and subscale delivers a score from 25-100, with higher scores indicating a higher level of self-confidence. The IHP is a 25-item, Likert-type scale which delivers an overall measure of homophobia ranging from 0-100 with higher scores indicating higher levels of homophobia. The IHP has been found to be reliable and valid (coefficent alpha = .901; SEM = 4.75; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980).

In Phase Two, the RA Performance Rating Scale (PRS, see Appendix B for the text of this scale) was completed by students living on the residence halls of RA's who participated in Phase 1. The PRS is a 10 item Likert-type scale which delivers an overall rating of RA performance (OP) as well as two subscale scores: (a) counseling performance (CP) and (b) discipline-maintenance performance (DM) Each scale and subscale delivers a score from 10-50, with higher scores indicating higher ratings of performance.

Procedure

In Phase One of the study, Resident Assistants were instructed that they were participating in two separate studies: a study of sexual attitudes and a study of peer counseling self-confidence. Each RA completed an informed consent form and was then given a packet containing a demographic survey, the Peer Counseling Comfort Scale, and a Survey of Attitudes on Sexual Issues, which contained the Index of Homophobia and several distractor items. RA's completed the surveys individually and returned them via campus mail

In Phase Two, RA Performance Rating Scales were distributed to dormatory rooms of students whose RA's participated in Phase 1 of the study. Residents were instructed to complete the form and to return it to drop boxes provided in each Residence Hall. Seven hundred and fifty-nine surveys were distributed and 159 were returned, for a return rate of 21%.

RESULTS

Resident Assistant scores on the Index of Homophobia tended to show somewhat lower levels of homophobia than the general population, although scores were highly variable (M=33.81, SD=19.61). Peer Counseling Comfort Scale scores clustered in the "above average" to "well above average" range (M=79.26, SD=6.86). Scores on the Resident Assistant Rating Scale-Counseling Performance Subscale were somewhat variable and tended to cluster in the "average" to "above average" range (M=13.43, SD=2.74).

Significant negative correlations were found between the IHP scores and the PCCS-General score (r=-.25, p< .1) and between the IHP scores and three of the PCCS subscales (PCCS-M: r=-.28, p< .1; PCCS-CC: r=-.26, p<.1; PCCS-AV: r=-.25, p<.1). A correlation was found between IHP scores and

RARS-CP scores, but the relationship was not large enough to be significant (r=-.09, p>.1).

DISCUSSION

Although a small number of studies have examined levels of homophobia in groups of peer counselors, this study is the first to directly examine the relationship between those levels and peer counseling effectiveness. The results of the study partially supported the original hypothesis. It was found that levels of homophobic attitudes are negatively correlated with self-perceptions of ones counseling effectiveness. There was not, however, a significant correlation between homophobia and resident students' ratings of peer counseling effectiveness. Resident assistant's participating in the study tended to have lower levels of homophobia than the general population, although scores were highly variable. Peer counseling self-confidence scores were generally well above average, and peer counseling comfort scores tended to be average or above average.

The small sample size of the current study and the low resident survey return rate limits the reliability of the data collection. The current study was also the first to use the Peer Counseling Comfort Scale. Validity and reliability of the scale needs to be assessed. Further study could either further refine the PCCS or utilize other counseling instruments to assess counseling skill levels.

In general, the findings of the current study support the hypothesis that individuals with high levels of homophobia will be less likely to possess the skills identified in the literature as being necessary for effective peer counseling. Further research, in addition to the suggestions provided above, could begin to look at ways of developing these skills in homophobic peer counselors--both by looking at ways to reduce levels of homophobia in those individuals and by looking at ways to provide specialized skill training for homophobic individuals.

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Wisdom-Related Judgements in College Students: an Approach to Measurement

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The topic of wisdom has been accorded much interest lately, in particular in a developmental context in which wisdom is supposed to develop with increased age and experience. The only approach measuring wisdom was developed by Baltes and his colleagues (e.g. Baltes & Staudinger, 1993) and is time demanding and requires individual administration. The purpose of this study is to validate a tool for the measurement of wisdom-related judgements that is amenable to group administration. A large collection of quotations was collected and evaluated by judges nominated by faculty as particularly wise. Judges rated the quotations using four scales indicating how wise, profound, and clever were the quotations, along with the extent they agreed or disagreed with them. On this basis, 56 quotations were selected within four categories: very wise, wise, moderately wise, unwise. This instrument was administered to a sample of more than 100 students of different levels, from freshmen to graduate students. Ongoing analysis has revealed so far that students at the higher level distinguished better between the four categories of wisdom and rated the quotes more similarly to the judge's evaluations.

BACKGROUND

The topic of wisdom has recently become a "hot" topic in cognitive and in life-span developmental psychology. The abundance of speculative papers is accompanied by a relative scarcity of empirical work. One purpose of this study was to construct a tool for the purpose of measuring wisdom-related performance. This tool was based on a collection of quotations or sayings that were rated by five judges, as being wise or less wise, profound or shallow, clear or unclear, and clever or dull. The judges also stated if they agreed or disagreed with the quotations. The quotations were then incorporated into a questionnaire and administered to graduate and undergraduate students.

The general definition of wisdom used here is a version of Baltes' (1993) definition. Wisdom is defined by Baltes as "an expert knowledge system in the fundamental pragmatics of life permitting excellent judgment and advice involving important and uncertain matters of life" (p. 586). Baltes' approach is based on presenting life dilemmas (such as imagining a good friend calling up to tell you that she decided to commit suicide) to people and asking them to "think aloud" about the dilemma, to try to provide advice, etc. The protocols obtained in this way are evaluated using five criteria including knowledge (factual, procedural), life-span contextualism (such as seeing things as belonging to a phase of development), value relativism (such as ability to make distinctions between one own's values and those of others), and uncertainty (such as realization of complexity, inexistence of perfect solutions, etc.). Implicit in this definition is the ability to realize the complexity of many life situations, to make fine distinctions and to be able to judge and to evaluate "correctly" the wisdom of other people's behavior or judgments.

According to Baltes and his colleagues (Baltes & Smith, 1990; Baltes and Staudinger, 1993) the development of wisdom is a function of several wisdom-enhancing factors, including general personal conditions (e.g., mental efficacy), specific expertise conditions (such as practice, personality dispositions) and facilitative life contexts (such as education or leadership experience). Consistent with this approach, Staudinger, Smith and Baltes (1992) found clinical

psychologists to display more wisdom than other professionals who have less relevant experience. Also, a sample of citizens, nominated by other citizens as being particularly wise, performed at the level of clinical psychologists and significantly better than control groups of similar education and professional status (Baltes, 1993)

Traditionally wisdom has been expressed in sayings, quotations, proverbs, adages etc It would be consistent with the definition accepted by Baltes and his colleagues to expect subjects to make distinctions between quotations in lends of degree of wisdom (unwise, shallow, wise, very wise) and that wiser individuals would make better distinctions of this kind The relationships between wisdom and enhancement factors, such as education pointed out by Baltes and Colleagues, makes plausible a relationship between the extent of college education and the development of wisdom. Therefore we hypothesized that graduate students would be "wiser" than undergraduate students As a result they will discriminate better than the undergraduate students between wise and unwise quotations. It was also hypothesized that graduate students would rate the quotations more similarly to the judges than undergraduate students

METHOD

Materials and Procedures

The wisdom questionnaire was developed in stages. In stage one we compiled a collection of approximately 200 quotations or sayings selected from sources and enriched this selection with our own inventions. During the second stage we developed a process of nominations at Shippensburg University in which the psychology department faculty were asked to nominate possible wise people They were allowed to nominate faculty, students, staff, or anyone else associated with Shippensburg University. We scored these nominations and selected five judge consisting of two women and three men. They included a dean, a departmental chairperson and three faculty members from three different departments In stage three, we presented the judges with the collection of approximately 200 quotations or sayings They were asked to rate the quotations on four 7 point Likert type scales, indicating the extent to which the quotation was unwise or wise, shallow or profound, dull or clever were as well as the extent to which they agreed or disagreed to the content of the quotation. Most negative rating corresponds to a 1 and most positive to a 7 In stage four we selected a subset of 118 quotations based on the existence of relative consensus (standard deviation of less than or equal to 1.75) on the "wise/ unwise" dimension and divided them into four categories: unwise, shallow, wise, and very wise. In stage five, using a constraint of 16 quotations per category, we randomly selected 56 quotations, and included them in the wisdom questionnaire that was administered to the subjects together with a vocabulary test, and a "goals in life" questionnaire Also, subjects were asked to provide background information about themselves and their own definition of wisdom. The questionnaire was administered to the subjects in groups. They were given unlimited time to complete the questionnaire.

Subjects

The sample consisted of 62 graduate and 98 undergraduate students attending Shippensburg University. The mean age was 23.57 (SD=6.58) with the age increasing with level of education, from freshmen to graduate students. The undergraduate students were given credit in their psychology classes for participation in the study

RESULTS

A wise unwise score was computed by adding the subject's ratings on the wise unwise dimension and dividing by the total number of quotations (56). The findings indicated that the subjects discriminated among the four categories of quotations (unwise, shallow, wise, very wise) and these discriminations were reflected in their judgements. This is illustrated in Figure 1 with the very wise quotations scoring the highest and the unwise quotations scoring the lowest. The very wise category of quotations elicited the highest degree of agreement and the unwise category of quotations elicited the least amount of agreement

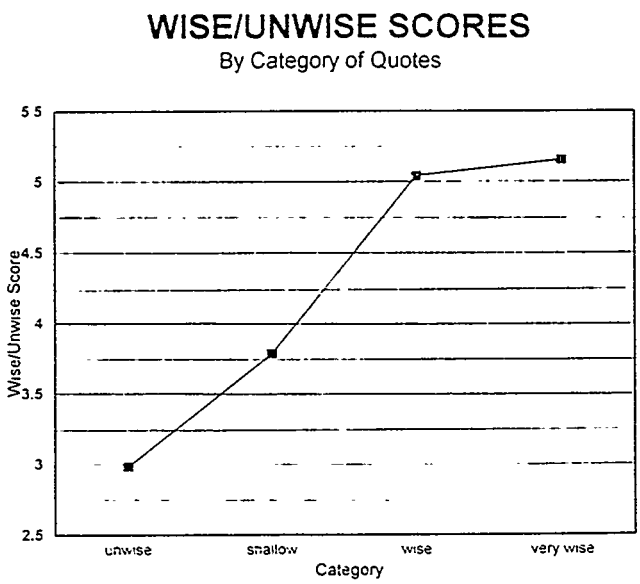


Figure 1. Wise Unwise Score By Category of Quotations

To examine if the subjects discriminated between the four categories of quotations (unwise, shallow, wise, very wise) on the agree/disagree dimension of measurement an agree/disagree score was computed. This was accomplished by adding all of the subject's ratings of the agree/disagree dimension and dividing by the total number of quotations (56). The score that was produced showed that the subjects discriminated among the four categories of quotations on the agree/disagree dimension. The unwise category of quotation showed the least amount of agreement and the wise and very wise categories showed higher degree of agreement. It is interesting to note that though different from the shallow and unwise categories of quotations the wise and very wise categories of quotations had a similar score. A profound/shallow score was computed by adding the subject's ratings on the profound/shallow dimension and dividing by the total number of quotations (56). This profound/shallow score showed that the subjects discriminated among the four categories of quotations. A clever/dull score was computed by adding the subject's ratings on the clever/dull dimension and dividing by the total number of quotations (56). The subjects discriminated among the four categories of quotations. A total score was computed by adding the subject's ratings of those all of the quotations and dividing by the total number of quotations (56). Results indicated that the subjects discriminated among the different categories of quotations in terms of the total score. One-way analyses of variance were conducted and the results showed that discriminations on all four dimensions were significant, $p < .001$

Difference scores were calculated for each subject as the difference between the mean ratings of the subject on the very wise quotations and his/her mean rating for the unwise quotations. Those scores were calculated for the wise/unwise, agree/disagree, profound/shallow, and clever/dull dimensions of wisdom and they are presented in Figure 2 for the graduate and for the undergraduate students.

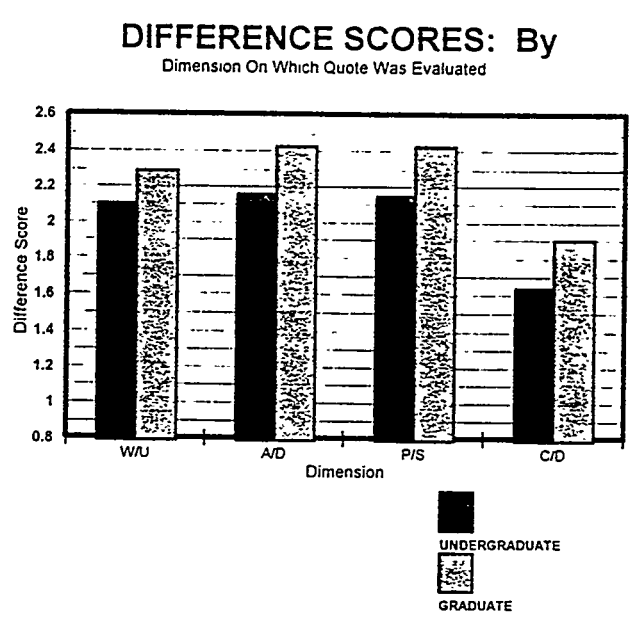


Figure 2: Difference Scores by the dimension on which the quotations were evaluated.

Significant t-statistics were obtained for the agree/disagree, profound/shallow, and clever/dull dimensions as well as for a total score based on all 4 dimensions ($p < .05$).

A discrepancy score was calculated by taking the absolute value of the discrepancies between each subject's evaluations for a particular quotation and the mean evaluation of the five judges for the same quotation. These discrepancies were added together and divided by their number to compute an average discrepancy for each subject and the process was conducted for all four dimensions of evaluation. T tests were conducted to determine whether graduate students will show lower discrepancies and all proved to be significant at $p < .05$. The results are also presented graphically in Figure 3.

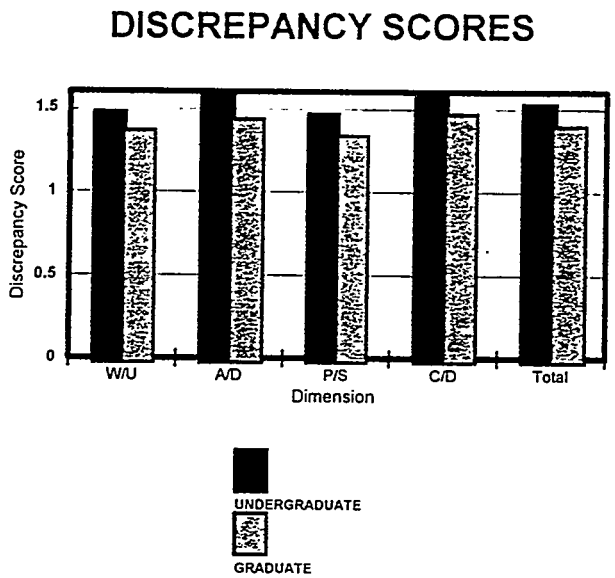


Figure 3: Discrepancy score between the subject's and the judges mean evaluations.

DISCUSSION

The results indicated that the students discriminated among all four categories of quotations: unwise, shallow, wise, and very wise. For example, they found the wise quotations to be wiser than the shallow quotations and the profound quotations to be more profound than the shallow quotations. It was hypothesized that the graduate students would discriminate better than the undergraduate students between wise and unwise categories of quotations. The significant results from the difference scores showed that indeed the graduate students discriminated better or were "wiser" than the undergraduate students. It was expected that graduate students would rate the quotations more similarly to the judges then undergraduate students. The significant discrepancy scores showed that this was true and that there are differences between the undergraduate and graduate students in the expected direction, with graduate students showing less of a discrepancy from the judges than the undergraduate students.

Ongoing analyses are being conducted to determine the reliability of this tool and to test additional hypotheses. In particular, we want to determine whether graduate students are more able to make finer distinctions between the four dimensions of wisdom than the undergraduate students. Further validation of the instrument is planned based on inclusion of additional samples.

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Comparison of Political Attitudes and Voting Behavior Using the Lost Letter Technique

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The lost letter technique developed by Stanley Milgram et al (1965) has frequently been used in experimental psychology. In this procedure, stamped envelopes with manipulated addresses are left near mailboxes in various locations. The number of letters returned (mailed) provides an indication of a general population attitude and compliance. We have designed an experiment in which political attitudes of three population subgroups will be measured and compared with voting behavior in the recent hotly contested New York gubernatorial election. The issues chosen were support or rejection of people with AIDS and support or rejection of capital punishment. The populations chosen were highly educated (3 local universities), control (local mall), and two political orientations (lower middle class liberal and upper middle class conservative). Pro, con, and neutral envelopes were left in appropriate locations. Return rate was compared with voting behavior. It was predicted that the upper middle class political orientation would indicate support of capital punishment and rejection of people with AIDS and the lower middle class political orientation would indicate rejection of capital punishment and support of people with AIDS. It was also postulated that the highly educated population would indicate support of people with AIDS and rejection of capital punishment. All hypotheses were confirmed at a .05 level of significance. Although a letter drop appears useful in determining attitudes toward current issues, more research is needed to determine the message's impact on finders (Kunz & Fernquist, 1989). Based on the results of this study one might repeat this experiment measuring only one political attitude and increasing sample size.

COMPARISON OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

This study was done with the intent of measuring political attitudes on an issue of importance for New York's gubernatorial election and social attitudes of a national health issue of importance across three populations subgroups. Using the Lost Letter Technique and similar to the present study, Michael J. Weiner (1975) conducted a study with intent to measure attitudes to a local "liquor by the drink" referendum. It was hypothesized that by randomly distributing letters with addresses reflective of current issues of importance, return rate could accurately predict election results. "The return rate accurately predicted the outcome of the election. It was recommended that the lost letter technique be used as a nonreactive predictor of the outcome of an election when two conditions are met: when voters are reluctant to state publicly their position on an issue and when the issue has aroused strong feelings in the population" (Weiner, 1975).

As an independent validation of the lost letter technique Cherulnik (1975) conducted a replication study to assess attitudes of people in small coastal towns in Maine toward the development of oil refining facilities. The results of his study support the validity of the lost letter technique when used

as a measure of attitudes toward political and social issues.

In the present study it was postulated that populations would support or reject capital punishment and support or reject people with AIDS as a condition of their political orientation of either conservative or liberal. In highly educated populations it was postulated that, as an outcome of increasing education and more vast and varied political orientations, support of people with AIDS and rejection of capital punishment would result.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects consisted of anonymous volunteers randomly selected throughout six settings. Subjects were of at least minimum driving age and either owned, operated or had access to a vehicle.

Materials

A total of 210 stamped, (handwritten) addressed and return addressed white business size envelopes were used. Each envelope contained one sheet of blank paper. A 4.25 X 5.5 inch piece of lined notebook paper with the handwritten statement "Found by your car, thought it might be yours" was distributed with the envelopes. The addresses on the envelopes served as a manipulation for response while the return addresses indicated (through the first initial of the name) which population subgroup was being measured. The five addresses, which represent support or rejection of a cause, support or rejection of a political viewpoint and a neutral or control condition were as follows: People Living With AIDS, People Against People Living With AIDS, Coalition For Capital Punishment, Coalition Against Capital Punishment, and P.W.N.C. (standing for People with no concern) respectively. A single Post Office box was used for data collection and the county Board of Elections provided registration and election results.

Procedure

Experimenters prepared seven envelopes for each of five conditions totalling thirty-five letters for each population. The letters were placed under the windshield wiper of random cars in each population subgroup with the note "found by your car, thought it might be yours". Four conditions were experimental while the fifth served as a neutral or control condition. Of the six population subgroups measured Five were experimental while the sixth served as a control. Envelopes were dropped on a Wednesday and a Friday of the same week between three o'clock and five o'clock PM. Results were measured by rate of return within thirty five days of initial drop.

RESULTS

Chi-squared tests were performed to analyze the return rate in relation to the subjects' population. Table 1 was used to classify the return rate of the subject populations regarding support and rejection of capital punishment.

Table 1: Return Rate Classification of Capital Punishment Condition

	Population Subgroup		
	Highly Educated	Upper Middle Conservative	Lower Middle Liberal
Support	11	7	3
Reject	19	1	7

The higher education population and the lower middle class rejected capital punishment, while the upper middle class favored capital punishment. The total return rate for the capital punishment condition was greater than chance, $x^2(2)=7.615$, $p<.05$. The higher education population rejected capital punishment with a 63.3% return rate. The upper middle class conservative supported capital punishment with an 87.5% return rate. The lower middle class liberal rejected capital punishment with a 70% return rate.

Table 2 was used to classify the return rate of the subject populations regarding support and rejection of AIDS.

Table 2: Return Rate Classification of AIDS Condition

	Population Subgroup		
	Highly Educated	Upper Middle Conservative	Lower Middle Liberal
Support	19	2	7
Reject	7	6	3

The higher education population and the lower middle class supported AIDS, while the upper middle class rejected AIDS. The total return rate for the AIDS condition was greater than chance, $x^2(2)=6.391$, $p<.05$. The upper middle class showed the strongest and most consistent point of view regarding both capital punishment and AIDS. The higher education population supported AIDS with a 73% return rate. The upper middle class conservative rejected AIDS with an 75% return rate. The lower middle class liberal supported with a 70% return rate.

DISCUSSION

The upper middle class favored capital punishment and rejected AIDS. The lower middle class rejected capital punishment and supported AIDS. The higher education population rejected capital punishment and supported AIDS. We therefore conclude that support or rejection of AIDS and capital punishment is dependent to some degree upon subgroup population, based on education and income.

Consistent with past research, both our study and the study of Weiner (1975), demonstrated that the return rate using the lost letter technique could accurately indicate election results. In the recent gubernatorial election of New York State, one of the most critical issues was capital punishment. The republican party won the election, demonstrating support for the capital punishment issue. When reviewing the election results of two Long Island towns, Garden City was determined to be 84% conservative/Republican and Hempstead was determined to be 71% liberal/Democrat. If the lost letter study is indeed a possible indicator of election results, then the return rate for each population should correspond as such. Garden City should have significantly higher return rates of pro capital punishment letters and Hempstead should have significantly higher return rates of con capital punishment letters. As was shown by our results, the latter is quite accurate, and our hypotheses were confirmed. The only contradictory results that were indicated, the total return rate of letters against capital punishment, across the conditions, was high. This may be due to the fact that the study was conducted after the election; therefore those who are in opposition to capital punishment are still actively promoting their stance on the issue.

Future research could be conducted similar to this study, yet completed prior to the election which is to be compared with. The lost letter technique can also be used to measure sensitive social issues that are likely to be avoided in election campaigns yet still affect results.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Correlates of Peer-Rated Aggression: Maternal Cue Detection and Disciplinary Beliefs

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ABSTRACT

Maternal variables related to boys' social status at school were investigated. Twenty mothers participated in the study, which was a follow-up of a previous project in which boys were peer-rated as either popular or aggressive. The current study found that mothers of aggressive boys were more likely than mothers of popular boys to attribute their sons' misbehavior to intentional motives. Mothers of aggressive boys viewed ignoring and punishing as significantly more effective discipline forms than mothers of popular boys. Additionally, mothers of aggressive boys reported less social support from friends and more negative life stress than mothers of popular boys.

INTRODUCTION

The present study is a continuation of previous research that examines the ways in which mothers interact with their sons, how those mothers perceive their son's behaviors, and how these maternal variables related to boys' social status at school (Leffew, Tryon, Hope, & Swain, 1994). The original data collection revealed that mothers of peer-rated aggressive boys were less likely to believe that their sons had control over their own misbehavior than the mothers of peer-rated popular boys. Furthermore, mothers of aggressive boys were more likely than mothers of popular boys to ascribe their sons' misbehaviors to causes that were global, affecting most areas of the boys' life rather than exclusively affecting the specific situation in question. The previous research also found that mothers of aggressive boys rated punishment as significantly more effective than mothers of popular boys. Analyses also revealed that the amount of support a mother received from her child's father was significantly related to the child's social status (Tryon, Kellenbenz, & Paz, 1994).

The current project investigated the constancy over time of maternal attributions for their sons' behavior. Additionally, attention was given to the stability of maternal expectancies for the success of different discipline styles. Finally, maternal stress and perceived social support were explored as possible variables related to children's social status at school.

Longitudinal examinations of children's social status have been relatively uncommon thus far (McNally, Eisenberg, & Harris, 1991). This area is of particular interest because a considerable percentage of children rated as aggressive by their peers tend to maintain negative social status throughout their schooling, and are at risk for psychological problems, school failure, and dysfunctional interpersonal

relationships (Cillessen, van Ijzendoorn, van Lieshout, & Hartup, 1992). Thus, identification of the familial patterns related to children's social status will help in the development of effective prevention programs.

METHOD

Subjects. Twenty mother-son dyads, including eleven mothers of peer-rated aggressive boys and nine mothers of popular boys, participated in this study. All of the boys were third-graders and had participated in the original data collection two years earlier. The social status of the boys was determined by sociometric peer nominations (Richard & Dodge, 1982) collected in each boy's classroom in a first-grade center in Wicomico County, Maryland.

Procedure and Measures. All of the original subjects were contacted by mail and asked to complete the Parent Attribution Questionnaire (Baden & Howe, 1992), the Perceived Parental Effectiveness Inventory (Baden & Howe, 1994), the Life Events Checklist (Johnson & McCutcheon, 1980), and the Perceived Social Support from Friends and Family measures (Procidano & Heller, 1983). (Additional information about the measures can be obtained by contacting the authors.)

RESULTS

Maternal Attributions. First, a 2 (status) X 2 (year) X 5 (attributions) repeated measure MANOVA was used to compare the two status groups between 1993 and 1995 on the related attribution variables as cognitive sets. The multivariate test for year was significant [$F(5,19) = 6.4$, $p < .008$]. Next, univariate analyses were conducted for each attributional scale. It was found that all mothers increased their beliefs over time that the causes of their sons' misbehaviors were global in nature [$F(1,13) = 15.07$, $p < .002$]. Over time, all mothers also increased their attributions that their sons' misbehaviors were more accidental than intentional [$F(1,13) = 11.79$, $p < .004$].

The multivariate test for status approached significance [$F(5,19) = 2.8$, $p < .08$]. Although, as noted above, all mothers increasingly acknowledged accidental causes of misbehavior, univariate analyses revealed that mothers of aggressive boys ($M = 9.2$) were significantly more likely than mothers of popular boys ($M = 11.9$) to attribute their sons' negative behaviors to intentional, rather than accidental motives [$F(1,13) = 18.83$, $p < .001$]. When the 1993 and 1995 data files were merged, two of the attributional variables were lost. However, when the 1995 data were examined prior to the merge, student t-tests revealed that mothers of aggressive boys were significantly more likely to attribute their sons' behavior to an internal locus of control ($M = 12.8$) than mothers of popular boys ($M = 10.9$), $t(15) = -2.46$, $p < .03$. The multivariate test for interaction was not significant.

Maternal Perceptions of Discipline Effectiveness. First, a one-way 2 (status) X 4 (discipline method) MANOVA was used to examine between group differences in perceptions of disciplinary effectiveness during the 1995 follow-up data. The multivariate test was not significant; each group showed similar patterns of beliefs. However, the univariate test revealed that mothers of aggressive boys ($M = 12.7$) viewed ignoring misbehavior as significantly more effective that mothers of popular boys [$M = 9.2$; $F(1,17) = 6.1$, $p < .02$].

Next, a 2 (status) X 2 (year) X 4 (discipline method) MANOVA was used to compare the two status groups over time on the related discipline variables as discipline styles. The multivariate test for year was not significant; all mothers

showed a consistent discipline style over the years.

The multivariate test for status approached significance [$F(4,19) = 2.9$, $p < .06$]. Univariate analyses revealed that mothers of aggressive boys ($M = 11.5$) viewed ignoring as significantly more effective than mothers of popular boys [$M = 13.8$; $F(1,16) = 11.2$, $p < .004$].

While the multivariate test for year X status interaction was not significant for overall discipline styles, the univariate test for punishment showed a significant year X status effect. Mothers of aggressive boys viewed punishment as significantly more effective in 1993 ($M = 19.3$) than in 1995 ($M = 12.8$), while the mothers of popular boys increased their belief over time that punishment was effective [$M(1993) = 12.6$, $M(1995) = 9.2$; $F(1,16) = 4.93$, $p < .04$].

Perceptions of Social Support and Life Events. During the 1995 data collection, mothers of popular boys reported significantly more social support from friends ($M = 17.5$) than mothers of aggressive boys ($M = 12.0$), $t(16) = 3.56$, $p < .003$. Additionally, mothers of popular boys experienced significantly fewer negative life events ($M = .77$) than mothers of aggressive boys ($M = 3.2$), $t(17) = -3.10$, $p < .007$.

DISCUSSION

Given that mothers of aggressive boys were more likely than mothers of popular boys to report punishment as an effective discipline style, their authoritarian parenting methods may have provided a model of negative social behavior for their children. Furthermore, the fact that mothers of aggressive boys report less social support from friends than mothers of popular boys parallels the finding that aggressive children lack broad social support from friends at school. Perhaps mothers of aggressive children lack the social skills necessary to form broad social support networks and thus provide few learning opportunities for their children to develop positive social networks. The low social support from friends also limits the opportunities for mothers of aggressive children to learn how others successfully resolve conflict with their children.

The high number of negative life events reported by mothers of aggressive boys may lead them to feel overwhelmed and thus favor ignoring as an effective discipline style. As a result, their children may be more likely to act out aggressively in efforts to seek attention.

Due to the limited subject pool available for this project, the magnitude of the significance of the results may have been limited, therefore making it difficult to generalize the results. The magnitude of the results may have been further restricted by self-report bias among the subjects. Mothers may have answered items on the questionnaires more favorably than realistically. Only observational checks of actual parenting tactics could accurately verify the validity of maternal reports.

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The Moderating Effect of Racial Identity on the Relationship Between Ethnicity and College Satisfaction

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A model was developed that proposes a moderating effect of racial identity on the relationship between an individual's ethnicity and the degree to which they are satisfied with college experiences. It is argued that the following individual factors of racial identity affect college experiences above and beyond an individual's ethnicity: (a) developmental stage of racial identity, (b) multiple ethnic group identifications, and (c) degree of multicultural awareness. Thus, higher levels of complexity in racial identity are expected to predict a more satisfying college experience which will lead to positive perceptions of academic offerings and accessibility of financial and related support, active participation in campus organizations, and positive perceptions of administrative handling of multicultural concerns.

BACKGROUND

As we rapidly approach the year 2000, racial tension continues to be at the core of social conflicts On college campuses, continuous conflicts result from the clashing of various perspectives taken by students on issues revolving around race and ethnicity. Ongoing debates regarding multiculturalism, affirmative action programs, and interracial relationships in universities are constantly being granted greater amounts of attention. Psychologists have become especially interested in what our behaviors have come to mean in the presence of others belonging to other ethnic groups. Introductory psychology textbooks are currently introducing "multicultural perspectives", with added concern given to stereotypes and prejudice, discrimination, and racism in this society (Allen & Santrock, 1993).

The adolescent and young adult years are seen as a time when individuals formulate many of their most important values and beliefs. During this period, the individual experiences a great deal of insecurity about the "self"; however, membership in a disfavored group can exacerbate these puberty-related worries that the adolescent may already be overwhelmed with (Spencer, Swanson, & Cunningham, 1991). We know that identity formation is central to adolescence, and developmental tasks for ethnic minority youth are more likely linked to their racial or ethnic status (Spencer et al., 1991). Thus, the anxieties stemming from this time, combined with the usual pressures of embarking on a college career, make this the ideal time for people to begin to consolidate their racial identity.

More recently, we have seen a trend developing wherein social scientists have begun to apply the models of racial identity to the college experiences of students of color (Mitchell & Dell, 1992; Moran, Yengo, & Algier, 1994). Racial identity refers to people's beliefs and attitudes about their own race and that of others (Mitchell & Dell, 1992). Over the past twenty years, models of racial identity have been developed to explain this identification process for people of different ethnic groups (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983; Cross, 1971; Cross, Parham, & Helms, 1991; Garcia, 1982; Phinney, 1992). Although many studies have specified what the implications of racial identity are for higher education, they have primarily focused on African American students, and on the different ways these students become involved in their college experiences. This paper proposes to further examine relevant variables of racial identity and to expand this notion to other ethnic groups, thereby emphasizing the role of individual differences among people of the same ethnic group.

We have chosen to focus on a college population because entering college is considered one of life's major transitions (Ethier & Deaux, 1990) and, oftentimes, it is the first occasion in which a student examines their own culture in comparison with those they encounter from various backgrounds. During this developmental period, one may alter how one feels about their heritage, one's attitude toward people of other ethnic backgrounds and, in consequence, one's satisfaction with the college experience and formulation of future goals.

Moreover, the 1990s have seen a change in attitude toward college attendance; it is no longer considered an option by students aimed at success. Because so many people are pursuing degrees beyond a high school education and there is a considerable amount of money required to do so, it is not surprising that college has evolved into a type of business forum. Those institutions which produce greatest "customer satisfaction" will, in all likelihood, financially succeed. It is in this atmosphere of bureaucracy and confusion that the student is left to explore their identity.

The college experience has a major impact on the later events in one's life. A positive overall experience during these years will lead to a more stable footing for starting a career and a family, for example. However, the detrimental effects of a negative college experience can be felt throughout the individual's later life. Low levels of satisfaction during college may lead to dropout, which can lead to limited career opportunities, which, in turn, can result in a much less satisfying life later on.

The next section of the paper discusses each of the variables in the model, as well as the elements pertinent to them (see Figure 1). We discuss ethnicity and college satisfaction first, as there is already a pre-established relationship between these variables. We then discuss racial identity, and the ideas

underlying this concept, as well as how it moderates the relationship between ethnicity and college satisfaction.

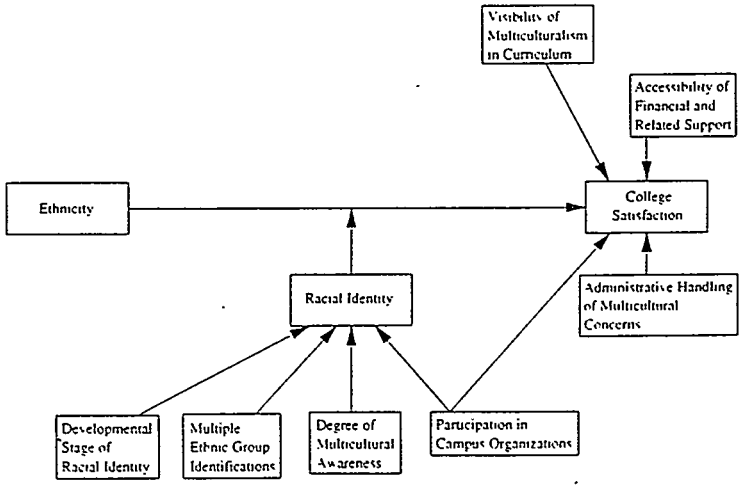


Figure 1: The Moderating Effect of Racial Identity on the Relationship Between Ethnicity and College Satisfaction

ETHNICITY

Ethnicity is commonly referred to as the customs, language, and social views usually associated with a particular ethnic group (Spencer et al., 1991). A recent review of data from the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights Survey drew attention to the underrepresentation of African American and Latino students in the fields of engineering, mathematics, and science (Thomas, 1992). Studies like this are especially important as we move closer to the 21st century, a time when the racial composition in this country will shift from a Caucasian majority to an increasing racial minority (primarily African Americans, Latinos, and other underrepresented U.S. minorities) (Thomas, 1992). Given the harsh realities of this study, we can see that there is a direct effect of ethnicity on college satisfaction. African American and Latino students may find themselves being pushed away from the natural and physical sciences by university advisors; on the other hand, those students who do choose to pursue these fields may find that the support is simply not available, because their counselors are watching their development through the guise of a self-fulfilling prophecy. That is, the faculty and administrators at many institutions may be so concerned about retaining their students of color that they may push these students toward traditionally "easier" majors for the sake of statistics. The unfortunate truth is that these students are not being given a fair chance at the programs of their choice. Pressures like these will inevitably lead to lower levels of satisfaction with the college experience.

A number of studies directed at African American students have investigated the patterns and effects of participation in co-curricular organizations. Tompkins and Moran (1991) found that African American students were more likely to choose an organization which focused on their heritage over all of the other campus organizations combined. A follow-up study found that African American first-year students who participated in their school's African American Student Organization felt more a part of their college, suggesting that these culturally-oriented organizations have a meaningful impact in helping students of color adjust to predominantly white institutions (Moran et al., 1994). Research has not, however, been conducted with Latino, Asian, or Native American students, leaving some crucial questions unanswered. In the eyes of their Caucasian counterparts, are Latino students being clumped together with African Americans? How is the "model minority" syndrome affecting college experience satisfaction for Asians, and if there is an effect, does it vary among students of different Asian backgrounds? Finally, how are Native Americans dealing with the dubious distinction of often making up only 1-1.5% of student populations on campuses nationwide? These questions are particularly relevant, as they illustrate the growing importance of understanding differences between and within these cultural groups. Too often, colleges are being plagued by administrators' tendencies to treat all ethnic minorities as one in the same.

SATISFACTION WITH THE COLLEGE EXPERIENCE

Undergraduate students at institutions of higher learning across the country are currently being faced with a barrage of elements that are subsumed by what we label *college experience satisfaction*. As discussed earlier, this variable can have a lasting effect on the outcome of an individual's life, especially if the effect is negative. Recent literature on this topic has examined what elements are necessary in a formula which, when complete, equals positive feelings about the college experience. In some cases, the studies have looked at college satisfaction as it is enhanced by one other variable, like membership in student organizations (Abrahamowicz, 1988) or participation in intercollegiate athletics (Pascarella & Smart, 1991; Ryan, 1989). Other research has discussed adjustment to the college environment, specifically as it concerns students of color (Ethier & Deaux, 1990). Obviously, we can

assume that the typical undergraduate tries to find a balance between academics and a social life. However, it is important to emphasize how detailed a process the search for this balance can become, as only some of these variables are within the student's control. Thus, we examine four crucial variables.

Visibility of Multiculturalism in Curriculum: Supporters of a greater multicultural influence in university curriculum point out that these various bilingual and ethnic studies programs based on pluralist values would help to "build bridges" between the different ethnic groups represented in this country (Sleeter & Grant, 1988). It is also expected that this cross-cultural interaction will lead to reduced racial antagonism between majority and minority students (McCarthy, 1993). By all means, students of color will tend to feel more pleased with an institution that has taken steps like these to incorporate their culture's values and belief systems into the learning process for all students.

Accessibility of Financial and Related Support: The issue of financing one's college education has rapidly grown in importance over the last few years, largely as a result of cuts to governmental loan and grant programs for underprivileged students. Currently, the greatest problems in this area are at large (often public) research institutions, where the administration's priorities tend to lean towards luring graduate students (by funding their education for four or more years). As a result of these types of programs, undergraduates are often struggling to cover their tuition costs. This has translated into a distraction from the typical student's success with academics and a social life. Some institutions have allotted special funds for students of color. We could expect that these institutions are perceived more positively by the students of color who could not otherwise afford the tuition. On the other hand, a school with little or hard-to-obtain financial resources is going to have a difficult time gaining a student's approval, especially if that student is working twenty or thirty hours a week outside of class to make their education affordable.

Administrative Handling of Multicultural Concerns: The role of the administration in handling student affairs is vital, especially for students of color on predominantly white campuses. How the administration chooses to handle bias incidents, for example, greatly affects the students' perception of their college experience. If students of color consistently feel alienated by the administration's actions, or if it appears that the administration is consistently favoring a particular group of students, then the level of satisfaction felt by the other students will no doubt decrease.

Participation in Campus Organizations: Involvement in co-curricular activities is perhaps the most crucial element of the college satisfaction variable for this model. We know that students who are more involved in co-curricular activities such as clubs and teams find a better fit with their institution and are thus more satisfied with their college experience (Abrahamowicz, 1988). It is important to consider the following problems which may not be detected with only a superficial observation. What effect will this element have on the level of college experience satisfaction for students working part-time to support their education? These students are likely to be pessimistic about their experience, especially if financial resources at the school are beyond their reach. Therefore, we must consider whether participating in a co-curricular activity will cancel out the detrimental effects of having to work outside of class.

RACIAL IDENTITY

We are currently observing a trend in higher education to weigh racial identity more heavily in the development of programming and other related services for all students. Recently, college personnel have been given suggestions as to how they can use racial identity models to better understand their students (Mays & Vonniessen, 1995). The following three elements are most important in our conception of racial identity.

Developmental Stage of Racial Identity: To further explain racial identity as a factor of college experience satisfaction, this model uses the stages developed in the Minority Identity Development (MID) model first presented by Atkinson, Morten, and Sue in 1983. The MID model is similar to earlier models such as the Cross (1971) model of psychological nigrescence, which discusses the development of minority identity in Blacks (Cross et al., 1991). Because the MID model was intentionally developed to apply to any ethnic minority group, it was chosen as the foundation for our model. The MID model consists of the following five stages: (1) conformity stage, (2) dissonance stage, (3) resistance and immersion stage, (4) introspection stage, and (5) synergistic articulation and awareness stage. In the conformity stage, one follows the typical norms and values of the dominant culture. The second stage, dissonance, involves conflict and/or confusion in relation to one's own cultural system and the dominant cultural norms and values. Resistance and immersion, the third stage, marks the transition to simultaneous acceptance of one's own cultural system and rejection of the dominant one. In the fourth stage, introspection, one examines the values of both cultural systems. The final stage, synergistic articulation and awareness, is a synthesis of elements from both cultural systems chosen by the individual (Jones, 1990).

Like the Cross (1971) model, Parham and Helms (1985) address the development of Blacks. Their model does not concern itself with other ethnic groups. However, these authors, in contrast with Atkinson et al., argue that development is a continuous variable rather than a distinct set of stages. Thus, in constructing our model, we have viewed students as developing along a continuum. In considering these stages as they may relate to the relationship between ethnicity and college experience satisfaction, we need to emphasize again that a student may exhibit characteristics of more than one of the stages at the same time. Similarly, we may observe students move in and out of stages, often returning to one they have already been through. One cause for this variance in the racial identity developmental process may be the conscious (or unconscious) identification with more than one ethnic group, which we discuss next.

Multiple Ethnic Group Identifications: There are two types of students who will exhibit what we refer to as multiple ethnic group identifications. The first type will be students of mixed heritage, especially if they are the product of a marriage between people of different ethnic minority groups. However, we argue that even a biracial student with one Caucasian parent will identify with the "minority

experience" as well as with being a part of the majority. The other type of student exhibiting multiple ethnic group identifications will typically be part of a peer group with many individuals of a different background. Through the continued interactions in this group, the student will begin to pick up the belief system and typical behaviors of those individuals. Concurrently, this student will retain the values dictated by his or her own group, and will exhibit them when it becomes culturally appropriate. The effects of the acculturation process are particularly important, as we know that younger people become acculturated to the mainstream culture more quickly than their elders (Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Arnalde, 1978). Thus, we can say that these students will often try to fit in with the mainstream, but will also feel pressure from their family to remain attached to their traditional values and customs.

Degree of Multicultural Awareness: A recent study of how racial attitudes and social behaviors of first-year college students were affected by participation in a cultural awareness program suggested a major concern with cultural awareness programs on campuses right now: without proper incentives, a high number of students may drop out of these programs (Neville & Furlong, 1994). Institutions are now faced with the problem of attempting to buy their students' spare time in order to engage them in prejudice-reduction exercises. The greatest obstacle will undoubtedly involve attempting to open the minds of students whose views have not been challenged in their first twenty years of life. We argue that students who participate in cultural awareness programs will be more comfortable with their racial identity, especially if they have reached a point in the developmental process when they are comfortable with their own culture as well as with the beliefs held by the dominant culture. These attitudes should become most acceptable as we move toward the 21st century, when cultural diversity will become more respected and perhaps even cherished and nurtured (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993).

THE MODERATING EFFECT OF RACIAL IDENTITY

College campuses in this country have always educated those students who best conformed to existing campus norms. However, the homogeneous campus population that this environment was designed for is now shifting toward one which is much more heterogeneous and culturally diverse, and many institutions of higher learning are not equipped to handle these changes (Jones, 1990). The transition to college is a crossroads in one's life that will often bring changes in identity (Deaux, 1993). Thus, it is especially important to evaluate the effects of racial identity for students of color. Belonging to a particular ethnic group will affect college experiences on a surface level. The values and attitudes held in one's culture about higher education will greatly influence how the individual believes their experience will be beforehand. These preconceived notions will then affect how they will perceive their experiences.

The model developed here examines the college experience on a more comprehensive level than has been seen in previous research, as we are trying to understand the experiences of members of all disfavored groups in this society. Additionally, we are approaching the concept of racial identity as a variable that can affect the relationship between ethnicity and college satisfaction both positively and negatively. By moderating effect we refer to "any variable which when systematically varied 'causes' the relationship between two other variables to change" (Stone, 1988, p.194). A moderator variable has also been defined as "a variable which [through its interactive role] influences the relationship between two other variables" (Stone, 1988, p.194). We believe that racial identity can help an individual overcome the problems concerning ethnicity as discussed earlier.

Racial identity, as defined in this paper, can specifically affect the relationship between ethnicity and college satisfaction in a number of ways. First, we argue that if a person has developed a sense of themselves as being more involved with their own ethnic group, and has already established secure feelings about their racial identity, they will begin to see aspects of their environment more positively. These feelings would be characteristic of introspection, the fourth stage of the minority identity development (MID) model discussed earlier. Once the individual begins to feel more secure in their racial identity, they will have a higher self esteem, which will result in more positive feelings about their external environment (Spencer et al., 1991). They may perceive a greater ease of access to better course offerings, financial support, as well as more supportive campus organizations and an administration as more sympathetic to their needs. This would lead to the greatest level of *college experience satisfaction*. However, if the individual is experiencing a substantial amount of conflict in dealing with their racial identification process, they are more likely to view their external experiences more negatively. The troubles they are having in dealing with this process would be projected onto their interactions with peers and faculty. They may find it more difficult to find a balance between their academics and social life, and they may alienate themself from their own community on campus, and perhaps the greater university community as well. The result of this struggle will be a lesser amount of satisfaction with the college experience. By becoming more secure with one's racial identity, the student stands to increase his or her level of college satisfaction. They will be able to incorporate the functions of the mainstream college community into their lives, while they continue to enjoy the activities of their own cultural group. The security that results from this synergy will allow the student to more seriously pursue their academics, and the final result will be a more positive college experience.

