

The McNair Scholarly Review

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Foot-In-The-Door Phenomenon: Its Relationship to Perceived Expert and Legitimate Authority

Jesse Badoe

Professor Joseph L. Nedelec, Mentor

The purpose of this research is to examine the effects and nature of the 'foot-in-the-door' phenomenon as it relates to perceived authority. The study focuses on the role that sequential request techniques play when administered by an expert versus a legitimate authority figure. This was demonstrated through an experiment wherein participants responded to a series of hypothetical scenarios and increasingly more coercive requests for compliance during an interactive computer session. This research is important because it fills a gap in the body of research by accounting for an under studied dynamic between authority and obedience. Furthermore, it allows us to better understand the power of perceived legitimate and expert authority, as well as the significance of the foot-in-the-door technique.

On April 9, 2004, David Stewart utilized his authority and implemented the foot-in-the-door technique to coerce a McDonald's manager into strip-searching an employee and making the employee perform lewd and embarrassing sexual acts. This unimaginable event took place in Mount Washington, Kentucky while Stewart gave instructions from a payphone in western Florida. The manager and others who spoke with Stewart hardly questioned his authority because he used technical police jargon, and his requests did not initially seem absurd (Palmer, 2005). The perceived

authority and legitimacy of the voice created a reality wherein a 17-year old girl could perform sexual acts on a grown male stranger, and the setting not be seen as absurd or inappropriate. This dynamic generated many questions, one of which queries whether it was the perceived authority or the type of questioning used that caused the manager and victim to cooperate with a voice that suggested such malicious, horrific, and abusive things?

The willingness to readily comply with such outrageous requests occurred predominantly because of the *foot-in-the-door* phenomenon, as well as the perceived authority of the supposed police officer. The foot-in-the-door phenomenon refers to an individual's likelihood to consider the reasonableness of a request based on what they have already done, rather than on an objective standard (Cialdini, 2000). This scenario began with an innocuous request and compliance that then escalated to progressively worse and offensive events. In this instance, the victim based the reasonableness of the request, "do jumping jacks naked", on the previous request, "take off your clothes", and therefore was more likely to agree to the initial request of the naked jumping jacks (Palmer, 2005). It is believed that the foot-in-the-door phenomenon played a significantly critical role in this situation, where the power of authority and the obedience towards it was observed, as well as in many other similar situations. This study will examine the nature of the foot-in-the-door phenomenon as it relates to perceived expert and legitimate authority.

Currently, there is research that deals with perceived expert and legitimate authority and obedience, but very little emphasis tends to be placed on the foot-in-the-door technique. Stanley Milgram's obedience experiments during the early 1960s and Phillip Zimbardo's Stanford prison experiment in 1971 are examples of perceived expert and legitimate authority and how it affects obedience (Travis & Aronson, 2002). Both well respected experiments utilize the foot-in-the-door technique, but little research has been done on that specific aspect of the procedure. The purpose of my study is to identify the significance of the foot-in-the-door phenomenon and examine the changes that occur when perceived expert and legitimate authority are involved. That is, to first identify the rate of compliance towards both types of authority, followed by the rate of compliance when both types of authority apply the foot-in-the-door technique of sequential requests; by doing so the influence of expert as well as legitimate authority can be accounted for, while the effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door technique is measured.

Literature Review

Many studies have been done on the effects of both legitimate and expert authority and obedience, but little research has been done on the significance of the foot-in-the-door phenomenon as it relates to authority. The foot-in-the-door

technique is an effective compliance tactic that involves getting a person to agree to a large request by first having that person agree to a modest request (Freedman & Fraser, 1966). It takes advantage of the tendency for people who have first agreed to a small request to comply later with a larger request (Myers, 2007). When a person agrees to do something, they are much more likely to agree to do something else due to the perceived obligation of acting in a consistent manner (Schroder, 1976). A few examples of the foot-in-the-door technique include questions such as: “Can I go over to Suzy’s house for an hour?” Followed shortly by: “Can I stay the night?” Or: “May I turn in the paper a few hours late?” Followed by: “May I turn it in next week?” When one applies this concept to the Zimbardo and Milgram experiments it becomes evident that the foot-in-the-door technique played a significant role in the results as did the use of a legitimate and expert authority figure.

The power of an authority stems not from personal characteristics, but from the perceived position of the authoritarian in a social structure (Helm & Morelli, 1985). An authority system is one that consists of a minimum of two persons sharing the expectation that one of them has the right to prescribe behavior for another (Blass, 1999). An authoritarian is one who is perceived to be in a position of social control within a given situation (Powers & Green, 1998). There are many different kinds of authority, but the two types that are modeled in this study, as well as the Milgram experiment, are expert and legitimate authority (Zimbardo, 2006). A reason for this differentiation stems from critiques of Milgram who failed to adequately differentiate between expert and legitimate authority in his experiments.

The premier way to distinguish between an expert and legitimate authority is the difference in saying that someone *is* in authority (i.e., in charge) or *an* authority, e.g., someone with expertise on some topic (Blass, 1999). Expert authority refers to an authority figure who exhibits substantial knowledge in a specific area, while legitimate authority is seen as one who has the right to issue commands, and to whom one feels an obligation to obey (Blass, 1991). “There is a propensity for people to accept definitions of action provided by legitimate authority. That is, although the subject performs the action, he allows authority to define the meaning” (Evans, 1976, p.348).

Stanley Milgram’s obedience experiment (1974) was a test of authority, showing that most individuals will physically harm another under what they feel is legitimate authority, even if doing so is unpleasant for them. Milgram also implemented the foot-in-the-door method in persuading the participants to induce a lethal electric shock (450 volts); Had he initially asked his participants to administer the maximum (450volts) of electrical shock to another human being the results would surely have been different. However, since the participant based the severity of the shock on his previous agreement rather than an objective standard, he viewed it as only 50 volts

more rather than a dangerous 450 volts.

Similarly, in the Zimbardo experiment, had the ‘guards’ made the initial request outrageous, there would have likely been very few ‘prisoners’ who obeyed. But since the prisoners began to base the logic of the request on previous requests rather than an objective standard, the request seemed reasonable. It was this technique that made the Zimbardo and Milgram experiments successful in the sense of unveiling the potential of the abuse of power as well as blind obedience.

Research Design

The effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door phenomenon has been tested in the past. Many investigations within this paradigm generally combined the foot-in-the-door technique with either a face-to-face interaction or one by phone, most notably the American Cancer Society experiment, and the Field Study of Healthy Influence. In both studies either face-to-face interactions or telephone interactions were used, along with the foot-in-the-door technique, in an attempt to coerce the participants (Taylor, 1998). In order to observe an under-researched area, an experiment was carried out by means of the electronic-mail. An experimental design research, in the form of an interactive online computer survey, was conducted. The intent was to compare the rate of obedience to authority, both expert and legitimate, in college students versus faculty in order to examine the role that age and life experience play in the phenomenon as it relates to authority.

Participants The target population was college aged students and teachers, due to their accessibility. A sample of 204 Truman State University students (aged 18 to 24), and 6 faculty and/or staff participated in the study. Convenience sampling was used to recruit student participants from the faculty mentor’s summer classes as well as from other classes. Survey research methods were the most helpful means in identifying the effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door technique and answering the research question. An IRB form was submitted for approval of investigations involving the use of human subjects upon acceptance in the SRI, and was approved.

Apparatus and Instruments Hypothetical scenarios and legitimizing statements were developed; including a series of sequential and gradually escalating versus abruptly increasing requests for compliance. The scenarios tested not only for the foot-in-the-door sequential requests methods, but the role of legitimate and expert authority [See Appendix A]. These statements were designed to simulate typical foot-in-the-door approaches used to coerce people. Demographic questions were included in order to identify participants’ sex, age, race, and year in school/university role.

Procedure The participants began by answering factual and demographic questions on the computer. They were then introduced to a scenario followed by the

question: ‘would you comply?’ Next, the participants were asked to click either the ‘yes’ or ‘no’ radio buttons in a response to a request. The ‘yes’ button was used to signify “Yes, I would comply”, and the ‘no’ button was used to signify “No, I would not comply”. The purpose of this was to immerse the participants into the scenario in order to better replicate the foot-in-the-door technique. The subsequent question was based on the previous answer of yes or no. When the participant answered ‘yes’, the next question was slightly more invasive to the participant, but not considered unreasonable if they based it off of the previous question. If the participant answered ‘no’, a statement appeared attempting to legitimize the request, and then the same question was asked again. If the participant once again answered ‘no’, they were presented with another, less intrusive or indirect question, and subsequently asked the initial question again. If they responded ‘no’ for a third time the scenario was over. There were a total of three scenarios [See Appendix A]; these were used to gauge the extent of the participants’ willingness to obey different types of legitimate and expert authority in different situations. The participants were then debriefed and supplied with contact information for both the researcher and mentors.

Data Analysis The data were organized and analyzed through statistical correlation methods examining the foot-in-the-door technique as it relates to authority and different demographics. Descriptive statistics were used to identify the rate of direct compliance to authority, as well as the effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door technique, and a chi-square test was preformed to identify any demographic significance or independence. A chi-square test, is a proportional test of independence wherein the expected outcome is compared to the actual outcome and compared for significance,

Results

In this experiment the researcher used person-perception and attributional methodologies in order to advance the understandings of the foot-in-the-door phenomenon and obedience to authority. As a caveat, the results should be interpreted with the knowledge that improper construction of the scenarios may yield a response to another facet rather than the foot-in-the-door, or acquiescence. Due to construction flaws the majority of the findings come from research survey one; the other surveys can make claims about authority, but not about the foot-in-the-door, due to inconsistent operationalization. Meta-analytic surveys of the sequential request tactic indicate that the foot-in-the-door technique leads to greater compliance compared to control groups (Dillard, Hunter & Burgoon, 1984). The findings for the current study supports this previous research. The majority of the test population responded directly to authority, while the effect of the foot-in-the-door was moderate, though statistically significant. Because of the construction of

the scenarios the participants had to refuse a request before being presented with the foot-in-the-door opportunity, which provides strength to the findings.

A chi-square test of significance, which is a test of proportionality that works by comparing expected outcomes against observed outcomes, was performed to test for independence among demographics. The response to authority and susceptibility to the foot-in-the-door technique were tested by gender, race, and year in school/university role. The chi-square test results show that independence cannot be declared between race, year in school/university role, gender, and the foot-in-the-door [See Appendix B]. Although a statistical significance between gender and the rate of compliance towards authority was observed for female participants, it serves as the only statistically significant dependant variable. The chi-square test results show that independence cannot be declared between race, year in school/university role, males, and authority. However, the data suggest that there are certain instances or circumstances where there is a significant dependence on a demographic characteristic and the request [See Appendix B]. For example, there was no significant difference between the way minorities and non-minorities responded to authority, however, there was a dependence on minority status as to how a demographic responds to a particular request, primarily ‘dip your finger in the substance and taste it’.

Limitations

There are several important limitations to this particular study. First, a more stable and visible control should have been used, and the scenarios constructed in a more consistent matter. Two controls, one expert and one legitimate authorities, should have been used; their scenarios would consist of the same contingency questions, but contain no interim questions, in order to avoid the foot-in-the-door technique. Additionally, due to technical difficulties only three of the four constructed scenarios were posted and used in the survey; the experimenter intended to implement four surveys, two expert and two legitimate authority, to provide balance within the variables. Ironically, the extension of the experimental survey, whose participants were solicited primarily through email, coincided with an email phishing scam that unexpectedly plagued the university during the period in which the study was conducted. “Phishing” is the criminally fraudulent process of attempting to acquire sensitive information such as usernames, passwords and credit card details, by masquerading as a trustworthy entity in an electronic communication (Microsoft, 2006). This unforeseen contemporaneous problem was identified as an impediment to recruitment of participants.

Within each scenario, increased identification of the authority through more descriptive terms, such as the doctor in his white lab coat, or the police officer in his blue uniform and his newly awarded medal of honor, would help to authenticate the

authority's power. Once the power has been verified internally by the participants it can then be used to legitimize the foot-in-the-door process. An example indicting this dynamic can be seen in this study: 42% of participants in this study reported they would not put on a medical nightgown if instructed to do so by the doctor; while studies show that 93% patients rarely have issues with the medical gowns (Dillard, Hunter & Burgoon, 1984).

Discussion

It was Stanley Milgram who said, "It may be that we are puppets-puppets controlled by the strings of society. But at least we are puppets with perception, with awareness. And perhaps our awareness is the first step to our liberation" (Evans, 1976, p. 348). The purpose of this study was to identify the effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door technique of sequential requests when administered by a legitimate authority figure, and raise awareness, in an attempt to sever the strings controlled by society, of the coercive nature that these two possess.

Being enlightened about the effectiveness of sequential request techniques, as well as the unexpected power of authority, may help a person to stay away from an authority dominated situation. However, once an individual is already in such a situation, knowledge of the drastic degree of obedience that authorities are capable of eliciting may help to free the individual from the grip of the forces operating in that concrete situation (Blass, 1991). Perhaps by raising awareness of the coercive nature of authority as well as the subliminal effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door technique, an individual will be less reluctant to allow authority to define their actions and as a result be able to view the totality of a situation. It is when others allow authority to define their reality, or when one begins to base compliance with a request on whether or not they complied with a previous request, that individuals find themselves in a horrid situation, where they must claim "I was just following orders".

On April 9, 2004, Amanda Summers, a McDonalds' manager, was convinced to strip search one of her employees under the instruction of what she believed to be a police officer; In 2003, Private Lynndie England abused and tortured military detainees on orders from her authority at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq; In the summer of 1941, Reichsfuehrer SS Himmler exterminated millions of Jewish people on the orders of his authority (Wolfson, 2007; Kraehenbuehl, 2004; Zagorin, 2005). All three individuals, during their respective trials, said to some form that they were just "following orders", and "did not realize the gravity of their actions" (Palmer, 2005; Kraehenbuehl, 2004; Zagorin, 2005). The foot-in-the-door combined with the 'power' of authority offers a strong explanation for these remarkable and almost unbelievable actions. Both the systematic and gradual increase of requests, and the

perceived legitimacy of the authority figure played a vital role in the outcome.

It has been suggested that legitimate authority is more effective than expert authority (Kuhm & Mann, 1974). Each individual possesses a minimal amount of expertise in every field. People tend to pit their expertise against an authority, before choosing whether or not to yield the legitimacy of authority (Helm & Morelli, 1985). This was evident in the doctor scenario of the current study, as well as in the Milgram experiment when the occupation of a participant was an electrician. The electrician pitted his expertise, knowing the powers of electricity and the effects it can have on humans, against the experimenter's expertise and chose not to comply with the expert authority. Legitimate authority is more difficult to question, it is more concentrated in that it encompasses an expertise in the field and therefore entails a sense of expert authority as well as legitimate. Often the two [expert and legitimate authority] cannot be separated entirely; a person is often seen as in charge and possessing expert knowledge on the subject matter (Shanah & Yahya, 1978). This concept refutes many critics of Milgram who state that his findings do not hold merit because the results of the experiment are not generalizable, due to the inability to identify which type of authority the subjects were responding to (Blass, 1999).

The scenarios in this study presented a situation wherein participants were forced to comply with or defy authority. It has been noted that legitimate authorities have the remarkable ability to define reality for the person who accepts his or her authority, and once the acceptance has occurred, there is a sense of obligation or responsibility felt towards the legitimate authority (Greenwood, 1982). This false sense of reality, as well as a dependence and/or feeling of obligation to authority, combine to yield significant rates of compliance. Milgram has identified this phenomenon as an agentic shift, which is defined as a state wherein the subject abdicates responsibility for their actions even though their behavior might potentially harm others (Milgram, 1976). Likewise, the foot-in-the-door phenomenon occurs as a result of individuals' tendencies to not view the totality of the situation. By basing one's actions on a previous request, people are unable to view the entirety of the situation or actions; as a result, people create their own reality which is only a portion of the actual reality of the situation. It would appear that the use of legitimate authority and the foot-in-the-door technique simultaneously imposes an artificial reality and makes it nearly impossible for one to define reality for themselves.

As previously mentioned, once the agentic shift occurs there is a strong dependency on authority. The agentic shift refers to the shift of subjects into a different experimental state which enables them to relinquish responsibility to the authority and, therefore, to follow orders without regard to their own morality (Blass, 1999). It serves as a determining moment or point of no return, where one is no longer an agent of their own actions. The significance of this shift is that the

individual now feels responsible to the authority directing him or her, yet feels no responsibility for the content of the actions the authority prescribes (Helm & Morelli, 1985). Once this shift occurs, people can be made to do outlandish things merely at the request of an authority; furthermore, proper implementation of the foot-in-the-door technique disguises the moment of agentic shift and causes the obedient individual to be unaware that they have foregone their right to choose and their own moralistic values.

It has been debated whether unconditional compliance should be viewed as destructive blind obedience or as one involving a more benign view centered on subjects' trust in the experimenter or authority. (Mixon, 1976). Because authority is a social construct and perception, it is handed out arbitrarily, with little or no merit to distinguish, socially, between who it is or is not awarded to under those circumstances. In this experiment, disobedience or defiance can be viewed as a strength in which people are not coerced by the foot-in-the-door technique and are able to maintain and act on their own moralistic principles, in the face of a perceived power.

There is an obvious association between power and legitimate authority; in addition this study has unveiled the overall effectiveness of the foot-in-the-door technique of sequential requests when administered by such authority. It is up to these members of the establishment to take advantage of the coercive tendencies imposed on them by society, and implement this technique to further ensure the safety of society at large. Further understanding and application of this technique will aid in issues such as: dispute resolution techniques, hostage-negotiation situations, cooperation of prison inmates, and even policy construction and implementation. With the correct legitimate authority prescribing reality, it would improve upon the quality of life in today's society.

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Appendix A

Traffic Stop

You are driving down the street in the afternoon when your favorite song comes on the radio. The song brings back memories of your child hood and the “good ol’ days”. You turn up the radio and sing along, smiling to yourself as almost forgotten memories come rushing back to you. It is at this moment that you notice flashing lights in your rear view mirror, you look a little harder and see that a police car is behind you with its’ lights flashing. You pull to the right and see the officer approaching your door.

Question: *Will you please roll down your window?* Answer “y” or “n” y

Question: *Will you please turn off your car?* Answer “y” or “n” y

Question: *May I please see your license?* Answer “y” or “n” y

The officer goes to his car, you see him calling in your drivers license and license plate number, after a few moments he returns to your car.

Question: *Will you please step out of the vehicle?* Answer “y” or “n” n

Legitimizing statement: 33% of pull over’s result in the driver being asked to step out of the car.