Implications for Future Research: Our proposed model calls for a study of students of color at small, private institutions, and large, public universities. It would require assessing racial identity among students of different ethnic backgrounds using well-studied ethnic identity measures, as well as developing thorough assessments of multicultural awareness. The best possible test of this model would be to longitudinally follow-up students of various ethnic backgrounds through the transitions of the college experience. Thus, college satisfaction could be assessed at different points in time. The study would also examine individual differences within groups, as well as differences between groups. Conducting a longitudinal phase of the study would enable us to assess intra-individual changes in college satisfaction as the racial identification process unfolds.

A study as such may have implications for institutional interventions that could be designed to facilitate college satisfaction in students of color and that could develop genuine support systems of a higher quality for students of color. We argue that it is the responsibility of the institution to develop more practical prejudice-reduction programs, perhaps for course credit, as proposed by Neville and Furlong (1994). Until sensitivity to the varying levels of racial identification among members of the same ethnic group develops, we will continue to observe lower levels of college satisfaction for students whose racial identity does not fit with the preexisting norms at their institution.

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Does not thinking about food make you think about it more? An investigation of the Wegner Rebound Effect

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ABSTRACT

Wegner and his colleagues showed that subjects who first tried not to think about a white bear later thought about it more than subjects who didn't previously suppress thoughts of white bears. This is know as the rebound effect. The present study examined whether the rebound effect occurred when subjects were asked to suppress thoughts of food. In addition, the "richness" of the stimulus was manipulated: some subjects were told to suppress thoughts of food, others read descriptions of food and were told to suppress food thoughts, and a third group saw a video of food commercials before suppressing thoughts of food. The rebound effect occurred only in the control condition. These findings are consistent with work done by Kelly and Kahn (1994) showing the more personal the to-be-suppressed thought, the lower the rebound effect.

INTRODUCTION

If you were told not to think a particular thought, such as food, do you think you would be able to suppress that thought? Chances are, you would not be able to suppress that thought. Thought suppression is a difficult task. In order to suppress a thought one must decide to suppress, and then actually suppress everything relevant to that thought (Wegner, Schneider, Carter, & White, 1987).

Wegner et al. (1987) conducted the basic "white bear" study. Participants verbalized their stream of consciousness for 5 minutes. During this 5 minute period, participants were told not to think of a "white bear," however if they did think of a "white bear," they were to ring a bell. Subjects were then told to express their thoughts, with no restrictions, for an additional 5 minute period. Half of the participants suppressed first then expressed, while the other half expressed first then suppressed. Wegner and his colleagues found that subjects who suppressed "white bear" initially, had a higher number of "white bear" mentions while expressing as compared to the initial expression group. In other words, suppressing a thought creates an increase in the frequency of token thoughts when the participant is allowed to express that thought. This is the Wegner rebound effect. Wegner's' rebound effect is important because it shows that when someone tries to suppress their thoughts there is the potential for that person to become preoccupied or even obsessed with these thoughts. This information could be helpful in studies that attempt to find methods to control dieting behaviors, obsessive-compulsive disorders, and alcoholism deterrence It could also benefit the legal system as jurors are often instructed to suppers information brought out in the courtroom.

It is difficult and sometimes harmful to suppress our thoughts. This is often true for intrusive, or unwanted thoughts such as, the death of a relative or close friend. When people intentionally try to suppress their thoughts, these thoughts may become more prevalent. Kelly and Kahn (1994) examined the effects of personal thought suppression, and whether the increased meaning of personal thoughts would affect peoples' ability to suppress. Results showed that it is easier to suppress a thought that is personal and has meaning. No rebound effect was found when participants were suppressing personal thoughts. However, like Wegner et al. (1987), Kelly and Kahn found a rebound effect when participants suppressed "white bear" thoughts. These results suggest the rebound effect does not occur when suppressing all types of thoughts.

Results demonstrating a rebound effect have been mixed While the rebound effect has been replicated in several studies (e.g. Clark, Ball, & Pape, 1991; Wegner, Schneider, Knutsen, & McMahon, 1991) other studies do not support the occurrence of a rebound effect (Muris, Mercelback, & DeJong, 1993; Winton & Thynn, 1993). The most prevalent explanation for this discrepancy is the use of self distraction or how a participant chooses to occupy their mind. Wegner et al. (1987) found that participants were better able to suppress thoughts when they had something to distract them. In the Wegner et al. (1987) study the distracter was provided by the experimenter however, it has been suggested that self distraction may account also for the lack of a rebound effect. For example, Kelly and Kahn (1994) suggested that if the token thought is personal, self distraction becomes an easy task because participants have had practice suppressing their own thoughts. Once self distraction is accomplished, it becomes easy to suppress a thought, and the rebound effect will not occur.

Another explanation for differing results regarding the rebound effect involves the associative network model of cognition. This model states that thoughts are connected in meaningful ways (Collins & Loftus, 1975). For example, when given the word lunch, people may associate different types of food with the word lunch. So, when the to-be-suppressed thought is associated with a variety of other thoughts it should be more difficult to suppress thus increasing the rebound effect. However Kelly and Kahn (1994) would argue that the word lunch is personal and participants would have practice suppressing that thought. Therefore, thoughts of lunch would be effectively suppressed and no rebound effect would occur.

The purpose of the present research is to examine the controversy surrounding the rebound effect, and to determine whether the richness of the stimulus can hinder our ability to suppress thoughts that are personal, in nature. If the network model is correct then when participants view commercials of food or read descriptions of food, they will create a richer network of associations for the thought of food, than if they were simply told not to think about food. This network of associations would make it harder to suppress food thoughts and make a rebound effect more likely. In contrast, the distraction model predicts that when subjects have had practice suppressing the token thought there should not be a rebound effect, the richness of the stimulus should not matter.

METHOD

Participants

There were 113 participants. Participants were all Appalachian State University students enrolled in a psychology class. All participants received one hour of class credit for participating.

Design

The design of the experiment was a 2 by 2 by 3 mixed design. The first independent variable was order, whether the participant received an initial suppression or expression task. The second variable, task , was manipulated within subjects. Subjects participated in both suppression and expression tasks. Finally, there were three stimulus conditions, video, description, or control. The dependent variables were mentions of food and check marks that participants made in the margins of the paper. A total of checks and mentions was also computed.

Materials

A seven-minute video which consisted of commercials containing breakfast, lunch, dinner, and snack foods was created so that it would contain foods that would appeal to vegetarian, non-vegetarians, and people who like other various types of food (i.e. sweets, spicy food, fast food, etc.). Descriptions of food were replicated from the video.

Procedure

Participants heard instructions adapted from Pope (1978) which explained how to write a stream-of-consciousness report. Participants practiced writing their stream-of-consciousness

for five minutes. Next they received the token thought stimulus: the video of commercials, written descriptions of food, or nothing. During the following 8 minute period participants tried to suppress or express thoughts of food while writing their stream of conscious. They were instructed to make check marks in the margin when ever they thought about food. In the final 8 min. period participants who initially expressed thoughts of food suppressed these thoughts while writing another stream-of-consciousness report; those who initially suppressed food thoughts were asked to express these thoughts during this period

RESULTS

Separate analyses were performed using checks only, mentions of food only and a total of checks and mentions. Any mention of food, restaurants, drinks or food sensations (e g. hunger, nausea, being full) was counted as a food thought. In the video and description conditions mentions of commercials or descriptions also counted as a food thought. The same pattern of results was found for all three dependent variables; only analyses with the number of mentions of food are reported below.

A 2 (suppression, expression) x 2 (initial suppression, initial expression) x 3 (control, description, video) mixed ANOVA was performed. There was a significant effect of task, $F(1,107)=167.52, p<.05$. Participants mentioned food more often in the expression task than in the suppression task. This suggests that participants were following directions. The type of stimulus also affected thoughts of food, $F(2,107)=5.33, p<.05$. In the control and description conditions participants thought of food more often than in the video condition ($M=8.07$, $SD=8.66$; $M=7.97$, $SD=8.87$; $M=5.18$, $SD=6.20$, respectively).

None of the interactions were significant. The interaction between task and order of task performance did not approach significance. This is the interaction that defines the rebound effect, thus, overall there was not a rebound effect. However, the three-way interaction approached significance, $F(2,107)=1.57, p<.20$. There was a slight rebound effect in the control, but no rebound effect occurred in the description or video conditions (see Figure 1).

DISCUSSION

Though the results of this study were not conclusive, they support the distraction model more so than the associative network model.. These findings are also consistent with Kelly and Kahn (1994) who suggested that personal thoughts are easier to suppress because people have practice suppressing their own thoughts. In the present study it is likely that participants had previously suppressed the token thought, food. Based on stream-of-consciousness reports, many of the participants were on diets. More than likely when people are dieting they use distracters to suppress their thoughts of food. Once a participant has had practice suppressing a thought they have a wider variety of distracters they can use, thus, thought suppression is easier. This may be why the rebound effect did not occur in this study. In addition, the richer the stimulus the more participants had to distract themselves. The commercials were all frequently shown on television, therefore participants had previous practice suppressing these thoughts. This may be why the rebound effect was the weakest in the video condition.

A potential problem with this research is the use of written stream-of-consciousness reports. Perhaps distraction is easier in a written task as compared to a verbal task. Wegner et al. (1987) found a strong rebound effect with verbal reports. The present study should be replicated using verbal reports.

It is too early to imply that thought suppression and the potential for a rebound in suppressed thoughts may underline psychiatric conditions such as obsessive-compulsive disorder and alcoholism. However, it is important to continue this line of research to determine the paradoxical effects of thought suppression and how these effects influence clinical populations as well as everyday cognition.

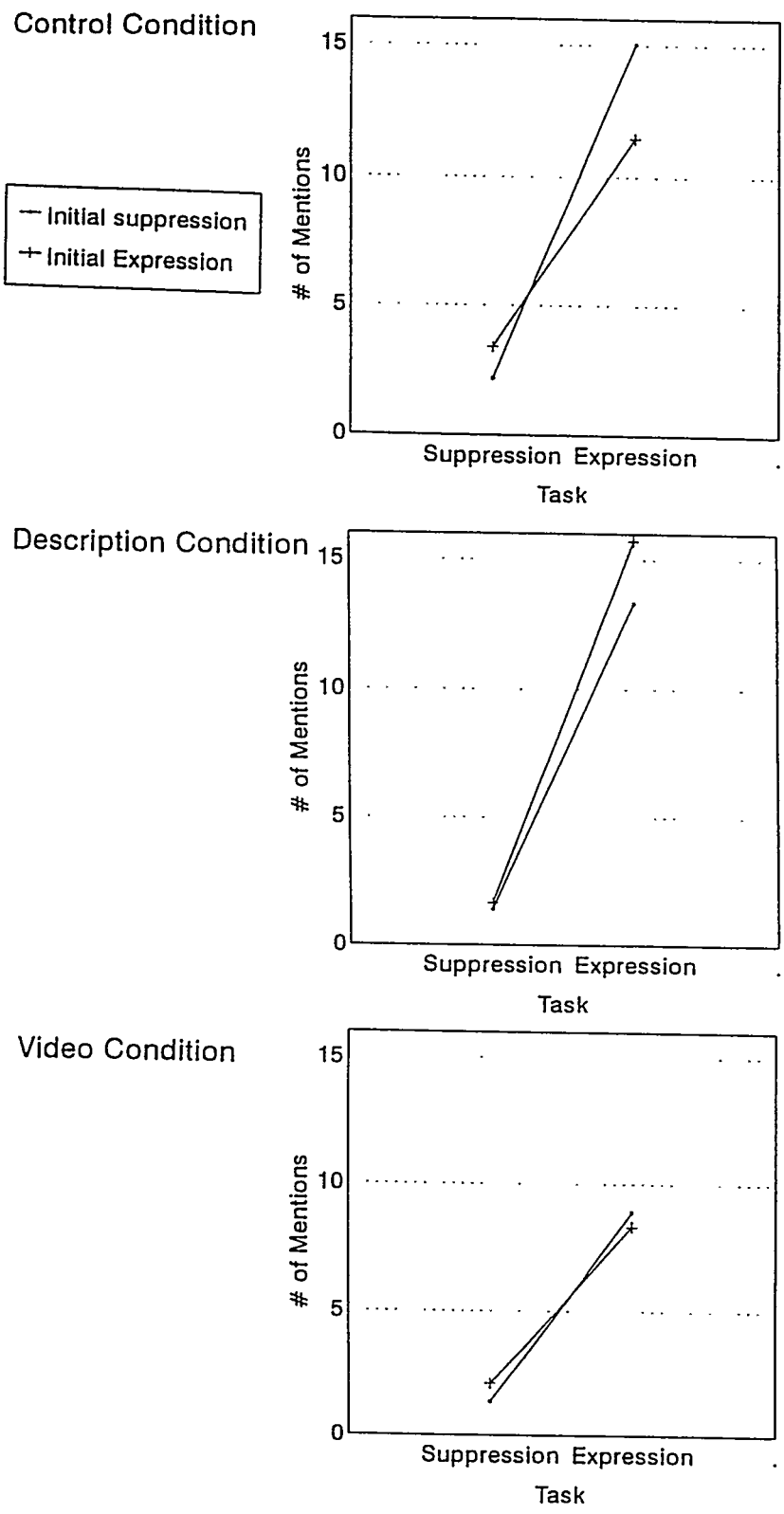


Figure 1: Thoughts of food by stimulus condition, task, and order of task.

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American Perceptions of Japan: A Collegiate Perspective

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As diminishing fiscal resources in post-secondary institutions necessitates the downsizing of honors programs, residential honors programs are particularly vulnerable due to lack of infrastructural support and a low awareness of the benefits unique to residential honors relative to non-residential honors curricula. In this study, community members from four university residence halls (two specialty halls and two standard halls) viewed *Rising Sun* with other members of their community. A series of self-report mechanisms combined with a facilitated group discussion evaluated the quantitative and qualitative participation levels of each subject group. While subjects from the residential honors program scored significantly higher than those from the other three participating halls, participation levels in the other specialty hall were not significantly different from the two standard hall subject groups. These results supported the experimental hypothesis that residential honors programs significantly enhance the capacity for sophisticated engagement with complex issues by integrating intellectual pursuits with community development and accountability. The fact that these results were displayed by the honors specialty community and not by the non-honors specialty hall suggests that these benefits are unique to the residential honors experience and are not inherent to participation in any specialized community program.

BACKGROUND

Budgetary constraints have necessitated the reassessment of departmental resources in post-secondary institutions nationwide (Elfin, 1990). Particularly scrutinized have been programs considered extraneous to the attainment of a post-secondary degree, such as collegiate honors curricula (Alderman, 1991). This trend of cost containment and program elimination has been challenged by the consumers of post-secondary education, whose expectations have increased proportionally with the rise in university tuition levels (Levine, 1993). In the midst of this evolving educational context, post-secondary institutions must effectively maintain and expand programmatic offerings to meet heightened consumer expectations while operating within the fiscal constraints characteristic of a prolonged trend of diminishing resources.

The interdisciplinary nature of many residential honors programs often prevents them from being affiliated with specific departments. This autonomy, while conducive to programmatic creativity, often renders these units vulnerable to first phase fiscal downsizing efforts. Many existing residential honors programs operate in conjunction with or in addition to other departmental honors options available on campus. This further complicates the accurate evaluation of their institutional role as they may be perceived as superfluous honors options that complement core honors programs and are without independent value. This perception of the residential honors component as a peripheral and expendable programmatic corollary marginalizes honors communities in the academic sector (Barrington, 1987).

Based upon the scholarly research previously reviewed, it was hypothesized that live-in honors residents would have higher quantitative participation levels than non-honors residents. This participation was also anticipated to be higher in qualitative terms. For the purpose of this experiment, *quantitative participation* was measured in terms of number of participants taking part in the experimental community program. *Qualitative participation* was considered in terms of relative attrition rates throughout the execution of the experimental program. Group discussions and individual survey responses were also qualitatively evaluated using a standardized scoring system. The hypothesis would be supported if the residential honors program participants achieved higher quantitative and qualitative scores relative to participants residing in non-honors halls.

METHOD

Subjects

Nineteen males and twenty-two females who resided in Regan Area residence halls at the University of California, Davis voluntarily participated in this study. They were first year undergraduate students who ranged in age from 17 to 19 years (M=18.4).

Materials

Materials used for the completion of this project include advertising flyers, a series of participant questionnaires, a questionnaire for the resident advisors in participating residence halls, audiovisual equipment, and recording equipment.

Identical advertising flyers were distributed to the Resident Advisors of all participating residence halls. These flyers were printed on neon paper and indicated the date, time, and location of the experimental community program. In all cases, the location indicated was the common area ("lounge") of the participating hall. The flyers stated that a fellow student was conducting research and needed willing subjects to facilitate the process.

All participants completed a series of three anonymous questionnaires in the course of the study. Each survey consisted of several Likert scale questions with possible answers ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree" and a number of open-ended questions.

The first questionnaire, titled "Pre-Viewing Questionnaire," consisted of a cover page and a two-page survey. The cover page outlined detailed instructions for the completion of the survey, offered a brief overview of the purpose of the survey (i.e. for what it would be used), insured the anonymity of participants, and explained that participants would be debriefed by their Resident Advisor following the completion of the study. The questions posed in the first questionnaire were designed to assess participant expectations of the program prior to its occurrence. Also addressed were past experience with the issues of multi-culturalism and Japan-America relations, and previous engagement with *Rising Sun* in its literary or cinematic forms.

The second questionnaire, titled "Post-Viewing/Pre-Discussion Questionnaire," was three pages in length, and was designed to establish participants' baseline response to the film viewing. In addition to gauging participant responses to the film as enjoyable cinematic entertainment, questions specifically asked respondents to assess the film's accuracy in its portrayal of Japanese and American culture.

The third questionnaire, titled "Post-Viewing/Post-Discussion Questionnaire," consisted of a single page of questions designed to assess participant responses to the group discussion, possible opinion modifications that may have occurred as a result of this discussion, and the likelihood that this kind of discussion would have occurred outside of the experimental setting.

A non-anonymous survey was distributed to the Resident Advisors of the participating halls in an attempt to determine if the level of participation in the experimental program was comparable to that of standard hall programs. Questions targeted both the quantitative and qualitative participation levels of the subjects as observed by their Resident Advisors. These questionnaires were also used to confirm the degree to which the standardized project methodology had been implemented prior to the execution of the experimental community program.

A video cassette recorder and a 19" television monitor were employed for the showings of *Rising Sun*. A mini-tape recorder and related supplies were used to record group discussions.

Procedure

The cross-sectional quasi-experimental research design employed in the completion of this project extracted information through a series of self-report measures in a naturalistic group setting. The evaluation of several comparison groups facilitated the analysis of the data accumulated. The participation in and responses to (dependent variables) the presentation of a standardized program conducted in the residences of participants (independent variable) rendered data necessary to evaluate the residential honors environment utilizing a standard outcomes approach. The program topic was multi-culturalism and cultural stereotyping with an emphasis on Japan-America relations. The goal of the program format was to evaluate the level of engagement displayed at the community level when confronted with a controversial societal issue.

All Regan Area Resident Advisors were invited to include their halls in this study at a weekly staff meeting. Of the seven Regan Area residence halls, four (Campo, Indio, Rienda, and Sereno) were represented in the study group. Campo Hall houses the freshmen residential honors program (Integrated Studies) and Sereno Hall houses the Arts and Crafts specialty program. Indio and Rienda are standard residence halls, and do not house specialty programs of any kind. All participating halls were comparable in number of residents (Range=60-59=1) and amount of residential staff support (one Resident Advisor and one Program Advisor).

Participating Resident Advisors were informed of the process, but not of the specific research hypothesis. They were asked not to discuss the study with residents and were informed that they would be debriefed following project completion.

Community program dates were scheduled for consecutive Wednesday nights at 8:00 pm. Advertising flyers were distributed to the participating Resident Advisors eight days prior to their program dates. These flyers were posted by the RA's seven days prior to the hall programs. Each hall received four flyers, two of which were to be posted on the inside of the building entrances (one flyer per entrance) and two of which were to be posted on the outside surface of bathroom doors (one per bathroom). Resident Advisors were invited to initiate additional advertising, but were asked to carefully record the recruitment mechanisms employed and the dates on which they were initiated.

At 7:45 pm on the evening of each program, audiovisual and recording equipment was placed in the lounge of the participating building while the Resident Advisor actively recruited for the program by knocking on residents' doors. At 8:00 pm a standardized program introduction was read to the participants, familiarizing them with the program process. Resident Advisors were not invited to participate as subjects, but were required to observe the program for its duration.

Each resident respondent drew a subject number from a hat. The numbers were coded by hall (i.e. 100-199 signified Indio Hall participants) and were used to label each anonymous questionnaire so that the subjects' experiences could be tracked and attrition could be accurately determined. An attendance sheet was signed by each subject to facilitate post-study debriefing.

The first questionnaire was completed in silence. Participants were asked to record their gender, age, and subject number on the first page of each survey, and to wait in silence upon completion of the form until the last respondent was finished. The first questionnaire was collected when all participants had completed the form so that no respondent would feel unduly rushed.

The showing of *Rising Sun* followed. The video began with the opening credits, having been fast-forwarded past any pre-feature material prior to the program. The film was shown in a darkened room and in the absence of the researcher so that subject completion of the process was not contingent upon perceived pressures exerted by an outside observer.

The television monitor was turned off by the researcher at the beginning of the ending credits, at which time the participating Resident Advisor illuminated the room. The distribution and completion of the second questionnaire was procedurally identical to that of the first.

A standardized introduction to the group discussion was read following the collection of the second questionnaires. Subjects were informed that the discussion would be tape recorded and were asked to state their names clearly at the beginning of each comment they contributed. While survey responses were anonymous, participants were, thus, clearly accountable for their discussion responses within their residential peer group.

A series of prepared questions were posed to facilitate the group discussion. While all questions were posed to all study groups, conversations were permitted to follow the natural flow of group discussion and were not time-limited. Discussions were timed and were considered complete when subjects ceased to comment or when all prepared questions had been posed, whichever occurred last.

The third questionnaire was completed after the group discussion. Subjects were asked to remain in the room until all respondents had completed the survey.

The participating Resident Advisor completed a follow-up questionnaire while the researcher filed surveys and disassembled equipment for removal from the residence hall.

Debriefing occurred following the conduction of all experimental program sessions so that inter-hall interaction would not contaminate results. A debriefing sheet was distributed to Resident Advisors with a list of those residents in their respective halls who participated in the study. The Resident Advisors were responsible for the dissemination of this information.

Performance measures were coded for scoring and analysis purposes. Quantitative participation patterns were determined by the number of participating subjects in a given hall study group and the attrition rate (subject mortality) for each of these groups during the study.

Qualitative participation was monitored through a series of Likert-scaled and open response questions. Likert scaled responses were scored using a standardized scoring worksheet. A reverse scoring scale was utilized to correct for surveys with all "Strongly Agree" or "Strongly Disagree" responses. Among the characteristics assessed by the Likert-scaled questions were comfort level in respect to living environments, level of individual and hall participation in programs and informal interaction, and level of enthusiasm experienced at the onset of this study.

A more elaborate scoring mechanism was constructed for the evaluation of open response questions. The "Open Response Score" was calculated by averaging length and content scores for each question, and then combining these individual question scores. Five points could be attained for both length and content for each free response question. The point breakdown for the length component was based on the number of words in the written response, and varied for each question.

Zero through five points were also possible for the content component. One or two points were assigned based upon the number of subjective (opinion) points stated in the response. The remaining three points were awarded based on the number of objective (factual background) points presented in a response. Open response points were assigned based upon requirements outlined on a standardized scoring sheet. These requirements varied for each question. Upon determining the length and content scores for a given question, these scores (a maximum of five length and five content points for each question) were averaged to calculate the final score for that question. This step corrected for subjects who wrote lengthy responses lacking significant content or brief information-intense responses. No partial points were awarded prior to averaging.

The discussion evaluation was conducted on two levels. Subjects were scored during the discussion for contributing to the discussion, elaborating on comments made by other subjects, and challenging comments made by other subjects. Challenging behavior was considered to be higher risk than elaborating behavior, which was, in turn, assessed as higher risk behavior than general contributing comments. Scoring for these behaviors was binary for each individual subject. For instance, if subject number six elaborated on a comment, that subject scored a "1" for elaboration behavior, whether elaboration was displayed once or several times. Subjects not displaying these behaviors scored a "2" for those measures.

The second level of discussion analysis was gleaned from the third ("Post-Discussion") questionnaire. Questions in this survey assessed subjects' acknowledged introduction to new ideas, serious consideration of these ideas, and partial or complete integration of these ideas. Scoring for this level of idea engagement was also binary, with a "1" indicating acknowledgment of idea interfacing and a "2" indicating the lack of such an acknowledgment.

The final component scored was the degree to which statements made in the group discussion contradicted the anonymous questionnaire responses, and was considered an indicator of honest and expressive group interaction. A Likert-scaled question at the end of the second questionnaire asked participants to rate their discomfort with the economic preponderance of Japan as a threat to the security of the United States. At the beginning of the group discussion, subjects were asked to respond to a similar question by giving one of five prepared answers (comparable to the Likert-scaled responses previously considered). The difference in the two scores (both ranging from one to five in whole integers) was used as a disparity indicator, with a larger number indicating a larger disparity between the anonymous and public response of a subject. Because no survey questions or discussion occurred between the responses to these two questions, it can be concluded that the only influence on response choice was the loss of anonymity and not the introduction of new information.

RESULTS

Of the four participating halls, all had comparable resident populations and residential staff members. Campo Hall and Sereno Hall are classified as *specialty halls*, with Campo housing the residential honors program and Sereno housing the residential arts and crafts programs.

Seventeen of the fifty-nine (28.8%) Campo Hall residents participated in the study with a 0% attrition rate. Of the fifty-nine Indio residents, nine (15.3%) participated and seven (77.8% of the original study group) completed the study (22.2% attrition rate). Three of the sixty Rienda residents (0.05%) volunteered for the study, of whom two completed the process for an attrition rate of 33.3%. Twelve of the fifty-nine (20.3%) residents from Sereno Hall participated, with four failing to complete the study (attrition rate=33.3%).

The Resident Advisors for Indio and Rienda Halls indicated that the participation of their residents in the study was "highly comparable" to participation levels characteristic of their residents in standard hall activities and interactions. The Sereno RA described her residents' participation as quantitatively "somewhat comparable" to typical attendance numbers (which are generally lower at standard programs) and qualitatively "highly comparable." The Campo Hall Resident advisor indicated that the attendance level for the program was "somewhat comparable," stating that Campo attendance is usually higher, but that the qualitative participation was "highly comparable" to typical Campo Hall interactions. Campo Hall and Sereno Hall residents scored highest for self-reported enthusiasm level regarding project

participation. There was no significant difference in self-reported comfort levels within the community among the participating halls.

An analysis of the participation of community residents in the experimental program revealed that the qualitative and quantitative participation levels of residential honors students were higher relative to other communities. In addition to having the highest resident participant rate for the study (28.8%), the attrition rate for Campo Hall was significantly lower than the other halls, $F(1,122)=9.74, p<.05$. However, the fact that there was a significant main effect for gender in the assessment of attrition rates suggests that other components may have affected the analysis of this variable, $F(1,81)=13.72, p<.05$.

A preliminary analysis of qualitative indicators revealed a significant main effect for Campo participants relative to participants in other halls and to participants in the other participating specialty program. As hypothesized, analysis of discussion scores indicated a significant main effect for the residential honors program for discussion contributions, $F(1,74)=12.60, p<.05$, and elaborative comments, $F(1,62)=14.04, p<.05$. There was not, however, a significant main effect for challenging discussion comments. There was no main effect for any of the discussion behaviors (contributive, elaborative, or challenging) for specialty programs in general or for the non-honors specialty program specifically.

Engagement indicators suggest that Campo Hall participants interacted more elaborately with their discussion group and with the material presented. The open response score for Campo Hall was significantly higher than in other halls, while the disparity indicator was significantly lower, $z(1,17)=2.66, p<.05$. The percentage of Campo residents who considered and integrated ideas from the group discussion also exceeded scores from other participating halls. Sereno Hall's open response scores, while higher than those of Rienda and Indio, were not significantly so.

DISCUSSION

The finding that the quantitative and qualitative participation of residential honors students in this study was significantly higher than other campus communities supports existing research stating that community cohesiveness is promoted by the honors living environment (Brimelow, 193; Parker, 1987; Wagner, 1987). However, the fact that the other participating specialty program did not display significant main effects for its participation indicators renders new support for the experimental hypothesis by refuting the claim that higher participation levels are attributable to common goals and would be observed in any residential specialty program with which participants voluntarily associate themselves.

One prediction was not verified. Higher risk behaviors were expected to be observed most frequently in the honors program due to the integration of community and academic missions. While there was a significant main effect for Campo Hall's contributive and elaborative discussion behaviors, Rienda Hall achieved the highest score (100%) for challenging discussion behavior. Further analysis suggests that the validity of the Rienda results may be questionable because of the small sample size in which the actions of each individual accounted for 33.3% (pre-attrition) or 50% (post-attrition).

The results from this study suggest that participation in a residential honors program increases students' ability and willingness to address complex societal issues in intellectual and community terms. To the degree that this is true, the benefits rendered by residential honors not only justifies retention of these programs in the midst of fiscal difficulties, but legitimizes the consideration of this design as an option for program expansion where such offerings do not already exist. While institution-specific research could better ascertain the potential role and benefits of residential honors on individual campuses, the results of this study suggest that by integrating intellectual pursuits with personal accountability, the capacity for sophisticated engagement with complex issues is significantly enhanced by the residential honors program.

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Stress Prediction vs. Stress Control. Same Underlying Neurobiological Substrate?

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Stress is harmful to the body; however, both stress predictability and stress control can decrease the negative effects of stress. Experiments in behavioral pharmacology were performed on rats to see if stress control and stress prediction (feedback signals) have the same effect on the central benzodiazepine/$GABA_A$ receptor complex. Unpredictably-shocked animals were no more susceptible to picrotoxinin-induced seizures two hours post-stress than those that were predictably-shocked However, predictably-shocked subjects were less affected by the ataxic effects of Midazolam, a mild tranquilizer. Ethanol-induced ataxia was not modulated by feedback signals. The results imply that stress predictability produces some similar effects as stress control, but does not necessarily follow the same mechanism in the brain.

INTRODUCTION

Stress is known to cause many physical and psychological problems including ulceration of the stomach, increased catecholamines and corticosterone, high blood pressure, and immunosuppression (Selye, 1984). It is possible to decrease, if not erase, the deleterious effects of stress by modifying the stressful situation. Overmier and Seligman (1967) discovered that dogs that unconditionally received a foot shock (stress) showed motivational, cognitive, and emotional deficits as compared to subjects that could turn off the shock themselves. This "learned helplessness" effect was due to a loss of control by the subjects. Control can be defined as a behavioral response that alters the number, intensity, pattern, or duration of stress. Having control over a stress can protect the subject from many of the deleterious effects of stress, such as ulceration (Weiss, 1970) and neurochemical changes (Petty et al., 1993).

Stress may also be modulated by introducing an element of predictability to the situation. As compared to subjects that are unpredictably shocked, subjects that receive a signal before a shock (pre-shock signals), at the end of a shock (cessation signals), or immediately after a shock (feedback signals) have many of the same protective effects afforded by control over the stress [pre-shock (Fanselow, 1980), cessation (Minor et al., 1990), feedback (Weiss, 1971)].

This study attempts to tease apart the connection between stress control and stress prediction (e.g. feedback signals) to determine if they both afford their protective effects through the same mechanism in the brain. We will look at how feedback signals affected the subjects' response to three drugs that act on the benzodiazepine/$GABA_A$ receptor complex (BGRC): picrotoxinin (a convulsant), Midazolam (a minor tranquilizer), and ethanol (a depressant).

EXPERIMENT 1: STRESS PREDICTABILITY AND PICROTOXININ-INDUCED SEIZURE

Method

Subjects. Adult (250-300 g; at least 45 days old), male, Sprague-Dawley rats from Charles River Laboratories, Germantown, NY or Charles River-derived rats, bred and raised at Brown University, Providence, RI were used. The animals were group

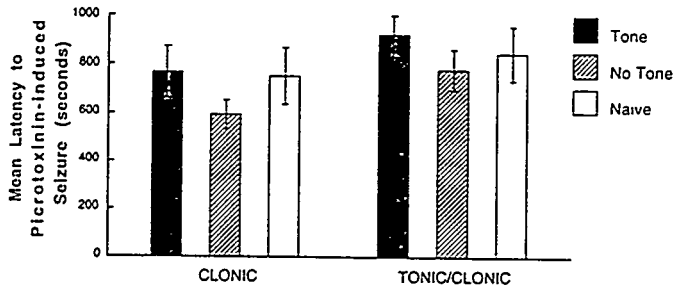


FIGURE 1. Mean latency in seconds to picrotoxinin-induced seizure two hours post-stress for rats exposed to shock and injected with 6 mg/kg of picrotoxinin immediately prior to testing. Vertical bars represent the standard error of the mean.

housed with free access to food and water. Subjects were maintained on a 12:12-hr light/dark cycle (lights on at 7:00 AM); all testing occurred between 9:00 and 11:00 AM.

Apparatus. Rats were placed in Plexiglas boxes; in some boxes, a grooved Plexiglas wheel, which was locked, extended 1.7 cm into the front of the chamber through a hole 8 cm above the floor of the box. All shocked subjects were given 80 unsignaled shocks averaging 1 shock/min. Shocks were administered by fixed tail electrodes augmented by electrode paste. Shock intensity is 1 mA for the first 35 trials, is incremented to 1.5 mA for the next 25 trials, and is increased to a maximum of 2 mA for the final 20 trials. The shock sources were Lafayette Instruments (Lafayette, IN) Model 82400 D.C. Shockers.

Drugs. Picrotoxinin, a convulsant compound that acts at the chloride channel associated with the BGRC, was dissolved in distilled water to a 3 mg/ml concentration.

Procedure. Rats were randomly divided into three groups (16 rats per group): signaled, unsignaled, and naive. The signaled and unsignaled groups were placed in Plexiglas boxes; half were randomly placed in a box with a secured, grooved Plexiglas wheel. Both groups were given 80 inescapable shocks . The signaled group received a 5-sec (2.8 kHz, 75 dB) tone coincident with the offset of shock. The yoke group received the same shocks and heard continuous, low-level (75 dB, wide-band) white noise throughout the shock procedure. The control group was individually housed without food or water in the rat colony room during the stress procedure. Two-hours post-stress, rats were examined for their susceptibility to picrotoxinin-induced seizures.

Subjects from all three groups were injected (i.p.) with 6 mg/kg picrotoxinin 2 hr post-stress. Latency to myoclonic (head jerks), clonic (loss of balance, marked by all four feet remaining off the floor), and tonic/clonic (full-body convulsion) convulsions were recorded over the ensuing 30-min period. The experimenter was blind to the group membership of each subject.

Results and Discussion

Data for myoclonus was not examined. An analysis of variance of the mean latency to clonus showed a non-significant trend toward increased protection in the predictably-shocked animals over both the unpredictably-shocked animals and the naive subjects [$F(2, 51) = 1.0124$, $p = 0.37$]. This effect can be seen in Figure 1.

The data for the mean latency to tonic/clonic seizure showed a similar non-significant trend [$F(2, 51) = 0.5888$, $p = 0.56$]. Compared with the tonic/clonic results, the clonus data showed a stronger difference between the predictably-shocked animals and both the unpredictably-shocked and naive rats. [See Figure 1.] The animals that received the feedback signal were delayed in their onset to tonic/clonic seizure in comparison to both other groups at the same dose of picrotoxinin.

EXPERIMENT 2: STRESS PREDICTABILITY AND MIDAZOLAM-INDUCED ATAXIA

Method

Subjects. Adult, male, Sprague-Dawley rats identical to those in Exp. 1 were used.

Apparatus. Shocks boxes and electrical equipment identical to those in Exp. 1 were used. A Rota-rod treadmill model 7700 (Ugo Basile Biological Research Apparatus, 21025 Comerio, Varese, Italy) was used to assess motor ataxia. The rod that the subjects walk on is 6 cm in diameter and 35 cm long; it is divided into 4 equally-spaced vertical partitions and rotated at a constant speed of 10 rpm.

Drugs. Pre-prepared (injectable form) Midazolam (Versed) at a 1 mg/ml concentration was used. Three doses of Midazolam (0.5 mg/kg, 1.0 mg/kg, and 2.0 mg/kg) were administered to the subjects.

Procedure. The shock procedure described for Exp. 1 was used. Prior to shock, all subjects were trained to run on the Rota-rod until they ran for at least 2 minutes without falling off. During this training, subjects that fell off the Rota-rod less than 2 minutes after beginning were immediately placed back on the Rota-rod until they had reached the criterion time. All but one subject (who was dropped) was able to reach criterion with little difficulty.

Following this training, the animals were exposed to predictable or unpredictable shocks as in Exp. 1. Control animals were individually housed without food and water during the stress session. After the shock, the subjects were tested again to ensure that they can run the Rota-rod for a two minute criterion; this illustrates that fatigue, memory loss, or any other factor did not affect their ability to run on the Rota-rod. Two hours post-stress, the subjects were injected (i.p.) with Midazolam. To allow for drug absorption, the subjects rested for ten minutes and were then tested for their ability to run on the Rota-rod for a 5 min limit.

Results and Discussion

At the lowest dose (0.5 mg/kg), no difference between the tone, no tone, and naive animals was observed. All three groups spent comparable mean times on the Rota-rod (tone = 198.3, no tone = 205.0, naive = 220.1). The analysis of variance for this group revealed a non-significant effect of the predictability at this dose [$F(2, 27) = 0.0930$, $p > 0.9$]. Because this dose was so low, many of the subjects spent the full 5 minutes on the Rota-rod.

The middle dose (1.0 mg/kg) showed completely different results. Both the predictably-stressed and the naive animals stayed on the Rota-rod on average 8 times as long as the unpredictably-stressed animals. An analysis of variance on the data showed a significant difference between the three groups [$F(2, 27) = 4.2521$, $p < 0.25$]. Subsequent

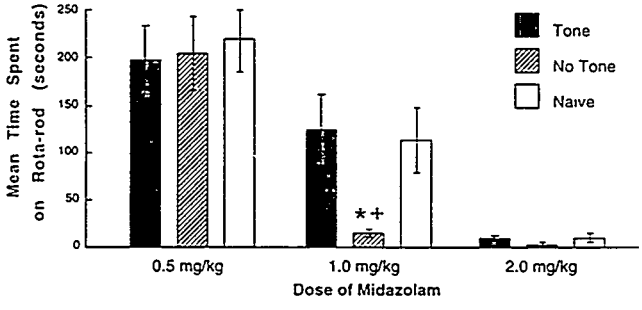


FIGURE 2. Mean time spent on Rota-rod two hours post-stress for rats exposed to shock and injected with three doses of Midazolam ten minutes prior to testing. Vertical bars represent the standard error of the mean (10-12 subjects per group.) A star (*) indicates a significant difference from tone subjects and a cross (+) represents a significant difference from the naive ($p < 0.05$) by Newman-Keuls post-hoc analysis.

Newman-Keuls post-hoc comparisons ($p < 0.05$) indicated that the unpredictably-stressed group differed significantly from both of the other groups.

A similar effect was seen at the highest dose (2.0 mg/kg). Although an analysis of variance showed that the results were not significant [$F(2, 32) = 1.8282$, $p = 0.1771$], there was a trend in the direction displayed at the 1.0 mg/kg dose. Mean time spent on the Rota-rod for all three groups was much less than for the other doses (all three means were less than 10 seconds).

EXPERIMENT 3: STRESS PREDICTABILITY AND ETHANOL-INDUCED ATAXIA

Method

Subjects. Adult, male, Sprague-Dawley rats identical to those in Exp. 1 were used.

Apparatus. Shocks boxes, electrical equipment, and Rota-rod treadmill identical to those in Exp. 2 were used.

Drugs. Ethanol (95% solution) was administered at 20% (volume to volume, ethanol/distilled water) concentration. This compound was injected (i.p.) in doses of 0.6, 0.8, and 1.0 g/kg.

Procedure. The shock procedure described for Exp. 1 was used. The same procedure described in Exp. 2 was used, except that the delay was only 5 minutes post-injection rather than 10 minutes for the drug to absorb.

Results and Discussion

Although the naive animals had a slightly elevated mean over the other two groups, no significant effects were observed at the 0.6 g/kg dose of ethanol [$F(2, 21) = 0.6283$, $p = 0.5432$]. The same trend, though not as pronounced, was seen at the 0.8 g/kg dose. The animals at the higher dose fell off the Rota-rod sooner than those that lower dose. An analysis of variance also showed that this dose was not significant [$F(2, 27) = 0.1936$, $p > 0.80$]. From these two doses, feedback signals appeared to have no effect on ethanol-induced ataxia.

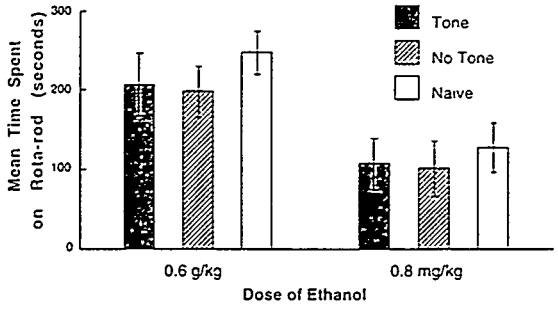


FIGURE 3. Mean time spent on Rota-rod two hours post-stress for rats exposed to shock and injected with two doses of ethanol five minutes prior to testing. Vertical bars represent the standard error of the mean (8-10 subjects per group.)

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The results of these experiments support the hypothesis that feedback signals can exert changes on the BGRC. Feedback signals alter the body's response to some, but not all, of the negative effects of stress. This contradicts Fanselow's (1980) contention that feedback signals are benign, if not deleterious, to the organism, but it does not discern between other theories for the mechanism of feedback signals.

While this research suggests BGRC alternations in response to feedback signals, it also comments on the interaction between controllability and predictability. Do they exert their protective effects through the same mechanisms in the brain? If so, they should cause the same effects on the body. Some researchers contend that stress predictability and stress control exert their effects through the same mechanism. Mineka, Cook, and Miller (1984) postulated that since control was not necessary to produce

contextual fear attenuation. control and predictability may exert their effects through different mechanisms.

The results in Exp. 1 and Exp. 3 do not replicate similar studies using a stress controllability paradigm (Drugan et al., 1994; Drugan et al., 1995). On the other hand, the results in Exp. 2 were similar to those found by Drugan, Coyle, Healy, and Chen (submitted) at their highest dose (2.0 mg/kg) using a stress controllability paradigm. Exp. 1 and Exp. 3 support the notion that stress predictability and stress controllability use different mechanisms in the brain, whereas Exp. 2 shows that feedback signals can mimic the protective effects of controllability. This research suggests that stress controllability and predictability produce some similar effects but may work along different mechanisms. It is also possible that they work through the same mechanism, but that stress predictability does not cause as potent effects as control. For example, compared with the Midazolam-induced ataxia study of stress controllability by Drugan, Coyle, Healy, and Chen (submitted), not as many doses of Midazolam were significant in the predictability paradigm than then controllability paradigm.

Both picrotoxinin, Midazolam, and ethanol act on different binding sites in the benzodiazepine/$GABA_A$ receptor complex. Feedback signals appear to alter the sites within the BGRC differently: feedback signals alter the benzodiazepine (Midazolam) receptor site but not the cage convulsant (picrotoxinin) nor the GABA (ethanol) receptor site. This seems to support the assertion that an endogenous benzodiazepine receptor agonist may be released in the brain in response to feedback signals, just as was suggested for controllability by Drugan, Basile, Ha, and Ferland (1994).

Further research is being conducted by this lab using *in vitro* radioligand binding to determine exactly where in the brain the neurochemical changes occur. Other doses of picrotoxinin and ethanol should also be investigated. Another helpful area of investigation would be to examine whether stress predictability causes any immunizing effects (i.e. protective effects against stress 24 hrs later). This research also suggests that the predictability of stress, as well as the controllability, may increase the potency of some drugs (at least Midazolam) and lead to increased probability of drug dependence.

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PERCEPTIONS OF THE KINSHIP TIES OF RURAL AND URBAN FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to explore the differences in perceptions of kinship ties and behavioral kinship ties between rural and urban families. It is anticipated that the behavioral and perceptual kinship ties of rural families are stronger than those of urbanites'. Furthermore, it is predicted that the perceptions of the kinship ties in rural families more closely mirror actual kinship ties than the perceptions of urban families. The Interpersonal Relations Inventory (Nava & Bailey, 1991) was completed by 103 undergraduate students which explored their perceptions of their favorite family member. In addition, they also completed a questionnaire which assessed actual kinship relations as a behavioral measure, e.g. number of contacts with immediate family members. Peoples' perceptions play an instrumental role in the way they view the world. This is especially important when you take into consideration familial perceptions and influence on subsequent functioning. There has been limited research focusing on the effects of familial perceptions and actual kinship ties. This study will contribute to limit this gap.

INTRODUCTION

When considering family relations, functioning can vary due to different demographical and cultural differences which act to regulate the groups' behavior. Therefore, when analyzing familial ties it is beneficial to consider differences between rural and urban families since the structure of their culture and habitat differs so greatly. Traditionally, personal contact among families that live in an urban setting has been described as anonymous, segmental, and impersonal. Urban relations are most commonly contrasted with the contacts of rural people which are described as being intimate and personal.

There are a number of qualitative differences which contribute to these characteristics. First, the area of contact of rural communities is geographically more narrow than those of their urbanite counterparts. Relations which involve "face to face" interactions are less frequent among urban people than rural. Moreover, the interpersonal relations of urbanites are generally more casual and short-lived compared to the strong and durable relations of the rural community (Reiss, 1959). It was suggested by Troll and Smith (1976) that the intensity of a relationship can be effected by the psychological space or number of people involved in the social group.

Despite the decline of the family in the recent years, it is accepted that individuals in the United States are not completely severed from their familiar roots and nuclear families. Rather, they are separated by variables such as demographics and technological developments which can both lead to the development of new forms of group structures (Litwag & Szelenyi, 1969). For example, the "classical" extended family that was characterized by multiple generations all living together under one roof is now a rarety (Troll & Smith, 1976). The construct of psychological kinship refers to ascribing family-type status to a person who is genetically unrelated (Bailey & Nava, 1989). This type of "displaced kinship" may simply be a coping strategy that has developed due to the geographic separation of family members. The evolution of the family and their types of interactions are clearly evident.