Question: *Will you please step out of the vehicle?* Answer “y” or “n” n

Question: *Will you please take off your seat belt?* Answer “y” or “n” y

Question: *Did you know you were speeding 65mph in a school zone?* Answer “y” or “n” n

Question: *Will you please step out of the vehicle?* Answer “y” or “n” y (if no, the scenario is over)

The officer takes you back to his patrol vehicle telling you “You seem like a good kid who was just speeding drastically in a school zone. Typically I’m supposed to perform a sobriety test, and look for signs of substance abuse, but I’m not going to do that. However a quick search of the vehicle is required in situations like these”.

Question: *May I search your vehicle?* Answer “y” or “n” n

Legitimizing statement: The dashboard camera not only captured you getting pulled over, but also being escorted to the police car. The administration will see that the police officer did not properly do his job by searching your vehicle. The officer has been nice and respectful towards you, and it would be a shame if you got him in trouble.

Question: *May I search your vehicle?* Answer “y” or “n” y

Upon searching your vehicle the officer comes back with a bag of white powder which you are absolutely certain was not in your car moments ago. He claims that it is cocaine and the amount present is considered as intent to distribute. You attempt

to plead your ignorance towards the bag and the substance, but it is to no avail. The officer informs you that if you dip your pinky finger in the bag and taste the substance, he will believe you if you say it is not cocaine. You are aware of the fact that cyanide looks very similar to cocaine, but is poisonous if ingested; conversely you are aware that powdered sugar looks similar to cocaine and you agreeing to the request would confirm your innocence.

Question: *Will you dip your finger into the substance and taste it?* Answer “y” or “n” n

Legitimizing statement: Cyanide and anthrax are the only powdery white substances that are poisonous in such small portions, they are both equally difficult to attain.

Question: *Will you dip your finger into the substance and taste it?* Answer “y” or “n” n

Question: *Would it make you feel better if I did it first?* Answer “y” or “n” y

The officer tastes the substance and believes it to be sugar, but still requires you to taste it.

Question: *Will you dip your finger into the substance and taste it?* Answer “y” or “n” n

Thank you for your participation.

The scenario is over.

If this scenario generated any feelings of discomfort and you would like to seek some help, here is some information on appropriate services available to you. For counseling services: Truman’s University Counseling Services is located at 202 E. Patterson (next to Grim Hall). University Counseling Services is open from 8-11:30 am and 1-5 pm Monday through Friday. Telephone number: 660-785-4014 or Victim Support Services is located on 1800 E. La Harpe. Office/Victim Center: 665-0021; Crisis Line: 665-1617.

Appendix B

Table 1A: Authority (Exit Vehicle) * Race Cross tabulation

			Race		Total
			Non-Minority	Minority	Non-Minority
Authority (exit Vehicle)	Yes	Count	155	23	178
		Expected Count	155.1	22.9	178.0
	No	Count	41	6	47
		Expected Count	40.9	6.1	47.0
Total		Count	196	29	225
		Expected Count	196.0	29.0	225.0

Table 1B: Chi-Square Tests: Authority (Exit Vehicle) * Race

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.001(b)	1	.977		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.001	1	.977		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.599
Linear-by-Linear Association	.001	1	.977		
N of Valid Cases	225				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.06.

Table 2A: Authority (Search Vehicle) * Race Cross tabulation

			Race		Total
			Non-Minority	Minority	Non-Minority
Authority (search vehicle)	Yes	Count	112	17	129
		Expected Count	111.6	17.4	129
	No	Count	55	9	64
		Expected Count	55.4	8.6	64.0
Total		Count	167	26	193
		Expected Count	167.0	26.0	193.0

Table 2B: Chi-Square Tests Authority (Search Vehicle) * Race

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.029(b)	1	.865		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.029	1	.866		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.514
Linear-by-Linear Association	.029	1	.866		
N of Valid Cases	193				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 8.62.

Table 3A: Authority (Dip & Taste) * Race Cross-tabulation

			Race		Total
			Non-Minority	Minority	Non-Minority
Authority (dip & taste)	Yes	Count	18	2	20
		Expected Count	17.4	2.6	20.0
	No	Count	102	16	118
		Expected Count	102.6	15.4	118.0
Total		Count	120	18	138
		Expected Count	120.0	18.0	138.0

Table 3B: Chi-Square Tests Authority (Dip & Taste) * Race

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.191(b)	1	.662		
Continuity Correction(a)	.006	1	.938		
Likelihood Ratio	.203	1	.652		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.49
Linear-by-Linear Association	.190	1	.663		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.61.

Table 4A: Foot-in-the-Door (Exit Vehicle) * Race Cross-tabulation

			Race		Total
			Non-Minority	Minority	Non-Minority
FID (exit vehicle)	Yes	Count	12	3	15
		Expected Count	12.5	2.5	15.0
	No	Count	8	1	9
		Expected Count	7.5	1.5	9.0
Total		Count	20	4	24
		Expected Count	20.0	4.0	24.0

Table 4B: Chi-Square Tests Foot-in-the-door (Exit Vehicle) * Race

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.320(b)	1	.572		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.336	1	.562		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.514
Linear-by-Linear Association	.307	1	.580		
N of Valid Cases	24				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.50.

Table 5A: Foot-In-the-Door (Dip & Taste) * Race Cross-tabulation

			Race		Total
			Non-Minority	Minority	Non-Minority
FID (dip & tasteP)	Yes	Count	6	0	6
		Expected Count	5.2	.8	6.0
	No	Count	33	6	39
		Expected Count	33.8	5.2	39.0
Total		Count	39	6	45
		Expected Count	39.0	6.0	45.0

Table 5B: Chi-Square Tests Foot-In-the-Door (Dip & Taste) * Race

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.065(b)	1	.302		
Continuity Correction(a)	.150	1	.699		
Likelihood Ratio	1.854	1	.173		
Fisher's Exact Test				.576	.401
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.041	1	.307		
N of Valid Cases	45				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .80.

Table 6A: Gender * Authority (Exit Vehicle) Cross-tabulation

			Authority (exit vehicle)		Total
			Yes	No	Yes
Gender	Male	Count	60	11	71
		Expected Count	56.2	14.8	71.0
	Female	Count	118	36	154
		Expected Count	121.8	32.2	154.0
		Count	178.0	47.0	225.0
		Expected Count	178.0	47.0	225.0

Table 6B: Chi-Square Tests: Authority (Exit Vehicle) * Gender

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.828(b)	1	.176		
Continuity Correction(a)	1.382	1	.240		
Likelihood Ratio	1.904	1	.168		
Fisher's Exact Test				.218	.119
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.820	1	.177		
N of Valid Cases	225				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.83.

Table 7A: Gender * Authority (Search Vehicle) Crosstabulation

			q13		Total
			Yes	No	Yes
Gender	Male	Count	41	21	62
		Expected Count	41.4	20.6	62.0
	Female	Count	88	43	131
		Expected Count	87.6	43.4	131.0
Total	Count	129	64	193	
	Expected Count		129.0	64.0	193.0

Table 7B: Chi-Square Tests : Authority (Search Vehicle) * Gender

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.021(b)	1	.885		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.021	1	.885		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.505
Linear-by-Linear Association	.021	1	.886		
N of Valid Cases	193				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.56.

Table 8A: Gender* Authority (Dip & Taste) Crosstabulation

			Authority (dip & taste)		Total
			Yes	No	Yes
Gender	Male	Count	5	37	42
		Expected Count	6.1	35.9	42.0
	Female	Count	15	81	96
		Expected Count	13.9	82.1	96.0
Total	Count	20	118	138	
	Expected Count		20.0	118.0	138.0

Table 9B: Chi-Square Tests: Gender* Authority (Dip & Taste)

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.326(b)	1	.568		
Continuity Correction(a)	.095	1	.758		
Likelihood Ratio	.337	1	.562		
Fisher's Exact Test				.793	.388
Linear-by-Linear Association	.324	1	.569		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.09.

Table 10A: Gender * Foot-in-the-Door (Exit Vehicle) Cross-tabulation

			FID (exit vehicle)		Total
			Yes	No	Yes
Gender	Male	Count	2	1	3
		Expected Count	1.9	1.1	3.0
	Female	Count	13	8	21
		Expected Count	13.1	7.9	21.0
Total		Count	15	9	24
		Expected Count	15.0	9.0	24.0

Table 10B: Chi-Square Tests: Gender * Foot-in-the-Door (Exit Vehicle)

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.025(b)	1	.873		
Continuity Correction(a)	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.026	1	.872		
Fisher's Exact Test				1.000	.692
Linear-by-Linear Association	.024	1	.876		
N of Valid Cases	24				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 2 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.13.

Table 11A: University status* Authority (Exit Vehicle) Cross-tabulation

			Authority (exit vehicle)		Total	
			Yes	No	Yes	
University Status	Freshman	Count	6	1	7	
		Expected Count	5.5	1.5	7.0	
	Sophomore	Count	26	5	31	
		Expected Count	24.5	6.5	31.0	
	Junior	Count	43	13	56	
		Expected Count	44.3	11.7	56.0	
	Senior	Count	85	25	110	
		Expected Count	87.0	23.0	110.0	
	Graduate Student	Count	12	3	15	
		Expected Count	11.9	3.1	15.0	
	Faculty/ Staff	Count	6	0	6	
		Expected Count	4.7	1.3	6.0	
	Total		Count	178	47	225
			Expected Count	178.0	47.0	225.0

Table 11B: Chi-Square Tests: University status* Authority (Exit Vehicle)

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.609(a)	5	.760		
Likelihood Ratio	3.872	5	.568		
Linear-by-Linear Association	.004	1	.949		
N of Valid Cases	225				

a 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.25.

Table 12A: University Status * Authority (Dip & Taste) Cross-tabulation

			Authority (dip & taste)		Total	
			Yes	No	Yes	
University Status	Freshman	Count	0	6	6	
		Expected Count	.9	5.1	6.0	
	Sophomore	Count	4	18	22	
		Expected Count	3.2	18.8	22.0	
	Junior	Count	3	30	33	
		Expected Count	4.8	28.2	33.0	
	Senior	Count	9	56	65	
		Expected Count	9.4	55.6	65.0	
	Graduate Student	Count	0	6	6	
		Expected Count	.9	5.1	6.0	
	Faculty/ Staff	Count	4	2	6	
		Expected Count	.9	5.1	6.0	
	Total		Count	20	118	138
			Expected Count	20.0	118.0	138.0

Table 12B: Chi-Square Tests: University Status * Authority (Dip & Taste)

			Asymp. Sig.	Exact Sig.	Exact Sig.
	Value	df	(2-sided)	(2-sided)	(1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.254(a)	5	.006		
Likelihood Ratio	13.324	5	.021		
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.292	1	.070		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a 5 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .87.

Brave New Girl: *Girls' Life* and Answer-Seeking Adolescents

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*The relationship between media and tweens (9-13 year old girls) is often not understood. Yet studies have suggested a strong relationship between young readers and the literature they choose to read. The purpose of this research is to examine concerns of tweens by looking at reader-submitted questions to the columnists of *Girls' Life* magazine, a magazine that claims to be the top publication for 10 to 15-year-old girls. By analyzing the contents of this particular magazine, the researcher has developed a few points of notice: girls are much less frequently concerned about their self-perception via their body than assumed; girls are developing stronger senses of confidence in terms of romantic relationships (yet, they also seem to want to rush physical intimacy); they are seemingly comfortable with discussing more controversial subjects than previously thought (such as rape and cutting); lastly, relationship issues with those closest to them ("BFF" or family member) are the most concerning to these girls, expressing strong signs of anxiety and fear when approaching the subject.*

“I’m only 13, and I want a baby ... like now! I need to be talked out of it because I know it’s not a good idea.”

I. Introduction

This is one of the many reader-submitted questions by readers of *Girls’ Life* magazine. It is striking in a number of ways: first, this young girl chose to discuss the subject of a potential pregnancy with a complete stranger; second, this stranger she chose to discuss this with happens to be around the age of 22; lastly, this girl has chosen a pop-culture magazine to be her source for growing-up guidance. Her decision to write to a popular magazine suggests a multitude of things one should be concerned about, and many already are: the influence of media on adolescent development, the maturity of content being exposed to an increasingly younger audience, and especially the possible disconnect of these girls from the “real world”. They are choosing to look towards literature and the Internet for answers versus having actual conversations with those qualified and capable of doing so.

This aforementioned girl is a prime example of the “tween” generation: she is no longer a child, yet too young to be considered a teen. She craves looking older and seeks to rush into adulthood. This girl is one of the millions of readers of *Girls’ Life*, a magazine that claims to be the top magazine for girls ten to fifteen. According to their Web site, “Parents can trust *GL* to guide their girls through the growing-up years—without making them grow up too fast.” Established in 1994, this bi-monthly publication has 2.1 million readers, in the United States and elsewhere. It also has a highly interactive Web site, where thousands of girls discuss features of the magazine and give advice to each other.

The purpose of this research project is to explore the major concerns actually expressed by these young girls to *Girls’ Life*, and to evaluate the content in the magazine. It is important to consider the background research related to this issue prior to making a valid assessment. By reviewing literature on adolescent development, the sexualization of young females, and the media’s impact on girlhood, one can understand the need for more exploration of this issue.

II. Adolescent Development, the Media, and the Marketplace

David Gauntlett said it best: “Why explore the relationship between media, gender and identity? Media and communications are a central element of modern life, whilst gender and sexuality remain at the core of how we think about our identities.” No one can deny the media’s influence on American youth. Regardless of the particular degree by which the child is influenced, he or she is likely to make decisions based on the “lessons” that come from television shows they prefer or literature they

come across at the grocery store.

This time of adolescence is tough for both the guardians and the participants. They have reached the tweens: much too old to be considered a toddler, yet too young to be considered a teen. Defining a tween is often complex: “The tween, in its feminine incarnation, registers social ambiguities regarding maturity, sexuality and gender that call attention to uncertainties as to when a girl becomes, and ceases to be, a tween physically, chronologically or culturally” (Cook & Kaiser, 2004, p. 205). Scholars Cook and Kaiser also note that at this time, tweens often “visualize” their feelings on their age and sexuality via clothing and fashion choices. Tweens, “by definition”, aspire to “up the age prestige ladder”, and they do this by testing boundaries and raising flags.

This early adolescent tween behavior bears a strong resemblance to the conformist stage of ego development within psychologist Jane Loevinger’s (1976) model, especially its description of individuals’ strong dependence upon group sanctioned values and norms: “Conformity is insured by their tendency to be sensitized to expectations and preferences of others; anxiety is their radar or emotional sanction; fashion supplants conscience, and personality supplants character” (p. 92).

As children reach this time of adolescence, they begin to develop their own form of self-awareness. Each develops a deeper understanding of their personal beliefs, ethics and social codes. They gradually become exposed to ideas of sexuality and gender roles, in addition to cultural norms. While various factors can be attributed to the socialization of adolescent youth, many studies have suggested that the dominant influence within a child’s life is their peers and the material culture influenced by the media. Adolescence is a time when girls feel most exposed—they must search for self-identity while simultaneously being judged by both males from a sexual standpoint and females with judgments of every sort.

Tween socialization is brutal, suggests Margaret Talbot (2002). Talbot has observed that the tweens stage is a time where girls are exposed to a multitude of perspectives, and become especially concerned about the kind of person their friends perceive them to be: “all girls care deeply about the ways of the clique — and that what they do in their ‘relational’ lives takes precedence over all other aspects of their emerging selves.” Researchers Donna Eder, Catherine Colleen Evans and Stephen Parker (1995) also examine the role of peer acceptance and approval within young girls social lives. They observe that “one consistent and somewhat troublesome finding in research on adolescent females is that they are more concerned with popularity than achievement or success” (p. 154).

Eder. et al (1995) add that material goods such as particular clothing pieces are strongly associated with being “popular”. With that said, tween consumers are

becoming a significant contributor to the retail market economy. Girls aged 7 – 14 spent \$11.5 billion on apparel last year, taking a huge percentage of the consumer marketplace, according to a leading market research company, the *New Product Development Group*.

While parents might be wary of this trend, media outlets and merchandisers have pounced on these potential patrons. This demographic has provided the rationale for introducing stores like GAP Kids, for members are “not quite big enough for adult clothes” yet too “style conscious for kid sizes” (p. 54). Media materials are being tailored to reach this indefinite yet highly profitable audience.

III. What Tweens Read

“To some parents any reading is good, but we disagree,” assert scholars Sharon Lamb and Mikel Brown (2007). They note that research exists that demonstrates magazine reading can actually be harmful for young girls: “[t]he more they realize that thin and sexy is the ideal, the more they want to attain it, and the less happy they are about themselves” (p. 189). Magazines, according to Lamb and Brown, promote self-analysis and criticism as an actual “activity of girlhood” (p.198). The content of most tween and teenage magazines are similar. Upon flipping through any tween or teen magazine, one will find a plethora of product promotions, fashion trends, cute boys, celebrity interviews, and, of course, prescriptive pieces such as advice columns. These types of magazines “set the agenda” for tween girls: “the sheer number of stories on one topic can give the impression that the topic is what is most important in girls’ lives” (Oppliger, 2008, p. 134).

Looking at the aforementioned research on adolescent development and the messages magazines present, a continuing debate exists on exactly how and to what intensity do magazines affect readers. A study by Joke Hermes (1995) reminded researchers to not assume “texts are always significant” in terms of cultural studies, as relationships between media and women weren’t as interrelated as one might assume (148). With that said, however, one’s age or maturity level might be related to the absorption level: Scholar Dawn Currie (1999) conducted a similar study using 13 and 17-year-old females which demonstrated a stronger relationship between the readers and their enthusiasm for the content presented. Hermes had much older respondents than those that are attracted to the features of a tween or teen magazine.

Of the most popular magazines aimed for females, *Girls’ Life* appeared to have similar content to that of teen magazines, yet the publication attempts to reach out to an even younger audience—beginning with ten year olds. *Girls’ Life* serves as a pop culture essential with a bi-monthly readership of over 3 million females. While the magazine Web site claims they are intended for 10 to eighteen year-olds, their

marketing research states that about 64 percent of their readers are 12-14. It is a rarity for a reader over the age of sixteen, which means the magazine readership consists of mostly middle-school students—the tweens. To state the same magazine is fit for both a fourth grader and a first-year college student is rather bold and unlikely. Instead, the magazine is attempting to reach the middle of the age group and those younger than 10, since tweens are frequently defined as craving to appear older (Lamb & Brown, 2007).