Generally, modified or extended families live within visiting distance of each other. They are attached by mutual social and familial type support such as the provision of material aid, cognitive support, and emotional assistance (Taylor, 1986). Through simple observations it is obvious that foreign families function differently than those in the United States. They have different values, attachments, and methods for resolving conflict. Similarly, it is possible to observe variations in familial functioning among different subgroups and populations within the United States. Therefore, the studying of rural and urban families is an effective model for exploring the different variables (such as perceptions and demographics) involved in the functioning of these networks.

Early sociological research by Louis Wirth (1938), in (Wilson, 1993), postulated four generalizations about the functioning of families in an urbanized setting. He stated that urbanism (1) retards family completeness, (2) promotes kin dispersion, (3) endangers disregard of kin, and (4) alters functions served by kin. Following Wirth's generalizations about kinship ties as they relate to population size, there has been substantial empiricle studies which explored this same topic. This research as it coincides with Wirth's has been mixed in results. Some studies have supported his generalizations while others showed meek support. Despite these ambiguous results, there is evidence that Wirth's initial generalizations are an appropriate basis for continuing research in the area (Wilson, 1993).

Regardless of the fact that there has been considerable research done in the area of kinship ties focusing on their demographical differences, there has been no research exploring the relationship between the perceptions of kinship ties and the actual kinship ties of rural and urban families. When considering Wirth's generalizations, it might be appropriate to analyze the role that perceptions play in the functioning of urbanized families and to compare them to those of rural families.

In the present study, the perceptions and actual kin relations of rural and urban families were examined. Measures were taken to identify the perceptions of familial functioning among rural and urban families, and to establish the actual kinship ties of this sample. It is anticipated that the perceptual and behavioral kinship ties of rural families are stronger than those of urbanites'. Furthermore, it is predicted that the perceptions of kinship ties in rural families more closely mirror their actual kinship ties than the perceptions of urban families.

METHOD

Participants

The participants in the study were recruited through their introductory psychology courses and received credit which was applied towards successful completions of the course. The participants for the study were 103 college students at a medium sized regional university. All participants were at least 18 years of age.

Measures

The Interpersonal Relations Inventory (Nava & Bailey, 1991) was used to collect data on the kinship perceptions of the participants. This measured the perceptions of the person's favorite family member. The Interpersonal Relations Inventory used a rating scale of 20 statements such as: "My favorite family member will still like me if I did something wrong." The participants rated the statements on a scale of 1 to 5 as it pertained to their favorite family member. 1 corresponded with the response "Never," 2 with "Almost Never," 3 with "Sometimes," 4 with "Often," and 5 would mean "Very Often."

A second questionnaire exploring the actual kinship ties of the participants was also utilized, which asked questions about the person's actual interaction with their family members. For example, "How long has it been since you have had contact with your favorite family member?" Attached to the second questionnaire was a demographics form. This identified variables such as sex, and the size and population of the person's home town.

Procedure

The participants completed two questionnaires. To protect against any order effect, the order of the questionnaire packets were shuffled. Approximately 50% of the participants completed the Interpersonal Relations Inventory first, and the other half completed the questionnaire assessing their actual kinship ties first.

The participans were categorized into two groups. Rural was operationally defined as people from a hometown of < 2,500 people and lived outside the city limits. Urban were those that lived in a hometown > 2,500 people and that lived inside the city limits. The final sample consisted of 25 people that met the criteria for rural and 30 for urban.

RESULTS

No differences in perceptual kinship ties were found between rural and urban families. The results indicate there is no significant difference in a measure of interpersonal relationships. (See Table 1) In addition, the distribution of favorite family member for both rural and urban students were similar. The majority of both groups selected parents as a favorite family member. (See Table 2) There were no differences in the behavioral ties of rural and urban students. For example, the amount of time spent with the favorite family member was approximately the same in both groups. Since the perceptual and behavioral ties were similar in both groups, no differences in the relationship between perceptions and actual kinship ties were found.

TABLE 1. Scores on the Interpersonal Relations Inventory by Geographical Area

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.
Urban (n = 30)	89.8	9.9
Rural (n = 25)	93.6	7.0
t = 1.59	p = .117	

TABLE 2. Distribution of Favorite Family Member by Geographic Area

Member	Urban	Rural	Row Totals
Parent(s)	13	14	27
Sibling(s)	9	6	15
Grandparent(s)	4	5	9
Extended	1	3	4
Totals	30	25	
Chi-Square = 1.30	p = .728		

DISCUSSION

As stated in the results section, no significant differences were found between the rural and urban families' behavioral or perceptual kinship ties. By eliminating several methodological limitations the results may have been different. The sample size reduced the power to find significant differences. In addition, by using a more sensitive measure of the perceptual kinship ties, larger differences might have been elicited. It is probable that the operational definition used to separate the populations did not create a large enough spread to pick up the differences between the target populations. By creating a larger population spread between rural and urban areas, it would have been more successful in assessing the groups relations accurately. Future research should focus on reducing the methodological limitations that this and other studies face by using participants outside of an academic setting. Due to the educational and soceo-economical privlages of a college sample, and the demographical differences between universities, it is difficult to accurately generalize these findings to the population as a whole.

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THE ACCURACY WITH WHICH PROFESSIONAL ACTORS PERFORM DIFFERENT THEATRICAL ROLES

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It has been shown (Noice & Noice, 1993) that an actor's role learning strategy consists of a detailed examination of the script to determine why the assigned character used those exact words. Apparently, this minute attention to detail renders the script memorable. It has also been reported (Oliver & Ericsson, 1986) that in a professional production actors' rendition of their roles are very exact, however, this has never been empirically validated. The questions addressed by the present study are: 1) How close is the correspondence between the actors' performances and the written script? 2) Is the correspondence between script and performance similar for all professional actors in all types of plays or are there great individual differences? By comparing the performances of four actors in three different types of plays, it was found that: In a classical verse play (Shakespeare's Hamlet) rendition was virtually 100% verbatim; in a turn-of the century prose play (Ibsen's Hedda Gabler) rendition was approximately 97% verbatim; and in a contemporary commercial comedy (Neil Simon's Rumors) rendition was 86% verbatim. In the latter example, all substitutions (e.g., ok for alright) retained the exact ideas of the written dialogue. Overall, changes appeared to be made in order to render the written text more speechlike.

INTRODUCTION

While audiences always seem to marvel at actors' ability to memorize long, complex roles, the accuracy of their memorization has never been empirically investigated. Indeed, the only attempt of this sort ever made (Oliver & Ericsson, 1986) reported overall that retention was quite exact, but the authors neither gave examples nor statistical measures. Wallace and Rubin (1988) investigated the performance of singers of traditional ballads and found that they did not perform them exactly as handed down but made frequent word substitutions within the constraints of meter and meaning. Do actors also make such spontaneous substitutions during a performance? And if so, are actors consistent in this regard? That is, are some actors more prone to paraphrase than others?

Another issue concerns whether there are fewer deviations from the original in classical verse plays (e.g., Shakespeare) compared to modern prose ones (e.g., Tennessee Williams). It is hypothesized that the strict construction of classical verse demands greater fidelity than modern prose.

Since it is illegal to use recording devices of any sort in professional theatres, this has been a difficult area to research. Fortunately, the advisor for this study was able to obtain archival video tapes from a major regional theatre for this experiment. The performances of two actors, each performing

two different roles in the same season (one classical and one modern), and two other actors performing in a turn-of the century play, were checked against copies of the original written scripts and any deviations were noted.

METHOD

Participants and Design

The participants in this study were four professional actors from a regional theatre in the midwest.

Materials

The experimental passages were three two-person scenes from the following plays: Shakespeare's Hamlet, Simon's Rumors, and Ibsen's Hedda Gabler.

Procedure

The experimenters were able to obtain videotapes of the above performances from a major theatre in the Midwest. Three scenes from three different plays were transcribed and then compared to the written script by two independent raters.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Accuracy of performance was assessed by computing the total number of words correctly recalled by each actor for each scene. These data are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Degree of Match Between Written Script and Live Performance for Three Different Scenes

	HAMLET		HEDDA GABLER		RUMORS	
	Queen	Horatio	Hedda	George	Claire	Lenny
Total Number of Words	252	224	194	379	208	381
Total Number of Words Missing	1	5	2	5	34	46
Accuracy	99.60%	97.77%	98.97%	98.68%	83.65%	87.93%

As can be seen, the actors' renditions of the scripts were remarkably accurate. Furthermore, they were almost flawless in the case of a Shakespearean play. With a more modern play, such as Simon's Rumors, actors seem to take more liberties.

Since plays develop from idea to idea rather than from word to word, the correspondence between script and performance was also analyzed in idea units. These results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Idea Units Recalled During Live Performance

	HAMLET		HEDDA GABLER		RUMORS	
	Queen	Horatio	Hedda	George	Claire	Lenny
Verbatim	39 97.50%	24 77.42%	29 85.30%	69 97.18%	19 45.24%	37 53.62%
1-2 Word Changes	1 2.50%	7 22.58%	5 14.70%	1 1.41%	16 38.10%	23 33.33%
More Than 2 Word Changes	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1.41%	3 7.14%	5 7.25%
Paraphrase	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 9.52%	4 5.80%

Once again, this table shows that the rendition of Hamlet was very accurate, while in Hedda Gabler and Rumors actors seemed to make more changes.

A third measure concerned the type of changes that actors made. These are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Type and Frequency of Changes from Script to Performance

TYPE OF CHANGE	HAMLET		HEDDA GABLER		RUMORS	
	Queen	Horatio	Hedda	George	Claire	Lenny
Substitutions	1	3	1	1	8	14
Deletions	0	2	1	1	6	10
Additions	0	1	5	0	11	14
Intrusions	0	0	-	-	1	6

As can be seen, the most frequent type of change for Hamlet and Rumors was a substitution. A substitution was considered any change in wording not exceeding 1 or 2 words. The table below gives some examples of the types of substitutions made.

Table 4: Types of Substitutions Made

	Playscript	Performance
HAMLET	my Lord	dear Lord
	thy	your
	might	may
HEDDA	book	manuscript
	hurt	upset
RUMORS	Jesus	God
	speak	talk

The next most frequent type of change was an addition. Any utterance spoken by an actor that was not in the original script was scored as an addition. Examples of additions from the three scripts are as follow:

Table 5: Types of Additions Made

	Performance
HAMLET	my Lord
HEDDA	dear
	I know
RUMORS	Hey! Oh, oh!

In addition to substitutions and additions, we also counted the number of deletions that were made which can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6: Types of Deletions Made

	Playscript
HAMLET	good
	had
HEDDA	really
	by Jove!
RUMORS	no
	oh!
	still

In Hamlet, these were the only two words deleted, and in Hedda Gabler and Rumors words were rarely left out. When a deletion was committed, it was usually in the form of an interjection, such as omitting the word no or please.

In summary, this study presented evidence that the degree of accuracy varied with the type of script. Apparently, a classical verse play places more constraints on the type of substitutions that are possible and therefore demands greater fidelity than a contemporary prose play. An additional finding was that there was no indication that some actors have a greater tendency to paraphrase than others. Because additions and deletions were primarily words such as "oh", "no", or "please", all substitutions preserved the original meaning. Most changes appeared to be attempts to make the text more speech-like. The results of this study are additional evidence for Noice's (1992) claim that the actors' strategy of probing each word of the text for clues to the assigned character's moment-to-moment intention makes the individual words memorable.

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ACTORS AND NON-ACTORS: AN ANALYSIS OF COGNITIVE ABILITIES

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The purpose of this experiment was to investigate individual differences in cognitive abilities between actors and non-actors. It is plausible that actors, who are expected to juggle multiple tasks and constraints in a limited capacity working memory, have different cognitive abilities than the rest of the college population. Non-acting subjects were 32 undergraduate psychology students with no acting experience, from The University of Memphis, who participated to fulfill a class requirement. The actors were 18 students from the same university who volunteered to participate in this study. The sample of actors and non-actors was measured on several cognitive abilities: verbal working memory span, mathematical working memory span, verbal short-term memory, mathematical short-term memory, spatial memory, analytical reasoning, vocabulary, world knowledge, verbal fluency, and literary expertise. Scores for actors were compared to the scores of non-actors. The actors scored significantly higher than the non-actors in working memory span, short-term memory span, and verbal competence, i.e. literary expertise, vocabulary, and verbal fluency. However, advantages were not prominent in all abilities. No significant differences were found between actors and non-actors for spatial memory, analytical reasoning, and generic world knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

This research examined the hypothesis that there are differences in cognitive abilities between actors and non-actors. More specifically, differences were expected in working memory span, both verbal and mathematical. The rationale for this prediction is that actors and actresses are expected to juggle multiple tasks and constraints (Noice & Noice, 1994) in a limited capacity working memory (Baddeley, 1986; Noice, 1991). Actors must consistently tax the limits of their working memory while retaining all the constraints necessary for a good performance. Other individuals are not exposed to these challenges in quite the same way.

Research on actors

Previous research has shown that actors can retrieve lines from anywhere in a learned script with a prompt of one or two words (Oliver & Ericsson, 1986), so it appears that actors have advantages in retrieval from long-term memory. Within a few weeks, actors must learn an entire role and be able to reproduce it on demand (Noice, 1992, Noice & Noice, 1995). After learning a role, actors must be able to retrieve it in real time, without awkward pauses or groping for words. Actors must reproduce the verbatim text as well as the mental and emotional states of the character (Noice & Noice, 1993, 1994). Actors invent characters in a fashion that allows the audience to infer attitudes, emotions, and motives behind the action (Noice & Noice, in press). The theatrical script is merely a blueprint for the finished product. Actors must be able to reproduce 2 to 3 hours of verbatim dialogue without pauses or searching for words.

The mental constraints of actors include multiple inputs and modalities. Actors must learn and follow complex patterns of movement in conjunction with the dialogue. While remembering where to move and what to say, the actors must be aware of the motivation for movements and words. The actors must acknowledge other actors' movements and actions and be prepared to respond realistically if mistakes are made. The actor must be aware of furniture, walls, and possible mis-arrangements of objects. During all of this, the actor must be aware of the audience. If applause breaks out, actors should pause without breaking the moment,

so that the dialogue following the outburst will be heard. All of these constraints, plus numerous others, must be in constant focus. If the actor fails in one of these areas the losses are great and personal humiliation is at risk.

With the above constraints in mind, we can speculate that the cognitive abilities of actors might differ significantly from the cognitive abilities of the normal college population. Actors are expected to manage large quantities of information from multiple inputs in real time. These tasks have high cognitive complexity. Among the various cognitive abilities, working memory span is an excellent candidate for showing differences. The tasks that actors are expected to perform are taxing on working memory. When a person is asked to perform tasks extremely high in cognitive complexity, the person is normally allowed a lengthy period of time to consider possible solutions to the problem at hand. This time reduces the cognitive stress and lowers the complexity level (Baddeley, 1986). However, actors are not given this time when they perform

Research on working memory

Actors are expected to incode information, rearrange the information, and reproduce the information almost immediately. These cognitive processes tax working memory, as mentioned above. Working memory is the temporary memory used during problem solving, which holds all of the constraints of the problem in focus.

Working memory has both an active processing unit and a passive information store. The active processing unit acts as a mental bookkeeping system. Information is held in the active processing unit until it becomes less activated than other information. At this point the information is in the passive information store. As new or more activated information enters working memory, the old information becomes obsolete. This implies that the capacity of working memory is limited (Baddeley, 1986). Daneman and Carpenter (1980) also found that high working memory span correlates with reading comprehension performance and individuals differ in working memory span.

This working hypothesis is that actors do possess a larger working memory span than do non-actors. Actors consistently are expected to process more information than non-actors so they have significantly larger working memory spans than non-actors.

METHOD

A sample of actors and non-actors were measured on several cognitive abilities: verbal working memory span, problem solving involving language; mathematical working memory span, problem solving involving digits; verbal short-term memory, number of verbal information units remembered; mathematical short-term memory, number of digits remembered; spatial memory, ability to remember placements of objects; analytical reasoning, inference generation abilities; vocabulary, word knowledge; world knowledge, basic knowledge for facts; verbal fluency, how well read one is or pleasure reading, and literary expertise, assesses specific literary knowledge. Scores for actors were compared to the scores of non-actors.

Subjects

A sample of 50 subjects were tested. The 32 non-actors were all undergraduate psychology students at The University of Memphis. For their participation, they received either a class participation grade or extra credit. The actors were 18 volunteers from The University of Memphis. A questionnaire measured the level of acting experience for each subject (see below). Subjects with insufficient amounts of acting experience were removed from the data pool for actors.

Procedure

The battery of abilities tests was administered to groups of subjects in a two hour time period. The groups were comprised of both actors and non-actors. Half-way through the test series, the subjects were given a 15 minute break.

Materials

Working memory span.

Verbal working memory span was measured by the alphabet span task (Craik, 1986). The subjects were orally presented with lists of words ranging from 2-9 words. At each level (2-9), three lists of words were presented. After hearing the complete list of words, subjects were instructed to write the words in alphabetical order. The alphabetizing was done mentally, not on paper. The scores reported for this task are Simple Span scores (SS) (LaPoint & Engle, 1990). The SS score ranges from 1 to 8. The SS is computed by awarding the subject 1 point for each level (2-9) in which two or three trials were answered correctly. Half of a point was given for one trial written correctly.

Mathematical working memory was tested by a reverse digit span test (Ekstrom et al., 1976). Subjects were orally presented with lists of numbers increasing from 2-9, with 2 trials at each level. Subjects were required to write the numbers in reverse order from the order in which they were presented. The digit reversal was completed mentally, not on paper. Subjects were not allowed to begin writing until the list of numbers was completed. Subjects received 1 point for each correct trial. Scores ranged from 0 to 14.

Short term memory.

Verbal short-term memory was tested by a letter span task (Ekstrom et al., 1976). Subjects were orally presented with lists of letters that increased from 3-23. Subjects were required to write the letters that they heard in the order in which they were presented. Subjects were not allowed to begin writing until the list of letters was completed. Subjects received 1 point for each correct trial, so the scores ranged from 0 to 24.

Mathematical short-term memory was tested by a digit span task (Ekstrom et al., 1976). Subjects were orally presented with lists of numbers that increased from 3-9, with 2 trials at each level. Subjects were required to write down the digits they heard in the order of original presentation. Subjects were not allowed to begin writing until the list of numbers was completed. The subjects received 1 point for each correct trial, so the scores ranged from 0 to 14.

Verbal competency

Vocabulary was measured by an advanced vocabulary test (Ekstrom et al., 1976). Each word was followed by 5 word choices. Subjects were instructed to mark the word that meant nearly the same as the word in question. The score was the number right minus a percentage of the number of items wrong. Scores ranged from 0 to 42.

The Author Recognition Task (Stanovich & West, 1989), measured verbal fluency, or how well-read the subjects were. This task has been demonstrated to be a reliable test for exposure to print (Stanovich & Cunningham, 1992; Stanovich & West, 1989). This test has been correlated with word recognition, spelling, vocabulary, literary knowledge, and verbal fluency (Stanovich & Cunningham, 1992). Studies have reported population means of 8.65 (Kassler & Kreuz, 1994), 7.26 (Zwaan, Magliano, & Graesser, in press), and 9.30 (Stanovich & West, 1989).

A test to measure literary expertise (Kassler & Kreuz, 1993) rounded out the battery of tests. This test has two portions that measure both subjective literary knowledge and objective literary knowledge. The subjective portion lists items that question how well student perform and how much time they devote to academic pursuits. The objective portion is comprised of questions that tap specific literary knowledge. The range of scores is 9.5 to 100.

Spatial long-term memory.

Spatial memory was tested by a map learning task (reference). Subjects were given a map with various structures represented pictorially on the map. After 4 minutes of study time, subjects were given an identically organized map without the structures present. The map was instead labeled with letters in place of the structures. Each structure was presented on down the left margin with a choice of 4 letters beneath it. Subjects were asked to circle the letter corresponding to the correct placement of the structure on the map. The subjects received 1 point for each correct answer minus a percentage of the number of incorrect answers. The scores ranged from 0 to 12.

Analytical reasoning.

Analytical reasoning was measured by an inference generating task designed by Ekstrom et al. (1976). Subjects read brief passages similar to passages they might see in popular newspaper or magazine articles. After each passage, subjects were presented with 4 possible inferences that people might make, based on the information in the passage. Only 1 choice was correct for each passage. The subjects were awarded 1 point for each correct answer minus a percentage of the questions they marked incorrectly.. Scores ranged from 0 to 20.

World knowledge.

World knowledge was measured by a test for mastery of basic generic knowledge (Ekstrom et al., 1976). Questions were evaluated on a scale that ranged from 0-2 points.: 0 points = a completely incorrect answer; 1 point = an answer that was partially correct; and 2 = an answer that correctly captured the gist of the question and manifested sound logic. Scores ranged from 0 to 32.

Acting experience questionnaire.

All subjects finally completed a detailed questionnaire about their previous acting experience during the past 5 years. Subjects listed how many plays they had performed and what type of role they performed, i.e., lead role vs. minor role. Subjects also listed all acting classes, workshops, improvisational work, and other acting experiences they had. Subjects were directly asked whether they considered themselves actors. Subjects with no experience who did not consider themselves actors were placed in the non-actor group. To be qualified as an actor, subjects were required to have performed in at least 5 plays, with major roles in at least 3 of the plays. Actors with only 3 or more plays, in which at least one was a major role, must have participated in at least 5 classes or workshops to be considered an actor.

RESULTS

Table 1 displays descriptive and inferential statistics for cognitive ability tests. Both groups of subjects showed no significant differences for mean ages, GPA, gender, or ethnicity. Actors scored significantly higher than non-actors in verbal working memory span, mathematical working memory span, verbal short-term memory, mathematical short-term memory, and verbal competence, i.e. literary expertise, vocabulary, and verbal fluency. However, advantages were not prominent in all abilities. No significant differences were found between actors and non-actors for spatial memory, analytical reasoning, and generic world knowledge.

Descriptive & Inferential Statistics For Cognitive Abilities

ABILITY MEASURES	Actors	Non-actors	t - SCORE	Significance p<.05
Working memory span				
• Verbal	4.38	3.23	4.86	* * *
• Mathematical	11.42	8.33	3.00	* * *
Short-term memory				
• Verbal	13.42	9.00	4.27	* * *
• Mathematical	11.67	9.27	3.72	* * *
Verbal competency				
• Literary expertise	59.19	46.21	2.32	* * *
• Vocabulary	21.21	12.49	3.43	* * *
• Verbal fluency	15.58	8.60	2.75	* * *
Other				
• Spatial long-term memory	9.98	8.68	1.28	
• Analytical reasoning	16.38	15.53	.94	
• World knowledge	25.58	22.63	1.74	

Priming of Homograph Meaning in Word Association

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Decay and interference models are examined in an implicit task design that employed primed word association. Forty-eight Adelphi University undergraduates are asked to word associate to homographs presented in differing contexts and over various durations of time. Results yield associate responses consistent with proactive interference patterns, and inconsistent with decay theory. These results are characteristic of explicit task performance and are in conflict with the established distinctions separating explicit and implicit tests of memory.

INTRODUCTION

Memory tests requiring the conscious recollection of past events, and those involving no such effort, have been classified as explicit and implicit memory tasks respectively (Graf & Schacter, 1985) The characterization of explicit and implicit tasks has brought a discovery that each is differentially influenced by particular experimental conditions (e.g., the levels-of-processing and generation effects, Jacoby and Dallas, 1981). Such a dichotomy has suggested a memory system that employs different resources or strategies to engage each type of task. Such a suggestion has caused an evolution in memory research embodied by unprecedented emphasis on implicit task analysis.

Among the established distinctions separating explicit and implicit tasks are the decay and interference theories of forgetting. Decay theory proposes the loss of information in human memory as being caused by the passing of time, whereas interference theory provides two models for the loss of information due to its interaction with competing information. The retroactive interference model asserts that newly acquired information interferes with previously acquired information; the proactive model claims that previously acquired information interferes with newly acquired information (see Crowder, 1976, for a review of interference effects). Interference has been shown to occur in explicit tasks, while decay has been shown to occur in implicit designs. The present study tests these theories by using primed word association to homographs as an implicit task.

Standard word association requires subjects to respond to a serially presented list of words with the first word that comes to their mind. In primed word association, context is altered in an effort to influence associate responses to particular words Those particular words are, in our case, homographs: words with multiple and distinct meanings, but only one spelling. In a study that used primed word association, Cramer (1968) attempted to elicit specific associate responses to homographs. Her experiment required subjects to associate to a list of words embedded with homographs In trying to "prime" a specific association to a homograph, she preceded the presentation of that homograph with a word related to one of its distinct meanings. For example, the word ANGER would precede the homograph TAP when the response *hit* was sought, while the word WINE would precede TAP when the response *beer* was sought. Cramer showed that this technique was effective in eliciting specific responses related to either meaning of a homograph. The present study seeks to replicate and expand these results by similar methods.

Although we used primed word association to homographs as our task, our study differs from Cramer's in many ways. To begin with, we attempted to manipulate "meaning" as a response class. We did not focus on specific response words such as *hit* or *beer* as Cramer did, but rather on the meaning of the response words given. Whereas Cramer would accept only the word *hit* as a response when ANGER preceded TAP, we would accept any words related to the *hit* meaning of TAP. For example, in our study the response words *punch* or *slap* would be counted as equal to the response word *hit*. This distinction allows us to observe whether or not meaning is sensitive to the effects of context just as specific response items have been shown to be

Our study is further distinguished from Cramer's by the fact that each homograph occurs three

times during the presentation of the word association task The repeated occurrence of a homograph provides the opportunity to observe the subject's responses to differing contexts and over various durations of time. Furthermore, the subject has no knowledge of the primes, the homographs, or the number of times each will occur--no awareness that he is being tested in this capacity. The only experience a subject may have is that of a continuous list of words to which he must word associate. Taken together, the task provides an implicit design that we may use to examine decay and interference models

In investigating the decay model (control condition), we first attempt to obtain a priming effect during the first occurrence of a homograph We then seek to observe this affect over time and out of context by preceding the second and third occurrences with unrelated words Decay theory predicts a loss of information over time that presents as a decrease of activation in semantic memory (Collins & Loftus, 1975). From this, we can predict a decrease in prime effect over time

A decrease in priming effect over time would yield increasingly fewer responses related to the primed homograph meaning By manipulating the number of intervening words between occurrences of a homograph, we can examine this response pattern over various intervals of time. As such, we presented ten or thirty words between the first and second occurrences, and three or twenty between the second and third occurrences

To test interference theory (mixed condition), we constructed a condition that presented subjects with alternate priming experiences on consecutive occurrences If we use the homograph ORGAN as an example, we would first precede it with the prime LIVER, and then precede it with the prime MUSIC on the following occurrence; the third occurrence was presented out of context. This design specifically tests the proactive interference model and is best illustrated by reference to paired-associate learning.

A paired-associate learning task may first require the learning of *A-B* associate items (e.g., DOCTOR-NURSE), and then *A-C* associate items (e.g., DOCTOR-PATIENT). After a retention interval, the subject is tested by cued recall with the *A* associate alone (DOCTOR-?). Typically, subjects will recall the *B* associate more often than the *C* associate. Further, it has been shown that as the retention interval increases, *C* responses become increasingly less likely to occur (Keppel, 1968). Proactive interference theory proposes that the initially learned information of stimulus *B* has interfered with the information of stimulus *C*.

If we extend this model to apply to our word association task, we see that we have paired homographs such as ORGAN to a primed meaning on the first occurrence (primed by LIVER), and then to the alternate meaning on the second occurrence (primed by MUSIC) The third occurrence then acts as the cued recall when we present ORGAN out of context. In using the same manipulation of intervening words between occurrences as was used in the control condition, we were able to examine third occurrence response patterns after two different intervals of time (three or twenty words intervening between the second and third occurrences of a homograph).

This design parallels the paired-associate model. Proactive interference theory would thus predict a higher proportion of third occurrence responses related to the initially primed meaning (*liver* meaning) than to the alternately primed meaning (*music* meaning). It would also predict an increasingly higher response proportion as the intervals of time between the second and third occurrences increased. However, we should not observe the patterns of proactive interference. Our design is that of an implicit task--where interference has not been observed The occurrences should therefore be independent of each other with no interaction of alternate associate responses

In summation, we wish to accomplish a number of goals: the manipulation of meaning as a response class, the replication of the priming effect achieved by Cramer, and the testing of decay and interference models as they apply to implicit task performance We predict that meaning is sensitive to the effects of context, and can thus be manipulated as specific stimulus items have been shown to be in most other studies, including Cramer's Further, it is our expectations that we will observe the same biasing effect of the prime items as Cramer did. Finally, we expect results consistent with the decay and interference literature; namely, that decay, and not interference, has been shown to occur in implicit tasks

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 48 Adelphi University undergraduates who participated in the experiment as part of a course requirement. An additional twenty participants were employed to provide the normative data from which we analyzed our results

we analyze the effects of our manipulations The mean dominance level obtained for our homographs was 0 633 as compared to the 0 61 of the Adelphi norms Priming effect was quantified as a measure of difference between observed mean proportions and baseline mean proportions For example, if subjects were primed for the primary meaning of a homograph, their response proportions were compared to the normative proportion of primary responses (0 63); conversely, if subjects were primed for the secondary meaning, their response proportions were compared to the normative proportion of secondary responses (0 37) The difference between observed and normative proportions was then calculated and expressed as amount of priming observed mean proportion of responses related to primary meaning - 0 63 = amount of priming; 0 37 - observed mean proportion of responses related to secondary meaning = amount of priming

Figure 1 represents the obtained priming scores for the mixed and control conditions over the first, second, and third occurrences of homographs This representation treats the data independent of both the manipulations of initial prime (primary or secondary), and number of intervening words between occurrences one, two, and three. Priming scores are derived as they relate to the first occurrence prime For example, if first occurrence responses are primed and scored in relation to the primary meaning, then the second and third occurrences are also scored in relation to the primary meaning The zero point along the abscissa represents the normative baseline. Any deviation from this baseline indicates a difference between observed and normative proportions

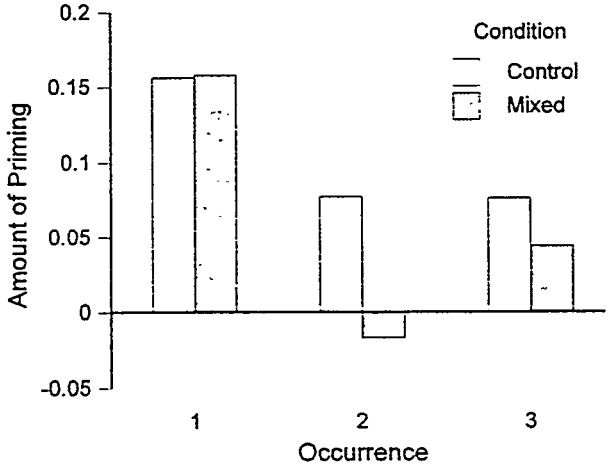


Figure 1 Amount of priming scored in the direction of the first occurrence prime

Results for the control condition show a first occurrence priming score of 0 156, indicating a deviation in the direction of the primed for meaning; the score declines in the unprimed second and third occurrences to 0 077 and 0 076, but still shows a deviation in the direction of the first occurrence prime. The mixed condition results depict a first occurrence priming score of 0 158 in the direction of the primed meaning; a second occurrence score of -0 017 indicates a deviation in the opposite direction of the first occurrence prime, toward the newly primed alternate meaning; the unprimed third occurrence yields a score of 0 044, indicating a recovery of responses related to the first occurrence prime. This third occurrence effect was shown to be significantly different from baseline proportions through a two-tailed t-test, t(47) = 2.08 However, in a one-tailed t-test, the effect of delay between second and third occurrences fell short of significance at t(47) = 0 62, with scores of 0.037 for three intervening words, and 0.050 for twenty intervening words

Additionally, a 3X2X2X2 ANOVA was performed. The factors were occurrences (1, 2, and 3), number of intervening words between occurrences one and two (10 or 30), number of intervening words between occurrences two and three (3 or 20), and first occurrence prime (primed for primary or secondary meaning) The results showed a significant effect of occurrence in both the control and mixed conditions: $F(2, 88) = 7.19$, $MS_e = 014$, $F(2, 88) = 30.92$, $MS_e = .012$. No other effects reached significance through these analyses

DISCUSSION

Priming effect was achieved and can be noted in the first occurrence response proportions of both the control and mixed conditions. The design of the control and mixed conditions were identical during the first occurrence of a homograph, and as such, they produced statistically equal amounts of priming (0.156, 0.158). The presence of a prime biased subjects to respond with associates related to the primed meaning. These results are consistent with those of Cramer (1968). Furthermore, we extended her findings to apply to the manipulation of meaning as a response class as anticipated.

Results for the control condition exhibited response patterns inconsistent with what decay theory would predict. We see no steady decrease of prime effect over time. Although there is a decrease of effect from the first occurrence to the second occurrence (0.156 to 0.077), there is no significant decrease that continues from the second to third occurrence (0.077 to 0.076).

The mixed condition yielded results consistent with the proactive interference model. We observe this by noting the interaction of first and second priming experiences, and the recovery of first occurrence response patterns in the third occurrence. The interaction of experiences can be seen as an inability to prime the alternate homograph meaning on the second occurrence. Although second occurrence responses deviate in the direction of the alternate prime (-.017), the magnitude of this deviation is far less than that of the first primed occurrence (0.158). No interaction between priming experiences would produce a priming effect of equal magnitude for both primed occurrences We therefore conclude that these experiences are not independent of each other. In addition, recovery of first occurrence response patterns in the third occurrence parallels the recovery seen in the proactive interference model of paired-associate learning. When tested out of context, subjects respond with associates related to the initially primed meaning rather than the most recently primed alternate meaning. Though not statistically significant, the amount of recovery increases as the number of intervening words between the first and second occurrences extends from three to twenty (0.037 with three intervening words, 0.050 with twenty intervening words). We feel that if the interval of time between occurrences two and three were extended beyond what we have manipulated, the finding would reach significance. This trend would then be consistent with the finding's of Keppel (1968).

Overall, we observed response patterns characteristic of explicit task performance. There is thus great conflict with the established patterns of implicit task performance and our obtained results. It would seem that we should further investigate the attributes of our task design to further strengthen our position. It is possible that subjects may adopt a strategy that renders our task an explicit test of memory. Subjects, upon encountering a previously presented homograph, might use their episodic memory of the earlier experiences. If this is true, the results would be consistent with the theoretical accounts of decay and interference as they apply to explicit task performance. Future considerations would thus attempt to definitively prevent the use of episodic memory.

It would also be useful to extend the intervals of time between occurrences of a homograph in the control condition. We could then examine how long the effect of prime maintains without steady decrease. It is possible the initial priming experience of the first occurrence could have altered the state of the memory system in a way that establishes a new 'internal' baseline for each subject. This would present as a continual effect of the first occurrence prime over longer durations than we have manipulated.

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Materials

Twenty-eight homographs of two distinct meanings were selected from normative data established at Adelphi University (Gorfein, Viviani, & Leddo, 1982). The selected homographs were chosen for their relative balance. Balanced homographs are those that elicit approximately equal response proportions to each of their alternate meanings. If we use the homograph ORGAN as an example, we would say that approximately half the subject population associates to the *liver* meaning of the word, while the other half associates to the alternate *music* meaning. Perfectly balanced homographs would yield a 0.50 proportion of responses to either meaning. It is most often the case however, that one meaning of a homograph is more frequently associated to than the other. As such, the more frequently associated to meaning is referred to as the dominant or primary meaning, while the less frequently associated to meaning is termed the secondary meaning. Our homographs had a mean dominance level of 0.61 with a range of 0.50 to 0.72, and were counterbalanced between groups so that half the subjects were primed for the primary meaning on the first occurrence, while the other half were primed for the secondary meaning on the first occurrence.

Also selected from the norms, were prime words and unrelated "filler" words. One word related to each of the primary and secondary meanings of every homograph were selected as primes (such as the words LIVER and MUSIC for the homograph ORGAN). These primes, along with the homographs and filler words, were combined to construct a list of 222 words. It is through the manipulation of this list that we derive our experimental conditions.

All homographs are presented on three separate occasions throughout the list. In the control condition, the first occurrence of a homograph is preceded by a prime, while occurrences two and three are preceded by unrelated words. In the mixed condition, the first occurrence is preceded by a prime, while the second occurrence is preceded by a prime related to the alternate meaning, and the third occurrence is preceded by an unrelated word. These conditions were manipulated within subjects (see Table 1. for control and mixed conditions).

Table 1 Control and mixed conditions as they differ by homograph occurrence.

Condition	Occurrence 1	Occurrence 2	Occurrence 3
Control	prime	no prime	no prime
Mixed	prime	alternate prime	no prime

To provide varying intervals of time between occurrences of a homograph, the number of intervening words was manipulated. Counterbalanced between subjects, were the presentations of ten or thirty words between the first and second occurrences. Counterbalanced within subjects, were the presentations of three or twenty words between the second and third occurrences. These manipulations required four list arrangements to counterbalance the conditions.

An additional condition (normative condition) was constructed to establish our own normative data. In this condition the same materials were used, though they were arranged in a non-biasing order; all homographs were preceded by unrelated words.

Procedure

Subjects were exposed to a continuous list of 222 words presented on a computer screen. Each word was automatically presented for six seconds, and was preceded by a series of pound signs (#####) that acted as a ready signal. Instructions were given to write down the first word that comes to mind upon the presentation of each word. Subjects were informed that some words may occur more than once, but to always respond with the first word that comes to mind.

RESULTS

Responses to homographs in the word association task were scored as relating to either the primary or secondary meaning. These responses were then calculated as mean proportions for each condition Responses unrelated to either meaning were not included in these calculations. Results obtained in the normative condition establish baseline response proportions from which

Testing the Capture Hypothesis through Inhibition and Priming Effects in a Variation of the Stroop Task

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INTRODUCTION

One of the largest research areas in cognitive psychology is attention, and several theories have been developed about its nature and processes. These theories are studied in various ways, one of which is through testing various aspects of the Stroop effect. The basis of these theories on attention is the point at which irrelevant stimuli are ignored so the object of attention can be fully processed. Early selection theories maintain this occurs close to or at the moment of presentation. Late selection theories argue it is more advantageous to know what stimuli are before ignoring them, therefore selection for attention should occur later, perhaps in the process of choosing a response. Many effects and tasks have been scrutinized for evidence of those two positions, and the Stroop effect is one of them.

In 1935 J.R. Stroop researched attention by asking subjects to respond to a single aspect of a multi-feature display. Subjects were asked to name the color of ink words were presented in, a display similar to this one. Subjects had difficulty ignoring the word when it named another color.

In 1983 Kahneman and Chajzyk used a variation of the Stroop display to study what happens when more than one distractor stimulus is used in the display. Subjects were asked to name the color of a square which is accompanied by one or two words. When the words had no relationship to color, such as "boy," the subjects had little difficulty, but when the word named a color their reaction time was modified. When the word named the color of the square their reaction times decreased, suggesting the word <u>facilitated</u> responding, and when the word named a different color, their reaction times increased, suggesting the word <u>interfered</u> with the desired response. These results seemed to indicate that the words had been read, though the subjects were to name the color only.

When a color-neutral word is added to a display containing a color word, the effect of the color word on reaction time is reduced, an effect Kahneman and Chajzyk (1983) called "Stroop Dilution." They proposed a hypothesis explaining dilution as a statistical artifact. In this hypothesis, only one word in a two-word display is read. This word supposedly captures attention early in the trial and is read, while the other word is unprocessed. This capturing word elicits the full effect on reaction time, as if it were the only word in the display. The dilution is a result of averaging across trials in which some of the capturing words are color words and some of the capturing words are neutral words. In essence, this produces mean reaction times midway between the two "full" effects.

In order to test whether or not one of the words in a two word display is completely unprocessed, other theoretical constructs must be used. <u>Inhibition</u> and <u>priming</u> in the Stroop tasks provide one means of testing the capture hypothesis.

Inhibition is the process by which "ignored" stimuli are suppressed so a response to the focal stimulus can be made. Priming is the result of words being read. When a word is processed at a semantic level, it activates, or primes, all

semantically related words (Yee, 1991; Chawarski & Sternberg, 1993). In the data, priming can be divided into two types: positive, characterized by a decrease in reaction time or an increase in accuracy, and negative, manifested as an increase in reaction time or a decrease in accuracy. Postive priming is a direct result of reading a word and the activation of related words in the semantic network; negative priming is explained as inhibition spreading along the semantic network, suppressing the words and making them more difficult to access.

Inhibition is thought to work in opposition to priming in the selection of responses. In this Stroop task, the distractor word is suppressed or inhibited, so the color of the square can be named. However, the word has been read, and activates all its semantic associates for possible response (Yee, 1991). Data from different experiments support this conclusion. Inhibition seems to begin 100 msec after the onset of the trial and decreases between 500 and 1000 msec after a response has been made (Tipper, 1985; Lowe, 1985; Neill & Westberry, 1987; Yee, 1991). Neill (1977) found a trend that supports the conclusion that inhibition is active in responding, but not in semantic activity. Priming can be found several seconds to minutes after presentation, although it does decay with time (Chawarski & Sternberg, 1993).

One method of testing for inhibition and priming effects of the distractor words in Stroop displays is the n+1 trial. In this design, a trial consists of two displays separated by a delay. The first display contains the prime, the word which has some relation to (is repeated as or is associated with) the target of the second display.

This experiment tests the capture hypothesis through inhibition and priming effects found through n+1 trials. The first display is a Stroop task of the type Kahneman and Chajzyk (1987) used. Different lengths of delay between the two displays are used to determine the boundaries of inhibition in this task. The test display (second display) is a lexical decision task containing equal numbers of non-words, words related to a neutral word in the Stroop display and unrelated words. In a similar study, Yee (1991) found that priming is stronger in trials following displays with two distractor words than those following displays with a single distractor word. Neill (1977) also found priming when the n+1 task requires responses in two different modalities (verbal to the Stroop and manual to the test), but inhibition in the n+1 trial when both responses were made in the same modality. The same effect is expected in this experiment. If the capture account is correct and only one word in a two-word display is read, then priming effects should be equal following one-word and two-word Stroop displays. If Yee's results are replicated, then both words must have been processed at a semantic level.

METHOD

Subjects

Sixty-one subjects were recruited from University of North Carolina at Asheville's psychology, management, and accounting courses, in which they received extra credit for participation. All participants were native English speakers with no apparent reading impairments. Subjects were tested individually for approximately 18 minutes.

Apparatus

Displays were programmed on an IBM-compatible computer using a VGA monitor and MEL (Micro-Experimental Lab) software. Subjects responded to the Stroop display through a microphone wired to the MEL response box and to the lexical decision display through a keyboard. Experimenters entered an accuracy response to the Stroop display through the keyboard. MEL measured and recorded all reaction time and accuracy data.

Procedure

Three variables were manipulated in a mixed factorial design. Number and type of words in the Stroop display and the type of target in the lexical decision display were within-

subjects variables, while the delay between the two displays was manipulated between-subjects.

The color of the square which the subjects were to name varied randomly between red, blue, green, yellow, white and gray, with each color presented in each condition an equal number of times.

The square was accompanied by either one or two distractor words. In the one-word conditions, the word appeared above and below the square an equal number of times. In the two-word conditions, the position of the conflicting word and the prime for the lexical decision target (when these two features were present) was equally often above and below the square. The types of Stroop displays were categorized by the distractor words. Trials with a single neutral word are neutral, trials with two neutral words are neutral-neutral, and trials with a conflicting and a neutral word are neutral-conflicting. The targets in the lexical decision displays were equally often non-words, words related to a neutral distractor word in the Stroop display, and unrelated words. Each of these trials appeared following each type of Stroop display an equal number of times. Eighteen trials comprised each of the nine within-subjects conditions, for a total of 162 trials, presented in a different random order for each subject.

Three delays were manipulated between subjects. Subjects were in the 50 msec, 350 msec or 650 msec condition. Each delay condition had a base and counterbalanced version to insure the results were not based on the effects of particular word pairs.

After receiving informed consent, subjects were asked to read a set of instructions on the monitor. These instructions informed the subjects that they were to name the color of a square as quickly as possible, ignoring any other aspect of the display, then to decide if the word in the lexical decision trial was a word or not a word and to enter a keyboard response as quickly and accurately as possible. The experimenter then entered the subject's Stroop accuracy for that trial via the keyboard and initiate the next trial. Then the subjects completed a set of twelve practice trials, the majority of which were one-word unrelated and pseudo-word trials. Upon completion, experimenters answered any of the subject's questions about the procedure, and when the subject was ready, initiated the remainder of the trials. The first block of several trials was not analyzed, although it served two purposes: to complete subjects' learning curve regarding the task and to present them with many conflicting trials, encouraging them to ignore the words and concentrate on the color square. When this block of trials was completed, the block of core (analysis) trials began, without interruption.

RESULTS

Analysis of color naming reaction times from the Stroop displays confirmed the expected pattern of Stroop interference in the neutral-conflicting condition. The results of interest, however, are found in the reaction time and accuracy data of the lexical decision displays. The critical comparison involves the differences between the priming following a two-word Stroop display and that following a one-word Stroop display. These were analyzed using a 2x3x3 factorial design. The two levels of relatedness of the lexical decision target were semantically related to a neutral word in the preceding Stroop display and unrelated to any words in the preceding Stroop display. The non-word trials were excluded from the analysis because they were included in the experiment only as a requirement of the lexical decision task (a lexical decision task in which all the targets are words is not a valid one). The three levels of Stroop word type were one neutral word (neutral), two neutral words (neutral-neutral) and a neutral word paired with a conflicting word (neutral-conflicting). The three levels of delay between the subject's response to the Stroop display and the initiation of the lexical decision

display were 50 msec, 350 msec, and 650 msec.

The 2x3x3 ANOVA on reaction times failed to produce any significant main effects or three-way interactions. However, the predicted interaction of Stroop display type with relatedness of the lexical decision target produced a marginally significant outcome, $F(2,112) = 2.45$, $p < .10$. Examination of the means for each condition indicated that there was no priming following neutral or neutral-neutral Stroop displays, but a priming effect following neutral-conflicting displays, as seen in Table 1. A simple effects test for priming in the neutral-conflicting condition yielded a significant positive priming effect of 10 msec, $t(58) = 2.20$, $p < .05$.

A parallel analysis of the accuracy data supported the presence of priming in the neutral-neutral condition. The 2x3x3 ANOVA on accuracy produced a significant interaction between Stroop display type and relatedness, $F(2, 112) = 5.21$, $p < .05$, showing a 2.1% accuracy increase for related targets over unrelated target in the neutral-neutral condition, and no priming in the neutral and neutral-conflicting condition (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: Reaction time and accuracy data for lexical decision displays.

	neutral	neutral neutral	neutral conflicting
Related			
RT	506	506	502
ACC	93.6	95.3	94.3
Unrelated			
RT	505	503	512
ACC	94.5	93.2	93.4

Note. RT = Reaction Time (msec).
ACC = percent correct responses.