The purpose of this study will be to explore the following research question: After careful analysis of tween-submitted concerns and editorial responses, does the content of *Girls' Life* serve as a catalyst for tween self-criticism?

IV. Methodology

Conducting a simple content analysis would not yield particularly useful results, inasmuch as a textual analysis alone cannot fully provide researchers with a “cause and effect” analysis, as Hermes (1995) previously suggested. In order to better explore the aforementioned research question, the methodological approach employed for the current project would require some refinement over past methods. An essentially quasi-experimental content analysis was selected for that purpose. By using a modified coding analysis, the researcher developed a category list using themes and patterns from an initial scan of *GL* from June 2006 to July 2008, then proceeded to numerically codify each question to determine topic frequencies. The primary focus was on question-and-answer sections (advice columns) within *GL* magazine. The researcher also conducted a generalized assessment on the content of feature articles and other prescriptive oriented pieces.

In terms of procedure, the first step of this project was to determine the overall content themes within the advice columns. There were five initial categories: *body*, *personal*, *family*, *friends/social*, *romance*. The body category represented items involving health, body image, and nutrition; the “personal” category embodied questions related to the intrapersonal self and issues that are often associated with permanent psychological damage, extremely controversial, and they are rarely talked about in classrooms (.e.g., rape and abuse). The family category included conflicts with parents and siblings, between parents and siblings, and also issues with their extended family. The friends/social category included conflicts amongst friends, their social circles, and the subject of popularity. Lastly, the romance category included everything involving how to attract their desired partner, how to keep their relationship strong, or how to end the relationship. This category also included questions involving male behavior in general.

The four advice columns that were analyzed were “Dear Carol,” “Ask Lucky”,

“Dear Dave” and “Bod Squad”. “Dear Carol” is an advice column run by Carol Weston, a woman often referred to as the “Dear Abby for girls”. Her section runs a total of three pages every month, answering about twelve questions per issue. “Ask Lucky” is a one-page column written by a *Girls’ Life* staff member, answering five questions per issue. “Dear Dave” is a column dedicated to answering five questions per issue on relationships and interactions with the opposite sex, answered by two males. Lastly, the “Bod Squad” is a one-page column written by *Girls’ Life* staffers covering five questions specifically related to health and nutrition.

For each question, the researcher chose one category for which the question fit best. If any uncertainties existed, the researcher looked at the response for how the question was interpreted, which always provided the answer as to where the question should be placed. The results from the initial coding were not surprising. Researchers placed a larger emphasis on male behavior and relationships. For columns alone, the “romance” category totaled almost one-third of all questions per issue. Following that were questions relating to friends, social issues, or family. Hardly any issues related to health and intrapersonal issues.

After analyzing the columns, the researcher revised the coding scheme to create a project to be used with SPSS software and Microsoft Excel. This new scheme includes more specific analysis per category, making each column potentially applicable to more than one criterion. The researcher developed 26 categories to sort and evaluate each column (see Appendix 1). Of those, topics divided types of romances (pursuing, maintaining, or ending a relationship, etc.), issues dealing with parents or friends, types of abuse, and expressed concerns of one’s perception of self (concerns on the body[non-weight]; concerns on weight; concerns on particular habits or behaviors; concerns on background [factors beyond their control]), among others. The inclusion of inferred emotions as found within each question (pain and sadness; fear and anxiety; anger and hostility; lastly, jealousy) provided another window of assessment.

In order to maintain an effective coding system, the researcher had a team of three other individuals that met with the researcher and trained to code the columns in the same way as the researcher. Then they were given twenty indiscriminately selected questions from the four types of advice columns to code. Post-coding, there lacked an incredibly strong coder-reliability, with only forty-four percent of categories in unanimous agreement (76 percent of questions had three out of four researchers in agreement). The bulk of the categories that were not in synch were those involving inferred emotions and the “perception of self” categories. The researcher then re-edited those categories to be more specific, with a key change switching from “inferred” to “explicit” displays of emotion. Upon revising the categories and providing the coders with twenty new questions, there was a large jump in

agreements—93 percent perfect matches. The researcher proceeded to use the revised content categories to evaluate every advice column printed in *Girls' Life* from June 2006 to July 2008 (a total of 324 questions).

One particular flaw that can be associated with this type of research project is that this research was conducted with the postulation that the selection process for which questions were published was based upon the frequency of received letters on the specific topic. Editorial decisions might be made to publish the more risqué questions for the sake of sales, however, most professional newspapers use the aforementioned and more accurate practice when deciding which questions to answer in its publication. Additionally, there could have been editorial decisions made to not include certain topics in the magazine.

V. Research findings

By analyzing the contents of *GL* advice columns and observing the general feature content of the magazine, the researcher has noticed some significant trends in eight major categories.

“That’s a toughie…”

The magazine did choose to print a number of controversial questions, frequently under the subhead of “That’s a toughie”. Of these, they often dealt with the subject of abuse, either to a friend or they themselves were victim. The subject of sexual abuse was discussed a few times (six), in addition to suicidal activity and substance abuse (also totaling six). Controversial language was also used in many questions, with the presupposition that all readers already understood terms like “rape” and “abortion”. A few girls also used terms to describe other girls (or themselves) as “whores” or “strippers”.

Sexuality was another issue included in the magazine that was adult in content and not necessarily appropriate for young readers. Homosexuality and bisexuality was brought up in both columns and a features piece. Of the questions reviewed, there were only three concerning homosexuality (one regarding bisexuality). *GL*’s founding editor Karen Bokram defended the pieces on homosexuality by asserting that homosexuality an important topic girls should know about, and explained to parents that it was a good decision to publish them because “no one will ‘turn gay’ because they read about it in *Girls' Life*” (June/July 2008, p.30).

Questions relating to sexual activity and physical intimacy were asked twenty-five times, totaling to about 8% of all questions. These questions ranged from simply eager to kiss a boy to “desperately anticipating sex”. Of these, included a 12-year-old girl describing a situation with her 16-year-old boyfriend:

“... [t]he other day, we were in my room and he turned out the lights and got very close and made out with me, and, well, you know. Do you think he’ll try to make me not a virgin?” (December 2007/January 2008, p. 16).

This “you know” is an allusion to perhaps oral sex, which is considered a large trend in recent teen sexual activity. With that said, however, there are no questions about oral sex, but sexual intercourse is a topic of mention in almost every issue. Masturbation is brought up twice: once as a response for the desire to have sex (as an alternative), and second to justify the appropriateness of it, as a young girl and her friends were embarrassed to talk about it. *Girls’ Life* claims 89% of young girls masturbate already (age group and source not cited), so not only did they deem masturbation to be a healthy activity, but essentially encourage it by noting that almost every other girl does.

“Hang on to that Hottie”

Romance and a rush for physical intimacy were prime subjects of interest for these tween readers. About one in five questions were related to either the pursuit of a relationship, efforts to maintain a relationship, how to end a relationship, or how to respectfully decline one. Of the romance questions, advice for how to win over “crushes” or to simply find a boyfriend accounted for exactly half of the submitted concerns. Many girls were seeking advice on how to advance the relationship physically, and some concerns stemmed from girls as early as 13 (although most did not include ages, so they might be younger).

A majority of tweens sought obtaining or maintaining a relationship through intellectual activity versus attracting them physically. They also were almost always interested (and often a bit too eager) about “making the first move” versus waiting for the boy to take action. Of those that are in a relationship, the young girls consistently appeared to be in control, for there were no expressed concerns of controlling boyfriends. The magazine’s feature and Web content acknowledges this pattern of assertiveness, yet does so with the assumption that most girls overdo it. In the April/May 2008 issue, there is an article dedicated to giving “your guy breathing room,” with the assumption that most girls jump into relationships and perform their “best impression of a Velcro strip” (p. 28). Additionally, the same piece is an attempt to protect girls, by warning that “slobbering all over [your boyfriend] sets you up to be taken for granted.” With that said, however, *GL* presents especially forward tips on flirting with boys. For example, “On Friday, ask him what he’s doing this weekend. If he doesn’t have much going on, tell him he needs to find some better plans. Yours!” (June/July 2007, p. 82).

The magazine also continues to educate male stereotypes into its female readers. While five-percent of questions were dedicated specifically to questions on male behavior, there were at least two features pieces per issue addressing boy thoughts and behavior per issue. The content of these pieces often defined boys as being oblivious to girl signals, interested in sports, into farting jokes, and “a little slower than girls in [the relationship] department”. In order to have a successful relationship, there is a stress to be low-key and relaxed.

Tween Trendsetting

Tween self-perceptions were surprisingly pleasant. There were rarely expressed concerns with weight and body image. Additionally, there were rarely any physical comparisons with others. Many of these questions were more concerned with whether or not their particular body type was considered normal. In terms of fashion and accessories, there was no interest in seeking clothing tips and the like. Only five-percent of questions made comments about their physical features, and one-percent about their weight.

Fashion spreads and beauty tips were most of the content of the magazine, encouraging femininity and materialism. A majority of the pages were embedded advertisements, and paid advertisements were also heavily centered on fashion and makeup. Of these, almost all of the models and cover girls were fair skinned. Additionally, all of the girls in the pages had small figures and were very glamorous. The girls, which looked in the 13 to 15-year-old range, were outlandish and unrealistic: they wore heavy makeup and had elaborate hairstyles. The clothing they sported, be it a simple top or a fancy dress, were also very expensive. Dresses and blouses were regularly more than \$50 per item (some over one-hundred dollars), and beauty products were also pricy.

A bathing suit spread had young girls in bikinis and revealing one-pieces, with items costing more than the average suit. Accessories such as a belt or shoes for more than \$30 were also frequently featured. This was especially intriguing because the average income for families with a median income of a little over \$56,000. With that said, the odds are a majority of these families could not or would not even think of spending that much on particular fashions for their children.

“Does Your BFF Have Your Back?”

Many questions reviewed sought answers to particular conflicts they were immediately experiencing that involved their best friends, referred to as their “BFF” (best friend forever). This category came up the second most frequently in advice columns. These questions often involved how to discuss a specific topic with that

person without hurting their feelings.

Much of the magazine's personality quizzes and content often dealt with friendships and conflicts with one's BFF. The themes stemming from this content came with the assumption that the relationships with their best friends were often full of drama. They also had pieces that suggested one's best friend might be speaking poorly about them, or not quite as true of a friend as believed. Another frequent theme is that they are bound to betray their girlfriend in some way:

"Your girl spaced, spilling some super-secret deets. Can you steer her off the bummin' friend route and confide in her again?" (April/May 2008, p. 22).

This is an example of a features article in *GL*, one of many that presuppose that girls are bound to cause problems and cannot be trusted. By presenting friendships in this way, not only are they going with current stereotypes that claim girls are dramatic, but it also encourages the girls to think twice before getting close to their female peers on an emotional level.

"All in the Family"

Family conflicts, or more specifically the issues involving parents, were the most frequent dilemmas featured in *Girls' Life* columns. The story of "mean" parents, often unsympathetic to their girl's desire for a cellular phone or bra, came up frequently. Additionally were some accounts that suggested a parent's fear of their child growing older, such as the refusal to buy particular clothing such as bras and the disapproval of romantic relationships, among others.

A surprisingly large number of column questions centered on possible affairs or affairs for which the child knew about but was afraid to tell the other parent. Responses to these issues were to go seek a counselor to sort out the situation for it was "ultimately [the girl's] decision" (April/May 2007). Serious questions of how to deal with parents that had emotional issues, such as a mother abandoning her family, appeared fairly often as well.

Girls' Life had a limited amount of content (excluding columns) dedicated to family relationships. Of these, they usual involved communicating with parents to get what they want, be it a piercing or simply more freedom.

Dilemmas and Social Ethics

Almost one in every ten questions was related to social ethics, often admitting guilt for a particular action (like shoplifting) or determining the right thing to do in a sticky situation. Drug use and alcohol were rarely mentioned in *GL*, but when brought up, it was always associated with how to help a friend or boyfriend quit their involvement with the particular substance. Ethical issues such as cheating and lying are

not brought up in magazine content often, however, *GL* acknowledged it as a serious issue; a single piece in the April/May 2008 stated that “38 percent of [teens surveyed] believe it may be necessary to cheat, plagiarize, lie or be violent to succeed” (p. 13) Additionally, one in four felt that cheating on a test was “acceptable”.

Emotional Expressions

These girls expressed serious vulnerabilities when writing questions to *Girls' Life*. When looking at direct, explicit emotions, thirteen percent of questions expressed feelings of loneliness, sadness, or depression. Another thirteen percent had expressed feelings of anxiety or fear in their questions. Rage and hostility were not frequently expressed, however, it usually was seen when expressing hatred for a particular individual. Jealousy was rarely expressed (eight instances total), but it was mostly associated with being jealous of a girl's interaction with boys.

“Karen The Editor's Page”

The “letters from the editor” were more so directed at parents versus the actual readers, and provided a window to *Girls' Life's* response to the rapid maturation of girls. These letters served almost as defense mechanisms towards angry parents, upset at the editorial decisions to include certain stories in *Girls' Life*. For example, a report on teen pregnancy (February/March 2008) resulted in a number of parents complaining that *GL* is “contributing to the problem by discussing sex”, yet the editor adds “as if our readers had NEVER heard of it before *GL*” (p. 30). The issue here is no longer about the teenage pregnancy, but it is about the assumption of the knowledge of its readers. This statement then serves as a clear reflection of *GL's* stance on the issue of tween sexualization: if they have already heard about it, then it is acceptable to discuss it further.

VI. Research Inferences

This research contributes to the disconnect between adults and the tween and teen generations. These girls are now developing a sense of trust with strangers (regardless of their expertise), and it could ultimately be dangerous and lead to more problems. Additionally, by portraying these types of questions in a magazine geared for those as early as ten, they may essentially be encouraging girls to think about ideas and themes they might not have thought about otherwise—it can present them with the mindset that they are the only ones not thinking about pregnancy, and should be. Magazines are not the only things encouraging young girls to engage in this type of way of thinking: television and the Internet are also prime examples of ways for a girl to gain full access to an assortment of messages parents and educators may deem

inappropriate.

But a parent may subscribe to *GL* or any other magazine without even being aware of the actual material being discussed inside each issue. For example, at first glance, the April/May 2008 cover conveys a sense of fun and sheer femininity: A portrait of two female pop-stars, reading “Aly & AJ: Sisters *and* BFFs!”, the inevitable “The #1 Thing Guys Wish You Knew”, and a fashion preview, “Cute New Looks for Cheap!” The magazine also indulges in a girl’s social anxieties and habitual self-criticism by including a quiz called “Does your BFF [best friend forever] have your back?” and a feature called “Getting a Bikini Bod, Just In Time For Summer!”

Certain behaviors and habits young girls develop may also stem from the girls *Girls’ Life* chooses to recognize, such as celebrities Miley Cyrus (Disney) or Nickelodeon’s Jamie Lynn Spears. As both receive much positive exposure, both of these stars, however, have also been involved in seemingly inappropriate behavior for girls their age: In July 2008, nearly-nude photos of Miley were discovered (it was rumored she took them for her boyfriend, another Disney channel star), and Jamie Lynn recently had a baby at age 16. But these two girls have another thing in common: They both were cover girls for *GL*.

Of course, these girls were featured prior to their misdeeds. Yet both were also presented as wholesome girls that cared about the same things most people imagine every girl cares for: boys, furry animals, and their body image, among other things. While these two girls have reached fame and idolization without necessarily the help of *Girls’ Life*, the publication serves as an example of the constant pandering to the socially constructed needs of a tween girl.

The content of these magazines do little to help young girls to stray away from stereotypical girl behavior: encouraging them to focus on boys, fashion, and their social relations. For after studying the content of the past two years of *Girls’ Life* magazine, the issues clearly emphasize the assumed wants of contemporary young girls: continuously following the trends of similar publications instead of being proactive and establishing new messages for girls to think about. This publication is joining the similar ranks of others by trafficking behavioral stereotypes and encouraging the kind of prescriptive behaviors that has been reinforced by the media for decades.

By analyzing the contents of this particular magazine, the researcher has developed a few points of notice: girls are much less frequently concerned about their self-perception via their body than assumed; girls are developing stronger senses of confidence in terms of romantic relationships (yet, they also seem to want to rush physical intimacy); they are seemingly comfortable with discussing more controversial subjects than previously thought (such as rape and cutting); lastly, relationship issues

with those closest to them (“BFF” or family member) are the most concerning to these girls, expressing strong signs of anxiety and fear when approaching the subject.

VII. Further Research

As previously noted, it is impossible to understand the actual influence of *Girls’ Life* without analyzing exactly to what extent readers trust *GL* and are influenced by its content. Another study related to this project could be a survey or interview process involving *GL* readers, or possibly a retrospective survey of former *Girls’ Life* readers. Additionally, a quasi-experimental analysis similar to the methodology used in this project could be applied to the non-column prescriptive pieces of the magazine, or another magazine altogether. Tween research in general is limited; more research is needed to understand the actual knowledge of this age group, and how these girls are being educated on a variety of issues, especially issues many may consider to be of a more adult nature (sexuality, dating, abuse, etc.). The relationship between the rapid maturation of young girls and new forms of media, especially the Internet, need to also be looked at when understanding the development of adolescent girls throughout the nation.

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Appendix

I. Coding categories

BODLKS	Explicit concerns on perception of self- looks (non-weight related)
BODWGT	Explicit concerns on perception of self- looks (weight related)
SELF01	Explicit concerns on perception of self- habits and particular mannerisms
SELF02	Explicit concerns on perception of self- background-related (factors beyond their control, ie. Parent’s income, race, etc.)
BODNUT	General questions on nutrition, health and the body
SOCETH	Conflicts within inner self related to social ethics (ie. Cheating, lying, stealing).
EMOT01	Explicit feelings of emotional pain and sadness.(Example key words: sad, depressed, alone)
EMOT02	Explicit feelings of emotional anxiety or fear. (Worried, nervous, eager, uncertain, helpless..)
EMOT03	Explicit feelings of emotional anger or hostility (Mad, upset, frustrated...)
EMOT04	Explicit feelings of jealousy
FAM01	Issues where parents or “family” as a whole are involved or explicitly mentioned; Conflict with parents; disagreements.
FAM02	Issues where siblings are involved or mentioned; Conflict with siblings.
FRNDS01	Conflicts with friends; “BFF” related conflicts; issues involving an identified set of individuals.
FRNDS02	Social dilemmas with peers and/or issues concerning popularity.
ROM01	Mention of wanting a relationship; pursuing a relationship/pursuing “crushes”.
ROM02	Mention of in a relationship; issue of maintaining a relationship.
ROM03	Mention of a breakup; issue of ending a relationship; denying a relationship (ie. Rejection and denial).
GUYBEH	Explicit question on guy behavior (ie. “why do guys do x?”)
LOVE	Word “love” mentioned in romantic setting
INNPLV	Taboo romantic interests (older man, online boyfriend, cousin)
SEXEX	Mention of physical intimacy or desire for physical intimacy; References to sexual acts, pornography, fantasies and heterosexual sexuality (kissing included)
HOMSEX	References to homosexuality

ABUS01	Physical abuse (themselves or other)
ABUS02	Verbal/psychological abuse (themselves or other); Teasing included
ABUS03	Sexual abuse (themselves or other)
ABUS04	Self-induced abuse/harm (themselves or other); ie. Cutting, eating disorders, etc.