These results indicate that priming occurred following both types of two-word Stroop displays, although it manifested in the reaction time data following neutral-conflicting displays and in the accuracy data following neutral-neutral displays. Even though the priming effect interacted with an unanticipated speed-accuracy trade-off phenomenon, there was solid evidence for positive priming. No evidence was found for priming following the one-word neutral displays, replicating Yee's (1991) finding of greater priming following two-word displays.

DISCUSSION

To explain these results, we must again consider inhibition. If inhibition is a limited effect which is enough to suppress the priming elicited by one word, evidence of its presence in the data may be diminished when its effect is spread across two separate distractor words. If, at the same time, priming for each word remains at the same level as if each were presented separately, the full priming effect could be greater than the half of the inhibition applied to each word. This would allow priming to be found for two-word conditions, but not for one-word conditions in which the inhibition applied to the prime is at full strength.

The greater priming following two neutral words indicates that both words have been read, an effect that capture hypothesis can not easily refute. If only one word is read in any given Stroop display, there could be no difference in priming following two-word displays when the primes occur equally often above and below the square in a random sequence.

If only one word is read, only one word is inhibited. If this word is the prime, it will produce no positive priming because the inhibition is enough to suppress it. It might produce negative priming if the inhibition is sufficient to

suppress the priming of the words semantically related to the one read.

If, on the other hand, the capturing word in the Stroop display is not the prime for the lexical decision display, it is not read or inhibited, and produces no effect at all. Whether the capturing word is read or not, there should be no positive priming. Therefore, the capture hypothesis can not explain these results.

With the capture hypothesis disproved, some unexpected results in the data need to be addressed. Our results did not replicate the time-dependent decay of inhibition found in other studies. It may be that the inhibition results were insignificant compared to the priming effects elicited in this study. There was an insignificant trend in the neutral conditions for the related lexical decision targets to elicit slightly slower and less accurate responses, supporting this hypothesis. Another explanation for the lack of inhibition in the data could be related to Neill's (1977) findings that inhibtion is response specific--it only shows up in the data when the responses to both displays in the n+1 trial are made via the same method (verbal, manual...).

The reason for the speed-accuracy tradeoff could be the nature of the subjects' performance in the Stroop display. Some subjects noticed it was more difficult to correctly name the color square when one of the words names a different color. In the lexical decision display they might have put more emphasis on accuracy, allowing the priming to show up in the reaction time data. In the one-word and two-word neutral trials this interference was not present, so the subjects continued to make fast judgements, allowing the effect to show up in the accuracy data.

Future research needs to clarify and determine the limits of the effect found in this experiment. A replication would be useful in solidifying results, particularly if it utilized a proven set of semantically related word pairs. Experiments using different target tasks could help determine the level of processing "ignored" distractor words reach in Stroop displays. Although this experiment has seriously challenged the capture hypothesis of attention, other studies are needed to clarify the nature of attention and the processes involved.

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The Effect of Visual Perception on Mental Imagery Processes Used in Working Spatial Problems

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Research in cognitive neuroscience links the systems of visual perception and visual mental imagery (Farah, 1989). Using Kosslyn's (1975, 1994) theory, this study examined the effect of a visual cue on the subsystems of image generation and transformation. College students (50 females) were instructed to generate, transform, draw, and recognize their images of a series of three-dimensional forms ("cube," "wedge," "house"). Following practice trials on familiar forms, participants were block randomly assigned to a Visual Cue or a control group. The Visual Cue group was able to view an actual three-dimensional object for the second form, "wedge." The Visual Cue group took significantly longer to generate their image and was more accurate in combined measures than the control group. A regression analysis suggested that drawing and the visual cue, rather than processing time, predicted recognition performance.

Do people create mental "pictures" of things that are not physically present? Kosslyn (1994) argues that the imagery debate is now resolved. The focus of Kosslyn's "analog" research (1975) and his general theory of visual mental imagery (1994) provide the framework for an investigation of the subprocesses used in imaging tasks.

The perceptual representation system (Tulving & Schachter, 1990) is the foundation for Kosslyn's imagery architecture. The framing of his theory comes from computer analog models and neurophysiological experimentation. Kosslyn describes subsystems of the imaging process that are congruent with mechanisms of high-level visual perception. Cooper (1990) has shown that even with limited perceptual information people construct mental representations with integral three-dimensional qualities. Specifically, this study examines interactions between visual perception and the subprocesses described by Kosslyn of image generation and transformation. It is posited that the presentation of a perceptual cue will facilitate the generation and transformation of an image. The visual cue will lead to greater accuracy in production and recognition of the transformed image. In addition this study explored the carry-over influence of the visual cue on imaging a composite form (i.e., "cube" + "wedge" --> "house").

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 50 female, full-time college students, all over eighteen, recruited from general education classes. The participants were block randomly assigned to the Visual Cue condition (24 students) or a control group (26 students).

Materials and Apparatus

Participants were instructed to make mental images of a series of

three geometric forms: a cube, a bilateral triangle and a rectangular parallelogram. The third form "house" was a composite created by joining the second form "wedge" to the first "cube". Response times to generate the image and to transform the image were recorded using a stop timer.

Performance measures were collected (a) for production, by participants drawing their transformed image (using 4.25 in. x 5.5 in. paper and pencil) and (b) for recognition, by selecting from a group of templates (for each form), one that matched the transformed image. The visual cue, a bilateral triangle (wedge), was constructed out of white poster board (4.25 in. x 3 in. x 1.5 in.).

Procedure

There were three practice trials using familiar objects (e.g. banana) unrelated to the geometric forms: to acquaint all participants with the tasks. Participants imaged a specific three-dimensional form (generate) and then were asked to create a mental image of the form with all of its faces connected into a flat pattern (transform). They described their image in words, drew it (production), and then chose a matching image from the template poster (recognition). This sequence of tasks was followed for each of the experimental forms:
"cube", "wedge," and "house," presented in that order. For "wedge," the Visual Cue group was able to see an actual three-dimensional object constructed in the design of the wedge form to be imaged.

RESULTS

All participants demonstrated clear understanding of the procedures and tasks (generate and transform image, produce and recognize a representation of their image), and they completed all tasks. On the practice trials on familiar forms, tennis ball and banana, the groups did not not differ significantly on any measure.

Generation and transformation response times

The mean generation and transformation times across trials for the control group and the Visual Cue group are shown in Figures 1 and 2. For the "wedge" form the Visual Cue group was found to have significantly longer Generate-Image response times than the control group, $t(44)= 2.704$, $p = .01$. No significant differences were found on generate image for "cube" or "house". The groups did not differ significantly on image transformation times on any trial.

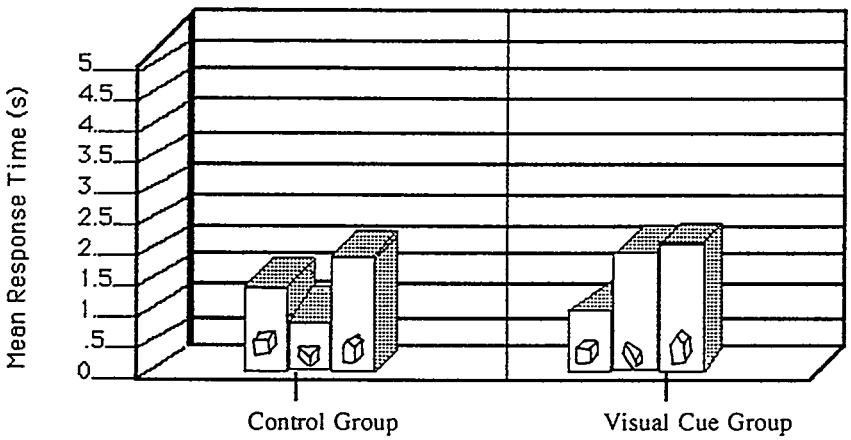


Figure 1. Generation of image response times by group for forms.

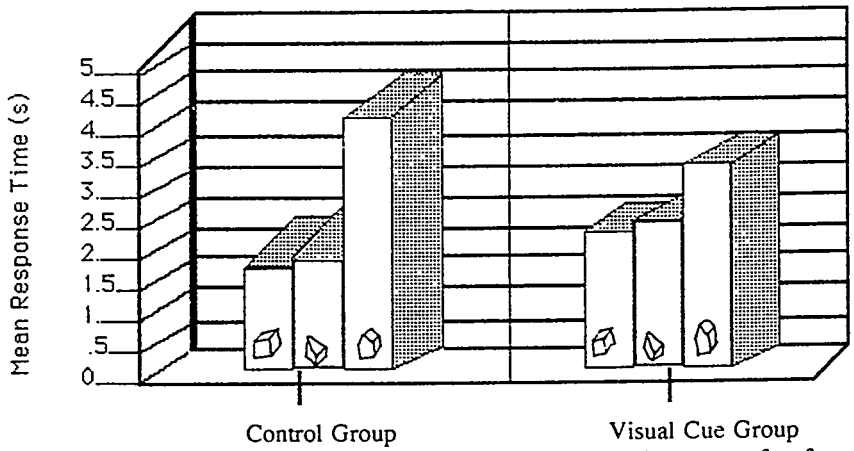


Figure 2. Transformation of image response times by group for forms.

Accuracy of production and recognition

Measures of accuracy on drawing production and template recognition were combined. This yielded four categories: (1) accurately produces and recognizes, (2) accurately produces but doesn't recognize, (3) accurately recognizes but doesn't produce, and (4) no accuracy in production or recognition. Category distribution for each form is shown in Figure 3, by group.

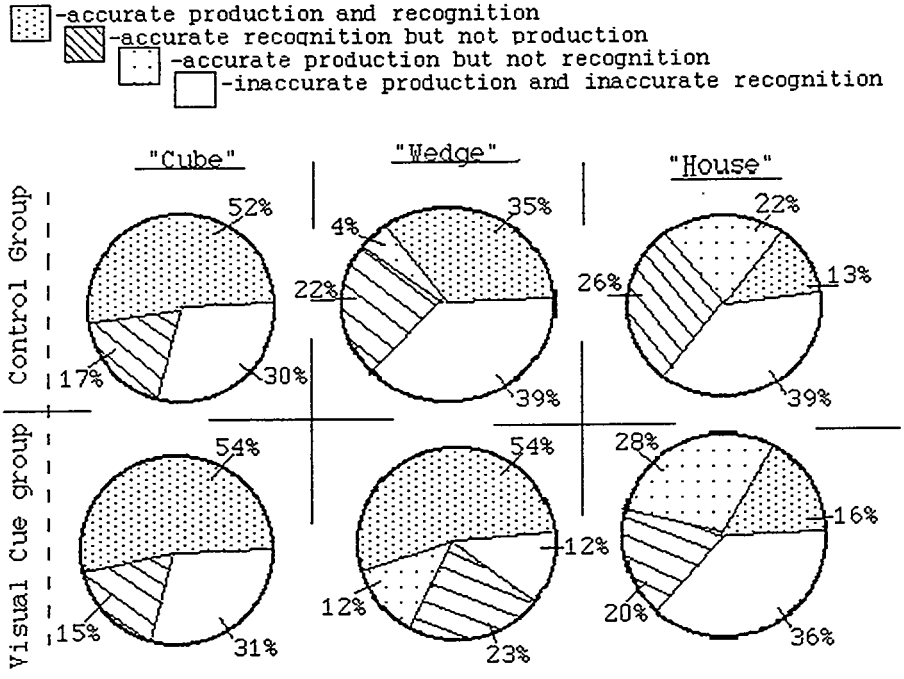


Figure 3. Combined production and recognition accuracy by category for Control group and Visual Cue group.

The Visual Cue group was more accurate than the control group on the measure of recognition for the "wedge" form, $\chi^2(1, N = 50) = 5.887$, $p = .014$. Participants in both groups achieved high accuracy scores on "cube." A χ^2 was performed contrasting both groups' performance on "wedge" on categories 1 and 4. The Visual Cue Group achieved significantly greater accuracy scores than the control Group, $\chi^2(1, N = 50) = 9.595$, $p = .002$. Combined accuracy scores on "house" were low for both groups.

In an effort to relate response times and accuracy, a regression analysis was performed with recognition accuracy (template) as the dependent variable (Table 2). Variables entered into the analysis included: generate wedge, Visual Cue (group), transform wedge, wedge production accuracy (drawing), and a constructed variable, processing time, forming by adding generate and transform. Recognition accuracy was predicted only by visual cue and production accuracy.

Table 2

Summery of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Wedge on Variables Predicting Correct Recognition of Image Template (N = 46)

Variable		B	SE B	F	P
Step 0:	$R = .000$ $R^2 = .000$				
In:	constant				
Out:	wedge generate	.156		1.102	.300
	wedge transform	-.070		.216	.645
	wedge gen plus trans	.016		.011	.917
	wedge drawing production	.502		14.799	.000
	group condition	.313		4.763	.034
Step 1:	$R = .502$ $R^2 = .252$				
In:	constant				
	wedge drawing production	.462		14.799	.000
Out:	wedge generate	.104		.474	.495
	wedge transform	-.184		1.504	.227
	wedge gen plus trans	-.098		.416	.522
	group condition	.242		2.669	.110
Step 2:	$R = .544$ $R2 = .295$				
In:	constant				
	wedge drawing production	.42	.121	12.069	.001
	group condition	.197	.121	2.669	.110
Out:	wedge generate	.019		.015	.902
	wedge transform	-.166		1.193	.281
	wedge gen plus trans	-.123		.650	.425
The subset model includes the following predictors:					
	constant				
	wedge drawing production	.42	.121	12.069	.001
	group condition	.197	.121	2.669	.110

DISCUSSION

The overall issue of the existence of imagery has been supported by this study in which every participant in this small sample of female college students created mental images. Many participants reported seeing their image in motion as they transformed it.

The forms were arranged in a sequence of compositional complexity. "Cube" with six faces was the most regular form. "Wedge" has only five faces but at irregular angles. "House," a construction made by combining "cube" and "wedge", has seven faces and an assortment of angles. The result of this sequence is predicted by Kosslyn's analog research. For the control group the processing time increased with the complexity of the

form being imaged. Complete counterbalancing would allow conformation of this complexity effect and offer more data related to the possibility of the visual cue influence carrying over on the composite form "house."

Generating the "wedge" took longer in the Visual Cue group. Why didn't the visual cue facilitate image generation and transformation response times as hypothesized? It was found that total processing time (generate plus transform) did not predict accuracy in the visual cue condition. A competing hypothesis, based on Bagnara et al. (1988) and Kosslyn (1994), is that the visual cue, relying on the same neural pathways used in image subprocessing, interferes with image generation. Thus generating "wedge" would be predicted to take longer. Image transformation times did not increase as might be expected if the participants were trying to match their transformed image to the object serving as the visual cue. The shared neural mechanisms between visual perception and imagery may explain the increased time needed to generate an image when one is looking at an object that corresponds with its form. The unexpected report by some participants that, having generated their image, they imaged the actual cue object transforming provides another clue to the shared mechanisms.

The need to relate generate and transform subprocesses to the response measures of accuracy led to the regression analysis. This analysis, though exploratory, showed that it was not the processing time, either total time, or generate and transform times taken individually, that predicted recognition accuracy. Instead the key variables were accuracy of the production and the visual cue. One possibility is that the presence of the visual cue across all tasks improved bottom-up processing giving participants more information to work with in drawing their image and recognizing a template.

Further studies which vary the amount of time the visual cue is present for each task might clarify the effect of the visual cue on the subprocesses of imagery. Further studies on the links between visual perception and the subprocesses of visual mental imagery will give more definition to the elusive field of mental imagery.

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Effects of Task Quality on Mood in Depressed and Nondepressed Participants

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This study investigates the impact of a rumination vs. a distraction task on mood state in undergraduate research participants who are defined by their Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) scores as depressed (BDI $\geq$ 7) or nondepressed (BDI $\leq$ 4). It was hypothesized that the distraction task would be more effective in alleviation of a depressed mood (measured by the Depression Adjective Checklist; DACL) than the rumination task. Depressed and nondepressed participants were assigned to either a social rumination task or a social distraction task. The preliminary results suggest that the type of social task (rumination vs. distraction) did not differentially affect mood. There was, however, an interaction of group and mood measurement occasion. DACL scores decreased significantly after depressed participants engaged in a social task, whereas, DACL scores for the nondepressed participants did not change from pre-to post-test in either type of task. These results suggest that engaging in a social task differentially affects the mood state of depressed and nondepressed participants.

INTRODUCTION

A study performed by Nolen-Hoeksema (1987) found that individuals often respond to a depressed mood by ruminating or distracting. Ruminative behavior includes focusing on the feelings and mood a person is experiencing. In addition, individuals may isolate themselves to figure out why they are so depressed (Lyubomirsky & Nolen-Hoeksema, 1993). Distraction refers to thoughts and/or behaviors that individuals use to keep from thinking about their depressed mood (Nolen-Hoeksema & Morrow, 1993). Rumination has been shown to prolong and increase depressive symptoms, whereas distraction has been shown to increase reports of positive mood (Nolen-Hoeksema, 1987). Therefore, how the individual responds to a depressed mood has great importance for either the continuation or alleviation of the mood.

The purpose of the present study was to determine the effect of a social rumination vs. a social distraction task on depressed mood. In both the social rumination and distraction conditions, participants met a confederate. During the social rumination task, participants discussed their feelings, whereas participants in the distraction task organized and colored a map of Canada. It was hypothesized that the social quality of the task would differentially affect the mood of depressed and nondepressed participants.

METHOD

Participants

Twenty-nine students at the University of Maine were recruited through upper-level undergraduate Psychology courses. Group membership was determined depending on the participant's score on the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI; Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock, & Erbaugh, 1961). Participants scoring seven or above (depressed group) and participants scoring four or below (nondepressed group) were asked to return for the second portion of the study.

Instruments

Participants completed the BDI (Beck et al.,1961) at the beginning of the study. The BDI is a 21-item questionnaire designed to assess depressive symptoms. Based on their responses to the BDI, participants were assigned to either a depressed or nondepressed social rumination group, or a depressed or nondepressed social distraction group.

The Depression Adjective Checklist (DACL; Lubin, 1981) is a 34-item measure of transitory depressed mood. Participants are asked to place a checkmark beside mood-relevant words that are reflective of their feelings at a particular point in time. Examples of mood-relevant items on the DACL include words such as "great", "blue", "strong", and "hopeless". Participants completed the DACL before and after engaging in the social task.

Data Analysis

The experiment was a 2 (Task; rumination and distraction) x 2 (Group status; depressed and nondepressed) x 2 (Time of measurement; pre- and post-task) factorial, between groups design. Depressed mood level was determined by the participants' scores on the BDI. Participants in both groups were randomly assigned to either the social rumination or social distraction tasks. The dependent variable, mood as measured by the DACL, was assessed before and after the task manipulation.

A 2 x 2 x 2 Analysis of Variance procedure (ANOVA) was used for statistical analysis of the data. The ANOVA was used to examine the main effects for and interactions of the group and task variables over time (pre- and post-task).

Procedure

Each participant was greeted by an experimenter and asked to sign a consent form and complete a questionnaire. The experimenter explained to the participants that they may or may not qualify for the second part of the experiment. In part two of the experiment, the participants were placed into one of four groups, depressed vs. nondepressed social rumination and depressed vs. nondepressed social distraction, based on their BDI scores (depressed vs. nondepressed) and procedures for random assignment (rumination vs. distraction).

Participants in the social rumination groups were placed in separate rooms. The participant sat across the table from a confederate and completed a packet of questionnaires including the first DACL. When the participant returned the packet, the experimenter gave him/her a card with a self- and emotion-focused question. For example, "What kind of person am I and why do I react the way I do?". The participant and confederate were asked to read the question out loud and discuss their thoughts and feelings for five minutes. When the five minutes were over, the experimenter re-entered the room and passed out the second DACL.

Participants in the social distraction groups were also placed in separate rooms. They completed a packet of questionnaires including the first DACL. When the participant completed the packet of questionnaires, the participant and a confederate were given a map and told to indicate the names of the Canadian provinces and to color the map. The experimenter then left the room and returned after five minutes. At that time the participant completed the second DACL. Following completion of the study, the experimenter debriefed all participants with respect to the nature of the study and thanked them for their participation.

RESULTS

A 2 (Group Status; depressed vs. nondepressed) x 2 (Task; rumination vs. distraction) x 2 (Time; pre- and post-task) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) conducted on participants' DACL scores revealed significant main effects for group status ($F(1,25) = 8.85$, $p < .01$) and time of measurement ($F(1,25) = 7.71$, $p < .05$). Means from these analyses are presented in Table 1.

Table 1
Means and Standard Deviations for Pre- and Post-Task DACL Scores by Group

Group	Type of Task			
	Social Rumination		Social Distraction	
	Pre-Task	Post-Task	Pre-Task	Post-Task
Depressed				
M	19.50	12.66	12.16	7.16
SD	7.66	7.17	9.78	3.60
Nondepressed				
M	6.87	6.12	7.66	7.33
SD	3.75	4.54	4.82	6.32

Additionally, a significant group status by time interaction ($F(1,25) = 5.34$, $p < .05$) was found. Follow-up analyses revealed that depressed participants' preintervention DACL scores (mean = 15.83, SD = 9.21) were significantly higher than their postintervention DACL scores (mean = 9.91, SD = 6.12), while

nondepressed participants' preintervention DACL scores (mean = 7.29, SD = 4.24) did not differ significantly from their postintervention scores (mean = 6.67, SD = 5.43) (see Figure 1).

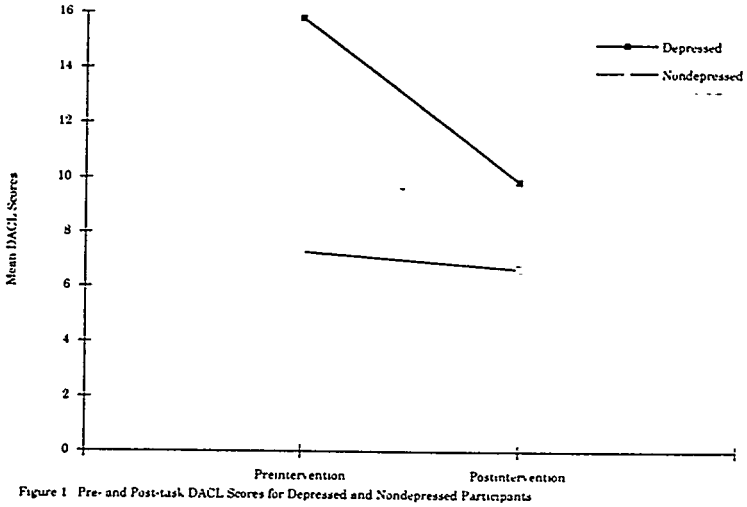


Figure 1 Pre- and Post-task DACL Scores for Depressed and Nondepressed Participants

DISSCUSSION

The present study investigated the impact of a social rumination vs. a social distraction task on mood state in depressed and nondepressed participants. The results indicate that engaging in a social task, either rumination or distraction, differentially affects the mood state of depressed participants. There were, however, no significant differences between participants' means on the social rumination task or social distraction task, a finding that is inconsistent with the previous research in the area of Response Styles theory (Nolen-Hoeksema, 1987). For example, Nolen-Hoeksema found that when depressed individuals ruminate their negative mood is maintained or increased, whereas depressed individuals who distract demonstrate an increase in positive mood. The current study suggests that rumination and distraction fail to differentially affect the mood of nondepressed individuals.

Failure to find differential effects for rumination vs. distraction tasks may be a result of the small sample size. Data will continue to be collected to address this issue. In addition, the nature of the present tasks may be responsible for the failure to find an effect for the type of task. For example, it is possible that engaging in an emotion-focused conversation with another individual may actually be a form of distraction. Future research in this area might utilize a third task as a control or implement a nonsocial task to determine whether mood changes are a result of rumination, distraction, or the social nature of the task.

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Chromatic Information in Human Stereoscopic Vision

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Recent research in visual perception indicates that color processes and stereoscopic processes (i.e. binocular depth perception) may interact. Therefore, the effect of color on the critical disparity gradient (critical disparity/average retinal separation) was measured. All 34 adult participants made subjective judgements regarding the fusion or non-fusion of dot-dipole stimuli presented to the central visual field. The independent variables were chromaticity, dot-dipole separation, and block order. The dependent variable was the critical disparity (the smallest non-fusible disparity value for a given separation). The rate of fusion increased significantly with the addition of chromatic information. Comparison between color normal and color impaired participants' data indicates that the main effect of added chromatic information was due to hue contrast alone.

BACKGROUND

Depth perception arises from information provided solely by one eye (monocular), or by both eyes working together (binocular). Strictly binocular cues include convergence and binocular disparity. *Binocular disparity* is the measure of the difference between the images formed on each retina. The larger the difference, the greater the disparity. The visual system uses this difference to compute depth in relation to a fixed plane of reference. Greater disparity results in greater relative depth perceived between two objects. The process that involves combining the two eyes' images and calculating disparity is called *stereopsis*.

It was believed that there was an absolute limit to the range of fusible disparities across the visual field so that small disparities are fused and large disparities are diplopic. That region in space which yielded fused images (i.e. the two eyes' images completely combined into one image) relative to a fixed point was known as Panum's fusional area. Later, Burt and Julesz, 1980, used dot-dipole stimuli (i.e. pairs of dots) to demonstrate a proximity effect in the fusional process that brought Panum's limit rule into question. That effect is due to the fact that small disparities may not be fusible if the lateral separation between dots is too small.

The understanding that separation was a factor in the fusibility of images disproved the classical notion that disparity magnitude alone determined fusibility. The relationship between the disparity (of the two eyes' views) and the separation (of the pair of dots) is called the *disparity gradient* (DG). To compute the disparity gradient, disparity is divided by the average retinal separation of the two eyes (see Figure 1).

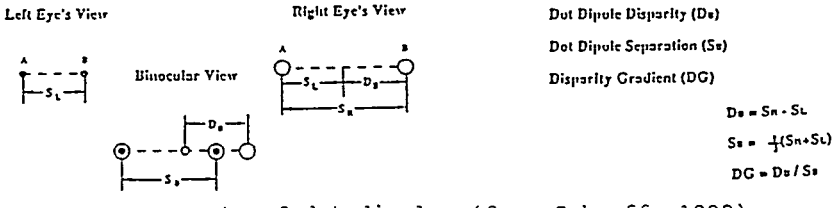


Figure 1. Components of dot-dipoles (from Scharff, 1992).

Burt and Julesz (1980) used achromatic (black) dot stimuli which was consistent with the general consensus that the brain utilizes only luminance contrast (light v. dark) in stereopsis. Under those conditions, a critical value for the disparity gradient was determined to be approximately 1.0 degree of disparity to 1.0 degree of retinal separation. Thus, they thought that a *critical disparity gradient* of 1.0 was a constraint in binocular vision.

However, recent research in both psychophysics and visual physiology indicates that color also plays a role in stereopsis (Brockelbank & Yang, 1989; Grinberg & Williams, 1985; Jordan, Geisler & Bovik, 1987; Scharff & Geisler, 1992; Schiller, Logothetis & Charles, 1990; Stuart, Edwards & Cook, 1992).

The importance of considering the effect of color lies in the fact that, while both color and stereoscopic processes are somewhat understood in isolation, no complete, interactive description of these processes exists at this time. This deficiency most directly affects the research area of computer vision. Often, computational scientists working with models of artificial vision look to perceptual psychologists to provide information about the human visual system, which they then attempt to replicate with artificial models. Many of these models successfully incorporate the notion of a critical disparity gradient of 1.0 and information about the effects of color could make such algorithms more efficient.

A test of the DG was devised utilizing both achromatic and chromatic stimuli. It was predicted that with the addition of disambiguating chromatic information (i.e. color contrast, red v. green) greater disparities would be fused for a given separation of dot pairs (recall that the disparity gradient equals disparity divided by separation). If there was an increase in the fusible degree of disparity for a given degree of separation, then the critical ratio should also increase (i.e. the critical value should be larger than 1.0). Thus, color would be found to enhance stereopsis.

To test this hypothesis, the following variables were used. The independent variables were dot-dipole separation value, dot-dipole chromaticity (achromatic, black v. chromatic, red-green stimuli), and order of presentation (i.e. black stimuli first or red-green stimuli first). The dependent variable was the smallest non-fusible disparity value for a given separation (any larger disparity values would be non-fusible, while all smaller values would be fusible).

METHOD

Participants

The 34 adults who participated were primarily undergraduate students. All had normal, or corrected to normal, acuity and all but two had normal color vision.

Apparatus

The screening procedures involved the use of the Rosenbaum Vision test for visual acuity and the Dvorine Pseudo-isochromatic Plate System test for color vision.

The apparatus used in designing and administering the experiment were a Macintosh Quadra 950, 14" and 21" color monitors, 2 keyboards, the design graphics program Canvas 3.0, the experimental software Superlab, the statistical software Excell and Statpak, and a mirror stereoscope.

Design and Stimulus

The experiment was a 2x3x2 mixed factorial design. The within-participant variables were the dot-dipole chromaticity (black or red-green) and the 3 separation levels (8, 10, & 12 minutes of arc). The between-participants variable was the order of the presentation (achromatic 1st/chromatic 2nd, or, chromatic 1st/achromatic 2nd); thus, there were two versions of the experiment and each was randomly assigned.

Twenty-one achromatic stimuli files were created by using

combinations of 3 separation positions x 7 disparity positions. The 7 disparity values (12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24 & 26 minutes of arc) represent values in the fusible range and were chosen in order to ensure detection of some fusible and some non-fusible dot-dipoles at each separation (given an assumed critical disparity gradient of 1.0 as found by Burt and Julesz, 1980, and replicated by Scharff, 1992).

Each dot-dipole stimulus consisted of a vertical column of 5 dot pairs; each dot was 2'(W) x 4'(H) with 2' vertical separation between each dot. Therefore, the overall column was 28'(H); column width depended upon dot-dipole separation and disparity. The dot-dipole pair presented to the left eye had a specific separation value. The dot-dipole pair presented to the right eye had the same separation value plus an additional disparity value. This arrangement will lead to a percept of the left column in front of the right column if the stimulus is fused.

Forty-two chromatic stimuli files were created with the addition of color: one half (21) of the dot-dipole stimuli had the left column made of green dots and the right column made of red dots (GLRR); the other 21 dot-dipole stimuli had the reverse color placement (RLGR).

The completed experiment consisted of a set of 20 practice trials and 12 completely randomized blocks each consisting of 21 trials and divided into six black dot-dipole blocks and six red-green dot-dipole blocks (3 RLGR and 3 GLRR). Thus, there was a total of 252 real trials in each version of the experiment.

Each trial consisted of two events, a nonious fixation cross (used to ensure correct convergence of the eyes) followed by the dot-dipole stimuli. The response choice for the dot-dipole stimuli was either fused or not fused, and was subjectively determined by each participant. Progression through the trials was self-paced; the average time to completion was 30 minutes.

RESULTS

The data was sorted by separation and disparity variables and was represented by turning points (i.e. the smallest non-fusible disparity for a given separation). Each subject's data had 36 turning points. A mean turning point was calculated for each separation, resulting in 6 disparity values per participant (i.e. one per each separation value (3) x chromatic factor (2). From those disparities, 6 DG values were calculated for each participant to be used as the dependant variable in the following ANOVA.

However, before the ANOVA was run, the contingency coefficient: *C* was used post hoc to determine correlation of the two color column arrangements: GLRR and RLGR. The results indicate the degree of association between the two arrangements: $C(1, \underline{n} = 228) = .012$, $\underline{p}<.05$. Therefore, in the following ANOVA the data from the two color arrangements were collapsed into the single level of red-green dipole chromaticity.

The entire data set of the color normal participants (32) was analyzed using a three-way mixed ANOVA. The main effect of the added chromatic information indicated a significant increase in the rate of fusion: $F\ (1, 191) = 45.17$, $p < .01$ (see Figure 2). The main effect of separation size was also significant: $F\ (1, 191) = 50.49$, $p < .01$. However, this result is most likely due to the fact that arbitrary values were assigned when participants fused either none or all of the stimuli for a given separation. This occurred most often at the 8' and 12' separations. The values of .5 (none) and 1.5 (all) were chosen because they varied equally from the assumed critical disparity value of 1.0 and because they were well outside the range of fusible disparities as included in this experiment. Thus, the values at 8' were artificially deflated and the values at 12' were proportionately inflated, leading to the main effect of separation size. There was no significant effect for the order of presentation: $F(1, 191) = .01$, $\underline{p}>.01$. Also, there were no significant interactions. Finally, the DG values of the two color impaired participants, ABV and JWV, were: .9 (achromatic), .9 (chromatic) and 1.3 (achromatic), 1.3 (chromatic), respectively.

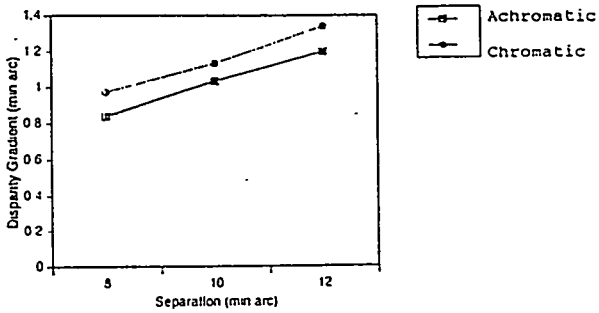


Figure 2. The increase in fusible disparities due to added chromaticity.

CONCLUSION

The data support the hypothesis that chromatic information increases the value of the critical disparity gradient by allowing greater disparities to be fused for a given separation. The fact that both color impaired participants' DG values are the same across the two chromatic conditions indicates that the relevant chromatic information was hue contrast, which could only be utilized by the color normal participants. Because no significant order effects were found, the disambiguating quality of chromatic information seems independent of both order of presentation and color arrangement.

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Media's Effect on Female Adolescents' Ideal Body Type

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Many studies have indicated that there is a strong relationship between current media portrayals emphasizing the ectomorphic body type, and the ideal body type for females (e.g., Davis, 1985). The present study investigated the relationship between degree of media exposure and perceived and preferred body image. Although no effect of media exposure was found, female adolescents' perceived and preferred body type ratings varied as a function of visual versus verbal presentation of somatotypes.

BACKGROUND

Mass media is one of the most influential forms of communication. Current trends in physical appearance have been found to be an important determinant of body image and satisfaction (Hamilton & Chowdhary, 1989). For the past twenty years, the media has portrayed the body type of the shapeless, muscle free ectomorph as the ideal female figure (e.g., Silverstein, Peterson, & Perdue, 1986). Given that girls as young as age seven have been found to be preoccupied with their body image (Staffieri, 1972), media-based promotion of the ectomorphic ideal may influence women's attitudes from a very early age. The present study investigated the relationship between female adolescents' perceived and preferred body types and their level of exposure to television and print media.

METHOD

Thirty-six Caucasian females (mean age = 16 years, 9 months) were recruited from a predominantly white, middle-class school district in eastern Maine to participate in a study examining "the effects of media exposure on ideal body image." Subjects completed a questionnaire regarding their weekly television and print media exposure as well as attitudes toward ectomorphic, mesomorphic, and endomorphic body types. Based on their estimated hours spent watching television and reading magazines, subjects were divided via a median split procedure into high and low television and magazine exposure groups, respectively. Additionally, in accordance with a set of verbal descriptions of the three somatotypes under study, subject's rated their perceived and preferred body type on a three point, Likert-type scale ranging from ectomorphism to endomorphism. Subjects also viewed seven body silhouettes (Davis, 1985) ranging from extreme ectomorphism to extreme endomorphism and rated their perceived and preferred silhouette (see Figure 1). For the purposes of data analysis, this latter measure was condensed into a three point format to allow comparison between the two sets of body type ratings. Finally, subjects were asked to assign various behavioral characteristics (e.g., sexually appealing, concerned with appearance) with the specific body type with which they most often associate the given characteristic (c.f., Spillman & Everington, 1989).

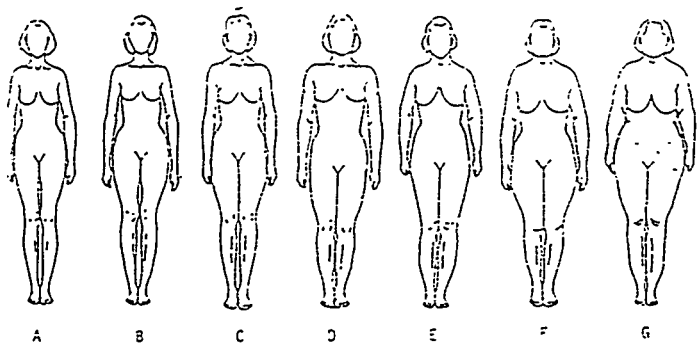


Figure 1: Silhouettes ranging from extreme ectomorphism (A) to extreme endomorphism (G)

RESULTS

Because two subjects failed to report hours of magazine reading but successfully reported hours of television viewing, separate 2 (Exposure: high vs. low) x 2 (Presentation: verbal description vs. silhouette) x 2 (Rating Type: perceived vs. preferred) repeated measures analyses of variance for each media source were conducted on subjects' body type ratings. For television viewing, the analysis yielded a significant main effect of rating type (F (1,34) = 10.76, $p \leq .01$). Subjects' mean ratings indicated that their preferred body type was significantly more ectomorphic in nature than they perceived themselves to be. However, this main effect was qualified by a significant presentation x rating type interaction (F (1,34) = 30.97, $p \leq .01$). When presented with visual somatotypes, female adolescents rated themselves as more endomorphic than when rating themselves according to verbal descriptions. Conversely, subjects preferred a more ectomorphic body type when provided with the visual somatotypes than when basing their preference on verbal descriptions (see Figure 2). The significant main (F(1,32) = 19.74, $p \leq .01$) and interaction effects (F(1,32) = 19.02, $p \leq .01$) for magazine exposure mirrored those for television viewing.

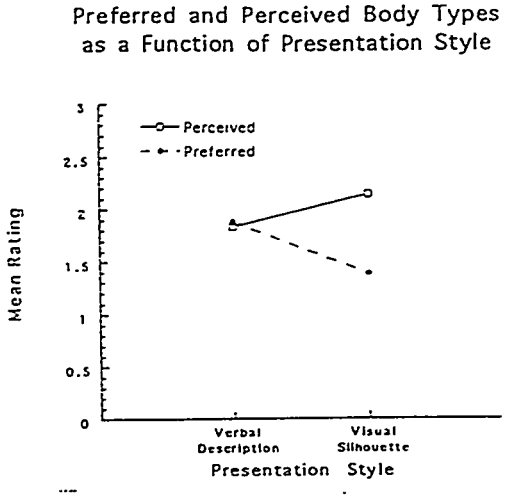


Figure 2: Significant presentation x rating type interaction

Finally, Table 1 displays the percentage of subjects assigning a particular behavioral characteristic to a given somatotype.

Table 1: Percentage of Subjects Assigning a Particular Behavioral Characteristic to a Given Somatotype (N=36)

ITEM	ECTOMORPH	MESOMORPH	ENDOMORPH
1. Knowledgeable about nutrition	14.3%	82.9%	2.9%
2. Concerned with appearance	45.7%	37.1%	20.0%
3. Exercises the most	17.1%	80.0%	2.9%
4. Sexually appealing	31.4%	68.6%	0.0%
5. Dates	45.7%	57.1%	2.9%
6. Helpful	15.2%	39.4%	60.6%
7. Happy	21.2%	75.8%	18.2%
8. Friendly	27.3%	54.5%	57.6%
9. Has the most friends	32.4%	76.5%	17.6%
10. Healthy	8.6%	91.4%	5.7%
11. Intellectual	35.3%	55.9%	32.4%
12. Competent	21.9%	78.1%	9.4%
13. Aggressive	15.2%	75.8%	15.2%
14. Likely to be professional	48.6%	57.1%	14.3%
15. Sloppiest dresser	24.2%	21.2%	84.8%
16. Likely to have a menial job	32.3%	32.3%	64.5%
17. Conform to others' wishes	27.3%	15.2%	69.7%
18. Stress	38.2%	8.8%	64.7%
19. Likely to be depressed	26.5%	5.8%	85.3%

DISCUSSION

The present investigation examined the relationship between degree of media exposure (i.e., television and magazine) and perceived and preferred body image. Although no relationship between media exposure and perceived and preferred body image was found, subjects' perceived and preferred body type did vary as a function of stimulus presentation. When presented with visual somatotypes, subjects preferred a more ectomorphic body type. However, when subjects were presented with verbal descriptions of the three somatotypes, they reported the mesomorphic (i.e., high muscle tissue, low fatty tissue) body type as the ideal for which they strive. Additionally, when presented with visual silhouettes, subjects rated themselves as being larger than when basing their ratings on the verbal descriptions provided. Thus, while visually, high school females preferred the ectomorphic (i.e., low muscle tissue, low fatty tissue) somatotype; when provided with verbal descriptions, these same subjects rated the mesomorphic somatotype as being ideal. Further investigation aimed at elucidating this discrepancy is warranted.

Additionally, examination of the percentage of female adolescents assigning given behavioral characteristics to a particular somatotype revealed some interesting findings. Following presentation of the verbal descriptions of the three somatotypes, subjects assigned the most favorable characteristics to the mesomorphic somatotype. For instance, the majority of the female adolescents rated the mesomorphic individual as most sexually appealing (68.6%), most competent (78.1%), and as having the most friends (76.5%). In contrast, the endomorphic somatotype was assigned the most negative characteristics. Specifically, no subjects rated the endomorph as sexually appealing; however, the majority of subjects did attribute traits such as most likely to have a menial job (64.5%) and sloppiest dresser (84.8%) to the endomorph. The ectomorphic body type was assigned low to moderate percentages for each trait. Overall, these data support the previous finding that when presented verbal versus visual descriptions, subjects rated the mesomorph as most favorable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Gender, Age and Education Differences in Parenting Styles

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This study examines parenting styles and how they might differ according to gender, age and education. Much prior research has been based on Baumrind's (1971) typology of parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian and permissive. Authoritative style describes the parents' attributes as emotionally supportive, sets high standards, appropriate autonomy granting and clear bi-directional communication. Authoritarian style demands behavioral compliance and is associated with fearful and timid behavior. A permissive style demonstrates a non-controlling, non-demanding and warm parent. Bentley and Fox (1991) compared parenting styles of mothers and fathers with children between the ages of one and four years. They found mothers to be more nurturing, but there was no difference between mothers and fathers in their developmental expectations and discipline strategies. Gilligan (1982) claims women are more caring and understanding and place more value on interpersonal relationships. Men according to Gerson (1986), tend to think about fatherhood in structured and hierarchical terms and are more concerned with discipline and control.

According to the training manual for the Institute for Families and Children (1986), parenting styles can be categorized according to the following dimensions: 1. Credibility: the parent creates the conditions in which the child can learn consequences of present behavior and explores behavior in realistic settings, where the child is involved with mutual decision making; 2. Child Centered: the parent must free the child to accept himself, the parent is non-judgmental, does not criticize, but is supportive; 3. Minimalist: the parent believes one person cannot really change another, the child is told the rules or consequences and the child decides to follow or break them and bears the consequences; 4. Charismatic: the parent must gain trust or respect to engage the child, the child wants to please or emulate the parent; and 5. Compliance: the parent is the authority figure in the child's life, the desired behavior and consequences for failure to conform is spelled out. Each of these styles is represented as one of five responses to a common parent-child event in a 22-item questionnaire. It was hypothesized that women's parenting styles would be more child centered or credibility oriented and men's styles would be more compliance or minimalist oriented. Age and education in relation to the parenting styles were also examined.

METHOD

Subjects

Volunteer subjects consisted of 40 parents, 20 men and 20 women. Their ages ranged from 28 to 52 years for the men (M=38). The range for women was 29 to 45 years (M=36). The families

consisted of one to three children ranging from three weeks to 21 years old. For those parents that had only one child, the child was no less than 20 months old. Twenty of the volunteers were members of a local parenting center and the other twenty were their spouses. Those center members attended the center voluntarily for educational and support groups.

Materials

A 22-item questionnaire was constructed by the author. Each item was a short description of a parent child interaction followed by five response categories representing each of the five parenting styles. The five styles were: Child Centered, Credibility, Charismatic, Minimalist and Compliance. The demographic information requested included gender, age, number and ages of their children and educational background.

Procedure

The volunteers were asked to respond to a ten minute questionnaire. They were told the purpose of the study was to solicit information about the way in which they interact with their child or children. Each situation involved a child five years of age. They were asked to respond by circling an item that would typically be their response to the situation. They were told all information and data was anonymous and confidential and that the study was conducted as a research project in partial fulfillment of Research Methods III. To score the questionnaire the frequency of responses in each category of parenting style was collected. The mean frequency of each category by gender was then calculated.

Results

The participants' median age was 37 years. Forty percent had completed their bachelor's degree, 15% had some college and 5% had completed high school. Thirty five percent had a graduate degree and 5% had some graduate education. Means for responses to the five parenting styles are stated in Table 1.

Table 1.
Means for Parenting Style

	Credibility	Charismatic	Compliance	Child-Centered	Minimalist
Men	5.45	4.20	5.20	2.60	4.55
Women	6.10	4.25	4.15	3.30	4.15

Several ANOVA'S were calculated to examine differences of age, education and gender with the five parenting styles. There was no significance with age and parenting styles. There was a significant effect of education between two levels. Participants with any graduate level education were more likely to respond in a Credibility style ($F = 5.007$ $p = .031$). Whereas participants with less education (Bachelor's degree or less) were more likely to respond in a Compliance style, ($F = 4.511$ $p = .040$). Child Centered and Charismatic styles approached significance with graduate level education.

Analyses of variance were done for gender and approached significance, in that women tended to be Child Centered and men tended to be Compliance oriented. Women tended to be equally as Charismatic in their responses as were the men.

DISCUSSION

This study supports the conclusion that level of education influences styles of parenting. It is more likely for a parent with graduate education to parent a child by involving him/her in mutual decision making. A parent with less education (Bachelor's degree or less) is more likely to be an authority figure, stating the rules and following through using a Compliance style. The conclusions from the present study are different than those noted by Simon, Whitbeck and Conger (1990). They found that education had no effect upon the parenting of fathers and that highly educated fathers were no more likely than men of lower education to seek education on proper parenting. In this study education was a factor in parenting styles for both men and women.

This study also examined parenting styles of spouses. The women were more likely to parent in a Child Centered style and men were more likely to parent using Compliance style. Simons, Beaman, Conger and Chao (1993) as a result of their study, state that in most marriages one of the primary parenting duties of the husband is to enforce discipline. Although the wife is the primary parent, the husband is expected to assist in parenting by providing the backup to ensure compliance. In future research it would be interesting to examine unmarried men and women with children to evaluate differences in parenting style between genders.