Narcissism, Empathy, and Prosocial Behavior: An Online Survey

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In this study, an online survey was used to explore a relationship between narcissism, empathy, and prosocial behavior. It was hypothesized that students scoring higher on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory would be less likely to participate in a follow-up survey. There was a strong negative correlation between scores on the Narcissistic Personality Inventory and Mahrebian and Epstein's Emotional Empathy Scale. This was consistent with the notion that narcissism and empathy would operate differently to influence prosocial behavior. However, narcissism and empathy were not related to the likelihood of future helping. There were significant differences in the number of people willing to help in the different cost conditions. There were significant gender differences in both empathy and narcissism.

The purpose of this study was to use an online survey to explore a relationship between narcissism, empathy, and prosocial behavior among college students. Research suggests that people who are more narcissistic are less empathic, and that greater empathy increases the likelihood of helping. A negative correlation has been found between narcissism and empathy when participants were assessed with the *Narcissistic Personality Inventory* (NPI) and three measures of empathy (Watson et al., 1984). Results from highly controlled laboratory experiments found prosocial behavior to be mediated by emotional empathy and not by belongingness, state self-

esteem, mood, control, trust, or self-awareness, suggesting a positive correlation between empathy and the likelihood of helping (Twenge et al., 2007). In synthesizing this research, the investigator expected that narcissism and empathy would operate in different ways to influence helping, and hypothesized that those scoring higher on the NPI would be less likely to be willing to participate in a follow-up online survey while those high in empathy would be more likely to participate.

The NPI is the most widely used social psychological measure for the personality construct of narcissism. Unlike the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-IV-TR), which is used by clinical psychologists to diagnose someone as either “normal” or “narcissistic,” the NPI assesses participants on a continuous scale (Foster & Campbell, 2007). It is a forced-choice test which can be divided into seven subscales: entitlement, exploitiveness, vanity, superiority, exhibitionism, self-sufficiency, and authority (Kubarych, Deary, & Austin, 2004). For each item the participants must choose which of two statements is closer to their own feelings and beliefs, one choice being narcissistic and the other choice being non-narcissistic. An example of an exploitiveness item is:

A: I find it easy to manipulate people.

B: I don't like it when I find myself manipulating people.

For this one, “A” is the narcissistic choice. For every narcissistic selection, one point is added to the NPI score. Scores range from 0 to 40.

Mahrebian and Epstein's Emotional *Empathy Scale* (MEES) (1972) defines empathy as a “vicarious emotional response to the perceived emotional experiences of others” (p. 525). The MEES is a 9-point Likert Scale ranging from “very strong disagreement” to “very strong agreement” for items such as, “Seeing people cry upsets me,” or “I like to watch people open presents.”

For the current study, the researcher hypothesizes that 1.) people scoring *lower* on the NPI would be more likely to be willing to participate in an online follow-up survey, and 2.) people scoring *higher* on the MEES would be more likely to be willing to participate in an online follow-up survey. How do scores on these two respective scales affect likelihood of participation in the follow-up survey as an indicator of prosocial behavior?

Method

To explore this question, a survey was conducted to determine how narcissism and empathy would operate in different ways to influence helping behaviors.

Participants

An invitation to participate in an online survey was emailed to all students who were over the age of 18 and enrolled in non-psychology summer courses at Truman State University. Other students were recruited from psychology courses and offered extra-credit to participate. Of the 1,253 students invited to take part in the study, 132 participated. Of the 285 students offered extra-credit, 45 participated. There were a total of 177 participants, of whom 121 were female and 56 were male. The mean age was 21.59, ranging from 18 to 48. Only 10 participants were over the age of 23.

Measures

The survey asked participants to indicate their age, gender, major, and hours of course credit.

Raskin and Terry's (1988) NPI is a 40-item forced-choice test and is the most widely used social psychological measure of narcissism. Foster and Campbell (2007) report a mean of 15.63 ($SD = 6.77$) for a sample of 3,895 participants.

Mahrebian and Epstein's (1972) 9-point Likert Scale was reduced to a 6-point Likert Scale in order to accommodate an online survey. The Likert Scale used ranged from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree," omitting the "neutral" option. [SEE

Procedure

Students were randomly assigned to either a high-cost or low-cost helping condition based on the electronic link attached to their invitation. Students who were offered extra-credit were assigned independently of those in non-psychology courses in order to have a similar sample across the high and low cost conditions. All students were told that submitting their answers to the online survey constituted consent to participate in the study. This passive form of consent was used to preserve anonymity.

At the end of the survey, participants were told that there might be a follow-up study in the fall. Participants in the low-cost condition were asked whether or not they would be willing to participate in a 10-minute follow-up survey while those in the high-cost helping condition were asked whether or not they would be willing to participate in a 30-minute follow-up survey.

Results & Discussion

Scores on the 6-point MEES ($M = 27.15$, $SD = 19.67$, $Mdn = 29.5$) were comparable to scores on the 9-point MEES created by Mahrebian and Epstein (1972). To test the hypothesis that highly empathic people are more helpful than less

empathic people, participants in the upper quartile (scores ≥ 39.25) were compared with those in the lower quartile (≤ 13.75). There was no difference [$\chi^2 (1, 76) = .835, p > .05$] with 33 of 38 of the most empathic helping and 30 of 38 of the least empathic helping.

Scores on the NPI ($M = 14.07, SD = 7.30, Mdn = 13$) were consistent with Foster and Campbell's (2007) scores. To test the hypothesis that highly narcissistic people are less helpful than less narcissistic people, participants in the upper quartile (≥ 20) were compared to those in the lower quartile (≤ 8). There was no difference [$\chi^2 (1, 90) = 1.02, p > .05$]. From the upper quartile, 38 of the 41 people were willing to help. From the lower, 35 of 41 people were willing to help.

There were gender differences in both empathy and narcissism. Women ($M = 31.92, SD = 19.13$) were significantly more empathic than men ($M = 17.16, SD = 16.97$) [$t(156) = -4.697, p < .0001$ (one-tailed), $d = .791$]. The gender difference is consistent with Mehrabian and Epstein (1972). Women ($M = 13.23, SD = 7.14$) were significantly less narcissistic than men ($M = 16.06, SD = 7.35$) [$t(162) = 2.307, p < .05$]. This gender difference is also consistent with Foster and Campbell (2007). Even so, there was no significant difference in helping [$\chi^2 (1, 177) = 2.22, p > .05$] with 109 of the 121 females willing to help and 46 of the 56 males willing to help.

There was a significant difference in the number of people willing to help between the low-cost and high-cost of helping conditions [$\chi^2 (1, 177) = 5.63, p < .05$]. In the low-cost condition, 77 participants were willing to help and 5 were not. In the high-cost condition, 78 were willing to help and 17 were not. Results for helping in our study are similar to those in Darley and Baston (1973). In their study "From Jerusalem to Jericho," seminary students were asked to read go to a different building to give a talk and encountered a confederate who appeared to be in desperate need of assistance. Participants that needed to hurry were less likely to help than those that were not in a hurry. In both studies, time constraint influenced helping. With the seminary students it was a matter of being in a hurry, and in our study it was a matter how long they were asked to help. In both studies, participants were already helping, either by agreeing to give a talk or by taking an online survey. The seminary students that were primed to think empathic thoughts by being asked to give a talk about the Good Samaritan were not more helpful than those that were asked to talk about what jobs there are for seminary students. So, it shouldn't be a surprise that highly empathic people were not more helpful in our study.

The reason these results did not support the hypothesis may have been due to the specific measure of helping that was used. From their meta-analysis of research relating empathy to prosocial related behaviors, Eisenberg and Miller (1987) concluded that relations were weaker for hypothetical scenarios of social behavior.

Whether or not participants reported that they were willing participate in a follow-up survey was a very hypothetical measure of helping. By sending an actual follow-up survey, it could be possible see which participants actually do help. Moreover, helping can be measured based on the number of items they choose to complete. With this more direct assessment of helping, the hypothesis may have been supported.

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Religiosity and Attitudes Toward Violence in Hispanic Street Gang Members

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The purpose of this project is to determine if gang members consider religiosity, defined as devotion to religion, to be an important aspect of their daily lives in spite of harboring attitudes favorable to the commission of violent acts. Most research concludes that there is an inverse relationship between these two variables. However, the respondents' gang affiliation may lead to high levels of pro-violence attitudes despite factors that generally signal high levels of religious salience, such as low socio-economic status and having immigrated to the United States in the past two generations. Data collected via two Likert questionnaires measuring religiosity and attitudes toward the justification of engaging in violent behavior is analyzed and reported. Additional discussion of the relationship between these two variables is also provided.