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Age and Sexual Experience Are Factors In Female Choice In Milkweed Bugs (Oncopeltus fasciatus)

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Darwin (1871) noted two patterns by which mating associations are formed: 1) "a constantly recurrent struggle between males for the possession of females" and 2) choice by females in which they "select those (males) which are vigorous and well armed, and in other respects most attractive" (Borgia 19). The purpose of this study was to investigate both male competition for females and mate choice by females in milkweed bugs, (Oncopeltus fasciatus). Virgin females were placed in an arena with two males for a time period of one hour. This study looked at such factors as sexual experience (virgin male vs. experienced male) and age [old male (2 weeks old) v. young male (2 days old)]. Agnostic encounters between males, attempts at copulation, and successful copulations were recorded. Data revealed that both age and sexual experience significantly influenced mate selection.

INTRODUCTION

A precise understanding of the manner in which mating associations between individuals develops is essential for generating a comprehensive model of social interactions. Research in this particular genre of behavioral studies is limited, thus, our ability to predict patterns of behavior is extremely difficult. However, mating behavior is a key social feature of every species and could provide valuable information about parental behavior (Trivers, 1972), parent-offspring interaction (Trivers, 1974; Alexander, 1974), sex ratios (Fisher, 1958; Hamilton, 1967), the population genetics of breeding units (Williams, 1975), sexual preference, etc (Borgia 19).

Darwin (1871) noted two patterns by which mating associations are formed:

(1) "a constantly recurrent struggle between males for the possession of females" (p.213) and
(2) choice by females in which they "select those (males) which are vigorous and well armed, and in other respects attractive" (pg. 214). Even though Darwin provides valuable data regarding mating patterns, he did not consider how natural selection might cause observed differences in his data. Thus, the focus of this paper will concentrate on the significance of factors that cause observed variation in mating type in natural selection. Particular emphasis will be focused on individual behaviors designed to induce mating. Special attention will concentrate on differences in patterns of sexual behavior.

Two criteria for measuring female mate selection were attempts at copulation and success in copulation. We hoped to obtain statistically significant data in relation to how each criterium influences sexual preference in mating. Also, we were interested in discovering what specific conditions or criteria were likely to cause each of the different responses to mate selection. We believe females will choose males who are sexually experienced for three reasons:

1) sexually experienced males have more sexual prowess than non-sexually experienced males,
2) virgin males would be less knowledgeable of the copulation process, and

3) virgin males would display more timidity at copulating.

We hypothesize that the older milkweed bugs will be more aggressive and successful at copulating. We theorize that the following factors will affirm our hypothesis:

1) The older male's body is stronger and more developed, giving it an unfair advantage over the younger male, and
2) The older male is more knowledgeable of and more comfortable in its surroundings.

Thus, we hypothesized that both older and sexually experienced males will exhibit more assertiveness (measured by number of attempts) and more success (measured by actual copulations) in mating with virgin females.

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Subjects consisted of 138 males and 69 female milkweed bugs (Oncepeltus Fasciatus). All milkweed bugs were separated from their host family and placed in an individual container when they reached the fifth enstall. When subjects matured into adults, they were identified and placed in containers labeled either female or male. Subjects from the same family remained together until time for the actual experimentation.

Procedure

A population of milkweed bugs was established. One female and one male were placed in a separate container and allowed to mate. We set up and labeled over 40 such containers. It is extremely rare for milkweed bugs to copulate before they have matured into adults. To avoid mating from occurring before experimentation, offspring who had matured into the fifth enstall, were removed from the host family. Each subject was then placed into a separate container labeled with its' respective family number. When these offspring matured into adults, they were sexed and placed into a container with its' offspring brothers or sisters. For example, if a subject from family 3 was sexed as a male, it was placed in a container with all family 3 male offspring and labelled 3M.

To avoid possible confounds, certain variables were held constant throughout the experiment. Food and water were present in all containers, except in the arena during experimentation time. Subjects were weighed to establish an average weight of 0.040 grams. Any subject weighing under 0.034 grams or over 0.046 grams was excluded from the study. All subjects were tested between the hours 7:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. We decided to test all subjects at night, because pilot data revealed this hour to possess the most sexual activity. Also, all subjects were tested in 6*6 clear, plastic arenas.

Experiment 1 focused on age as a possible factor in mate selection. When subjects matured, the date was recorded. After 13 days had transpired, all one-day old and 13-day old males were collected and prepared for testing the next day. Preparation entailed painting, using Liquid Paper, males with either a blue or pink dot on the back. All two-week old males were painted blue while all two-day old males were painted pink. Female age was held constant at one-week old.

We pitted two-day old males (young group n=33) against two-week old males (old group n=33). One pink male and one blue male was placed in a 6*6 clear, plastic arenas and allowed one minute to become acquainted with the surroundings. Next, one female was placed in each container. Thus, each arena consisted of one pink male, one blue male, and one female. For one hour, occupant mating behavior, consisting of number of attempts and successful copulations, was recorded. To be classified as an attempt, one of two behaviors had to occur:

(1) the male approached the female and attempted to mount the female, or
(2) the female approached the male and allowed the male to mount her.

To be classified as a copulation, the male and female had to join and remain joined for at least 30 seconds.

Experiment 2 focused on sexual experience as a factor in

mate choice. Sexually experienced males were assessed against virgin males. Once again, subjects were separated while in the fifth enstall, placed in separate containers, and sexed when maturing into adults. For males, age was held constant at 2-days of age. Weight was again held between 0.034 and 0.046 grams. The first day that males matured, half (n=36) were allowed to mate with non-experimental females. Males were considered "sexually experienced" when they had engaged in three copulations. Sexually experienced males were painted blue while virgin males were painted pink. Both males were placed in the same arena and allowed an acclamation period of one minute. After time transpired, a female was added and occupant behavior was again measured using the same criteria from experiment 1.

RESULTS

Data consisted of observing milkweed bug mating habits by manipulating two variables: sexual experience and age. Each of these variables was statistically analyzed using a two sample t-test for dependency. The t-tests were calculated for data concerning the number of attempts at copulation by males. A Chi-Square test for Independence and a Chi-Square test for Goodness of Fit was employed for data concerning the number of successful copulations by the male.

The two sample t-test yielded an array of significant data. When testing the first variable, age, data revealed a t value = -2.48 and a P value = 0.016 (See Table 1).

TABLE 1
TWO SAMPLE T-TEST FOR YOUNG (2 DAYS) VS. OLD (2 WEEKS)

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	ST.DEV.	S.E. MEAN
Young	33	2.03	1.76	0.31
Old	33	3.45	2.80	0.49
T = -2.48				
P = 0.016				
DF = 64				

Thus, age was a significant factor in influencing attempts at copulation. Analysis of the second variable, sexual experience, also yielded significant data. Data yielded a t value = 2.59 with the P value = 0.012 (See Table 2).

TABLE 2
TWO SAMPLE T-TEST FOR VIRGIN VS. SEXUALLY EXPERIENCED

VARIABLE	N	MEAN	ST.DEV.	S.E. MEAN
Virgin	36	2.11	1.79	0.30
Sex. Exp.	36	1.38	1.38	0.23
T = 2.59				
P = 0.012				
DF = 70				

Thus, of two variables tested, both age and sexual experience were significant factors in attempted copulations.

Data from the first variable, age, concerning successful copulations was extremely conclusive. Only 2-week old males (Old group) successfully mated with the virgin females. A Chi-Square for Goodness of Fit was calculated to determine if the number of Old groups males that actually mated was significant. Data yielded significant results. We obtained a Chi-Square value of 8.76 with 1 degree of freedom (See Table 3).

TABLE 3
CHI-SQUARE TEST FOR GOODNESS OF FIT (AGE)

	Young	Old	Total
Mated	0	8	8
Did Not Mate	33	25	58
Total	33	33	66
$X^2 = 8.76$			
DF = 1			

The Chi-Square test for independence yielded similar data concerning mating success. The second variable, sexual experience, yielded a Chi-Square value = 16.37 with 1 degree of freedom (See Table 4).

TABLE 4
CHI-SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE (SEXUAL EXPERIENCE)

	Virgin	Sex Exp.	Total
Mated	24	7	31
Did Not Mate	12	29	41
Total	36	36	72
$X^2 = 16.37$			
DF = 1			

This data was also significant. Thus, both age and sexual experience were significant factors in successful mating.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Before analyzing the data, we postulated that both age and sexual experience would yield significant data in two categories: attempted mating copulations (assertiveness) and actual mating copulations (success). We hypothesized that milkweed females would prefer to mate with sexually experienced and older males. Experiment 1 consisted of 33 trials and Experiment 2 consisted of 36 trials.

Results from the first variable, age, yielded data that confirmed our earlier hypothesis. In fact, only the older males (n=8) were successful in copulating. Older males were also more assertive (Old group = 3.45, Young group = 2.03) in attempting copulation. From experiment 1, we can infer that virgin females prefer to mate more assertive males, in this case, the Older group males.

In experiment 2, data revealed contradictory results concerning our earlier hypothesis. Data revealed that although sexual experience was found to be a significant factor affecting mate choice, virgin males were both more assertive and more successful in mating than sexually experienced males. Virgin males averaged a higher mean attempt score (n= 2.11) and also had more copulations (n= 24). From Experiment 2, we can again infer that virgin females prefer to mate with more assertive males, in this case, the Virgin males.

In both experiments, the virgin females preferred to mate with the most assertive males. Thus, assertiveness is the key factor in influencing mate choice. The majority of the agnostic encounters involved the more assertive male stalking the female and eventually copulating. Thus, the assertive male has an advantage over the less assertive male. We can only conclude that the Older Group (Experiment 1) and the Virgin Group (Experiment 2) were more assertive. One characteristic of aging in milkweed bugs might be increased assertiveness which, in turn, increases copulation attempts and success. Virgin males might simply be more assertive because they are in a new situation and

are excited. The sexually experienced males possibly displayed lower assertion because the experience had been desensitized. Thus, we can infer that "excitement level" might also be a factor influencing mate selection.

When comparing virgin males from Experiments 1 and 2, the number of average attempts remained similar (Experiment 1 virgin males =2.03, Experiment 2 virgin males =2.11) illustrating that the only difference existed in successful copulations (Experiment 1 males = 0, Experiment 2 = 8). Group 2 virgin males experienced considerably more success than group 1 males did. Future research should place special emphasis on this peculiar difference.

Why would success change if the same type of subject was used in both experiments? Possible answers might revolve around the pairings. Experiment 1 consisted of one female, one 2-day old male, and one 2-week old male. We can only conclude that 2-day old males are unsuccessful in mating while in the presence of an older male. Experiment 2 occupants consisted of one female, one virgin male, and one sexually-experienced male. In this case, the virgin males (who were also 2-days old) were successful in mating 8 times. Future replications are needed to explain this peculiar finding. From these experiments we can confidently conclude that female mate selection is positively influenced by the increased assertiveness of the male. Thus, in the context of this experiment, hard work pays off.

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The Cat's Orienting Response to Brief Sounds in a Natural Environment

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ABSTRACT

The domestic cat, like most mammals, responds to novel sounds with quick and accurate movements of the head and ears toward the sound source. In the present study, the acoustic orienting response (AOR) for brief stimuli was examined in a natural setting- a barn. Domestic cats were presented clicks from nearby but hidden locations. Latency to initiate an AOR was 393±33 ms, and movement was toward the sound source on 81% of trials. For clicks within ±60° azimuth and ±45° elevation of a cat's initial gaze, the error in AOR azimuth averaged 34°±8° and elevation errors averaged 23° ±5°. AOR accuracy was similar to that found in previous studies; however, latencies in the barn setting were longer than those observed in laboratory experiments. Results of this study support the notion that cats can "map" the acoustic environment even for novel sounds too brief to permit a search for the source.

INTRODUCTION

When an unexpected or unique stimulus occurs in an otherwise familiar environment, an animal typically exhibits a behavioral response and prepares itself to deal with events signaled by the stimulus. This behavioral response is known as the orienting response (OR). For the cat and other mammals, the OR includes pricking up the ears, turning the head, and looking in the direction of the unique or unexpected stimulus (Lynn, 1966). Stimuli of many modalities can elicit an OR including sudden, unexpected and environmentally unique sounds. The magnitude and accuracy of the OR elicited by sound typically increases as an animal's alertness increases; however, even a drowsy or sleeping cat will exhibit a generalized OR for noises unique to a particular environment (Lynn, 1966). In the present study the cat's OR elicited by clicks, which are brief sounds, was examined in a natural setting- a barn.

While primarily a visual animal, cats also rely heavily upon their other sensory systems to gather information about the environment (Beadle, 1977). For example, signals from the auditory world often initiate predatory behavior (Hafez, 1969), and cats rely upon directional hearing ability to locate and track their prey. In general, directional hearing provides a cat with an additional way to gather information about its surroundings, which can be used to initiate behavior appropriate to a given situation. Typically this type of behavior, which can rely on the use of auditory information, begins when a cat detects some sound and orients to the source of the sound. The OR elicited by unique or unexpected environmental sounds is reflexive, and experiments in laboratory settings have described the response.

Thompson and Masterton (1978) describe a cat's acoustic OR for sound stimuli presented in the horizontal plane as a rapid, reflexive movement that aligns the animal's nose and eyes in the azimuthal direction of the sound source. This response is reasonably accurate and occurs even when sounds eliciting the OR are too brief to result in searching behavior and accurate localization. While the OR is most frequently described for sounds presented in the azimuthal plane, Martin and Webster (1987) indicate that cats exhibit fairly accurate ORs for sounds with sources in the median vertical plane. Relatively few studies have attempted to describe the OR for sounds that occur at locations not in either the azimuthal or median vertical planes or in a non-laboratory setting.

Zrull and colleagues (1995) examined the OR for sounds presented oblique to the azimuthal and median vertical planes in a laboratory setting Stimuli locations were sampled from 1800 locations in auditory space, and sound stimuli included clicks of approximately 6 ms in duration which are similar to those used in the present study. Cats exhibited very accurate ORs for clicks presented within ±60° azimuth and ±45° elevation relative to an animal's position of gaze. As click locations deviated from the region of space in front of an animal, the accuracy of the OR relative to the location of a click stimulus became worse.

Behavioral observations correspond to physiological data that suggest neurons of the cat auditory cortex have receptive fields for the spatial location of sounds (Brugge, Reale, Hind, Chan, Musicant, & Poon, 1995). The apparent coding of acoustic space by auditory cortex neurons implies that cats have the neural mechanism needed to accurately orient to even brief sounds like clicks.

The present study had two goals: (1) to characterize, and describe the accuracy of, the acoustic OR elicted by clicks presented from various unseen locations in a natural environment- a barn, and (2) to identify possible differences in a cat's acoustic OR in a natural setting relative to previous laboratory experiments (e.g., Thompson & Welker, 1963; Zrull, Brugge, Chan, Hind, & Trivette, 1995).

METHOD

Female (N=3) and male (N=1) American shorthaired domestic cats were subjects All of the animals were raised and continue to live in a barn, and food and water were available to the cats on a daily basis. The study was conducted during a 2 month period during the summer, and trials took place only during daylight hours, beginning as early as 8 a.m. or as late as 7 p.m. To avoid habituation of the OR, no more than 5 trials were conducted on any day, and trials were not conducted during thunderstorms, heavy rainfall, or otherwise noisy or distracting situations. On each trial, a click stimulus (6V, <25 ms duration) was presented from a loudspeaker (Realistc 40-1289A) with a frequency response range of 1 to 20 kHz which was always near a cat but hidden from view (see Figure 1). A light emitting diode (LED), which was not visible to subjects, was used to indicate the onset of the stimulus on the videotape record of each trial.

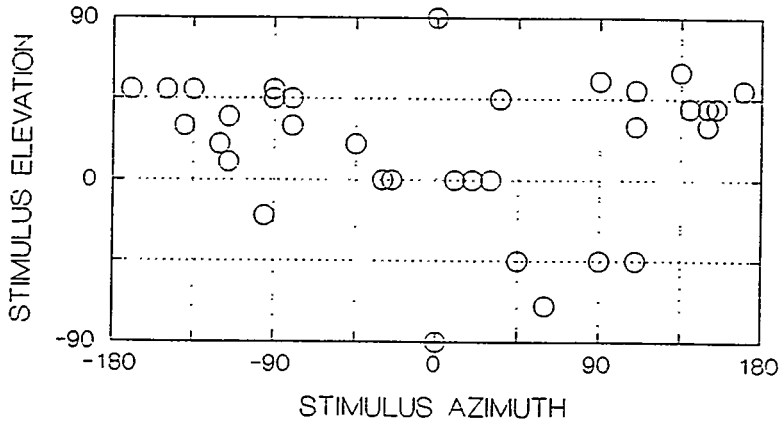


Figure 1. Click stimuli were presented from a variety of locations. Stimuli locations are in degrees azimuth and elevation relative to the cat.

A total of 86 trials were videotaped for analysis. Videotape records were analyzed grossly and frame-by-frame (30 frames/s) first for measurement of a cat's movement in azimuth and then for measurement of movement in elevation. Thus, a cat's position was recorded in degrees azimuth and elevation relative to the position of the loudspeaker (i.e., click position) for every videotape frame. An animal's position was determined by a vector running along the snout from between the eyes to the nose and perpendicular to the interaural axis. The OR was defined as the first position plateau after movement began. From frame-by-frame measurements latency from click onset to beginning the OR, initial direction of the OR relative to click location, and final accuracy of the OR relative to click location were calculated. Of the 86 trials, 54 provided verifiable data; however, only 39 trials were used for the present analysis of OR head position. On 15 trials the OR involved only pinna movement, and analysis of the "pinna OR" will occur in a future experiment.

RESULTS

After presentation of a click, a cat typically pricked up its ears and initiated head movement toward the click in the azmuthal plane (60% of trials) or toward the stimulus in both azimuth and elevation (37% of trials). Correct orientation in the azimuthal plane occurred on 81% of trials, and the average latency to initiate an OR was 393 ± 33 ms (M ± SD). Frame-by-frame analysis showed that cats exhibited a distinct holding position, or movement plateau (1.1 ± 0.2 s, M ± SD), after initiating an OR. To measure accuracy of the OR, the distinct movement plateau was used. Figure 2 shows an accurate and inaccurate OR.

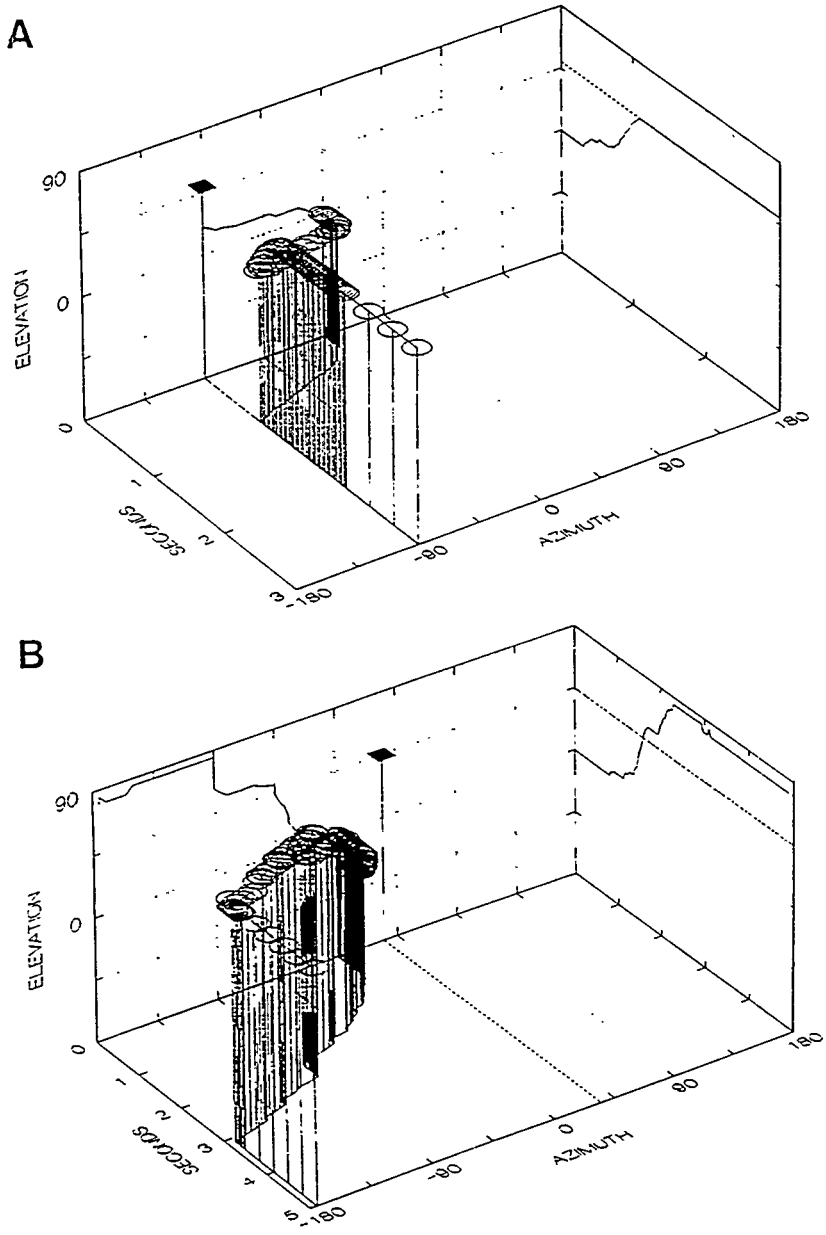


Figure 2. Results of tracking two ORs in azimuth and elevation. In each case note the movement plateau. A) This is an example of an accurate OR. Raisin's movement latency was about 300 ms and she reached a final response position about 700 ms later. B) Apples initial movement was away from the click location in azimuth, correct in elevation, and resulted in an inaccurate OR for both planes.

OR accuracy was computed as the difference between a cat's position and the azimuth and elevation of the click source for each trial. Across all trials the absolute error in orienting was 75° ± 9° (M ± SEM) relative to click azimuth and 32° ± 4° relative to click elevation. For clicks presented within ±60° azimuth and ±45° elevation of a cat's resting position (N=8), OR errors averaged 27° ± 17° in azimuth and 13° ± 7° in elevation Multiple regression analysis was used to clarify parameters that contributed significantly to variability in errors orienting to the click location. Azimuth (AZ) and elevation (EL), the specific azimuth-elevation combination (AZxEL), and squares of azimuth and elevation of click location were considered as predictors of OR errors (AZe or ELe). To control for habituation effects and individual differences, trial number and predictors representing the four cats were included in the equation (see Equation 1).

$$AZe \text{ or } ELe = AZ + EL + AZxEL + AZ^2 + EL^2 + Cat + Trial + Residual \quad (1)$$

Overall, the regression equations explained 58% of OR azimuth and 64% of OR elevation error variablity ($p < .05$). While azimuth errors were best explained by click elevation (17%) and the square of click azimuth (17%), OR elevation errors were a function of the square of both click azimuth (10%) and elevation (15%), and the specifc azimuth X elevation location (20%). Figure 3 shows OR errors for click locations that were tested.

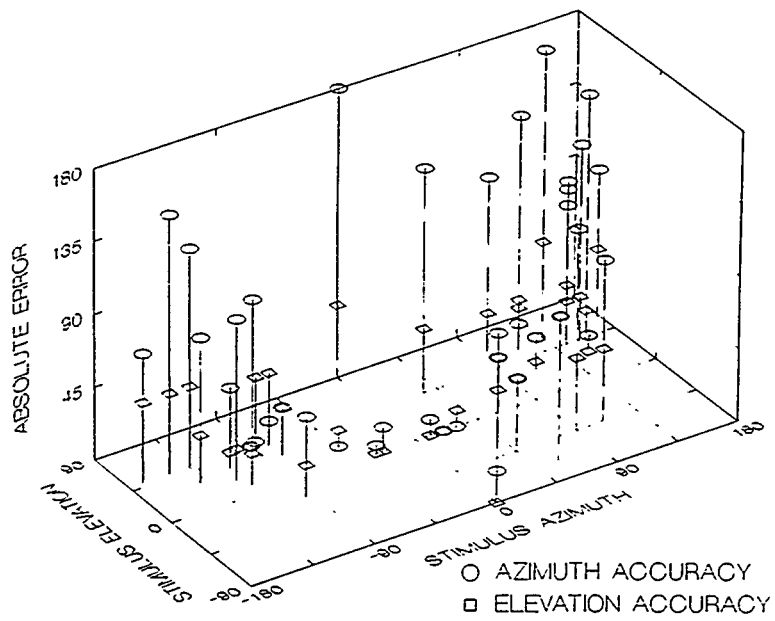


Figure 3. The absolute value of OR error is shown. The accuracy of the OR can be described as a quadratic function of the azimuth and elevation of the source of a click stimulus. All measurements are in degrees.

DISCUSSION

In the quiet natural environment familiar to subjects in the present study, an unexpected click elicited a behavioral response easily defined as an OR. The response was similar to the OR described for various unique or unexpected stimuli (Lynn, 1966) and to the OR elicited specifically by brief, broadband sounds (Martin & Webster, 1987; Thompson & Masterton, 1978; Thompson & Welker, 1963). The OR exhibited by cats in the current "barn"

experiment usually included pricking up the ears, turning the head, and looking in the direction of the click source. The OR oserved in the barn setting is similar to that described for a laboratory experiment using similar sound source locations oblique to the azimuthal and median vertical planes (cf. Zrull et al., 1995). In both cases, the OR consists of initial movement, often directed toward the sound source, followed by a holding position directed at a point in space. When examined in detail, similarities and differences between the laboratory and barn acoustic OR become evident.

The latency to initiate the acoustic OR in the barn setting (393 ± 33 ms) is about four times greater than in a laboratory setting (84 ± 17 ms) using similar sound source locations (e.g., Zrull et al., 1995). It is likely that cats in the natural, barn setting have experienced "novel, unexpected" stimuli more than cats born and raised in a laboratory animal care facility. While lab cats may be attentive to stimuli of many modalities, barn cats may rely more heavily on visual stimuli for general information gathering (Beadle, 1977) and sound stimuli to initiate predatory behavior (e.g , Hafez, 1969). Many of the ORs observed in the barn might be described as a generalized OR (Lynn, 1966). While latencies differ, the accuracy of the OR in the barn was similar to lab observations (Zrull et al., 1995). In both settings, a cat exhibits more accurate ORs for clicks presented from locations in front of the animal (±60° AZ, ±45° EL) than for more distant locations. The OR elicited by brief sounds can be described as a quadratic function of sound source azimuth and elevation, and behavioral results correspond to physiological data suggesting the cat's auditory system may "map" the acoustic environment (Brugge et al. 1994).

The greatest difference between results of the current experiment and previous laboratory acoustic OR studies is reflected by trials not used for tracking and accuracy measurements in the barn experiment. For about 28% of trials with verifiable ORs in the barn experiment, cats' exhibited something not seen in the laboratory setting, pinna movement only Descriptions of the acoustic OR in a lab setting usually reflect a response that includes head movement or no response at all (i.e., habituation; Thompson & Welker, 1963; Thompson & Masterton, 1978; Zrull et al., 1995). The "pinna OR," which occurred frequently in the present study, provides additional evidence for correspondence between behavior and the complex neural receptive fields and mapping of auditory space in the cat cortex (see Brugge et al., 1994). Interestingly, the pinna OR was most apparent when a cat was engaged in activity that required attention such as focusing on the location of possible prey (e.g., a mouse or insect; see Lynn, 1966).

In summary, the results of the present study support descriptions of the nature and accuracy of the OR elicited by brief, broadband sounds provided in reports of laboratory experiments (e g., Martin & Webster, 1987; Thompson & Masterton, 1978; Zrull et al., 1995). Current results suggest that behavioral differences exist between lab cats and cats raised in a natural environment. Finally, it seems reasonable to conduct experiments designed to examine stimulus and environmental conditions that elicit the head OR, the pinna OR, and/or both forms of the acoustic OR.

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Progressive Lesions of the Entorhinal Cortex in Rats Accelerate Hippocampal Sprouting

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Sprouting of the crossed temporodentate pathway is known to occur in rats following entorhinal cortex lesions. This study was conducted to determine electrophysiologically whether two-stage lesions (progressive) accelerate CTD sprouting as early as 4 days post-lesion. Animals were assigned to one of four treatment conditions: progressive lesions, one-stage lesions, priming lesions or intact controls. Synaptic efficacy was measured by stimulating the intact entorhinal cortex and recording the evoked potentials in the contralateral dentate gyrus. Our findings indicate that the population EPSPs of the dentate granule cells were significantly greater only in the progressive lesion group when compared to controls. Those of progressive lesion animals were 54% greater than those animals which underwent one-stage lesions. The slope of the response also increased 48% compared to one-stage animals. Thus, progressive entorhinal lesions increase the rate of functional synapses formed by the crossed temporodentate pathway.

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the hippocampal system has become more pressing as Alzheimer's disease (AD) becomes more pervasive in our aging society. Alzheimer's is a devastating neurodegenerative disorder characterized by amnesia, aphasia, apraxia, and agnosia. Profound changes are found in the hippocampal formation of these patients. Compared to age matched controls, increases in neurofibrillary tangles and neuritic plaques are found (deGroot & Chusid, 1991), as well as aberrant neuronal connections due to neuron loss (see Geddes & Cotman, 1986) and severe focal synaptic losses in the outer molecular layer of the dentate gyrus (Lippa et al 1992).

Many adult CNS neurons can reorganize their synaptic connections or form new ones in response to injury of various sorts (Cotman 1978). Since neither the presence or number of neuritic plaques or tangles fully explains the complex cognitive deficits in AD (Lippa et al 1992), it could have great importance to understand and control neuronal sprouting.

The major cortical projection to the hippocampus begins in the entorhinal cortex. The perforant pathway synapses make up more than 85% of the total synaptic population in the dentate gyrus of the rat. This pathway, also known as the temporodentate, originates from layer II stellate cells and layer III pyramidal cells. It crosses the hippocampal fissure to innervate the molecular layer of the ipsilateral dentate gyrus.

The perforant path innervates the fascia dentata only ipsilaterally, but a small crossed dentate projection, the crossed temporodentate (CTD) pathway exists as well (Goldwitz et al., 1975; Zimmer & Hjorth-Simonsen, 1975). This pathway also originates in layer II of the entorhinal cortex but it travels via the dorsal psalterium to innervate the fascia dentata in the contralateral hemisphere. The CTD is considered a homolog of the perforant path because the synapses appear to be ultrastructurally indistinguishable (Davis et al., 1988) and both pathways are glutamatergic and monosynaptic (Steward et al., 1976). The main functional distinction is the strength of the projection. The CTD is sparse, accounting for only 5% of the synapses in the outer molecular layer of the dentate gyrus (Davis et al., 1988).

In the hippocampal formation, circuitry is known to be capable of considerable reorganization, particularly following lesions of the entorhinal cortex (Cotman & Nadler, 1978; Steward, 1992). Unilateral entorhinal cortex lesions destroy the major cortical input to

the molecular layer of the dentate gyrus, the perforant path. The remaining afferents, particularly the septohippocampal, commissural/associational, and crossed temporodentate pathway (CTD) proliferate and reinnervate this area (Cotman & Nadler, 1978).

The crossed temporodentate pathway is particularly important since it is the homolog of the pathway destroyed by ablation of the EC. Autoradiographic studies have shown that this sparse pathway can proliferate as much as 500-600% (Steward et al., 1976). Extensive terminal proliferation begins at about 4-6 days post-lesion (Steward & Vinsant, 1983) and levels off at 15 days post-lesion (Steward & Loesche, 1977). In the CTD field, more dendritic spines, multisynapses (Steward, 1988), and enlarged terminal boutons (Cotman et al., 1977) have been noted.

Following UECX, the CTD assumes functions of the destroyed perforant path. The synapses are electrophysiologically functional, producing short latency population EPSPs in the granule cells of the contralateral dentate gyrus (Steward et al., 1973, 74, 76). By 15 days post-lesion, population spikes are maximized (Steward et al., 1974, 1976). Synaptic efficacy of the CTD as measured by population EPSPs increased 450-800%. The sprouted CTD can undergo habituation decrements in EPSP and population spikes like the perforant path (Harris et al., 1978). It also has equivalent capacities for long-term potentiation (Wilson, 1981).

When anatomical information is known about an area, field potentials can provide synaptic knowledge of these neurons. By stimulating a pathway, a summation of individual cell excitatory postsynaptic potentials , the population EPSP, can be measured. The population EPSP is displayed on an oscilloscope for analysis. This tracing provides the latency of the EPSP after stimulation, the synaptic efficacy, and capacity of the pathway. Knowing the approximate latency helps identify the correct pathway. The rate of rise of the EPSP resulting from stimulation is a measure of the physiological capacity (Steward et al., 1976). Synaptic efficacy (in mV) is considered a measure of the number of functional synapses.

Scheff et al. (1978) found that serial lesions successfully caused accelerated sprouting in the C/A pathways but it remained to be determined if the sprouting of the CTD would accelerate as well. As the homolog to the perforant path, accelerated sprouting could speed up the alleviation of behavioral deficits. Preliminary behavioral and autoradiographic studies in our lab have shown accelerated terminal proliferation of the CTD anatomically and accelerated recovery of alternation task behavior following progressive lesions (Ramirez et al., 1988). This experiment tested electrophysiologically if the terminal proliferation produces functionally significantly synapses as early as 4 days post-lesion. We hypothesized that progressive unilateral entorhinal cortex lesions would significantly increase synaptic efficacy of the crossed temporodentate pathway.

METHODS

A total of 26 adult male Sprague-Dawley rats maintained in individual cages on a 12 hour light-dark schedule were assigned to one of four treatment conditions: 1) Intact controls (N=5; CONT); 2) Priming lesions of the lateral EC only (N=5; PRIM); 3) One stage unilateral EC lesions (N=9; ONE-STAGE); 4) Priming lesions of the lateral EC followed by a secondary lesion of the medial EC (N=7; PROG). Progressive lesions refer to a serial or two-stage lesion of the entorhinal cortex in one hemisphere. Priming lesions, the first half of the progressive lesion, were performed alone in group 2 to exclude the possibility that this lesion itself initiated the sprouting response.

Animals were anesthetized with sodium pentobarbital (Nembutal, 50 mg/kg) and the entorhinal cortex was electrolytically ablated by lowering an electrode to stereotaxically defined points (Loesche & Steward, 1977). All priming lesions were performed at the most lateral coordinate of the EC. A six day interoperation interval (IOI) was used in the progressive lesions since a 4 to 10 day IOI is the most efficient to accelerate sprouting in the dentate gyrus (Scheffe et al., 1978).

The electrophysiological procedure took place four days after the final ablation of the entorhinal cortex. The animals were deeply anesthetized with urethane (conc. 0.3/kg). A twisted wire, bi-polar stimulating electrode was inserted into the intact contralateral EC. A saline filled recording electrode (a micropipette with a 1-3 megaOhms impedance) was placed into the ipsilateral dentate gyrus. The placement of the recording electrode was determined by maximal response in the dentate hilus to the contralateral entorhinal stimulation. Extracellular field potentials were evoked by monophasic square wave pulses at a 0.1 Hz frequency with a

W.P.I. Digital Stimulator and amplified with an Axoprobe electrometer and Tektronic amplifier. The responses were noted at 50 μ step intervals providing estimates of depth with respect to the cytoarchitectonic structure of the hippocampus and dentate gyrus. The stimulus applied was determined to maximize evoked field potentials yet minimize excitation of other areas of the hippocampus such as CA1. Five evoked potentials were digitized and averaged for computer analysis with Digiscope Evoked Potential Software.

Recording electrode placement was verified by the latency of the EPSP response (Steward et al., 1973), undergoing a 100 Hertz test to determine that the pathway is monosynaptic (Lomo, 1971), and the appearance of extracellular negativity at cytoarchitecturally determined points (Steward et al., 1973). After verifying electrode placement and digitizing at least 5 sets of averaged responses, the animal was perfused with 10% formalin and the brain extracted. Lesion sites were verified histologically with cresyl violet staining.

The progressive lesion and one-stage lesion groups destroyed both the medial and lateral portions. Lesions in the priming groups were minimal and placed in the lateral EC. The oscilloscope tracings in this experiment reveal the evoked population EPSPs of the granule cells and the rate at which this current was generated. The amplitude of the response corresponds to the size of the EPSP response (in mV) while the slope indicates the rate of excitation (in mV/ms measured at 4 ms after stimulation).

An a priori Dunnett test revealed that only the progressive lesion group was significantly different than controls for both amplitude and slope. Quantification of the data showed that compared to the one-stage lesion group, progressive EC lesions resulted in a 54% increase in the EPSP amplitude (Figure 1). The slope of the progressive group increased 48% relative to the one-stage group (Figure 2).

DISCUSSION

Our data indicate that only the progressive unilateral EC lesions significantly increase the amplitude and the slope of the evoked population EPSPs at 4 days post-lesion. We interpret this to mean that two-stage lesions accelerate the formation of functional synapses of the CTD. A 54% increase in evoked potentials and a 48% increase in the rate of current generation was found in progressive lesion animals when compared to the one-stage lesion animals. Neither the priming lesion nor the one-stage lesion initiated the full sprouting response so the increase in synaptic efficacy was therefore caused by the second stage of the progressive lesion.

Previous research in our lab has shown anatomically that two-stage lesions result in a 40% increase in the rate of CTD proliferation at four days post-lesion and accelerated behavioral recovery (Ramirez et al., 1988) in CTD mediated tasks. Transecting the CTD was found to reinstate the behavioral deficit. In order to draw a relationship between recovery and CTD sprouting, it has to be shown that the terminal proliferation produces functional synapses. These physiological findings could be due to hyper-excitability of the granule cells or denervation supersensitivity (Steward et al., 1974), but our anatomical data suggest a link between accelerated terminal proliferation and increased synaptic efficacy. It appears that some aspect of the priming lesion prepares the area so fiber growth can occur sooner.

CONCLUSION

Although considerable rearrangement takes place in the hippocampal formation following entorhinal cortex lesions, we believe that this evidence implicates the crossed temporodentate pathway, the homologous pathway of the perforant path, as having a key role in recovery of function following destruction of this region.

The aberrant neuronal connections found in Alzheimer's Disease could be the hippocampal formation's attempt to reestablish functionality. Too little is known about the behavioral significance of sprouting to say. Either way, knowledge about the mechanisms of neuronal sprouting are critically important to understanding neurodegenerative disorders such as Alzheimer's Disease and determining its relationship to recovery of function.

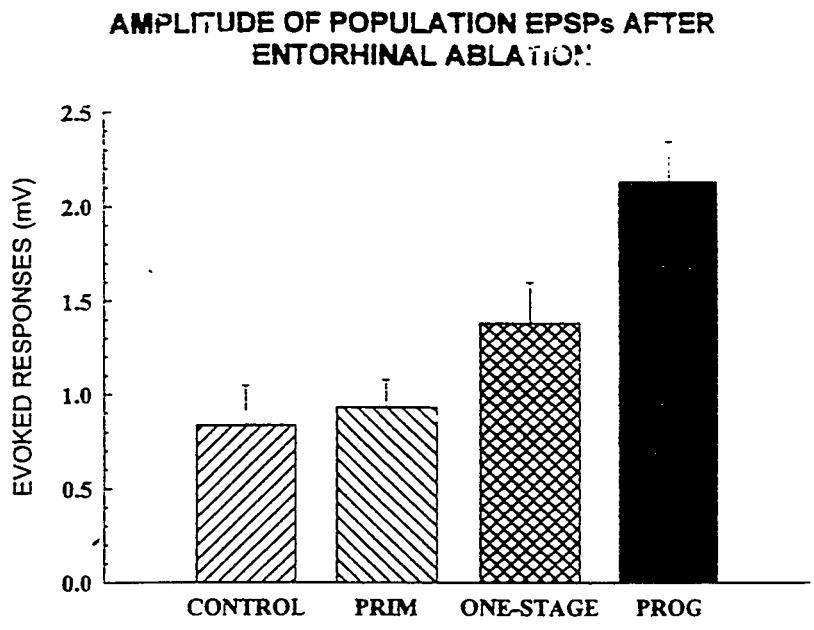


Figure 1. Average amplitudes of population EPSPs after unilateral entorhinal cortex ablation.

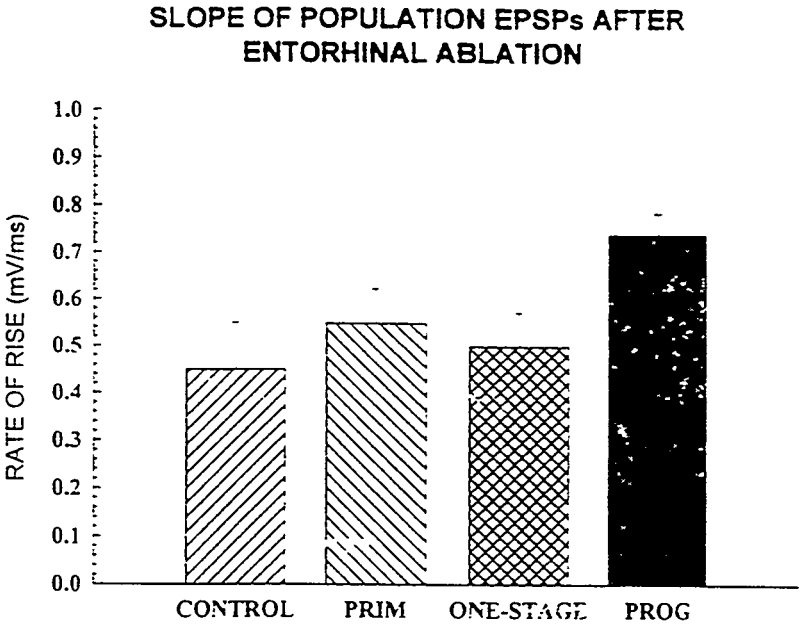


Figure 2. Average slopes of population EPSPs after unilateral entorhinal cortex ablation.

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The Relationship between Automatic and Intentional Processing and Working Memory Span

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ABSTRACT

The present studies used the process dissociation procedure to examine the relationship between working memory (WM) and higher level cognitive tasks. High and low WM span subjects performed a stem completion task alone or while doing an attention demanding tone detection task. When the stem task was performed alone, high and low span subjects differed on estimates of intentional processing. When the stem task was paired with the detection task, high and low span subjects did not differ on either type processing. Results support Conway and Engle's (1994) model of WM which suggests that differences in WM capacity will only be apparent in cognitive tasks that are performed under controlled, effortful processing.

INTRODUCTION

A relationship exists between individual differences in higher level cognitive functioning and measures of working memory (WM). Engle, Cantor and Carullo (1992) proposed the general capacity model to explain this relationship. Since WM is often defined as the portion of long-term memory currently activated above a critical threshold, these researchers speculated that WM capacity reflects differential limitations in activation. That is, individuals with high WM spans are able to activate more information than those with low WM spans. Evidence from Conway and Engle (1994) shows that individuals do not differ in amounts of automatic activation. Rather, resources available for intentional processing differ between individuals. This resource dependent model of WM suggests that conscious, intentional processing, not automatic activation, drives the relationship between WM measures and performance on complex cognitive tasks.

Jacoby (1991) proposed the process-dissociation procedure for estimating automatic and intentional influences on memory. He assumes that automatic and intentional influences are independent: an item can be remembered because of intentional influences, automatic influences or a combination of both. However, the two types of influences are not correlated (see Figrue 1).

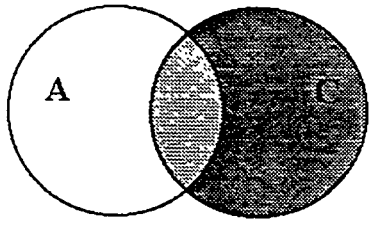


Figure 1: Independence Model

Jacoby (1991) used performance on two stem completion tasks, inclusion and exclusion, to estimate intentional and automatic influences. In the inclusion condition, subjects completed stems with words they had previously studied. In this case responses could be made based on either intentional or automatic influences. Subjects were told not to complete

exclusion stems with words that were studied. Estimates were calculated using the following formulas:

$$\text{Intentional} = \text{Inclusion} - \text{Exclusion}$$

$$\text{Automatic} = \frac{\text{Exclusion}}{(1 - \text{Intentional})}$$

Joordens and Merikle's (1993) redundancy model assumes that automatic and intentional influences are not independent of one another. This model contends that intentional influences always occur with automatic influences, but automatic influences may occur alone (see Figure 2).

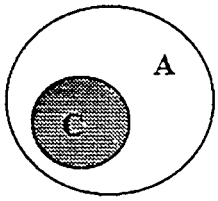


Figure 2: Redundancy Model

Based on these assumptions estimates can be calculated as follows:

$$\text{Intentional} = \text{Inclusion} - \text{Exclusion}$$

$$\text{Automatic} = \text{Inclusion}$$

The present studies examine the relationship between automatic and intentional processing and working memory. If WM reflects differential limitations in automatic activation, then high and low WM span subjects should have different automatic estimates. When given a dual task, which should interfere with intentional processing, high and low span subjects should still differ on automatic estimates. If individual differences in WM are dependent on resources available for conscious processing, then high and low span subjects should differ on estimates of intentional processing. In the dual task study, high span subjects' estimates should be similar to low spans, as the ability to use intentional resources is eliminated.

METHOD

Subjects

Fifty-four subjects participated in experiment one and fifty-five subjects participated in experiment two. Subjects were run individually and the experimental session lasted approximately one hour. Subjects recieved course credit for their participation.

Procedure

Subjects completed two tasks during the experimental session: a WM span task and a stem completion task. The order of the tasks was counterbalanced.

Working Memory Span.

Subjects saw a simple math problem and a word. They read the problem aloud, verified the answer and then read the word aloud. Then either a new operation-word pair or a question mark appeared. A minimum of 2 pairs and a maximum of 6 pairs were presented before the question mark appeared. After seeing the question mark subjects recalled as many of the words as possible in the order they were presented. There were 15 memory trials with 3 trials at each level. (2, 3, 4, 5, or 6 words). WM span was determined by summing the words on each trial that was completely correct and in perfect serial order. Subjects with WM spans greater than 23 were considered to have high spans and those with WM spans below 12 were considered to have low spans. These cut-offs represent the upper and lower quartile of span scores.

Stem Completion

Two lists of 64 5-letter words (48 targets and 16 buffers) were generated. Subjects read aloud 64 words that appeared for 1 s. each and tried to remember as many words as

possible. In the first experiment subjects read words and tried to remember them. In the second study subjects read the words while also performing a tone detection task. Either a high or a low frequency tone was presented with each word. Subjects tried to detect the occurrence of two high frequency tones in a row. Next subjects completed 96 word stems- 48 constructed from the list they read and 48 stems from the other list . Half of the stems were preceded by the word "old". Subjects completed these stems with words from the list they read (Inclusion). The remaining stems were preceded by the word "new". Subjects completed these with words that were not on the list (Exclusion). For example, if the subject saw "blood" in the word list, they would either get the stem "Old blo--" or the stem "New blo--" to complete. When presented with "Old", completing the stem with the word "blood" would be correct while this response would be incorrect if the stem were presented with "New".

RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Two scores were calculated from the stem completion task: (1) Inclusion Score: the proportion of Inclusion stems completed with words from the list they read and (2) Exclusion Score: the proportion of Exclusion stems completed with words from the list they read. These scores were used to estimate automatic and intentional influences on memory. Two 2 (high span, low span) x 2 (automatic, intentional) ANOVA's were performed for each study. In one ANOVA processing estimates were calculated using the independence model and in the other the dependent variables were estimates based on the redundancy model. Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for Experiments 1 and 2 for both high and low span groups.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Working Memory Span and SAT

Scores	High Span	Low Span
Experiment 1: No-Load		
# Subjects	23	31
WM Span	29.69 (7.24)	8.58 (2.57)
Math Accuracy	96.74 (2.10)	93.71 (4.34)
Verbal SAT	548.67 (127.61)	423.93 (85.95)
Math SAT	580.67 (127.14)	461.07 (96.58)
Experiment 2: Load		
# Subjects	27	28
WM Span	29.48 (7.12)	8.78 (3.09)
Math Accuracy	96.03 (2.11)	94.35 (3.82)
Tone Accuracy	12.35 (1.59)	12.35 (1.49)
Verbal SAT	531.54 (132.69)	390.77 (83.33)
Math SAT	558.85 (117.55)	426.92 (56.27)

Experiment One

When using Jacoby's (1991) formulas, subjects with perfect exclusion scores must be eliminated. Thus, two subjects were not included in the following analyses. Using independence calculations, there was a significant interaction between span size and type of processing, $F(1,50) = 20.07$, $p<.05$. High and low span subjects differed on estimates of intentional processing. Differences on automatic estimates approached significance. The interaction between span size and type of processing, using the redundancy estimates, was also significant, $F(1,52) = 18.84$, $p<.05$. Again, high and low span subjects differed on intentional estimates. However, in this case they did not differ on automatic estimates. Figure 3 illustrates these interactions.

Experiment Two

In the dual task experiment there was no interaction between span size and type of processing for either the Independence or the Redundancy calculations. That is, estimates for both automatic and intentional processing did not differ for high and low span subjects. These results are depicted in Figure 4.

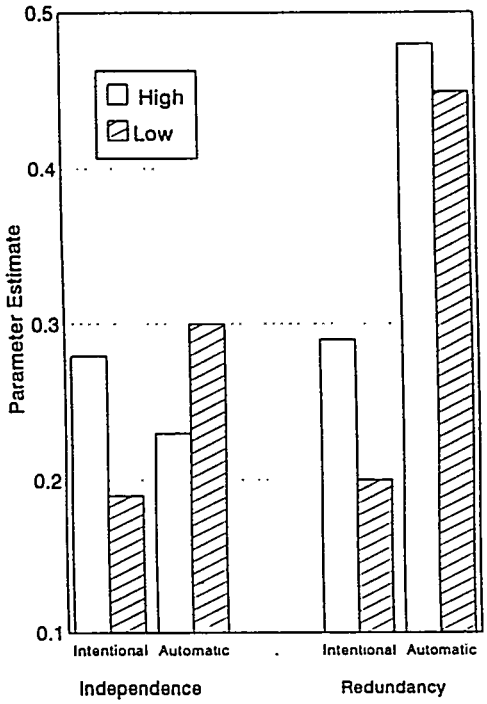


Figure 3: Processing estimates for Experiment One, calculated with both models. Estimates are broken down by processing type and span.

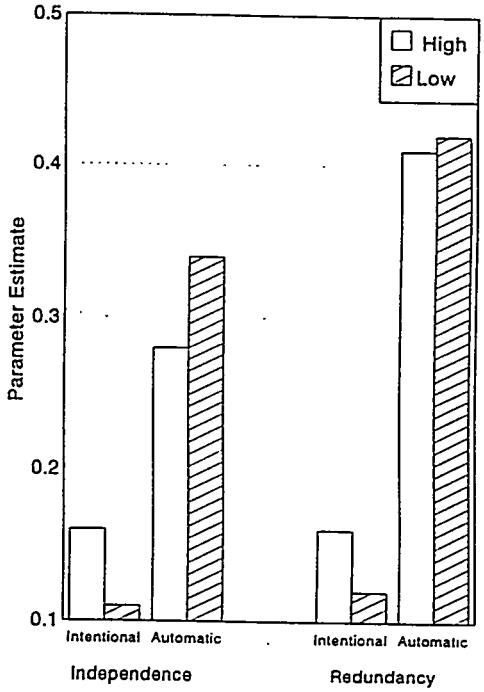


Figure 4: Processing estimates for Experiment Two, calculated with both models. Estimates are broken down by processing type and span.

The results of these studies support the resource dependent model. Overall, high and low span individuals differed only on intentional processing estimates. When intentional processing capabilities were taken away from high span subjects (dual task), their estimates were similar to those for low span subjects. In Experiment One, estimates calculated with the independence model yeilded differences between high and low span subjects on automatic estimates. Jacoby has suggested that this may have been because of the stimuli used. Other studies in our lab have used more difficult stimuli and have shown that high and low span subjects do not differ on automatic estimates using either model. Overall these results suggest that it may not be correct to view WM as simply the portion of long-term memory which is activated, rather, WM involves limitations in resources available for conscious processing.

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Serial Position Learning in Honeybees

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Honeybees (Apis mellifera) were trained in a five position, forced choice sequence over 15 trials. On every trial a subject fed from each of five differently colored targets arranged in a pentagon formation. Each subject was trained on a single color/location sequence, counterbalanced across subjects. Learning was measured by a ten minute extinction test with all contacts by subjects with every target recorded. Results revealed a primacy and recency effect with no preference effects noted for the color or location of targets independent of sequence position. While the number of errors decreased significantly over learning trials, no sequence learning other than a lose-shift strategy was observed during test.

INTRODUCTION

The serial position effect (SPE) is well documented in the human psychological literature (Murdock, 1962; Atkinson & Shiffrin, 1968). When asked to remember a list of items, recall is better for items at the beginning of the list (primacy effect) and for items at the end of the list (recency effect) than for items in the middle. Similar results are obtained with non-human vertebrate species including monkeys (Castro & Larsen, 1992), rats (Bolhuis & van Kampen, 1988), and birds (Crystal & Shettleworth, 1994).

Honeybee brains occupy less then one cubic mm and contain approximately 950,000 neurons. Despite these limitations in brain size as compared to the animals mentioned above, honeybees have repeatedly demonstrated learning patterns quite similar to those of vertebrates (Bitterman, 1988). Given this evidence for general process learning, the current study attempts to demonstrate the SPE in honeybees.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 25 honeybees from hives located on the campus of New College of the University of South Florida, Sarasota, Florida. Subjects were captured at feeders near the New College Honeybee Laboratory. All subjects were experimentally naive and were trained individually in a single training session.

Materials

The experimental box was constructed of resined plywood and measured 77 cm high, 95 cm wide, and 44 cm deep. The box was set into a laboratory window whose entrance was transected by a vertical metal bar 4 cm wide.

Targets were plastic disks measuring 5 cm in diameter mounted onto plastic bottle caps measuring 3 cm in diameter and 1.5 cm in height. The pretraining target was solid violet. The training targets were constructed by mounting small violet disks 2 cm in diameter onto the centers of five targets of different colors: blue, green, yellow, orange, and white. Target covers were in the same colors as the targets themselves and were cones measuring 4.5 cm in diameter and 2 cm in height.

Procedure

Pretraining. Individual honeybees were selected randomly at outdoor feeders containing 15% sucrose solution. Individual honeybees were brought into the laboratory and released onto a large drop of 50% sucrose solution on the pretraining target placed in the center of the experimental window. After feeding

to repletion the honeybee would leave the window to return to the hive to empty her honey stomach. After several minutes the honeybee would return to the experimental window to find the pretraining target. The intertrial interval - the length of time from the departure from the pretraining target to the return landing on the same target - was recorded. On some occasions the potential subject did not return to the window after the first release on the pretraining target and could be found instead outside at one of the feeders. Under these circumstances, the potential subject was recaptured and released on the pretraining target. This procedure was repeated no more than two times for each potential subject. Honeybees that did not return to the experimental window of their own accord after three placements were abandoned as subjects.

Training. Training consisted of 15 trails in which the subject returned to the experimental window and visited each of five differently colored targets containing a small drop of 50% sucrose solution arranged in a pentagon formation (see Figure 1). Choices were forced by covering all targets except the appropriate target in the sequence. When the subject landed and drank from the appropriate target in the sequence, the cover of the next target was removed and the cover of the preceding target was replaced. This process continued until all targets had been visited. A honeybee's honey stomach can hold approximately 50 μl of solution. To ensure that the honeybee visited all five targets in the sequence, the first four targets in the series contained 10 μl of 50% solution, while the last target contained 15 μl of 50% solution. The final target contained more solution than the prior four to ensure that the subject would fill to repletion and return to the hive. All contacts by the subject with each target were recorded.

The location of each color remained the same across all subjects. Each subject was trained on a single color/location sequence, counterbalanced across subjects by use of latin squares.

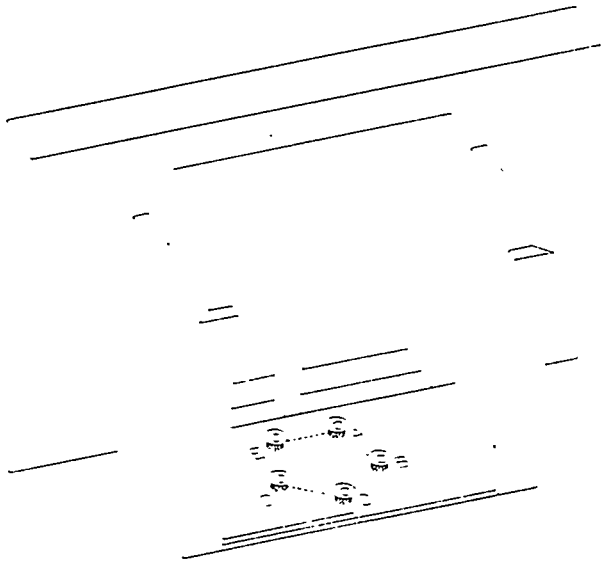


Figure 1. Experimental window and five choice stimulus array. Color locations remained constant between subjects. A=blue, B=yellow, C=green, D=orange, E=white.

Test. After leaving the experimental window and returning to the hive after the fifteenth training trial, subjects returned to the experimental window to find all targets uncovered. Each target contained a droplet of tap water, an aversive stimulus for honeybees. All contacts with all targets were recorded over a ten minute period for each subject.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The mean number of landings per sequence position during the extinction test is shown in Figure 2. A one-way analysis of variance performed on the data indicated a significant effect of sequence positions (F (4, 96) = 6.12, p < .0002). A post hoc Newman-Kuel's test indicated that the first ($\bar{X}$ = 10.68) and last positions ($\bar{X}$ = 11.56) in a sequence were landed on significantly more often than the second position ($\bar{X}$ = 6.88). In addition, the fifth position in a sequence was landed on significantly more often than the third ($\bar{X}$ = 9.04) and fourth ($\bar{X}$ = 8.60) positions. A one-way analysis of variance performed on the data revealed no preference effects for color or position.

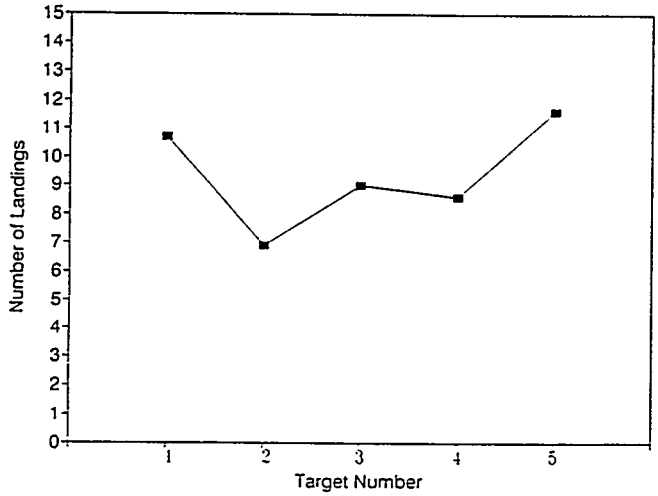


Figure 2. Mean number of landings per sequence position during 10 minute extinction test. Subjects landed significantly more often on targets one and five than on target two, and subjects landed significantly more often on target five than on targets three and four. N=25.

The mean number of errors made by subjects per training trial is depicted in Figure 3. A one-way analysis of variance performed on the data grouped in three 5-trial blocks revealed a significant effect for training on the number of errors made (F (2, 48) = 44.56, p < .0001). Significantly fewer errors were made in each block of 5 training trials as training progressed ($\bar{X}_1$ = 5.42, $\bar{X}_2$ = 2.65, $\bar{X}_3$ = 2.07).

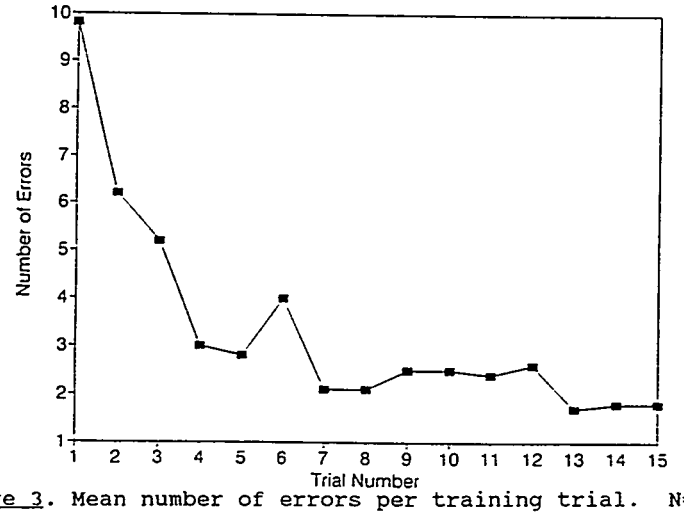


Figure 3. Mean number of errors per training trial. N=25.

A clear SPE was observed in this study. Standard explanations for the existence of the SPE have focused on two lines of research: dual processing memory and interference theory. The dual processing model (Atkinson & Shiffrin, 1968; Olton, 1979) explains the SPE in terms of the distinction between two memory stores, a short term or working memory, and a long term or reference memory. Superior recall for items at the beginning of a list is a reflection of these items having made their way into the long term store, while superior recall for items at the end of a list is a product of these items still being present in the short term store at the time of test. Support for this model comes from the disappearance of the recency effect when the time interval between training and test is lengthened or if a distractor task is performed between training and test.

Because individual subjects varied in their return times to the window before the extinction test, it was possible to analyze the effects of delay on the SPE in this study. Based on Menzel's (1979) distinction between short term and long term memory in honeybees, a cut-off return time of 5 minutes or more was used to test for the long term store, while a cut-off time of 3.5 minutes or less was used to test for short term memory. Results are depicted in Figure 4 below. A SPE was observed in the group of subjects with final return times of 3.5 minutes or less (F (4, 16) = 4.01, p < .02) but no SPE was observed in the 5.0 minute or more group. However, the small number of subjects in each of these groups makes it difficult to draw substantial conclusions about the short-term/long-term differences.

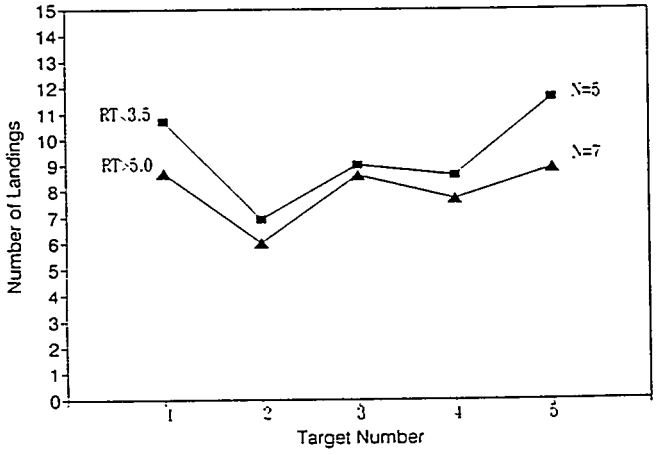


Figure 4. Mean number of landings per target for return times (RT) of 3.5 minutes or less and 5.0 minutes or more. A significant effect of sequence position was found in the RT < 3.5 minute condition with significant differences located between positions 1 ($\bar{X}$ = 13.40) and 2 ($\bar{X}$ = 5.00) and positions 5 ($\bar{X}$ = 13.40) and 2. No significant effect of sequence position was found in the RT > 5.0 minutes condition.

Interference theory explains the SPE in terms of proactive and retroactive interference (Underwood, 1957). Proactive interference occurs when prior memories of learning interferes with the acquisition of new memories. Retroactive interference occurs when the acquisition of new information interferes with the memory for previous events. In a serial position task the first item suffers from retroactive interference but not from proactive interference. Similarly, the memory for the final item in the list suffers only from proactive interference. The items in the middle of the list suffer both from proactive and retroactive interference to differing degrees depending on an item's position in the list.

Another possible explanation for the SPE effect observed in this study may lie in the differential reward offered in position five. Because subjects received more solution at the fifth position in the series, they may have preferred this target over the others merely because it was the most rewarding.

The differential memory for items in a sequence is unrelated to the learning of the sequence of the items. This study found significant improvement over training trials in the completion of the sequence; however, this improvement may have had nothing to do with learning the sequence. The more parsimonious explanation points to the bees attending to some other cue which was correlated with the sequence. For example, during the training session, the subjects may have learned to go to the uncovered targets rather than learned what was the next position in a sequence.

An analysis performed on the sequence learning during the extinction test revealed no learning of sequence. The results did reveal that the subjects used a lose-shift strategy during the test: Subjects were more likely to land on a target and then move on to another target than to land again on the same target.

While three distinct possible explanations for the SPE were described above, it should not be assumed that these models work independently of one another. Any or all three explanations may be operating in this study. Future research will attempt to tease apart the possible explanations for the effect. First, it will be necessary to control for the additional sucrose solution offered on the final target in a sequence. This will be accomplished by locating the final target in an area removed from the training array and by eliminating the final target from the test. In addition, a serial probe recognition task will be used to attempt to replicate the findings of this study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Self-mutilation: Symptom or Syndrome

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Self-injurious behavior occurs in many clinical populations. Recent research has differentiated several distinct classes of self-destructive behavior. Pattison and Kahan (1984) identified one distinct class that they termed the Deliberate Self-Harm Syndrome (DSH). They proposed that DSH be considered a separate diagnostic syndrome in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV) based on clinical characteristics. A review of studies identifying these clinical characteristics, as well as interviews with Kahan and the DSM-IV coordinator, was conducted Critical analysis of this information revealed insufficient empirical evidence to support the theory of a separate DSH syndrome. A suggestion for further research that would help resolve this issue is proposed.

BACKGROUND

Deliberate self-harm has been documented in normal human infants, mentally retarded individuals, prisoners, persons with character disorders, psychotic patients, and individuals with eating disorders (Darche, 1990; Gainer & Torem, 1993; Margo & Newman, 1989; Pattison & Kahan, 1983; Tantam & Whittaker, 1992). Several researchers agree that the wrist is the most often injured body area (e.g., Dubovsky, 1978; Rosenthal, Rinzler, Wallsh & Klausner, 1972; Winchel & Stanley, 1991), but the method of mutilation appears to vary according to which clinical population the self-harming individual belongs. For example, in retarded children, finger-chewing and head-banging are frequently observed (King, 1993; Winchel & Stanley, 1991). More dramatic or exotic methods of self-harm, such as autocastration and autoamputation, can be seen in the psychotic population (Pattison & Kahan, 1983; Winchel & Stanley, 1991). In the prison population, Virkkunen (1976) noted inmates who carved words, letters or insignias in their skin. Gardner and Cowdry (1985) observed individuals with borderline personality disorder burning their skin with cigarettes and cutting various body parts. Thus, it is evident that self-mutilation occurs as a symptom in several populations and is not restricted to any one clinical diagnosis.

INITIAL CLASSIFICATIONS OF SELF-DESTRUCTIVE BEHAVIOR

Early attempts were made to distinguish suicidal from non-suicidal self-injury. In the 1960's, a few authors described a group of patients that they labeled "wrist-cutters" or "wrist-slashers" (Graff & Mallin, 1967; Grunebaum & Klerman, 1967). Graff and Mallin (1967), in response to an influx of hospital admissions of patients who had slashed their wrists, conducted a study to ascertain the cause of this behavior. They hypothesized that this behavior was different from suicidal behavior. Graff and Mallin examined admission histories, evaluations of prehospital behavior, and statements made by therapists of all patients who were admitted to the hospital in a six-month period. Twenty-one patients were wrist-slashers, of which 20 were female. The male patient was excluded because the researchers felt he was atypical The reason this patient was considered atypical was not given, but it was implied that his gender was a factor. This identification of male wrist-cutters as atypical has been criticized. Dubovsky (1978) identified several males in the prison population as non-suicidal self-mutilators. In their research of DSH subjects, Pattison and Kahan (1983) found no gender differences between the control and experimental groups.

Using case histories, Graff and Mallin (1967) found a set of common characteristics among the wrist-cutters. A survey of the records found that the typical cutter was an attractive, young unmarried female who slashed her wrists repeatedly for relief. Of the 20 subjects, psychological testing revealed that two had a thought disorder, and the rest were either "overly compulsive" or "overly impulsive." The typical patient reported she did not intend to commit suicide; rather the slashing appeared to be purely impulsive. Thus, Graff and Mallin found support for their hypothesis that their wrist-cutters possessed characteristics and symptoms that were unique to the non-suicidal patient.

Although Graff and Mallin (1967) were among the first researchers to postulate that self-injurious behavior is not necessarily an attempted suicide, there are problems with their findings. First, although case studies are useful in obtaining information about little understood phenomena, because of the small sample size (N = 20), the results are less likely to generalize to the population. Second, without studying a corresponding (control) group of hospitalized patients, it cannot be determined whether the characteristics or symptoms defined by Graff and Mallin are specific to non-suicidal wrist-cutters or whether they are shared by those with suicidal ideation. In addition, Graff and Mallin's study does not address whether other patients with similar diagnoses who do not mutilate themselves share the same characteristics and symptoms as those who do. If these characteristics are exclusive to the non-suicidal self-injurious patients, the group of symptoms and characteristics may suggest a separate syndrome. If however, these symptoms and characteristics are seen throughout many different disorders, as well as in patients who are suicidal, there is no reason to believe that non-suicidal self-mutilation is anything other than a symptom of many other primary diagnostic categories.

Furthermore, these characteristics may occur only in those non-suicidal self-mutilating patients who are retained in treatment. The characteristics of other self-mutilators who were not retained for treatment may be entirely different. Although the researchers hypothesized that these wrist-cutters were different from the suicidal population, no empirical evidence was given to support this. In fact, subsequent research invalidated Graff and Mallin's (1967) method of distinguishing suicidal from non-suicidal self-injury. Non-suicidal wrist-cutters could not be distinguished from suicidal patients on the basis of Graff and Mallin's identifying characteristics (Clendenin & Murphy, 1971; Weissman, 1975).

Three major variables have been developed to address this problem of differentiating between suicidal and non-suicidal self-mutilation (Kahan & Pattison, 1984): "direct vs. indirect", "lethality", and "repetition". Farberow (1980) suggested that self-harming behavior be classified on the basis of time and awareness. He identified a dimension of self-destructive behavior that he labeled "direct" and "indirect". The direct variable involves behaviors that occur during a short time span, and the effects of the behavior are in the awareness of the individual. The indirect variable consists of a behavior that is repeated over an extended period of time, and the person is unaware or ignores the effects of the behavior. To illustrate, individuals who cut their wrists harm themselves very quickly, and they are aware of the damage done to their body. This would constitute the direct variable. On the other hand, individuals who smoke continue this behavior for an extended period of time. While not immediately harming their bodies, they may choose to ignore the long term harm being done to themselves. This would represent the indirect variable.

Several researchers (e.g., Litman, 1980; Schneidman, 1971; Weisman & Worden, 1972) have identified a "lethality" variable. The degree to which possible death may result from the self-harm serves to distinguish between self-destructive behaviors. Burning the skin with a cigarette is highly unlikely to cause an individual to die (low lethality), but jumping from a thirty-story building is highly likely to result in death (high lethality).

A third variable has been suggested by Farmer (1980). Using a sample of the general population as a control group, he found no major difference between a group of subjects who had only one act of self-harming behavior and the control group. In contrast, he found significant differences between the group who had one episode of self-injury and a cohort group that presented multiple episodes of self-harm. Therefore, Farmer proposed that a "repetition" variable be used in differentiating types of self-harming behavior. The utilization of these three variables has provided the opportunity to distinguish suicidal (direct, high lethality and low rate of repetition) from non-suicidal (direct, low lethality and high rate of repetition) behaviors.

DELIBERATE SELF-HARM SYNDROME

Another attempt was made to differentiate between suicidal and non-suicidal self-injurious behavior. Pao (1969) hypothesized that there was a specific process non-suicidal self-mutilators experienced when engaging in their self-harming behavior and that perhaps this process was unique to the non-suicidal patient. He investigated the experience of self-mutilators and the events that led to self-harm. The records of 32 non-suicidal self-mutilating patients were examined. Similarities were found in the patients' self-reports of the process of self-mutilation. This process was found to have five stages (Leibenluft, Gardner, & Cowdry, 1987). The first stage is some precipitating event such as the ending of a significant relationship. The second stage involves a heightening of the dysphoria, which leads to the third stage where attempts are made to delay self-harm. In the fourth stage, the self-harming act occurs, and the aftermath of the injury, which includes relief from tension, is the fifth stage.

Pao (1969) felt the non-suicidal self-injurious subjects entered a regressed ego state during the actual act of cutting because the subjects reported no sensation of pain during the mutilating act. Subjects also reported a sense of "coming to" upon sight or feel of their blood. Pao believed this regressed state was unique in that functioning of the consciousness seemed suspended, while motor control function appeared well preserved.

Again, the problem of case studies is that the results may not generalize to the population. Pao's description of an altered ego state appears to be based on patients' self-reports and his own opinion. No empirical testing was done to support this theory. Further research however, has provided similar accounts of the process of non-suicidal self-mutilation (e.g., Darche, 1990; Gainer & Torem, 1993; Graff & Mallin, 1967; Leibenluft et al., 1987). To ascertain whether or not this process is unique to non-suicidal self-mutilators, a control group should have been used. The lack of this comparison raises the question of whether or not the process is the same for all types of self-harming behavior, including suicide.

Other researchers have investigated whether non-suicidal self-mutilators, known as self-mutilators, differed from non-mutilators. Darche (1990) theorized that certain instruments could distinguish self-mutilating from non-self-mutilating patients. In a study of 96 non-suicidal female patients at a short-term, private psychiatric hospital, 48 mutilating patients were compared to a control group of 48 non-mutilating patients in an adolescent program. Inpatient status, sex, and admission into the program were held constant across the two groups. To both groups, Darche administered the Beck Depression Scale, the revised Symptom Checklist-90 (SCL-90-R), and the Millon Adolescent Personality Inventory (MAPI). The study monitored the results of the SCL-90-R subscales of anxiety, hostility, somatization, and the Global Severity Index; the MAPI subscales of confidence, body comfort, and impulse control; and the results of the Beck Depression Inventory. It was hypothesized that these subscales would be more likely to indicate patients who mutilated themselves.

The results showed statistically significant differences between the self-mutilating and non-self-mutilating patients on all subscales of the three tests administered, except for the MAPI subscale of impulse control. The self-mutilating patients showed higher levels of anxiety, somatic complaints, depression and hostility, and they reported lower body comfort and confidence than the non-mutilating patients. In general, Darche concluded that the self-mutilating patients were generally more disturbed, depressed and distressed than the control group of non-self-mutilators.

The results do support the hypothesis that certain instruments can distinguish self-mutilators from non-self-mutilators. The subjects were not all from the same diagnostic category so no insight is provided into whether the self-mutilators present only more severe symptoms than their non-mutilating counterparts. Do non-self-mutilating patients within the same diagnostic category exhibit the same symptoms as the mutilating patients? If not, and the mutilating patients exhibit their own unique set of symptoms, a proposal for a separate syndrome would be in order.

PROPOSAL FOR A DIAGNOSIS

Pattison and Kahan (1983) surveyed the literature from 1960 to 1980. They noted that previous research had established a set of common characteristics for the non-suicidal self-mutilator (e.g., intolerable emotion, anxiety, constriction). The researchers constructed

a list of 19 signs and symptoms that were suspected to be associated with deliberate self-harm (DSH). Since research established that DSH behavior begins in late adolescence, cases involving young children were excluded. Pattison and Kahan also excluded those cases that involved life-threatening injuries and indirect self-harm (e.g., chronic alcoholism) Data collected from groups of self-mutilators were excluded from the survey, which resulted in 56 individual case histories that met their criteria. They hypothesized that within these index cases, a set of characteristic clinical symptoms would emerge. The cases were analyzed according to the lethality, direct/indirect, and repetitiveness variables used to distinguish different types of self-harming behavior.

Results of the survey showed that the behavior of the 56 index cases was different from other types of self-damaging behavior in that it was direct self-harm with low lethality and multiple episodes. Out of the 19 symptoms thought to be associated with DSH, four were consistently present: despair (69%), cognitive constriction (64%), anxiety (55%), and anger (50%). The other 15 were also present, but in a lesser percent of cases. Believing these results to be significant, Kahan and Pattison (1984) submitted a proposal for DSM-IV to include Deliberate Self-Harm Syndrome as an Axis I diagnosis under Impulse-Control Disorders Not Elsewhere Classified.

DISCUSSION

Kahan and Pattison (1984) have the support of many researchers to include DSH as an Axis I diagnosis (e.g., Darche, 1990; Tantam & Whittaker, 1992; Winchel & Stanley, 1991). However, empirical support for this diagnosis is scant. A survey of case histories provides ample opportunity for bias in reporting and interpretation. Again, results may not generalize to the broader population. Indeed, it seems that Pattison and Kahan's (1983) results do not support the theory of a syndrome. Out of 19 signs and symptoms thought to be associated with DSH, only four were present in at least 50% of the index cases. Percentages do not indicate statistical significance, so it is possible these percentages could have occurred by chance, especially when there was no control group.

The diagnoses were not noted for the index cases. It is unknown whether these clinical signs and symptoms are unique to self-mutilating patients and differ significantly from non-self-mutilating patients with the same diagnosis, or if these clinical signs and symptoms are observed among patients in many diagnostic categories. As in the study by Darche (1990), a statistically significant difference in the characteristics of a same diagnosis group from a control would lend support for a syndrome. No control was used in the Pattison and Kahan survey, therefore, no conclusion can be reached. The findings do support the theory that DSH differs from suicidal behavior, but does not appear to support the theory of a syndrome.

Darche's (1990) research also seems to contradict classifying DSH under Impulse-Control Disorders Not Elsewhere Classified. The results of her study showed that the experimental group did not differ significantly from the control group on the MAPI subscale of impulse control. More evidence needs to be presented to justify classifying DSH in that category.

Deliberate Self-Harm Syndrome was not accepted for inclusion in DSM-IV. Kahan stated possible political reasons for the rejection of his proposal (personal communication, Nov. 9, 1994). L. McQueen, DSM-IV coordinator, believes the proposal was turned down partly for political reasons (the psychiatric community does not always agree on hypotheses), but she cited lack of empirical evidence as the main basis for rejection (personal communication, Nov. 17, 1994).

Further research should be conducted to explore the possible causes, course and treatment of DSH. Research has indicated that DSH behavior diminishes remarkedly after age 30 (Johnson, Frankel & Ferrence, 1975; Pao, 1969). Perhaps possible organic or social causes should be explored. If the cause of DSH is not related to a current Axis I or II disorder, perhaps a primary diagnosis would prove beneficial.

Research has established that DSH is not suicidally motivated and that such individuals differ from their non-mutilating counterparts. Further research should examine the differences between mutilating and non-mutilating patients who have received the same diagnosis. In addition, self-mutilating patients from different diagnostic categories need to be compared to one another and to a control in order to ascertain whether they share a unique set of clinical signs and symptoms. If such research showed that the majority of self-

mutilating patients differed significantly from the non-self-mutilating patients in the same diagnostic category, and that they all share a cluster of characteristics or symptoms, a separate syndrome would be justified. As it stands, research indicates only that DSH differs from suicidal behaviors, and that it is a symptom of several other diagnoses.

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"GOLDIAMOND'S PARADOX"
Responding in the presence of S-minus
is sustained if it functions to protect
S-plus reinforcement opportunities.

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Many behavioral researchers accept a theory that bizarre and irrational behaviors are sustained by social reinforcement. This would lead one to expect the behavior to occur only in periods when social reinforcement was available. Clinical experience however indicates that these behaviors occur sometimes when social reinforcement is not available. Goldiamond described this as paradoxical for reinforcement theory and so the phenomenon is referred to as "Goldiamond's paradox". He attempted to resolve it by postulating that in order for bizarre behavior to be reinforced in social settings, it must sometimes occur in nonsocial settings when it cannot be reinforced. The present experiment was an attempt to determine whether this sort of contingency could be shown to work within a laboratory setting with six albino rats two of which served as control animals. Rats were reinforced with food for pressing a bar on a VI schedule during light-on periods and were placed on extinction during light-off periods. However, for the four experimental subjects to preserve the opportunity for reinforcement in a light-on period, they had to meet a response requirement during the preceding light-off period. The results indicate that this subtle contingency had the expected effect. The control animals (on Multiple VI 30 seconds/extinction) emitted between 80 and 82% of their presses during the light-on periods after 34 sessions. With the response requirement in effect for 55 sessions the experimental animals emitted only 60 to 77% of their presses during the light-on periods. After being shifted to the multiple schedule of the control animals for 34 sessions, the experimental animals' adjustment was protracted, with no animal having as much as 74% of its presses in the light-on periods.

BACKGROUND

The bizarre behaviors resulting from schizophrenia, general paresis, Alzheimer's disease, or brain damage often have an organic basis. Even with an organic basis for these behaviors many researchers maintain that the frequency of the behaviors is governed by reinforcement contingencies. Simple phobias which are considered to be the most common psychiatric disorder are sometimes considered to be based entirely on these contingencies (Riskind & Mercier, 1994). However these hallucinatory and irrational patterns are emitted sometimes at great costs to the individual (e.g., "...lost employment, incarceration, social stigmatization, and preemption of many other social opportunities...." Layng & Andronis, 1984, pg. 140). These symptoms, which are often as disturbing to the person as they are to people around them, may be looked at as patterns of behavior chosen by the person to obtain outcomes that are more meaningful to them than the consequences are harmful (Goldiamond 1975).

Bizarre and irrational patterns of behavior are labeled as such by clinicians who work with these clients based on their frequency of occurrence under conditions where there appear to be no rational outcomes. These behaviors are also considered pathological because they occur with high frequency despite resulting reinforcement cost or outright punitive consequences (Layng & Andronis, 1984). Goldiamond, however has shown that if the alternatives to these behaviors are

examined, the disturbing behavior pattern may be quite rewarding for the organism and be considered sensible (Goldiamond, 1973)

Identification of the exact contingencies involved is desirable in view of the high costs that these powerful controls involve in maintaining these patterns (Layng & Andronis, 1984).

The initial case history described by Goldiamond (1975) was that of a woman so terrified of cockroaches and other household vermin that "..... she is immobilized and stiffens uncontrollably ....." Her husband confirmed these complaints ".....he must wake up ahead of her every morning, sweep the floors to make sure they are clear of vermin, and prepare breakfast and bring it to her bedside, where they both eat together...." This support was necessary for her to get out of bed at all. Whenever the wife began to improve the husband immediately slackened this intense concern. Therefore the wife's abnormal behavior was the only way she could keep her husband's attention. However she suffered immense loss under this contingency. She could not return to the professional work she enjoyed, they had no social life, and she could not go out by herself. Her suffering and distress were genuine. Goldiamond concluded that all the attention from her husband had to be a very potent reinforcer to sustain such atypical behavior patterns. He noted that for this phobic pattern to continue to control her husband's behavior, however, it had to occur at times when there was no opportunity for reinforcement; that is, during the husband's absence. This is considered paradoxical because under normal operant conditions a behavior that is not reinforced (i.e., placed on an extinction schedule) will decrease and not be maintained. One way to escape from the paradox is to note that if patients behave irrationally only when reinforcement is available, people around them and indeed, the patients themselves will realize why the behavior is being emitted. Then when the reinforcement pattern became apparent, the reinforcement would be withheld. Therefore the contingency would remain in effect only so long as it did not occur exclusively at the convenience of the woman. Therefore reinforcement for irrational and bizarre behavior is often contingent not only upon the occurrence of the behavior when reinforcement is available but also the occurrence of the same behavior sometimes when reinforcement is not available. This idea that in order for these behaviors to be reinforced they must sometimes occur on occasions when they cannot be reinforced is Goldiamond's way of resolving the paradox. Hence 'Goldiamond's Paradox' came to refer to this type of contingency where an organism has to emit a behavior when not getting reinforced in order to be provided with the opportunity for reinforcement later(Chance, 1988).

The present experiment is an attempt to determine whether a contingency of the type Goldiamond imagines can be shown to work in a laboratory setting with rats.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were six experimentally naive albino rats (experimental #1, #2, #3, and #4, and control #2a and #2b) maintained at 80% of their free-feeding weights. Experimental subjects were two males and two females whereas the control subjects were both female.

Apparatus

"An operant conditioning chamber (Lehigh Valley Electronics 1578), measuring 25.5 cm by 25.5 cm by 23.4 cm, was used. The front panel included a response lever measuring 2.5 cm by 0.75 cm. It was located 3 cm from the right wall of the chamber and 3 cm from the floor of the chamber. A 28-V cue light (GE 1819) was located 3 cm from the right wall of the chamber and 3.5 cm above the response lever. Access to each 0.45-g Noyes food pellet was through an aperture (7 cm by 5.5 cm) positioned 2 cm from the floor and 7 cm from the right wall of the chamber. A one-way mirror (12.5 cm by 7.5 cm) was located on the back wall, 7.5 cm below the ceiling. On the ceiling were located a 125-V house light (7.5 W) and a speaker that introduced white noise into the chamber. The chamber was enclosed in a light- and sound-attenuating box (LVE 1642). The chamber was wired to electromechanical

programming equipment and to a cumulative recorder." (LeFrancois, J. R., & Metzger, B., 1993).

Procedure

Each naive subject was trained to eat from the magazine. Then lever-press responses were shaped by reinforcement of successive approximations. Continuous reinforcement was given for approximately 100 lever presses per subject. The subject was then exposed to a variable interval reinforcement schedule in order to establish baseline response rates. All sessions were 50 minutes in length. All subjects remained on this schedule for several days until they regularly earned the maximum amount of reinforcement for most sessions.

The two control subjects were then shifted to a multiple schedule with a VI 30 second component during light-on (S-plus) periods and an extinction component during light-off (S-minus) periods with each period lasting 1 minute (Mult., VI 30 seconds/Extinction with a 2 minute cycle). They remained on this schedule for a total of 34 successive, daily sessions. On such a schedule, it is typically observed that responding comes gradually to be concentrated in the S-plus periods. The usual measure of this change is a quantity called the Discrimination Index (DI) which is simply the percentage of each session's responses which occur during the half of the session conducted in the S-plus periods.

Before being shifted to the schedule described above, the four experimental animals were exposed to daily sessions in which the schedule in effect was one developed to express Goldiamond's notion that responding in S-plus could be reinforced only if some responding in the S-minus also occurred. This was the same schedule with a VI 30 second component during S-plus periods and an extinction component during S-minus periods with each period lasting 1 minute (Mult., VI 30 seconds/Extinction with a 2 minute cycle) as the one used with the control subjects except, that to put the standard VI 30 second schedule of food reinforcement into effect when the cue light was on (S-plus) the subject had to emit a certain number of lever presses during each S-minus minute. There is no standard name for such a schedule in the learning literature. We came to refer to it as the "Goldiamond" schedule. The "...certain number of responses..." required in the S-minus was set for each animal at 25% of its VI 30 second rate during the baseline sessions described earlier. That is, if a subject's baseline response rate on VI 30 second had been 20 responses per minute, that animal's Goldiamond requirement was set at five (i.e., for any S-minus minute in which fewer than five bar presses occurred, no food reinforcers could be earned during the next S-plus minute). Because there was no standard way to quantify the behavior on this schedule in the literature, the DI for each subject was used along with the percentage of periods in which the "Goldiamond" requirement was satisfied. We referred to this as the Satisfaction Index. Finally experimental subjects were shifted to the same VI 30 second/Extinction schedule described for the control subjects. They remained on that schedule 76 to 78 sessions.

RESULTS

On the "Goldiamond" schedule with the Goldiamond requirement in effect for 55 sessions the experimental animals' DI's lay between 60 and 77 percent at stability. The mean DI's for the last six sessions on this schedule are shown in Figure 1 (Phase 1). After 34 sessions, the control animals' DI's on Mult., VI 30 seconds/Extinction were 80 and 82 percent respectively at stability. The mean DI's for the last six sessions for the two control subjects are shown in Figure 1 (Phase 3). After the same number of sessions (i.e., 34) as the control subjects on the control schedule, no experimental animal had a DI higher than a 74 percent. The means for the 29th through the 34th sessions for the experimental subjects are shown in Figure 1 (Phase 3). The DI's for the experimental subjects even after being on the control schedule for 77 to 79 sessions were only between 56 percent and 89 percent. The mean for the last six sessions are shown in Figure 1 (Phase 4). All four experimental subjects' Satisfaction Indices rose to 92 to 100 percent in all sessions while on the "Goldiamond" schedule and stayed at that level until 30 to 40 sessions after the requirement had been removed.

Figure 1. Exp. #1 #2 #3 #4 Con. #2A #2B
Phase 1: Experimental schedule. Mean DI,s for the last six sessions for experimental subjects (sessions 50-55).
Phase 2: Control schedule. Mean DI's for the first six sessions after the response requirement was removed for experimental subjects (sessions 56-61).
Phase 3: Control schedule. Mean DI's for the 29th through the 34th session for the control subjects and the same sessions respectively for the experimental subjects (sessions 84-89).
Phase 4: Control schedule. Mean DI's for the experimental subjects in the last six sessions of the experiment (sessions 121-127).

DISCUSSION

The results indicate that this subtle contingency had the expected effect. The data are entirely consistent with what Goldiamond would expect based on his theory for irrational behavior. While on the "Goldiamond" schedule for 55 sessions the experimental subject's DI's never climbed higher than 77%. After being shifted to the multiple schedule of the control animals, the experimental animals' adjustment was protracted, with no animal having as much as 74% of its bar presses in the S-plus periods after the same 34 sessions as the control subjects. The first session after the Goldiamond requirement was turned off, all the subjects DI's dropped to between 50 and 60% and, during the following ten sessions, fluctuated between this and their previous values. Following these ten sessions the DI's remained between 50 and 60% for approximately 14 sessions. At that time the DI's slowly began to climb back to the values they held before the removal of the Goldiamond requirement. After 77 and 76 sessions, respectively, subject #1's DI had not exceeded 75%; subject #2's never exceeded 57%.

The data of the present experiment are suggestive of the effects of an avoidance schedule. Sidman (1960) described an experiment involving avoidance training with monkeys. During the avoidance training a clicker signaled the possibility for an avoidable shock for 5-minute periods alternating with 5-minute periods of silence. These shocks could be postponed for 20 seconds by emitting lever press responses. After the subjects had developed a steady rate of responding they were switched to a schedule in which the avoidance schedule was continued but where unavoidable shock was introduced once during each clicking period. The monkeys rate of response was facilitated, almost tripling. When the subjects returned to their normal response rate Sidman removed the avoidable shock. Lever pressing ceased during the silent periods, but for a long time persisted during the clicking periods. Sidman concluded that "It would take very little stretch of the imagination to class this behavior as pathological" (pg. 65). That is, from an adaptive point of view the persistence of lever pressing makes no sense because there is no reinforcement. Yet if examined closely these results actually show normal processes at work within a slightly unusual setting. Sidman concluded that the avoidance of shock is still the reinforcer for lever pressing, just a spurious one.

After all the monkey received only one unavoidable shock per 5-minute period; hence, only an extremely small proportion of lever pressing responses was actually punished. Considered from the subject's point of view, lever pressing seems to remain largely successful and the persistence of lever pressing during the clicking periods when only unavoidable shock was presented may be understood as avoidance behavior which the monkey continues to emit because of a combination of historically real and currently superstitious contingencies.

This behavior pattern is quite analogous with the pattern displayed in the present experiment. The Goldiamond contingency allowed the subjects to "avoid" loss of positive reinforcement by pressing the lever during S-minus. All four subjects learned to met this requirement a high percentage of the S-minus periods. The first session this requirement was turned off the DI's for all four experimental subjects dropped to between 50 and 60% the result of increased lever pressing during S-minus and decreased lever pressing during S-plus. This behavior is analogous to the facilitation in Sidman's study. After being on a the control schedule approximately 30 sessions this behavior started to break up for three of the subjects. The fourth subject however had a Satisfaction Index of 100% and a DI of less than 57% even at the close of the experiment.

This research has shown that this sort of contingency (the Goldiamond Contingency) is an effective one and could have maintained the behavior the woman emitted.

The implications of this research for clinical practice are interesting. Traditionally, phobias have been treated from a Pavolovian perspective by desensitizing the patients to the stimuli eliciting their irrational fear. However if the behavior is actually emitted because of a contingency of reinforcement, this treatment will not be effective. Clinicians should consider that the patient's behavior may be emitted to produce desirable and even logical consequences for the patient despite the distress they cause.

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CLOTHES PRESCHOOLERS WEAR

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ABSTRACT

Little research has linked the socialization process to the clothes preschoolers wear. Interpretation of clothes vary along contextual lines and seldom are clothes divorced from social content (Kaiser, 1990). The participants were 78 parents of preschoolers. This study examined descriptors defining social cognition. In addition, the relationship between the personal traits of parents, the clothes their preschoolers wear and the extent the child is socialized were discussed. Analysis revealed that clothes were not meaningful symbols of status or conformity.

INTRODUCTION

Clothing communicates. Clothing often provide cues that convey meaning, status, social and economic conditions. Therefore, the positive perception that clothes communicate has been documented (Kaiser, 1990; Lennon, 1990; Sproles & Burns, 1994). Since clothing is tangible, parents and other adults often use positive clothing perception to socialize preschoolers.

We know who we are by experimenting with the way we dress and from the way others respond to us. Sproles and Burns (1994) refer to this type of self evaluation as "consumer socialization". Beginning in early childhood, families slowly and in subtle ways socialize children by using a social configuration that already exist. The socialization process extend beyond the family when children extend their social contacts.

While it is widely accepted that one concept in the development of preschoolers is socialization, little research has linked the socialization process to the clothes preschoolers wear. Therefore, the purpose of this research study was to investigate: (a) personal traits of parents that attribute to the type of clothes their preschoolers wear, (b) to investigate the impact clothes have on the socialization of children and (c) to investigate the relationship between the personal traits of parents, the clothes their preschoolers wear, and the extent to which their children are socialized.

Clothes serve as signs; symbols that give meaning to the self. The social interactions between preschoolers, peers, teachers, and other adults play major roles in helping preschoolers define self. The preschool environment lends itself to social interactions and preschoolers begin to interact with others in meaningful ways. They begin to share in the meanings that people in their environment associate with social and physical objects. For example, when a teacher greets a preschooler in the morning with "don't you look cheerful today in that bright yellow jacket!" That child will begin to associate yellow with sunshine, brightness, happiness and pleasing the teacher. Until such expressions, from adults and significant others, are conceptualized, preschoolers have little or no interest in clothes.

Infancy and early childhood are characterized by investiture. Children at this age do not select their own clothing. They do not know how society expect them to dress. Yet, the child is still likely to be influenced by others' responses or observations (Kaiser, 1990). From the moment of birth, parents begin to assign social characteristics to their children. The traits assigned are evaluated in terms of gender... girls are soft, boys have a tight grip, and parents dress them accordingly. On the basis of color, observers can identify the sex of the baby. Parents communicate to outsiders the gender of the child on the basis of clothing cues. Therefore, it is not surprising that children between the ages of 2 & 3 can classify clothes and hairstyles from appearance symbols.

Preschoolers are very self-centered and they desire to be the center of attention. It is during this stage of development that the choice of children clothing can begin to be attributed to their selection rather than to investiture. Clothing preferences at this stage are related to several factors, including viewing their clothes as a way to help them identify with significant others and with themselves.

Even though preschoolers are learning various ways to use clothing and the importance of clothing, they still do not play a major role in the selection of their clothing. In fact, if preschoolers did, parents would realize the only aspect of clothing that appeals to preschoolers are: newness, colors, textures, and decorations. Mainly, because these factors draw attention to them.

When parents select their preschoolers clothing they often do so with their own personal traits or interests in mind. Parental traits considered are related to his or her values and attitudes about clothing, which will be influenced by perceptions of the product characteristics. Parents will use price, brand names, advertising, store image, shopping experiences and past experiences to form patterns of selections.

One cue that has affected perception of clothing preferences of parents has been brand labeling. Designer brand clothing has saturated the market place because of utilitarian, social, and personal reasons. Research by Baugh & Davis (1989) found that apparel items carrying designer labels were perceived as being of high quality. By virtue of a symbol or logo the use functions of an apparel item were greatly improved. Designer brands may be perceived as symbols of status, high image and prestige. Clothing one wears communicates these status symbols.

Parents are generally concerned about durability, price, fit, comfort to wearer, ease of laundering, color, child's attitude toward the garment and beauty. Parental values associated with the socialization process discussed in this research were placed into categories that described: becomingness, appropriateness, durability/price/care, conformity, and source of garment.

These traits are of little or no interest to preschoolers. Their only desire is to be noticed. It doesn't matter if they are wearing hand-me-downs or designer labels. To them a smile or frown is better than no attention at all. Yet, every year children's fashions grow in quantity and quality (Rieger, 1994). This growth is attributed to the buying practices of parents. Self attributes are very special forms of perception (Kwon, 1994). The influence of clothing in the enhancement of the self for the parent is emulated in the type of clothing that parent will select and purchase for his/her own child. Parents: tend to purchase more clothes for their first born, are more fashion and image conscious, are purchasing more expensive clothing because of status and individuality.

METHODOLOGY

A questionnaire developed by the researcher sought two types of data. The first part assessed the parents perceptions toward designer brand name clothing. Using a likert-type scale, a series of 43 items allowed for a response of (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Scores were calculated by adding each parent's score on all questions and dividing by the numbered answered. Thus, a high score indicated a high rating for purchasing designer brand clothing. The second part (7 questions) gathered demographic and background information on the parents.

Prior to administering the survey, a pretest of the instrument was administered to parents of preschoolers in the Human Sciences Department at North Carolina Central University. After refinement of the instrument the data was collected from a convenience sample of 78 parents who had preschoolers in 3 day care centers in the Research Triangle area in North Carolina.

Children of the participants ranged in age from 0 months to 5 years. Twenty-three percent (23%) of the preschoolers were 0-24 months old, and 15% were 2 years old. Twenty-two (22), 23, and 17% of the preschoolers were 3, 4, and 5 years old, respectively.

Fifty-two percent (52%) of the participants were female, 11% were male and 15% of the participants did not report gender. Of the 78 participants, 55% were white, 31% were black, 12% were Hispanic and 2% were Native Americans.

Parents were asked who influenced the clothing purchased for their preschooler. The parent filling out the questionnaire made the decision 41% of the time, while their children made the decision 21% of the time and their spouse 19% of the time.

Thirty-three percent (33%) of the parents spent 16-30% of their income on clothing. One parent spent as much as 50% while 13 spent 5% or less of their income on clothing purchases (Table 1).

Seventeen questions assessed personal and social characteristics of the parents. The traits were individuality, status, fashionability, conformity, ascribed roles, quality and whether or not they were impulse buyers. A majority of the participants purchased designer brands rather than name brand labeled clothing because of uniqueness of apparel item, and its appeal while shopping. Nineteen (19%) of the parents felt they were better parents when they purchased designer brands. Over 45% of the parents indicated that designer brands: made them feel well dressed, were more durable, and kept their color and shape longer.

When parents responded to questions that pertained to what their preschooler liked to wear, 54% of them said bright colors. Responses of 31, 33, and 35%, respectively reported that their preschoolers wore clothes that solicited compliments, that impressed others and attracted attention.

Fifty-eight percent (58%) of the parents strongly agreed that they purchased designer brand clothing when they were on sale. Thirty-nine percent (39%) indicated they purchased name brand clothing for special occasions while 32% of the parents said their preschooler asked for the clothing item (Table 2).

Chi square was used to assess the parents' preferences for designer brand and name brand labels as to where they were purchased. The researcher assumed that the preference for places to purchase were the same for designer labels as it was for name brand labels. The value of chi square was 25.51 ($x^2(7,N=468)=25.51$, $P=.01$. In other words there was a relationship between where parents shopped for their preschooler and whether they purchased designer labels or brand named items.

Table 1: Demographic and Background Information on Parents of Preschoolers (N=78)

	N	%
Age of Preschooler		
Age		
0-24 months	18	23
2 years	12	15
3 years	17	22
4 years	18	23
5 years	13	17
Gender of Parents		
Gender		
Female	52	67
Male	11	14
Other	15	19
Ethnicity of Parents		
Ethnicity		
White	43	55
African American	24	31
Hispanic	9	12
Native American	2	2
Who Purchased Clothing for Preschoolers		
Influences		
Parent completing survey	32	41
Children	16	21
Spouse	15	19
Parents	10	13
Others	5	6
Income Spent on Clothing Purchases for Family		
Percent of Income		
0-5	13	17
6-15	23	30
16-30	33	42
31-50	8	10
Over 51	1	1

Table 2: Personal and Social Traits of Parents

Traits	N	Design Label %	Brand Label %
Unique qualities	54	69	31
Only clothes worn	13	17	83
Clothes that impress	13	17	83
Status	11	14	86
Better parent	19	24	76
Preschoolers dress like me	30	38	62
Feel good when we dress alike	25	32	68
Preschooler dresses better	30	38	62
Happiness	10	13	87
Like the clothing item	48	62	38
Like being well-dressed	47	60	40
Like expensive looking clothing	24	31	69

Occupation	37	47	53
Express values, beliefs	37	47	53
Wore no designer labels as a child	11	14	86
Impulse buyer	49	63	37
Pay no attention to labels	28	36	64

CONCLUSIONS

There is certainly a need to exert caution in generalizing these findings to a larger population. However, results of this study lend support to the idea that a designer brand has intrinsic value for which some parents are willing to pay for.

Designer labels were not meaningful symbols of status or conformity for this group. Yet, Rieger (1994) found that designer named clothing constituted 38% of the children apparel market. The participants in this study did associate quality and individuality with designer labels. Results of this study supported similar studies in the literature pertaining to what preschoolers like to wear. Preschoolers like to wear clothes that please others. Whether or not parents are dressing their preschoolers for status is not clear, what is clear is that parents do buy designer brands when they are on sale, when they appeal to them and when their children ask for them.

Clothing has been used as indicators of social status and of expressing ones self concepts. Studies of relationships between social status, self concept and the socialization of children are very limited. Society in general plays a greater role in the socialization of its children. Parents will use clothing to help carry out this socialization. What socializing influences parental selections will have on the child's clothing preferences in later life are not known. This is only one issue that has emerged from this research that suggests a need for further study.

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The Influence of Race of Survivor, Status of Harasser, Intensity of Harassment, and Policy in Place on Women's Responses to Sexual Harassment

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Individually, past studies have shown the effects of status and intensity of harassment on reporting strategies. In this study, these variables, along with policy in place and race of survivor were incorporated in a 2X3X3X3 between subjects factorial design. A sample of 270 African-American and 189 white undergraduate/graduate female students were drawn from an HBI in the southeast. The dependent variable was first and second order of response chosen from 12 possible responses. The data revealed that under most conditions, except attempted rape, subjects chose to first verbally confront the harasser, and then report to on-campus authorities. Under conditions of attempted rape subjects chose to first report the incident to on-campus authorities and then to off-campus authorities. Order of response was also influenced by policy in place and status of harasser. Implications for school policies are discussed.

BACKGROUND

Although legal cases of sexual harassment (SH) have been documented dating as far back as 1899 (MacKinnon, 1979), the term SH did not come into general use until the 1980's when the problem of sexual intimidation of working women was finally recognized as a legal wrong, and researchers began documenting the rate of occurrence (Bursik, 1992). Almost all of the case law on SH is based on Title VII of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (Charney & Russell, 1994; MacKinnon, 1979). The Act authorized the creation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which defined and laid down guidelines specifying actionable misconduct (EEOC, 1980). Despite legal remediation, over 70% of women face SH in the workplace, and 30% of all female students on campus experience some form of SH (Hughes & Sandler, 1986) primarily from male instructors (McKinney, Olson, & Satterfield, 1988). It was not until the 1991 Supreme Court confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas, during which Anita Hill publicly testified that Thomas had sexually harassed her, that the long delays in responses of women to SH could be placed in historical context and understood (Crenshaw, in Morrison, 1992) in terms of the "insulting, threatening, and debilitating" nature of SH (p. 412). Cases such as the Tailhook and West Point scandal (Clines, 1994; Coughlin, 1994) revealed both the institutionalization of SH and the lengths to which individuals in authority and power would go to cover it up. These events, along with less publicized cases, reveal that SH functions to humiliate, degrade, and put women who struggle for positions of equal power in this society, firmly "in their place" (Fitzgerald, 1990; Malovich & Stake, 1990).

SH is encountered by women in all walks of life, but often goes unreported (Brooks & Perot, 1991). Women have indicated that they rarely take any formal or legal action, opting either to ignore the event or avoid the harasser (Reilly, Lott, & Gallogly, 1986). A number of factors determine the likelihood of an individual reporting SH, including severity of harassment (Sullivan & Bybee, 1987); perception of the event (Brooks & Perot, 1991; Powell, 1986); fear that the incident would be questioned or the individual stigmatized (Meek & Lynch, 1983); and ambivalence concerning grievance procedures and confidentiality (Sullivan & Bybee, 1987).

In 1990, Louise Fitzgerald grouped responses to SH in an attempt to predict with some accuracy under what conditions a particular response would occur (Fitzgerald, 1990). She codified the various responses into two

categories based on attribution theory: internal--characterized by detachment, denial, relabeling, illusory control, and endurance; and external--typified as avoidance, confrontation, seeking institutional help, social support, and appeasement. Analysis of internal/external scales showed an average reliability coefficient of .83. Further, a relationship was established between intensity of SH and the response set (internal/external): as intensity increased, responses became more external.

A study of women's actual responses to SH (Franzblau & Kaplan, 1991), revealed that white women tended to use internal rather than external strategies. Replicated at a predominantly Black college, Franzblau and Hubbard (1992) found that African-American women chose significantly more external strategies. In 1993, Franzblau and her colleagues (Franzblau, Balado, Brian, Everett, Fultz, and Sakisat, 1994) gave African-American and white subjects scenarios depicting a moderate act of SH, varying status of harasser and policy in place. Subjects were to choose one response from a list of ten possible strategies. It was revealed that status of harasser influenced choice of strategy, with a higher percentage of subjects in high status of harasser condition to report to authorities than confront (X^2=31.6, p<.0001). There were no influences of race and policy in place.

The aim of this study was to reexamine strategies selected by white and African-American women, varying intensity of harassment, status of harasser, and policies in place. The hypothesis was that type of policy, status of harasser, and severity of harassment will differentially influence the strategy selected. It was further hypothesized that Black and white women would respond similarly.

METHOD

A sample of 270 African-American (AA) and 189 white undergraduate and graduate female students (N=459) were drawn from the population at an historically Black university (HBI) in the southeast. Diversity ratio at this institution is 64% AA and 36% white. A 2(ethnicity) X 3(status of harasser) X 3(intensity of harassment) X 3(policy in place) between subject design was used. Each subject received one level of each independent variable in the form of a booklet, which included an instruction and demographic page (e.g., ethnicity, age, income, prior experience of sexual harassment in general and on this campus), a scenario page (varying status, intensity and policy) and a final page with a list of strategies appearing in one of three randomized orders. Subjects were to indicate which response the victim should choose first, second and third). The study was conducted with groups of students in the classroom and at registration. Paired trained experimenters whose race and gender varied, distributed consent forms, and then randomly distributed the booklets to the students. The study took approximately 20 minutes to complete.

RESULTS

SPSS/PC was used to analyze the results. Chi square analyses revealed that most subjects chose the following external responses: verbal confrontation, physical confrontation, talk to family and friends, report to school authorities, report to off-campus authorities. Too few or no subjects chose internal strategies. All other strategies were collapsed, and chi square analyses were performed on the remaining responses by ethnicity, status, intensity, and policy in place.

The first analysis controlled for status, looking at the influence of intensity on order of response. Under the higher status condition, order of response was similar under conditions of mild (verbal harassment) and moderate (touching breasts and thighs) harassment. Twenty-nine point four (29.4%) and 31.4%, respectively chose verbal confrontation (VC) and then report to school authorities (RSA). However, under the condition of severe harassment the order changed, with 25.5% of subjects choosing RSA and then report to off-campus authorities (ROCA). Under the equal status condition, the highest percentage of response order was 33.3% for mild harassment and 35.3% for moderate harassment; however, for attempted rape there was more variability in response order with 17.6% choosing RSA then ROCA, and 13.7% choosing physical confrontation (PC). Under the lower status condition, again we find a very high percentage of subjects in the mild (41.2%) and moderate (43.1%) conditions choosing VC, then RSA; however under severe harassment one fourth (25.5%) chose RSA, then ROCA. VC, then RSA was chosen by 13.7% of subjects (X^2=98.8, p<.001). (See Figure 1)

Place Figure 1 here

The second analysis controlled for status, looking at the influence of policy in place on order of response. Only high and lower status conditions were significant (X^2=64.6, $p<.05$). Under the high status condition with no policy in place, 19.6% of subjects chose RSA, then ROCA. Under the lower status condition this was reversed, with 25.5% choosing VC, then RSA, while 15.7% chose RSA, then ROCA. With a confidential policy, favoring the survivor, under high and lower status conditions, subjects chose VC, then RSA; however, a greater percentage chose this response set in the lower status (43.1%) than in the higher status (29.4%) condition. When the policy favored the harasser, VC, then RSA took precedent, with 25.5% in the higher status and 29.4% in the lower status condition choosing this order. However, under higher status, 15.7% chose RSA, then ROCA, while under the lower status condition the other response sets were minimally represented. (See figure 2)

Place Figure 2 here

The third analysis controlled for policy and looked at the influence of intensity on order of response. There were significant differences in order under all policy conditions (X^2=63.8, $p<.05$). Under mild and moderate intensity, across all policy conditions, a higher percentage of subjects chose VC, then RSA as their primary response order. Under mild harassment, the following percentages are worth noting: with no policy in place 23.5%, confidential policy 45.1%, favoring harasser 35.3%. Under moderate harassment, the following percentages are worth noting: with no policy in place 29.4%, confidential policy 41.2%, favoring harasser 39.2%. Under moderate intensity we also begin to see the appearance of PC with 15.7% VC, then PC; and 9.8% PC, then RSA. Under attempted rape the order of response changes significantly: RSA, then ROCA is chosen by 25.5% under both no policy and confidential policy, while 17.6% is chosen under policy favoring the harasser. This is the subjects' first choice of response. Under no policy, once again PC is represented by 21.6% of subjects and under policy favoring the harasser it is represented by 9.8% of subjects. VC, then RSA is represented as the third choice of order under no policy (9.8%), under confidential policy as the second choice of order (15.7%), and under policy favoring the harasser as equally represented with PC, RSA (9.8%). (See Figure 3)

Place Figure 3 here

It is interesting to note that out of 459 subjects involved in this study, seventeen percent (n=74) indicated that they had been sexually harassed at this institution. Out of these 17%, 75% indicated mild harassment, 23% indicated moderate harassment, and 2% indicated severe harassment. Of the same 74 subjects, 73% indicated they were harassed by someone of equal status, 25% by someone of higher status, and 2% by someone of lower status.

CONCLUSION

Overall, a high percentage of subjects under most conditions chose the first and second order of response: verbal confrontation, then report to school authorities, suggesting a cultural response set. However, this order of response changes in important ways. The severity of the harassment (attempted rape) affected a change in the response set under all conditions of status. A higher percentage of subjects under this condition chose report to school authorities and then report to off-campus authorities. These percentages were lower than the choice of verbal confrontation, report to school authorities under mild and moderate harassment, indicating some ambivalence in deciding what to do. Thus, it was clear that more students under conditions of attempted rape chose to rely on both kinds of authority rather than to verbally confront before going to school authorities. We also see that under conditions of no policy, under the higher status condition, subjects predominantly chose first to go to both authorities. This at first seems contradictory; however, we could argue that when there is no policy in place, a greater number of survivors rely on authorities to help them, given the differences in power sexual harassment implies. When any policy is in place, either favoring the survivor or harasser, subjects seem to favor first verbally confronting and then reporting to school

authorities. Thus, it seems that in terms of empowering the survivor, any policy in place is better than no policy at all. Only under a confidential policy in the higher status condition does the response set verbal confrontation, talk to family and friends emerge. This suggest that subjects are willing to more widely discuss the harassment when the policy favors them and the person harassing them is in a higher position of power. Overall, intensity of harassment and status of harasser drive the order of choices of response; still a policy in place, no matter what kind, leads to reliance on authorities. Physical and verbal confrontation appear as choices of response under moderate and severe harassment. In the case of moderate intensity physical and verbal confrontation appears when a policy is in place, but under severe harassment it appears when there is no policy or a policy favoring the harasser. Therefore, under confidential policy conditions women may not need to use physical or verbal confrontation, relying instead on authorities. Thus, a policy favoring the survivor might be the most prudent and least confrontational policy an institution might adopt.

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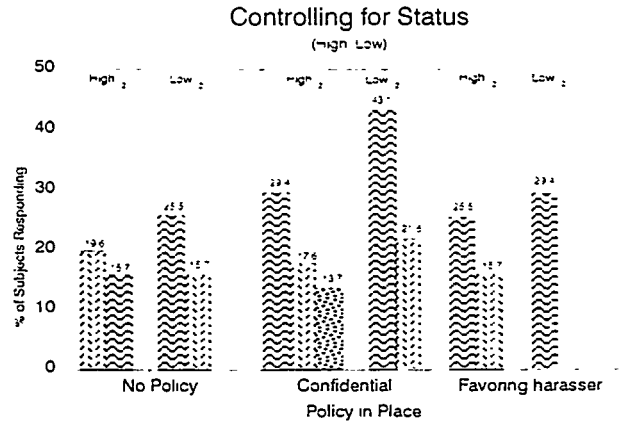
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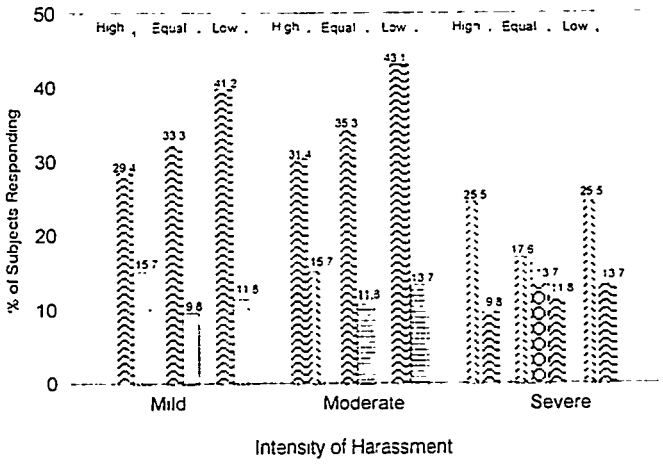
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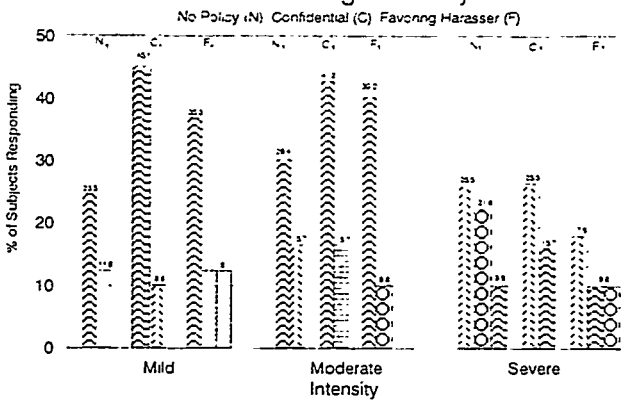
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Response Set Legend

-11 7 report to school authorities talk to family and friends
-10 12 verbal confrontation physical confrontation
-10 7 verbal confrontation, talk to family and friends
-10 11 verbal confrontation report to school authorities
-11 8 report to school authorities report to off-campus authorities
-12 11 physical confrontation report to school authorities
-11 10 report to school authorities, verbal confrontation

1 P< .001
2 P< .05

Pedagogy and Practice in Academic Sociology: A Qualitative Study

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Professional sociologists employed by universities are compelled - by the formal and informal reward structures of the department - to function simultaneously in several roles. In order to examine the nature of these roles, potential conflicts among them, and their relation of the professional practice of university sociology a series of semi-structured interviews were conducted with a small (N=11, 100%=21) sample of professors from the Sociology Department of a large, public, SEC University. Analysis of gathered data suggested an ideal-typical classification schema for individual sociologist's professional role orientations. This categorization scheme will be explicated in relation to a preliminary analysis of undergraduate pedagogy in the subject department.

INTRODUCTION

In most university departments the professorial role complex consists of , but is not limited to, teaching, active scholarly research (publication and presentation) and administrative service components. The emphasis placed on these roles varies across departments, institutions and individuals. Nevertheless, there appears to be a professional stigma attached to the practice of the pure teaching role (Goldsmid & Wilson, 1975:25). This ideological bias is reinforced by departmental and professional emphases upon active scholarly production which attach greater status to the research role.

The majority of university professors spend more time on undergraduate pedagogy than on research related activities (Finkelstein, 1984:88) and yet the teaching is less prestigious than research in contemporary academia. In order to examine sociologist's individual reactions to their multiple subroles and to consider the effects of each role's status upon the practice of undergraduate pedagogy a detailed qualitative study of professorial attitudes and role orientations in a single university department was undertaken.

Method

A cover letter and brief biographical questionnaire were mailed to each member of the subject institution's department of sociology. This preliminary mailing was followed up by telephone requests for interviews The interview itself was semi-structured with a prepared script of fifteen questions. Eleven interviews, ranging in length from 25 minutes to 3 hours, were conducted Time constraints and differential interest among subjects accounted for the extreme variation in interview length. The interviews were tape recorded and directly transcribed. Supplementary classroom observations were made when time and energy allowed. Sample syllabi and available departmental and institutional literature were also conducted in order to provide depth to the analysis. However, interview responses were understood to be the primary data for analysis

Eleven subjects agreed to be interviewed. The sample was composed of eight (8) Professors, four (4) Associate Professors and zero (0) Assistant or Adjunct Professors.

Ten (10) of the subjects were male, one (1) female. One minority faculty member, an Associate Professor, was interviewed.

FINDINGS

Respondents have been tentatively arranged into three analytic categories: 1) "Researchers," who demonstrate a primary orientation toward the activities and rewards associated with active scholarly production and a strong commitment to the profession at large. 2) "Academics," who hold that scholarly and pedagogical roles can and should be strongly complementary, and 3) "Teachers," professors with a strong commitment to pedagogy and their employing institution and little or no overt commitment to active scholarly research. These three categories should be understood to be less than discrete. The operational definitions provided above merely represent ideal types of professorial role orientations. In practice these categories are best conceptualized as points on a continuum upon which individual subjects can be placed with varying degrees of accuracy.

Researchers

More than half of the subjects (6) could be placed on the "researcher" end of the continuum. Four of seven Professors and two of four Associate Professors indicated a primary orientation toward research. Subject #1, a female Associate Professor stated:

> For me it [teaching] plays a secondary role. My primary interest is in research. I teach in part because it is required for me to do my research. If I didn't have to teach four courses a year I wouldn't. I would probably teach one . . . I do enjoy it, but it's demanding and takes me away from what I really prefer to do.

This subject's comment indicates a primary orientation toward the research role. This does not imply that she is a poor or diffident teacher; only a personal preference for the activities and rewards associated with scholarly rather than pedagogical pursuits. Her comments are mirrored by Subject #2, a male associate professor who stated:

> I think really the principle activity of sociology is research and the analysis that goes with that, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of social processes and structures. The teaching is where we transmit that to others. If you asked me whether I was a teacher in the same way as a person who is a teacher at a community college or a high school I would say not. I teach mainly because it is what the state pays me to do.

These comments share several important similarities. Neither explicitly denigrates the teaching role while both place a greater emphasis on research. Both of these subjects also explicitly state that they teach because it is required of them by their employer. These similarities are characteristic of statements made by researchers; the majority of my subjects.

Academics

Four subjects' (N=11) comments indicate an essentially academic professional orientation. Three (3) of those subjects were Professors, one (1) and Associate. The following comments, made by Subjects #3 and 4 respectively, are characteristic of beliefs held by academically oriented individuals:

> Most people don't have a sense of the interplay between learning, that is to say publishing, and teaching. The two can and ought to go together. Now I've been in the business twenty years and you're an undergraduate at New so we know they don't always go together. So that's an ideal. In my opinion I'm more successful than a lot of people at keeping the two tasks together, letting my teaching invigorate my writing an vice versa, because I don't specialize as much as is the norm.

> Teaching is very important to me personally, on average it is less important. Teaching led me to graduate work. When I taught at a master's level I was a textbook teacher, that bothered me. So I got A Ph.D to become a better teacher. Teaching requires a level of expertise beyond that of the textbooks. you've got to know more than the textbooks. So, teaching is a big part of my self conception.

The beliefs expressed above revolve around the contention that good teachers are scholarly teachers Intellectually active teachers are invested in activities which further their own learning At a professional level active research is the primary means of learning Therefore, good teachers must have complementary commitments to both their research and teaching roles, in short, they must be academically oriented

Teachers

A single respondent demonstrated a primary orientation toward the teaching role He is a male Associate Professor and twenty year member of the department. His expressly pedagogical leanings are demonstrated by comments like the following:

> It [teaching] is a very important part of who I am Many times I have caught myself saying that all I ever wanted to be was an excellent teacher, that I didn't have any other professional aspirations than that . .In terms of aspirations I think it was my most powerful inducement to get a Ph.D. in sociology

This subject identifies almost entirely with the teaching role Indeed, throughout our interview, he referred to teaching as his primary means of professional fulfillment. He is also the recipient of several departmental and institutional awards for excellence in teaching.

The schema, and indeed the categories that I have described are simplistic and fail to take into account numerous environmental and personal factors which could, and undoubtedly do influence individual role orientation However, the fact that the majority of my subjects, and a majority of the highest ranking individuals in the department are oriented primarily toward research while only one individual's comments indicate a primary orientation toward teaching implies that, at least in this department, a strong identification with the research role is much more common than a corresponding orientation toward pedagogy.

A close analysis of the data demonstrates that when applied to subject's beliefs about undergraduate pedagogy the continuum elucidated above begins to blur Without exception Sociologists in my subject department teach with 'traditional' lecture and discussion Differences across categories of orientation begin to arise when the nature of undergraduate sociology as a discipline is considered by subjects. This is particularly the case when general pedagogical styles are considered. For our purposes two very general pedagogical styles can be distinguished: 1) student centered pedagogy, which focuses more on the development of the individual student's capacities for critical thought and less on the transference of a specific body of knowledge, and is characterized by a less authoritarian classroom style, a greater emphasis on student participation and the discussion of abstract, 'open,' questions; and 2) subject centered pedagogy, characterized by a concern with teaching information, a strictly hierarchical classroom, a minimum of student participation and the discussion of 'closed' or factual questions

Without exception research oriented professors practice a subject centered pedagogy Only a single academically oriented subject appears to demonstrate this style. The remaining respondents, three academics and the teacher practice, to one extent or another, and essentially student centered pedagogy. Nevertheless, all four 'student centered' subjects indicate a great deal of frustration with the structural constraints (large classes, heavy teaching loads, grade oriented evaluation and lack of prerequisites) which constrain student centered pedagogical approaches in a university setting.

The divide across student and subject oriented pedagogical approaches is reflected by subject beliefs about the nature of undergraduate sociology as a discipline. Every subject, with the exception of the 'teacher,' argued that there is a wide gulf between what is taught and learned in undergraduate classrooms and Sociology as an academic and professional discipline In essence, subjects argued that undergraduate sociology is simply not 'real' sociology.

Differences in this belief across orientation categories arise when the degree of distance between undergraduate sociology and 'real' sociology is considered The majority of research oriented faculty hold that it is the students themselves who preclude the teaching of real sociology at the undergraduate level. This belief is characteristically supported by the argument that undergraduate students undertake sociology, even as majors, as an exercise in the liberal arts and thus are capable and desirous only of learning to " broaden their understanding of the world using sociological notions "

The bulk of research oriented subjects seem interested in producing undergraduate students who are capable of using , essentially naively, 'sociological notions' to expand their own understanding of their social world.

In contrast the bulk of academic subjects and the single teacher hold that what keeps them from teaching 'real' sociology is not the students, but the structural constraints which mitigate against student centered pedagogical styles These subjects seem to believe that 'real,' that is to say research oriented, sociology could be taught at an undergraduate level were it not for the constraints which prevent a great deal of individual interaction between students and professors. In keeping with this belief this group of subjects seems to take as their goal the production of undergraduate students who are, if not active producers then at least adept consumers of sociological knowledge. In doing this the more 'student centered' group moves undergraduate sociology closer to the level of 'real,' professional practice.

CONCLUSIONS

The majority of faculty in the subject department demonstrate a primary orientation toward the research role and a consequent pedagogical focus which is highly subject oriented and geared toward the use of 'sociological notions' to strengthen an exercise in liberal arts education. It has been impossible to determine whether these subjects' professional orientations result in this particular pedagogical approach. It seems that a strong argument could be made for the contention that a subject oriented approach, combined with the belief that undergraduate sociology has little or nothing to do with the discipline at large, could cause a lack of personal investment in pedagogical activity.

By the same token, academically and educationally oriented faculty appear to be more dedicated to a student centered pedagogical style. These subjects narrow the gulf between undergraduate and professional sociology by attempting to produce effective consumers of disciplinary knowledge rather than simply liberally educated students.

Across both groups a frustration with and understanding of constraints imposed on teaching by the structure of the university prevails. It is quite possible that these structural constraints, rather than individual professional orientations are the most telling factor in determining the nature of undergraduate education in the discipline.

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Poor, Young, Black Males = Three Strikes

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According to the sentencing project in Washington, D.C. (1990), one in every four young Black males are either behind bars or on parole. The unemployment rate for young Black males is twice that of their white counterparts. In 1992 the unemployment rate for African Americans aged 16 and older was 14.7% compared to 6.5% for Whites. This paper presents excerpts of interviews with four young Black males who were involuntary clients incarcerated at a wilderness camp in Tennessee. They speak of what it is like to be a young Black male growing up in the projects, and their thoughts on their future.

INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to deny that race is a factor in American society. Racial and ethnic prejudice in the U.S. has its roots in the historical development of our country (Garcia, 1989). And despite legislative victories prejudice and discrimination against African Americans has endured and still permeates every facet of life.

The symbolism of white as positive and black as negative is pervasive in our language (Moore,1976). As early as preschool, children perceive the color black as bad or evil and the color white as good. (Garcia, 1989). Research (Katz, 1981) demonstrates that racial awareness is evident in children by age three. Societal stereotyping of young black males as "dumb", "deprived", "dangerous", "deviant" and "disturbed" further erodes their self-esteem (Gibbs, 1988).

Poussaint (1983) observed that, "Many of the problems of the Black community are related to institutionalized racism, which fosters a chronic lack of Black self respect, predisposing many Blacks to behave self-destructively and with uncontrollable rage". Kunjufu (1985) posited that there was and is a "conspiracy" to destroy Black boys by the following societal institutions: schools, government, media, businesses, and the judicial system. Gibbs (1985) compares the critical state of the African American male ages 15 - 24 to that of "an endangered species". The following interviews illustrate that it is easy to feel the rage, when the frustration builds. It is easy to feel the rage, when three strikes are called before one even gets a chance to play. This is the reality for many impoverished, young, Black males.

This paper examines the social conditions for poor, African American males. Have conditions improved or deteriorated? What are the relevant social factors which impact on these individual's lives? What are their perceptions of their educational and economic opportunities and social mobility? Have they been affected by crime, violence and drug abuse? What are their plans for the future?

Through the use of ethnographic interviews the writer attempts to answer these questions by developing four profiles of African American males ages 13 - 18, incarcerated at a wilderness camp. These individuals participated in a series of three interviews. Two of these interviews were conducted in a group setting, the final interview was an individual interview. These young men spoke about the environment in which they were raised and what it is like to be a Black male raised in poverty. (The names of the participants in these interviews have been changed.)

Art is thirteen years old and illiterate. He is quiet to the point of being withdrawn. He has suffered parental neglect and has resided in numerous foster homes.

Lee is a childlike, fun loving sixteen year old. He is loud, mischievous and boisterous.

Bradley is almost eighteen years old, a quiet, sensitive youth, with a reserved smile. He likes sports and art. He too is illiterate.

Dwight is a natural leader with a million dollar smile. He is a fifteen years old. He wants to go to college and major in business.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES / SOCIAL MOBILITY

Nearly half of African American youths live in families where income is below the poverty level (Gibbs, 1988). Twenty three percent of all Black youths live in public housing (Landes et al, 1994). A 1984 study by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development showed that Blacks had a 27% chance of encountering discrimination in rental housing (Cyrus, 1994).

Early patterns of black settlement followed that of previous immigrant groups. The older sections of the cities provided low cost housing and public transportation. While previous immigrants were absorbed into the larger society, discriminatory practices in housing have restricted the ability of the African American to do so (Mack, 1970).

> Art: I don't like living in the projects. Every time you live in the projects something happens. When I go to school I get ganged or something. They don't fight one - on - one They'll kill you - they gang people just for fun. All my friends have ganged somebody They gas me up to do it... In the beginning I did good in school. Got As and Bs - but then we moved. I started getting in trouble, hung out with the wrong crowd. They told me they were going to break into some houses. They gassed me up so I went with them and did it too.

> Bradley: I was brought up in the projects. Selling drugs is the only way to make money. I tried to get a job and Krogers wouldn't hire me. I went to another place and they said they would let me know. For two weeks they still didn't call me back. My brother was already selling, so I asked him could I sell dope because I couldn't find a job.

Employment is an issue. In August, 1993, the national unemployment rate was 6 7%, for Black teenagers the rate was 31 4%. Kirschenman and Neckerman (1991) interviewed employers in Chicago and surrounding Cook County between the years of 1988 and 1989. These interviews show that employers view inner city workers, especially Black men as unstable, uncooperative, dishonest and uneducated.

> Lee: It is like this. The White man, he gots power. They never want to give it up. I saw this picture in a magazine, it was a Black man surrounded by a bunch of White people, and he is smiling, but with his hand he is pulling off a mask covering a frown. That was just like saying he had to kiss the White man's butt to keep his job. Like if he really tells the White man what is on his mind he'll lose his job. White man really don't want to give us a job. It is hard for us to get jobs at restaurants and like that

CRIME, VIOLENCE AND DRUGS

According to the Sentencing Project Report in Washington, D.C.(1990), one out of every four young, Black males is either behind bars or on parole. The minority incarceration rate is 3-4 times that of white youths (Krisberg, 1987). But not only are Blacks more likely to be incarcerated, they are also more likely to be the victims of crime. Blacks comprise about 12 % of the U. S. population, yet 41% of homicide victims are Black (Roberts, 1987). The leading cause of death for Black males ages 15 - 24 is homicide. (Gibbs, 1988)

> Dwight: I shot a person once, but my cousin, he killed this dude. We were at this house where they sell beer & gamble. I was 14, and my cousin, he was 17. We were out there selling and this dude tried to cheat. When he went outside my cousin made him strip buck naked then started shooting at his feet, next thing I know he's laying there, and my cousin's telling me to get in the car and let's go. Nobody never said anything & the police never came around. The ambulance came & got the body. My cousin didn't do no time.

> Lee: One time my cousin was driving around trying to buy two ounces. They were driving around the park, looking for this dude my uncle usually got it from. This dude said he would be right back. The guy came back and he had a gun.. a pump or something He shot it right next to my cousin's foot. He said, "Set your change out". My cousin pulled out his gun and shot him in the chest and kept on shooting him until he fell back. Then they took off running and hid out. My uncle called the house and said what had happened, and they tried to stay hid. It was on the news.

Gang violence is not new in America. In colonial times outlaw groups like "The Sons of Liberty" expressed their opposition to British rule. Brantley and DiRosa (1994) reported on a 1992 survey which estimates there are 4,881 gangs with 250,000 members operating in the nation. But why do youths join gangs? Economics are one reason, while others join gangs in an attempt to satisfy needs unfulfilled in other aspects of their lives The proliferation of gangs can be seen as a reaction to what youths view as the social reality (Brantley et al, 1994). While most gangs are local, two L.A. based gangs, the Bloods and the Crips operate on a national level.

> Art: All my life I've lived with Bloods. It is really rough. If I'm wearing red and go some places in Chattanooga I'll get ganged The Crips don't like red and the Bloods don't like blue It is really violent. If I go where I live at with all blue on and they see me - I'll get ganged - whether they are my friends or not. It is just the way they do stuff.

Drugs provide an escape, a temporary escape from the harsh conditions of life, and seemingly an escape from the poverty All the youths interviewed admitted to an involvement with drugs.

> Lee: Yeah, I 've sold. When I had all that money I thought I was on top of the world. .I don't like to sell it to people when they get real skinny. One time this woman came over and she said, "Let me buy some dope from you, buy $60". And she gave me her check and driver's license so I could cash it. She went behind the trailer and smoked it, and you know, her kid was back there. He ain't nothing but three or four, and he was back there watching and stuff and he said, "Mama, I'm hungry." You know I started to give her check back and just say, "Forget it" - but you know, I couldn't do that 'cause I was selling for somebody. I couldn't just give the money away. It was somebody else's money. If it was mine I might have gave her $15 - 20 and told her to get her kid something to eat. But you know she probably would have smoked that. You can never give no crackhead nothing.
>
> Once I went to see this man who sold dope; and I saw this man sitting out in the car, he was a real bad junkie. And this little one went down to the car and gets the $20 and then a woman came out, and pointed to the little boy and said, "He gots it", and the little boy brought it to the car. He didn't know no better. He was about two or three and was just wearing drawers. I said to her, " Why you got him doing that?" She handed him a dollar and said,"'Cause he knows what he's doing".

> Bradley: I made good money...about $300 a week. Making $300 a week is like saying I really didn't want to sell drugs. I was trying to get a job before it happened, but no one would give me one, so that's the only thing I had to do 'cause my mom, she was struggling. She had to pay bills and everything. That's what I had to do...Sell drugs. I know some black men that have jobs, 18 - 20 year olds, but not enough of them.
>
> Drugs are one of the biggest problems facing the Black community now. It is the money. The money is evil. You see it is like this. If I see someone with a lot of clothes, lots money and dope, I want to kill him just to get it, 'cause I'm jealous. That's one of the reasons everyone is dying right now. I want to rob him just to get the money.
>
> The same people come back to me, 'cause they know my stuff is good. If they smoke it and say, "Can I have 2 -3 more " then I might give them some fake ones, Goody powder or flour or baking soda. I sell them that. They don't know if it is real or not 'cause they done already had one. They're already on it. They'll come back for more the next day. Think it is real but it is fake. If you're not gonna sell it, they'll just get it from somewhere else. I know this dude, and his Mama came up, asking him for some, and he said, "No", 'cause he's trying to get her to stop. She went over and got messed up from somewhere else. Everyone's just looking at her. That's sad. Her own son's looking at her doing it.

EDUCATION

In 1986 there were more Black men aged 20 - 29 incarcerated, on parole or probation then there were Black men of all ages in college (Reed, 1988) Only 68% of Blacks age 25 and over had at least a high school diploma The rate for whites in this age group was 81% (Landes et al, 1994)

Dwight: Education is not a big value in our community Most of the ones who want to go to college it is for sports Most don't want to go just for, you know, (education) half will end up dropping out of school. That's a proven fact.

A recent research study revealed that seventy percent of black students who enroll in four year colleges dropout at some point (Baker, 1995).

FUTURE

These youths all spoke of how society has devalued the black man. And indeed blacks suffer from high rates of infant mortality, 17.6 per 1000 live births versus 7.3 for whites. Black men also have the shortest life expectancy at 65.5 years. White men have an average life expectancy of 73.2 years (Landes et al, 1994). Since 1960 the suicide rate for black males age 15 -24 has tripled (Gibbs, 1988). In spite of the grim statistics these boys have all given thought to their future.

Art: When I leave this program I'm gonna go to Independent living. I ain't going home and hang out with the same crowd. When I get out I'm gonna try to get me a job.
Lee: I think this program is helping me. I'm realizing as my days go by that if I go back out in the street ,mess up, I'll be in another place like this, maybe worse. The lord will help you out, you just have to meet him halfway. I'm going to try and build a stronger relationship with my mom, and get a job.
Dwight: When I get out of here I'm going back to live with my mom, and you know, I plan on going to college majoring in business and management. I ain't going to involve myself with the negative people I was involved with.
Bradley: I hate to say this but once you get to selling drugs you can't quit. When I get out of camp I'm gonna have to go back to doing what I have to do...What I was doing before. If I get in trouble, I get in trouble. I'd rather go ahead and sell as be killed. 'Cause the man I 'm selling for, he don't want me to quit. 'Cause he might think I'm a snitch. Once you get in, you can't quit. It is just like being in a gang, you can't quit. I have to go back, I have to sell.

CONCLUSION

These interviews demonstrate that the social reality for these young men must be changed if we are, in fact, to stop the parade of human casualties which are the result of institutionalized racism, poverty and urban decay. Conditions have not improved for these youths, but in fact, have deteriorated. Society must intervene early to change this vicious cycle of self destruction by targeting the major social institutions which perpetuate these inequalities. As Gibbs (1988) writes:

> We cannot and must not wait for more comprehensive theories, more elegant research designs, or more clinical or epidemiological data to illuminate the causes of these self-destructive behaviors. The evidence is overwhelming that young black men are truly endangered--not only indirectly from society's neglect and abuse, but quite directly from their own actions and activities. They have been neglected too long and their situation is now terminal...Policies and programs need to be instituted to reverse this epidemic of life threatening behaviors...

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Race and Identity: A Study of Biracialism

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Negative literature on marginality tends to categorize biracial people as being "Tragic Mulattos." The literature focuses on the negative side of marginality such as feelings of psychological distress and divided loyalties. Due to American society's emphasis on categorizing race, many biracial people feel they need to choose one race over the other. This study examines the interviews of Lise Funderburg's book, Black, White, Other: Biracial Americans Talk About Race and Identity. Through extensive analysis of the interviews, it can be shown that marginality may occur as a positive developmental process.

INTRODUCTION

The thesis develops an understanding of marginality and how it affects biracial people in America. Marginality is a social concept which is used to describe " any person who does not fit into the mainstream mould [sic] and who, for whatever reason straddles two or more conflicting social identities" (Wilson, 1987). Also, for the purpose of this study, biracial refers to "the common experience of having parents with two distinct racial identities, specifically one is black and one is white" (Funderburg, 1994). Throughout history, American society has placed a strong emphasis on racial categories; because of this many biracial people feel they need to choose one race over the other in order to fit in society. Because of this tension placed by sociey to choose (race), biracial people may feel included and excluded from the white and black community alike. An experience such as this may cause some feelings of distress and ambivalence toward their own racial identity. Such feelings and societal pressures may place many biracial people in a marginal situation. But does a marginal situation necessarily have to be a negative experience?

Literature and studies of marginality in the past focused on the negative side of marginality, such as mixed race people being temperamental, hypersensitive, moody and ambivalent (Dworkin and Gist, 1973). This literature tended to generalize all biracial people together as being "Tragic Mulattos." Even today the prevailing view of current literature suggests that biracial people will have identity problems because of their ambiguous social position (Wilson, 1987). The current literature also suggests that biracial children are bound to suffer from a divided loyalty towards both races and "despite the liberalization of attitudes to intermarriage, mixed race children are still regarded as a psychologically disadvantaged group; and sociological thought has inevitably been influenced by this view" (Wilson, 1987). Views such as the above tend to burden the biracial person and give them negative reinforcement that they will never be "normal" and will never totally fit in mainstream society. Such literature and theories need to be reexamined and modified to explore the possibilities of marginality being more of a positive developmental experience given the proper settings.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Literature on the sociology of marginality dates back to the early 1900's with the first works written by Georg Simmel with his paper titled "The Stranger" (Dworkin and Gist, 1972). Simmel stated that "The Stranger" is one who is not of the group in which he participates but "imports qualities into the group which do not and cannot stem from the group itself" (Dworkin and Gist, 1972). Because the Stranger is not from the group, "they bring a unique objectivity: because of this they are marginal" (Dworkin and Gist, 1972).

The term "marginality" was first coined by Robert Park in 1928. Park suggested that individuals who were caught between two conflicting social groups were prone to feelings of divided loyalty, social unease and psychological distress (Wilson, 1987). Park later applied his

theory of the marginal individual to mestizo and mulatto people because of their physical differences between their parents and themselves (Dworkin and Gist, 1972). Park felt that people of mixed racial heritage were the best candidates to test his theories on marginality. This was evident to Park because mulattos were caught between the prejudice of two social worlds, while attempting to move from one social world to the other: belonging to both and neither at the same time (Wilson, 1987). Finally, Park did believe that psychological uncertainty was not totally negative and there were some merits to marginality, such as the insights in the workings of both cultures. Making the marginal experience positive or negative depended on the individual (Wilson, 1987).

Everett Stonequist, an associate of Park, later altered Park's model of marginality. Stonequist focused on marginality as being a painful state for which people would seek any means to escape (Wilson,1987). Stonequist suggested that there was a "typical life cycle" which applied to most people in marginal situations. The typical life cycle occurs in three phases: The first stage or the premarginal stage occurs in childhood, when the mulatto child strongly identifies with the dominate white group. But this stage is soon curbed when the child was forced to realize they did not belong with the white dominate group. The second phase is when the marginal personality has emerged, along with feelings of ambivalence, moodiness, and divided loyalty (Wilson, 1987). Finally in the last phase a response or an adjustment occurs. Stonequist says, "The marginal condition of ambivalence could be permanate, it could equally be a brief period of transition leading to a more stable period of acceptance" (Wilson, 1987). Stonequist felt the only way mulattos could escape the marginal situation was to assimilate into the dominate or subordinate culture.

More current works on marginality include theories of marginality being more of an individual phenomenon than a group experience of being torn between two social worlds. Works done by Aaron Antonovsky (1953) proposed that individual adaptations to the marginal situation are not uniform and responses to the situations are variable. In 1963, Erving Goffman published the book, Stigma: Notes on the Maintanenance of a Spoiled Identity, which discusses the stigmatized person interactions with others who are not stigmatized. The book also focuses on how the stigmatized person feels about themselves and what strategies are used to cope with their rejection of others (Goffman, 1963). The most current work of literature under review is titled, Mixed Emotions: Certain Steps Toward Understanding Ambivalence; written in 1991 by Andrew Weigert. Weigert's book discussed ambivalence as conflicting emotions, contradictory attitudes, and conflicting definitions of self. Weigert also explains ambivalence as being positive or negative depending on the individual's actions and their environment.

It was difficult finding current works on marginality. Most if not all works are based on some version of Park and Stonequist's theories. Most of the theories on marginality were presented in a negative light, such as the person experiencing marginality as being doomed. As mentioned before theories on marginality need to be modified and explore all the possibilities, not institutionalize the negative.

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on forty-six interviews from Lise Funderburg's book Black, White, Other: Biracial Americans Talk about Race and Identity (1994). Funderburg's interviews were conducted January 1992 through January 1993. The subjects from the interviews are biracial, specifically having one parent who is African American and another of Caucasian decent. The subjects ranged from seventeen to sixty-two in age and came from various socio-economic backgrounds; and an equal number of men and women are featured. The subjects were found and selected by Funderburg placing ads in newspapers, flyers, newsletters, bulletins, and by word of mouth. The interviews were taped and usually lasted two to three hours long; the subjects were asked to state name, age, city they lived in and to submit a picture. They were also asked to speak about their lives especially related to the development of their ideas on race and identity. The interviews were done voluntarily without pay and some follow up interviews were conducted.

The Content or qualitative analysis method was used to analyze the interviews. Analysis of Funderburg's interviews included looking for clear statements of marginality and ambivalence related to the subjects racial identity and at what age did these incidents of marginality and ambivalence occur. The other variables that affected feelings of marginality included family support, school experience, and neighborhood.

RESULTS

FAMILY

The stories of the people interviewed made strong comments on how their families influenced their racial identity. Family influence seemed to be most strong when the subjects were children, but once they entered society (school) other societal forces seemed to influence their identity as much as the family if not more. There were many familial patterns that existed throughout the analysis of the interviews: ninety-five percent of the interracial unions (parental composition) consisted of a white mother and a black father. Most of the marriages that did exist ended up in divorce and the (white) mothers usually got custody. Whether the families were divorced or not, the parents stressed that the children should be proud of their mixed racial heritage and acknowledge both races. Throughout the analysis of the interviews, even the children who were raised by their white mothers alone were also given emphasis by their mother that both racial heritages were good. There seemed to be a special emphasis for the white mothers to stress that their child's being black was positive and should be appreciated. One woman quoted, "most people don't think I'm biracial. They can't tell. So my mom was very honest and very like, "This is what society is about. Don't be sucked in. Be strong. You're a black woman. You'll be seen as a black women" (Funderburg, 1994). Ideally most of the mothers wished that their children would identify as multiracial, but they knew this wasn't totally realistic when it came to issues of school and filling out documentations. As mention above many of the families were divorced and single parent families. But it must also be mentioned that the families that did stay intact were very strong and influential on their biracial children. The families that were divorced, the children were affected as any other child who goes through the divorce experience. Their race didn't seem to be affected by divorce as long as both racial heritages were acknowledged. There were a few people who were interviewed who identified as white and this was due to their social surrounding and lack of a black role model to identify with, but this changed as time went on. This woman quotes. (during grade school) "Because I was raised by a white person and because most of the people I was surrounded by were white, that became my culture" (Funderburg, 1994).

CHILDHOOD

Starting grade school seemed to peak the awareness of race for many of the subjects. All of the subjects reported that between the ages of five and seven they became very aware of race; some even reported that they felt different from the other children in grade school. Most of the stories about grade school were ones of acceptance for the most part, but problems did exist, but this usually occurred closer to adolescence. Some interesting patterns did occur; the subjects who attended predominantly white schools were automatically identified as black by their fellow white classmates. The subjects were not identified as biracial or "mixed" even if they insisted. In the predominantly white schools race was based on how one looked; the students were simply white or black.

The subjects who attended predominantly black grade schools did not have many problems of acceptance during kindergarten through fourth grade. But as the children in the schools got older issues of race seemed to be a big deal. Race at the predominantly black school was based on more than looks, it was also based on "acting black" versus one "acting white." If the biracial person was considered "acting white" they were usually left out and did not have many friends. Such children were usually teased and called names such as "oreo" and "half-breed." If they were accepted, it was for their blackness, but their being white was more or less rejected by their fellow black classmates.

Subjects who attended integrated schools, where more biracial people attended for the most part had a positive school experience. race did not seem to be a big issue. There was one exception the subject went to an integrated school that consisted mostly of children of Asian. Jewish, few blacks and few whites. At this school the subject was viewed as black any many of her fellow classmates did not associate with her because she was viewed as being black.

NEIGHBORHOODS

Many of the subjects felt that their neighborhoods were a source of tension and confusion when it came to issues of racial identity as they got closer to adolescence. One subject quotes, "'I had a big problem, coming from a black neighborhood and being called white, and coming from a boarding school that's all white and being called black. That's a nice way of putting it. I was very mixed up. I didn't know who I was, which side to pick" (Funderburg, 1994).

ADOLESENCE

Adolescence seemed to be a time of confusion and uncertainty for many if not all of the subjects at one point. (Some exceptions exist and they will be dealt with in a later section). Many of the subjects felt that this was the most difficult time of their life in terms of racial identity. The majority of marginal feelings and marginal situations occurred during adolescence. Situations of dating and adolescence being a time for the subjects to explore who they were seemed to stir up the most feelings of marginality. When it came to dating most of the subjects were concerned with what race they should date, which in turn made them focus on their own racial identity and how they fit in society and how society views them. Issues such a bureaucracy also became an issue during adolescence. Deciding what race to put on one's driver's license, and what box to check when its time to fill out forms that require race seemed to be very problematic for many of the subjects, since only one race could be chosen. One woman quotes, "I used to go to school, and when they said, "Choose your race," "I would choose everything or I refused to choose any, and it got me expelled from school" (Funderburg, 1994). Situations where the subjects felt forced to choose one race over the other seemed to produce the most feelings of ambivalence towards their own racial identity. When the subjects did choose one race over the other when it came to situations of bureaucracy many felt guilty and that they were rejecting a part of themselves.

EARLY ADULTHOOD

As the subjects entered adulthood, eventually they did make a decision of what race they would identify as: they did this for several reasons. Many made a decision because of societal pressures getting to be to over bearing. Other made a decision because they felt they needed closure to their concerns about racial identity. For most of the subjects the decision to choose a race came about during college or entering the work world. Once the decision was made almost all of the subjects felt at peace and comfortable with the racial identity they chose for themselves. In this study their are forty-six subjects total and they identify as the following: fifty-seven percent of the people interviewed identified themselves as being black and biracial. They choose this racial category because they felt it satisfied society's pressure to chose one race, but also identifying as biracial fulfilled what they truly felt they were. Thirteen percent identified as just being mixed or biracial, but they did admit when it came to getting financial aid in college they chose to identify as black. Twenty-four percent identified as being just african-american. Four percent identified as being non-racial and finally, two percent identified as being white and biracial at the same time.

Discussion

Through extensive analysis of the interviews it can be shown that marginality may occur as a positive and natural developmental process for the biracial person. this of course depended on several variables such as family support, acceptance in school and in society in general. But most of the burden is placed on the biracial individual it is up to them to make their experiences of marginality to be a positive one or use them as a learning tool. Most of the subjects used their experience to become more familiar and comfortable with themselves. Many said that being biracial made them a stronger person, it allowed them to see things in several different perspectives. Marginality seemed to be most prominent during adolescence and early adulthood, which seemed to appear as a natural growth process, than a painful state as Everett Stonquist suggested. Perhaps some painful experience did appear, but they were not dominate. Studies on identity formation confirm that every adolescent goes trough a marginal phase at one point other and that it is completely natural in order to form one's identity (Pulkkinen, 1994).

Feelings of marginality in dealing with race seem also to come from societal pressures of choosing one race only: preferably black in this one-drop rule society which claims if a person who possesses one drop of black blood is black (Davis, 1991). In this society it is unheard of for a person who has one drop of white to claim being white: they would seriously suffer the sanctions of trying to identify as such. It is time for the one-drop rule to cease and allow biracial people to claim their heritage. This can be done through a reexamination of literature on biracial people including studies of marginality. There also needs to be a reexamination of governmental policy dealing with the U.S. census must be addressed along with less emphasis on racial categories and an emphasis and appreciation of diversity is over due.

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The Realities of Occupational Gender Equality in Kibbutz Aleph-Bet

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The kibbutz movement has not only incorporated social and sexual equality as a goal, but has provided a social structure conducive to making the ideal a reality. This research sought to explore the kibbutz social system by examining both the structural and individual factors influencing the role of women on the kibbutz. The ethnographic study included a month long participant observation and informal interviews with current members. The study reveals that that there is not occupational gender equality in the traditional sense. Rather, there is a social system where all kibbutz members are equally valuable and equally valued.

INTRODUCTION

A kibbutz is a small, collective rural community based on voluntary membership that integrates production and household functions. Kibbutz income is derived from production, to which individuals do not necessarily contribute equally. Yet equality is the principle which is supposed to govern income distribution (Barkai, 1977:11).

The kibbutzniks (kibbutz members) created a community where there would be no unemployment, no welfare, no poverty, and where the standard of living would grow equally for all members (Blasi, 1986:64). There were to be "no differences among members in authority, status, or other social and economic rewards" (Rosner and Tannenbaum, 1987:522).

An essential aspect of kibbutz life is the principle of mutual responsibility: "the responsibility of the community as a whole for the welfare of all its members...." (Near, 1986:251). Before the individual standard of living goes up, the community "budgets for all the needs covered by total social security: daily welfare, health, education, transportation, cultural activities, and communal facilities" (Blasi, 1986:64). The kibbutz provides a level of cooperation in the context of a normal, secular society that "critically alters social life and eliminates gross social, economic, and political problems" emphasizing a strong respect for individual rights and national obligations (Blasi, 1986:7).

While the kibbutz has incorporated sexual equality as a value and a goal, it has also provided a social structure conducive to making the ideal a reality. Kibbutzim offer women the domestic and economic independence necessary for equality. All major household services are collectivized so that women do not have to care for their children or do household work. Meals are served in a collective dining hall. A communal laundry does the washing, and a collective store the ironing, mending, and most of the tailoring. Children are cared for by trained teachers (Neuman, 1991:206). "Neither men nor women are bound to each other or to their children by economic responsibilities, and women are free to devote themselves to developing a career" (Neuman, 1991:206).

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* Fictional reference used to protect anonymity

Kibbutz founders believed that when women were free to perform productive work "like plowing fields and building roads, when they didn't have to worry about cooking meals and ironing shirts, they would become equal partners with men once and for all..." (Tavris and Offir, 1977:286).

Does the deep commitment of Kibbutz Aleph-Bet to social and sexual equality and freedom from individual housework and individual child care result in occupational gender equality?

METHODOLOGY

This research sought to explore the kibbutz social system by examining both the structural and individual factors influencing the role of women on the kibbutz. The study included a month long participant observation as a kibbutz member and informal interviews with current members. The ethnographic research approach is a natural, sensitizing, qualitative and necessarily unstructured method of research. This method provided the participant-observer opportunities to experience everything from the mundane and sublime to the traumatic, allowing for richness of detail and a rapport with central kibbutz figures that would not otherwise have been possible. It allowed an insight on kibbutz life available only to the kibbutznik or to one living among them. The participant-observer lived as an equal among the kibbutz members, including residence in communal housing, eating in the communal dining hall, sending laundry to the communal laundromat, and working alongside members at assigned tasks. The participant-observer experienced many opportunities from which gender roles, gender differences, and issues of equality could be inferred.

The participant-observer ended each day by completing documentation of the conversations, details, and events of the day from the trivial to the significant, the private to the public, the commonplace to the sacred, and from observation to participation. The listing of daily observations allowed the participant-observer to systematically address the research questions concerning occupational gender equality. Do kibbutz women choose to participate in field work and other stereotypically male labor when given an opportunity? Do kibbutz men select domestic work when given the choice? Are there occupational roles more valued than others? Are women equally involved in the political affairs of the kibbutz? Do kibbutz members feel that equality is present? What lessons could be learned from a community based on social and sexual equality?

RESULTS

Kibbutz Aleph-Bet was founded in 1949 on an abandoned Arab settlement. As of July 1994, there were 108 kibbutz members, which is rather few as an average kibbutz population is between 250 and 500 members (Blasi, 1986:16). Kibbutz decisions were made by the government Council consisting of 28 persons. At the time of this research, the Council consisted of six women and twenty-two men. The title of secretary was held by a woman, while the titles of treasurer and business manager were held by men. When the participant-observer expressed interest in the ratio of men to women, a kibbutz member responded negatively and aggressively. He felt that Americans were too caught up with gender and missed the real issue of kibbutz leadership.

Both members and volunteers on Kibbutz Aleph-Bet were allowed to select a work assignment. An individual had a month in which to prove herself efficient and therefore worthy of the task on a permanent basis. The main occupational choices included factory work, poultry farming, cattle tending, dairy production, carpentry, building construction, laundry, kitchen work, childcare, gardening, fruit harvesting, shopkeeping, guard duty, and tourism. There were no gender specifications concerning jobs. Although there was no written work roster and therefore no numeric breakdown of the genders in differing

occupations, the participant-observer had many opportunities to witness the gender stratification of the different occupations.

The main money-making industry on the kibbutz was a widget factory. The work included assembly lines, crate packing, and chemical engineering. While a majority of the workers were female, the supervisory positions appeared to be equally distributed between both men and women.

The poultry farms on the kibbutz were kept by individuals of both genders. The work mainly included feeding the chickens and egg collection. According to the business manager of Kibbutz Aleph-Bet, knowledge of farming techniques and interest in the fowls were the only qualifications necessary.

The cattle tending was a primarily male enterprise, though occasionally both a man and woman together were seen caring for the bovines. The work included feeding, herding, bathing, and breeding the animals. Dairy production was exclusively a male endeavor, as was the carpentry shop. The dairy farmers were responsible for milk production, and the carpenters were responsible for furnishing the homes and buildings on the kibbutz.

The building construction team of the kibbutz was both male and female. They were responsible for the building and maintenance of all kibbutz structures. The men typically performed the more physically demanding tasks such as beam placement, while the women carried out mortar mixing, painting, and hammering.

The laundry, kitchen, and child care facilities were entirely female in workforce. When inquiries were made concerning male involvement in these stereotypically female workplaces, it was explained that men have worked in the kitchen and in the laundry "when they were injured and couldn't perform their regular tasks or when extra help was needed."

The gardening and landscape work on the kibbutz was performed by both males and females. The head gardener was a man. The same scenario was true for the citrus fruit harvesting. A male was in charge, while both men and women worked in the fields.

Kibbutz Aleph-Bet had a small store located on the grounds which offered minimal groceries and other household items. The shopkeeper was female.

Guard duty for the kibbutz was necessary at all times due to its proximity to the West Bank. Both men and women performed this service.

The final occupational choice on Kibbutz Aleph-Bet involved tourism, coordinating volunteers, and general office work for the kibbutz. The head of this division was female, while the rest of the workers were both male and female.

Daily kibbutz life also provided the participant-observer many occasions on which to observe gender roles outside the workplace. At the end of the workday, parents retrieved their children from daycare. This task was performed by both mothers and fathers alike. Many times, both parents went together to meet their children. Mothers and fathers appeared to share equal responsibility for the children in the dining hall. Both parents were seen filling the plates of the children, feeding those too young to properly feed themselves, and accomodating fussy eaters. After the evening meal, the children and adults gathered socially on the lawn outside the main kibbutz building. Once again both parents, and often simply adults of both genders, shared in the task of supervising the children. This supervision included organization of games, the settling of disagreements, and the bandaging of minor scrapes and bruises.

DISCUSSION

As work assignments on Kibbutz Aleph-Bet are selected by the individual, it is notable that stereotypically female dominated work assignments such as child care, kitchen work, and laundry facilities remain exclusively female. And while the traditionally male fields such as construction and

carpentry did include women, it was only to a minimal degree. Females performed the lighter, behind the scenes tasks. Yet there appeared to be no dissatisfaction with the arrangement among kibbutz members. Repeated inquiries uncovered no indications of unease or unhappiness.

The participant-observer learned that when the kibbutz was first founded, both men and women worked equally in the fields and in construction. When the office jobs and domestic roles needed filling, women volunteered. One female kibbutznik explained,

> It would be silly to waste a man in the laundry room. Israel is too harsh a place for a woman to be selfish about working side by side with men. The person who can perform the job most effectively, whatever the job, must do it. We all have an obligation to the survival of the kibbutz.

Other women also indicated that men held the roles they did because the men were more suited. Kibbutzniks of both genders acknowledged the physical differences of men and women and a need to use the varying abilities of the sexes for the collective good of the kibbutz.

When asked directly about the kibbutz premise of sexual equality, one member responded, "It was a good founding idea and nice ideology, but things have since worked their way out naturally." Kibbutz members, of both genders, referred to the "natural" order of gender relations. The idea of biologically ordained differences in strengths and skills did not imply a hierarchy, however. According to the kibbutzniks, women simply had natural abilities different to those of men.

Later conversations led to the question of which gender was more valuable. Herein lay the truth of gender relations on the kibbutz. As one women explained,

> No one is more valuable than another on the kibbutz. It has nothing to do with gender. We must all do what we are best at, be that gardening, disciplining children, or protecting the kibbutz at night. Everyone is extremely important. Anyone failing to do their job could lead to the failure of the kibbutz.

A male kibbutznik offered,

> My wife is no less important than I am because she *only* does the laundry. If everyone had to waste time doing their own laundry, the grapefruits might rot on the trees. I am proud she does the kibbutz laundry. And I work hard in the fields to make her proud.

The participant-observer further investigated the absence of a job hierarchy and discovered a unanimously echoed kibbutz ideology which placed equal value on all members. According to the kibbutzniks questioned, all professions were equally important to the survival of Kibbutz Aleph-Bet, and therefore equally deserving of respect. The interdependent nature of the kibbutz demanded that it be so.

CONCLUSION

The deep commitment of Kibbutz Aleph-Bet to social and sexual equality and freedom from individual housework and individual childcare has not led to occupational gender equality in the traditional sense. Men and women do not equally occupy the variety of occupations available. The majority of women on Kibbutz Aleph-Bet have chosen stereotypically female jobs. The men have selected traditionally male roles. Men and women do not play an equivalent part in kibbutz politics. And most remarkably, while neither male nor female kibbutz members feel that equality is present on Kibbutz Aleph-Bet, neither gender is unhappy with their designated role. The kibbutz members define

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· The most common response when asked about job satisfaction was a variation of, "Someone must wash the kibbutz dishes. Why not I?"

equality as sameness, which is unimportant to the governing ideology. Instead, Kibbutz Aleph-Bet provides equality of opportunity and a celebration of differences.

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Strategic Discourse and Social Conflict in Idaho's Anti-Gay Initiative

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Drawing its analytic frame from the works of Michel Foucault and Kenneth Burke as explicated in Michael Blain's, "Power, war and melodrama in the discourses of political movements" (Theory and Society, 23(1994): 805-837), this paper presents a critical discourse analysis of 239 Idaho Statesman articles in an examination of the rhetorical strategies employed by both supporters and opponents of the 1993 Idaho Citizens Alliance anti-gay initiative.

The drive to put Idaho's anti-gay initiative on the ballot began in January of 1993, following Lon Mabon's formation of the Idaho Citizens Alliance (henceforth ICA); an offspring of Mabon's larger national organization, The American Citizens Alliance- the same umbrella organization which oversaw the 1992 anti-gay initiatives in Oregon and Colorado. The ICA argued that the homosexual community had a political agenda to gain special minority rights. To combat this agenda, the Idaho Citizens Alliance engaged and succeeded in formulating a ballot drive to collect 32,061 signatures and place their "Anti-Special Rights" legislation on the 1994 state ballot.

The initiative, which in the course of the campaign went through several revisions, ultimately stated that it would: [1] Prohibit minority status from being granted to those who engage in homosexual behavior (67-8002); [2] Withhold legal recognition from same-sex marriages and domestic partnerships and declare them to be against public policy (67-8003); [3] Restrain any public school official from endorsing homosexual behavior as a healthy or acceptable behavior (67-8004); [4] Prohibit any state agency from using funds that would in any way express approval of homosexuality; [5] Provide that no state agency shall forbid generally the consideration of sexual behaviors as non-job factors (67-8006) [Proposed Title 67, Chapter 80, Idaho Code].

The response to the ICA's anti-gay initiative was a mixed one. While an overwhelming majority of Idaho's political leaders, candidates, and mainline churches opposed the measure, a significant portion of Idaho's evangelical and fundamentalist denominations voiced support for the initiative. Ultimately the ballot measure failed by a vote of 51% to 49% (with a margin of 3,000 votes).

If the causal roots of the initiative are examined, it would be easy to envision it as the product of purely local and contemporary social issues. Yet, in terms of this paper, we are actively conceptualizing the initiative as part of a larger and much more extensive national conservative movement, of which the anti-gay battles are only a minor front. Additionally, we view this initiative as the manifestation and convergence of a larger cultural and socio-historical phenomena, which, because of space constraints, cannot be fully elaborated here (for a further discussion of this perspective see Duggins, 1994).

However, one critical perspective we have chosen to take when viewing the anti-gay initiative and the historical process of which it is partly a manifestation, is derived most prominently from Michel Foucault's (1978), The History of Sexuality, and the more recent theoretical position, Queer Theory (see Seidman, 1994; and Namaste, 1994). In brief, this position argues that our traditional understanding of the "natural truths" about sexuality (e.g., our belief that homosexuality and heterosexuality are mutually exclusive and polar categories) are social constructions which allow for power and control to be asserted over the minds and

bodies of individuals, with the ultimate intent to transform individuals into utilizable resources (See Foucault, 1978 or a genealogical examination of the role of power in the formation of hegemonic regimes of knowledge surrounding sexualities "natural truths").

Within this paper, we adopt a critical value-driven position against such initiatives and argue that this initiative is only another front in a historical drive to establish hegemonic control over individuals through the construction of repressive systems of knowledge. The goal of this paper is to further critical understanding of the way in which discourse is used to justify and construct such issues as our recently failed anti-gay initiative. Through a mapping of supporters and opponents discourse, this research will help those involved in opposing future battles similar to Idaho's anti-gay initiative, formulate a more effective counter-discourse (for a full discussion of the aims of critical discourse analysis in dymystifying and opposing oppression, see van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1993).

CONCEPTUALIZATION

Blain (1994), in his Power/Strategy explication of Foucault's Interpretive Analytic of Power Relations and Kenneth Burke's Victimage Ritual, argues that the use of discourse in social movements is "genealogically derived from the western practice of warfare" (1994: 806) where movement actors are generals and soldiers and the words they employ are the discursive weapons with which they engage the enemy (1994: 805). Blain argues that for any movement to be effective, movement strategists need to do two things: First, "constitute a field of knowledge-- argue the truth of a problem, an injustice or a danger in a convincing way..."; and second, "constitute an ethics-- argue the solutions in an activating way, including the vilification of opponents as malevolent power subjects, and the heroeization of activists as moral agents and power subjects" (1994: 808). Within this process, each side of the movement must attempt to mobilize their forces against their adversary through the melodramatic characterization of themselves and their allies as victims and heroes struggling against a villainous and overwhelming enemy who is engaged in violation of community mores. To facilitate this, both sides must employ language in an attempt to make the opponent synonymous with culturally recognizable negative values, while associating themselves with positive values. By employing a critical discourse analysis methodology and Blain's conceptualization of movement discourse as "war pursued by other means", this paper will systematically inspect the way in which the opposing sides in the anti-gay initiative debate employed public speech to vilify and discredit their opponent, while attempting to construct the initiative in the minds of the voting electorate.

METHOD

The corpus for this study was taken from 239 Idaho Statesman articles addressing the initiative which were selected through use of The Idaho Statesman Index (1993; 1994) from between the dates of Jan. 1, 1993 and Nov. 14, 1994. The Idaho Statesman was chosen because it is Idaho's highest circulating paper and was one of the main forums in which the initiative battle was discursively carried out. Once selected the articles were arranged in a chronological DOS text file and indexed by Wordcruncher (1983). This provided a complete alphabetical word frequency count in addition to simple statistics based on those frequencies. High frequency terms (freq. >65 or Z-score >.5) based on an overall mean (m=12.11) and standard deviation (SD=1.06) were selected, and after grammatical/structural terms were excluded (is, that, and...etc.) a list of unique action terms was compiled (terms which are capped in the analysis). This list was searched and examined in context which allowed for the inspection of the discursive arsenal of both sides, and the way in which they employed language to construct the initiative (the results are represented in Table of Values 1).

ANALYSIS

In examining the discourse surrounding the initiative, it becomes quite clear that the important terms can be analytically separated into four clusters- a political, a social, a religious, and a bio-medical cluster- based on the way in which they were deployed.

Table of Values 1
Clusters of Action Terms Deployed by Supporters and Opponents

Supporters		Opponents	
Other	Self	Other	Self
Political			
Gay Agenda		Discriminate	
Special Rights			Civil Rights
Quotas		Unconstitutional	
		Unnecessary	
Powerful	[Weak]	Scapegoating	Scapegoats
Left Wing	Conservative	Right-Wing	Bi-Partisan
Social			
Gay Life-style			Children
Promote			Schools
		Divisive	
	Defenders	Censors	
	Values	Ignorant	
	Children	Fearful	
Religious			
Immoral	Moral	Bigots	
Sinful	[sinless]	UnChristian	Christian
Sodomites		Theocrats	
Evil	Good	Hateful	loving
Relativists	Absolutists	Intolerant	
	Loving	Radical	Moderate
Bio-Medical			
Abnormal	Normal	Homophobic	
Unhealthy	[Healthy]	Egomaniac	
Destructive	[Productive]	Disease	
Perverse			Human
Pedophile			Normal
AIDS			Innate
Filthy			
Freaks			
Promiscuous			
Behavior			

Political Cluster

Within the political cluster, there were arguments from both sides which emphasized the effect the initiative would and was having on the political order, the government, ..etc. In looking at the ICA, the most important strategy deployed within this cluster was their portrayal of the homosexual community's AGENDA to gain SPECIAL RIGHTS (quote 1).

> (Quote 1) But Mabon said the effort is designed to head off gay rights measures. "We are being pro-active. They have a political agenda that wants to equate their behavior as a minority classification."..."we don't believe the practice of sodomy or lesbianism is a civil right." (Idaho Group Pushes For Anti-Gay Law: 11-14-93)

When they referred to SPECIAL RIGHTS they were implicitly referring to civil rights protections for homosexuals through the granting of minority status (which they argued would allow for GAY QUOTAS and AFFIRMATIVE ACTION), same-sex marriages (which would "devalue" real marriages), and the abolition of sodomy laws (which would allow the state to sanction IMMORAL and UNHEALTHY behavior).This strategy was the most consistent argument employed by the ICA supporters and constituted their portrayal of the "vehicle" through which the GAY THREAT was being carried out.

The response by the opponents of the ICA to this charge was unequivocal. They blocked the attack by arguing that they wanted only CIVIL RIGHTS, not SPECIAL RIGHTS, and counterattacked with the charge that the ICA wanted to DISCRIMINATE against one segment of the population- that of the homosexuals. Another prong in their counterattack emphasized pragmatic arguments against the initiative, contending that the initiative was WASTEFUL of tax dollars (in that it would cost millions to enforce and fend off constitutional challenges), was unnecessary (they argued that homosexuals did not have nor would be granted civil rights protection, therefore making the initiative unnecessary). In addition, they argued that the initiative was part of a larger, more sinister national RIGHT-WING movement (Quote 2).

(Quote 2) This is an organizing principle for a wider agenda," Smith said. "The conservative Christian movement is using homosexuals as an easy target for their political gain, feeding off a general ignorance about homosexuality." (National group plans to fight anti-gay proposal: 01-11-94)

Within this larger movement, the political RIGHT was using homosexuals as SCAPEGOATS in an effort to further their own RADICAL political AGENDA.

Social Cluster

Within this cluster, both sides emphasized the effect that the initiative would have on the social fabric of American civilization; with the most prominent arguments from both sides describing the effect on the CHILDREN.

For the proponents of the initiative, the GAY LIFESTYLE was threatening CHILDREN, not only through their rendering of gays as PEDOPHILES, but also through their portrayal of homosexuality as a BEHAVIOR (bio-medical argument) that's transmittable. They argued that gays were PROMOTING their lifestyle in SCHOOLS and around CHILDREN, which raised the possibility of the young being converted (quote 3) to the IMMORAL and UNHEALTHY GAY LIFESTYLE (Quote 3).

(Quote 3) "What we are trying to do is literally prevent our kids and teenagers from being recruited into a life-style that is dangerous to the human body," he said. (Discrimination against gays exists: 06-08-94)

This argument tied in very strongly to the image of the GAY AGENDA by showing that should the GAY AGENDA be successful, a whole crop of kids would be lost. Therefore, they portrayed themselves as DEFENDERS and PROTECTORS of CHILDREN and SCHOOLS and allowed for an ethical argument to be forwarded which urged people to fight the GAY AGENDA and the threat it represented to CHILDREN and SCHOOLS.

The opponents responded to this charge by arguing that, statistically, it was heterosexual males who posed a threat to CHILDREN, not homosexuals. They then counterattacked by arguing that the initiative supporters were IGNORANT and FEARFUL CENSORS who were a threat to the intellectual freedom and development of CHILDREN (Quote 4).

(4) "Anything that prohibits teachers from talking with students about serious social matters puts a chilling effect on the ability of teachers to provide students with the kind of information they need to make decisions for themselves." Sides differ on effects: 03-11-94)

Additionally, they contended that the initiative was DIVISIVE and a measure which divided the State population into two hostile camps.

Religious Cluster

In terms of the use of religious terms or characterizations, it was the opponents of the initiative who took the offensive, charging that the supporters of the initiative were HATEFUL and UNCHRISTIAN RADICALS who were INTOLERANT of other ways of life. One of the ways in which this imagery was deployed (quote 5) was by juxtaposing the anti-gay initiative with conspicuous religious atrocities of the past (e.g Holocaust) or other notorious hate groups (e.g., White supremacists located in Idaho's Hayden lake).

(Quote 5) "We reject hatred whenever and wherever it appears, and it appears in this proposition," Gov. Cecil Andrus told a lunchtime crowd on the Statehouse steps...Citing action the state took to undermine a white supremacist movement in the Panhandle, Andrus said, "Those voices of hatred and intolerance are at work here again." (400 rally to beat anti-gay initiative: 09-09-94)

The counter-strategy and attack by the supporters of the initiative emphasized that the initiative was not HATEFUL at all, but was actually an act of LOVE (Quote 6) , designed to force the homosexuals out of their IMMORAL and DANGEROUS LIFESTYLE.

(Quote 6) "The initiative is exposing a dangerous lifestyle and a dangerous behavior. This is an act of compassion, not an act of discrimination or hatred." (Episcopal church announces stand against initiative: 11-30-93)

By employing this strategy, they made the argument that

homosexuality was against God's tenets (justified through references to Leviticus, Paul's Letters, and Sodom and Gomorrah) and that they were just performing the task of LOVING CHRISTIANS.

Bio-Medical Cluster

It was within this sphere that the initiative supporters deployed their strongest ethical imperatives for opposing the GAY AGENDA and the GAY LIFE-STYLE. Within this cluster, it was found that the ICA supporters employed numerous medical and scientific assessments of gays and the gay "life-style," transforming them from humans into medical objects (which allowed them to be acted upon). One of the ways in which they did this was through making homosexuality synonymous with AIDS and DISEASE and by portraying gays as UNHEALTHY, SEX-OBSESSED, DESTRUCTIVE, UNNATURAL, PERVERSE, FILTHY (Quote 7). They argued strongly that homosexuality is a PATHOLOGY, taken on by CHOICE. This position makes numerous analogies between homosexuality and drug use, arguing that they are both DESTRUCTIVE to the body, and society, and thus should be subject to regulation by the state. Such regulation then, was the role which they argued the initiative was to play.

> (Quote 7) It's not just a religious issue. It's a political issue. It's a social issue. It's a health issue," Fangman said. "Homosexuality destroys lives, families and the human body." (ICA members have a variety of goals: 06-06-93)

The opponents attempted to counter the image deployed by the supporters by portraying themselves as NORMAL HUMANS, who are no different than you or I. Within this counter-discourse, they portrayed themselves as BROTHERS, and SISTERS who are part of NORMAL FAMILIES whose sexuality is INNATE and not subject to CHOICE. This strategy constituted a vigorous effort to counter the image of homosexuals as objectifiable medical objects by associating themselves with mundane everyday actions that all people, including initiative supporters, engage in (Quote 8).

> (Quote 8) "The gay life-style is no different than heterosexual life. we get up, dress, we eat breakfast. We go to work and do our job just like anyone," ..."The difference is in who we love. Loving someone of the same sex is not obscene." (Idaho rallies attacks ICA: 4-26-93)

Of course, it has to be noted that there was no direct counter deployed to diffuse the charge that homosexuals are UNHEALTHY. Instead, they counter-attacked and pathologized those who supported the initiative, describing them as HOMOPHOBIC, PARANOID, and EGOMANIACS and likened the supporter's actions and beliefs to CANCER and DISEASE.

CONCLUSION

What is left to be done now that a topical analysis of the rhetorical strategies has been performed, is to link this research with similar discourse analyses of other initiatives (such as Oregon's or Colorado's). Following this, effort needs to be put forth to formulate a more coherent and effective national counter-discourse which disarticulates supporters and helps to keep such measures from being voted in law. Enhanced critical understanding of similar fascist discursive movements will greatly facilitate the process of opposing such terrible and oppressive measures in the future.

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Three-tiered Structure of the Homeless Subculture

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How to deal with panhandlers is a continuing issue for Seattle city managers, and this issue prompted a participant observation study of the homeless in the area. The study took place in the downtown area over a two-month period, and contact was made with dozens of panhandlers, with the researcher speaking at length with several. The subculture appears to be structured similarly to mainstream American society, consisting of lower, middle, and upper classes. The lower class includes persons who can't take care of themselves very well, including drug addicts, alcoholics, and mentally and physically handicapped persons. The middle class is the largest group and includes those who are able to at least marginally take care of themselves. In general, they're cleaner and wear better clothes, and they may be on welfare lists, getting food stamps, and living in shelters or inexpensive hotels. They often eat meals at shelters, ride around in the free bus zone, and visit the library. Those characterized as upper class panhandlers include those who take care of themselves rather well, often by entertaining passersby. These people may or may not be on welfare; however, they sometimes live in shelters. More commonly, though, they live with friends or in hotels. Rather than viewing panhandlers or the homeless as a general group, social service organizations might achieve greater successes if they more fully understand the complex structure of the homeless subculture.

BACKGROUND

A continuing conflict between Seattle city managers and panhandlers prompted a participant observation study of the homeless in the Pioneer Square and Seattle Public Market areas. Because of the distrust most of the street people have for outsiders, it was decided to attempt contact from within the homeless subculture, without revealing the researcher's true role.

METHOD

On a Saturday at approximately 11 a.m., two female researchers sat on a bench at the corner of Western and Virginia, about one-half block north of Pike Place market in downtown Seattle. The weather was moderate. The researchers were dressed in old clothes. One held out a Greek fisherman's hat, and the other held a cardboard sign that said, "Please help." They had a six-week-old Labrador retriever with them. Sometimes, while holding out the hat, the researchers also asked passersby for a quarter, so they could get something to eat. Other times they asked for change to buy food for the puppy. This was done for approximately two-and-a-half hours that day, and contact was made with about four or five homeless panhandlers.

The following Friday afternoon, the author returned alone to the same area. The primary researcher panhandled at various corners around the Public market and in Pioneer Square for approximately two hours. This time, contact was made with five or six panhandlers, none of whom had been contacted the previous Saturday.

and to help, if he could The researcher told him the story concocted for the study, of being separated from her husband and deserted with only a car, some clothes, and very little money. He immediately asked if she wanted to sell the car, but the researcher said no, that if she had nowhere to sleep, at least the car was available At this point, he undertook teaching her how to survive on the street. He explained how to get to a shelter two blocks away. He also said if she went there, they would give her a survival guide for women. (It's worthwhile to note at this time that my study includes primarily male panhandlers in the lower and middle class groups. There were not enough women encountered, and none who spoke to the researcher, to present any picture of how they fit into the classification system.) Pedro can be found on "his" corner from 1 to 4 p.m., rain or shine, everyday, and he considers panhandling a part-time job. While he's there, he makes sure to interact with people in the neighborhood, supplying information or just talking or offering a smile.

Another man, 60-year-old Ron, was contacted while panhandling the first day When he saw the researchers attempting to panhandle, right away he offered a few tips Prior to this, the researchers didn't know he was a panhandler. He had a new purple hat and a leather coat, and he was reading a library book (Frequenting the library is a regular practice of most of the panhandlers classified as middle class) The author encountered Ron several times since that time. Once, over breakfast at the mission, he said he had been a university professor in Tennessee prior to hard times. He is an intelligent man, and enjoined the researcher in a lively discussion about psychology and mental illness. When they parted, he invited her to join him at the library in the future.

The last category of panhandlers is made up of those who take care of themselves rather well; often they do this by entertaining passersby. Some play a musical instrument or sing, one man makes animals and other shapes out of balloons to sell to passersby with children. These people may or may not be on welfare; however, they sometimes live in shelters. More commonly, though, they live with friends or in cheap hotels.

When the author met Carlton, he was playing a paper horn and singing. Carlton was very friendly, and she conversed with him for quite awhile. During the first encounter with him, he explained the free bus system and where to find women's shelters. He also suggested the researcher try to find a shelter before 4:30 p.m. to ensure beds were available. He was compassionate and assured her that things in Seattle were a lot better than in many other cities where he'd lived. Carlton was trying to produce tapes of his music and, although he often stayed in a hotel, he alternated this with sleeping in shelters, to save money in order to pay production expenses. He was also able to afford some comforts because he made sufficient money.

There were other musicians at the market who made a regular living producing music for passersby. John is one of these. He rolls a small piano to and from his corner daily, earning money from appreciative listeners, he produces tapes and CDs as well The songs on the tapes and CDs reflect a frustration with bureaucracy. He, along with other musicians at the market, must deal with frustrating bureaucratic regulations daily. They must comply with licensing, scheduling, and other regulations to play their music at the Public Market so they can make a meager living. In addition, there are people who want to remove musicians and other panhandlers from the downtown area, and John was circulating a petition to try to counteract this.

The researcher encountered one woman who fits into this category; she was observed on several occasions, and she was always alone She appeared to be blind and played an autoharp. She was the only woman observed panhandling during this study who was unaccompanied by a man. Several other women were encountered at the shelter where the author ate breakfast; a few were alone, but they were very quiet and stayed to themselves. The researcher was unable to make contact with any of these women. Some women were observed coming or going at the hotel where the researcher stayed; one was doing her laundry. The woman in the laundry room had two children with her, but these were the only children encountered. It should be noted, however, that women's shelters were not visited during this study.

Two weeks later, on President's Day, the researcher again returned alone to the area and followed the same methods. Contact was made with a man name Pedro, and the researcher sat with him on his corner and both observed and spoke with him for about two hours. He seemed to accept the researcher as a new member of the subculture and took it upon himself to become somewhat of a mentor to her. During this time, the researcher became more familiar with the area and learned how to survive on the street. Plans were made to return and spend the night in the area.

This was done two weeks later on a Thursday afternoon. This time the researcher ate two meals, dinner and breakfast, at the Compass Center, 77 S. Washington. The center was close to the Pioneer Square Hotel, where the researcher spent the night for $20. About five new contacts were made, and the researcher was also able to speak to several of the people contacted previously. They asked where she had been and how she was doing. It seemed the researcher had become a part of the street subculture and had an identity there.

One more excursion was made to the area on Saturday, at which time the researcher gave panhandling advice to a new acquaintance. She began to move within the subculture easily and freely.

RESULTS

The subculture appears to be structured very similarly to mainstream American society, consisting of a lower class, middle class, and upper class, each comprised of persons from varying races and ages. (Though the age range was broad, it should be noted that teenagers were not contacted panhandling or eating in shelters, and the researcher met only two children, in the hotel.)

Those characterized as belonging to the lower class are persons who can't take care of themselves very well, primarily drug addicts, alcoholics, and mentally and physically handicapped persons. The first person contacted belonged in this category and lived under the freeway close to the Public Market. The two researchers approached him to ask whether or not he could tell if it was legal to panhandle in the area. From his posturing prior to their approach and the orange syringe on the ground, they realized he had just shot up. The researchers thanked him for the information and gave him a dollar, and he said he wouldn't use it for dope. He felt compelled to explain his situation somewhat, or maybe he just enjoyed having someone with whom to converse. Later that day, they saw him again, and he didn't appear to remember them.

Another homeless man in this category was an elderly Indian, who hung around the same bench where the researchers first panhandled. He was in obvious distress, and two policemen were trying to explain to him that he needed aid. He was apparently intoxicated and had what appeared to be a two-inch gash in his forehead. He was bleeding, and the police were detaining him until an ambulance could come and take him to Harborview Hospital. During this time another Indian, a younger one, came and asked the police why they were hassling his uncle. He said it was his uncle's turf, and they should leave him alone. The police assured the younger man they were only trying to help his uncle, because he had hurt himself and needed to go to the hospital; they said he'd be back the next day.

There were other panhandlers characterized in this study as middle class; this is a large group. Individuals in this category are those who are able to take care of themselves, though often somewhat marginally. They have generally established patterns of behavior in order to take care of their needs; for instance, they may be found at the same site regularly and have developed ways of relating to passersby and others so they are able to earn some money panhandling. In general, they're cleaner, wear better clothes, and can sometimes splurge on a new hat or pair of shoes. These people may be on welfare lists, getting food stamps, and living in shelters or cheap hotels. They often eat meals at shelters and have other regular habits, such as riding around in the free bus zone or hanging around at the public library or waterfront.

Pedro, mentioned earlier, is an example of a middle class panhandler. He was contacted on the corner of Pioneer Square Park, where he asked the author to join him and chat for awhile. He is a gregarious man and immediately wanted to know her story.

DISCUSSION

During the evening spent on the street after 4:30 p.m., when working people were waiting for buses or walking to their cars, people ignored the researcher for the most part and walked around her, although sometimes they yelled at her. The researcher noted that most street people get off the street during this time of day. During these hours, the tension accompanying separation of the two groups was magnified

The tension was magnified also when interacting with people who worked in an "official" capacity. The first day, when the researchers spoke to the man who lived under the freeway, they were treated with apparent suspicion and disgust by two city workers who were in the area picking up trash. They asked if the women were selling or doing drugs and seem to feel their presumed low status gave them license to treat them in whichever manner they chose. Another time, when the author asked a policeman for information, he seemed to feel she wasn't capable of understanding much, he repeated twice that defining "aggressive" panhandling was "very complicated" and never did completely answer her questions.

The tensions when interacting with the rest of society contrasted with the comfortable way these people treated each other. They were kind and compassionate to each other and to the researchers, although they were strangers. For the most part, they had learned to help each other in order to survive, and the loyalties formed among the homeless appeared to be strong. The author saw one man holding a woman protectively as she slept and observed street musicians working together to protect their place at the Public Market.

Many of the homeless people encountered had led unusual lives or had traveled around the world. Some, removed from the pace or urban or suburban life, found peace on the streets, but others had simply grown old, ill, or disabled and had nowhere else to go. If we simply blame people for their circumstances, if we say things would be different if they just tried harder, we distance ourselves from a frightening situation that highlights the fragility of all human life.

On closer inspection, the subculture of panhandlers is not made up of nameless, faceless persons, but is every bit as complex and even satisfying for many of those who live within it. The question is, do we as a society want to make these people criminals because they don't conform to the mores of the dominant society?