Introduction

Violence and religion are two subjects that appear antithetical, but the two issues have intermingled throughout history. One of the first stories included in the Bible tells how one man killed his brother over a sacrifice the victim had made to God. Centuries later, crusades were carried out by armies of men who firmly believed that the bloody acts they carried out were not only sanctioned but commanded by God. More recently, Islamic extremists have killed thousands in the name of religion. So while seemingly paradoxical, violent individuals holding strong religious affiliations are not entirely unheard of.

This research is going to focus on religiosity and its relationship to attitudes toward violence and guns in Hispanic street gang members. While the crusaders and some Islam followers kill in the name of God and Allah, this study will focus on how members of the target demographic are comfortable with violence in spite of their belief in the tenets of their religion.

Research has shown that gang members are more likely to commit offenses, especially serious and violent offenses, and do so at a higher frequency than the rest of society (Thornberry, Krohn, and Lizotte, 1993). Most studies on gangs have been participant observation studies (Thornberry, et al, 1993). By definition, they only observe current participants in the gang, which makes it difficult to ascertain whether a gang member was a violent criminal before his affiliation or if he only became violent after his union with other violent people. While it is unclear whether the gang makes the individuals violent or the individuals make the gang violent, the data show that once a person joins a gang, he is four to five times more likely to commit serious violent offenses (Thornberry, et al, 1993).

Religious behaviors and beliefs have a moderately negative relationship with criminal behavior in non-gang members (Baier and Wright 2001); however, what is the nature of that relationship as far as attitudes toward violent crimes and gang members are concerned? The answer to that question will be explored in this research.

Social Theory and Gangs

The human ecology paradigm, formulated in the mid-twentieth century at the University of Chicago continues to be the main vehicle in research on street gang theory (Venkatesh, 2003). The Chicago School identified gangs as one of many agent provocateurs that were impeding the process of social integration. Gangs in that era were mainly composed of disenfranchised members of European ethnic groups and southern black migrant workers who had flocked to industrial areas in search of work. The existence of gangs in those areas was taken as a clear indicator that the community suffered from social disorganization (Venkatesh, 2003). Joining a gang, much like adult criminality, could be viewed as a normal response to adverse social conditions (Siegel, 2003).

In the research-fertile postwar era, social psychology was imported into the study of gang activity. Although the character of gang activity has undergone significant shifts since then, there have been few attempts at novel research on the subject (Venkatesh, 2003). In his essay “A Note on Social Theory and the American Street Gang”, Sudhir Venkatesh (2003) states that the dearth of research on contemporary gang activity has lead researchers to overlook the fact that a gang organization is not a monolithic entity. Rather, within a gang there is considerable diversity and any single

individual may be pulled by multiple ideologies and motivations (Bourdieu, 1977). Ideologies are created by adherence to social structures such as family life, peer groups, schools, and churches. Varying and possibly discordant social structures at work in the lives of different individuals cause variance in terms of belief systems and any one individual affiliated with a gang will be driven by his own motives (Venkatesh, 2003).

Hispanic immigrant communities can have many different social structures. The formation of local churches plays an important role in community-building for immigrants to the United States (Odem, 2004). The church serves as a source of social organization by offering clubs and societies for recreation, functioning as an educational organization that helps immigrants integrate into American society, and by offering opportunities to maintain ties to their ethnic cultures and religious observations.

Gangs can be another form of social organization in immigrant communities. The formation of gangs is seen as an indicator of social disorganization because they materialize as individuals attempt to make order in a world of disorder (McDonald, 2003). Gangs are also responses to barriers in participation. When excluded from society and prevented from attaining middle-class status by legitimate means, members of a gang fall back on a territory and make it their own (McDonald, 2003).

Hispanic gangs are traditionally more territorial than other types of gangs (Valdez, 2003). They settle in the impoverished neighborhoods they inhabit and defend it by use of threats and violence. Where black gangs protect their turf in order to monopolize the drug trade in their neighborhoods, Hispanic gangs mark off and defend territory as a way of demanding respect from gangs outside of their borders (Valdez, 2003).

The strain caused by poverty status, perceived blocked opportunities, and gang membership have been linked to violence in adolescents (Vowell & May, 2000). General strain theory (GST), developed by Robert Agnew, explains the process by which strain produces negative affective states such as anger, frustration fear, and depression. In turn, antisocial behavior can be used as a way to cope with these psychologically disruptive feelings (Siegel, 2003).

For example, if a young person has goals of attaining wealth and fame but those goals are impossible to achieve, the negative affective states of disappointment and fear may set in. As a way to both cope with these undesirable feelings and to reach his goals, he takes up a life violence and delinquency and eventually joins a gang.

Gangs and the church as oppositional sources of social organization send very different messages to people floundering in a new and antagonistic environment. An inner struggle between which messages to accept and which to reject culminates with

the construction of personal ideologies that make concessions for the violence that comes with street life despite being a member of the church.

Contemporary Hispanic Gangs and Violence

Hispanic gangs mirror African-American gangs' corporate-style hierarchy and are focused on making money illegally (Valdez, 2003). The drug trade is the main source of economic survival for most Hispanic gangs. Increased competition created by the crack epidemic caused Hispanic gangs to exhibit characteristics that were different from gangs prior the 1990s. Turf wars with other gangs over territory increased incidences of episodic and lethal violence in the early 1990s (Valdez, 2003). Today, Hispanic gangs are more likely to use violence than in the past.

The culture of "respect" is partly to blame for this increase in violence. Prior to the 1980s, gangs were centered on a code of honor that mandated a "one-on-one" rule in the realm of interpersonal conflict and to break that code was a source dishonor (MacDonald, 2003). In contemporary gangs there is no loss of honor for a group to assault a single individual. High powered weapons are also becoming more widely accepted and more readily available (Valdez, 2003). Elijah Anderson's analysis of a Philadelphia neighborhood found that the displacement of older, respected neighborhood residents who worked as drug dealers by younger, more violent street hustlers and drug dealers has led to the disappearance of the "old-fashioned way" of earning money and respect (Siegel, 2003). Older residents disdained the unnecessary violence employed by the younger generation.

In the 1940s, the presence of adults in gangs created a familial feeling and the "cholo" lifestyle was passed from generation to generation. The cholo lifestyle is marked by machismo, brotherhood, and defiant individualism (Valdez, 2003). Today, adults in gangs play primarily a negative role and are partly responsible for the deterioration of pro-social elements that previously existed in gangs. They are more able and willing to use instrumental violence (Valdez, 2003).

From Street Gang to Street Organization: ALKQN

Dr. David Brotherton (2003) conducted research with the Street Organization Project over a four year period on the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation (ALKQN). The ALKQN is a predominately Hispanic street gang which has undergone a transformation that has shifted it from being a violent group of young people into a street organization (Brotherton, 2003). A component of this transformation was spirituality and religious devotion, which are proxies for the term "religiosity" as discussed in this research (Barrios, 2003).

The term 'street organization' is conceptualized by Brotherton and Salazar-Atias

(2003) as:

A group formed largely by youths and adults of a marginalized social class which aims to provide its members with a resistant identity, an opportunity to be individually and collectively empowered, a voice to speak back to and challenge the dominant culture, a refuge from the stresses and strains of barrio or ghetto life and a *spiritual enclave* within which its own sacred rituals can be generated and practiced. (p. 132, emphasis in original)

Shortly after the ALKQN was founded in a New York prison in 1986, The Kings' main means of resistance was fighting back against police brutality and Puerto Rican oppression (Brotherton, 2003). The Kings are now mainly focused on social and political issues like equality in education and the workplace.

In an essay entitled "The Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation and the Spirituality of Resistance: Agency, Social Cohesion, and Liberating Rituals in the Making of a Street Organization", Luis Barrios (2003) describes research consisting of eighty-five life history interviews, hundreds of field notes and photographs taken at branch meetings, political rallies, and social events. Speaking as the organization's spiritual advisor, Barrios (2003) describes how the ALKQN has used spirituality as an empowerment weapon in their political resistance. Barrios states that, as in liberation theory, religious devotion as the Kings define it is not a credo or a doctrine but a way of living (Barrios, 2003). It serves as a tool to reinforce their coherence in their fight against dominance. He also holds the belief that spirituality is not unique to religion or to those who believe in God. Rather, spirituality is an intrinsic component of all human beings (Barrios, 2003).

The philosophy that the Kings adhere to is called 'Kingism', or 'Queenism' for the female members of the group. Kingism/Queenism is a mixture of ideals from twelve-step programs, ethnic empowerment texts, and a fusion of spiritual belief systems (Barrios, 2003).

The ALKQN has written the main text of this philosophy, the Latin King Bible. It lays out appropriate rules of conduct, personal ethics, spiritual rituals, and prayers (Barrios, 2003). The importance of frequent prayer to a Hispanic gang, which will be used as one measure of religiosity in the current research, is evidenced by the fact that the Latin King Bible contains 366 prayers including instructions on place and posture (Barrios, 2003).

Other rituals practiced by the Kings are fasting on the eleventh and twelfth of every month, salutations or hand signals, and the ritual of assembly. The most common type of assembly is the *cipher* where members form a circle with their feet and hands touching.

This signifies that the organization is complete and unbreakable (Barrios, 2003).

Rituals, prayer, fasting, and religious observances serve the dual purpose of unifying the Kings and demonstrating their recognition of a higher power. However, the literature that has been published about the Kings suggests that though they believe in and devote themselves to a higher power which expressly forbids violence, there has not been an abandonment of all acts of violence. Various forms of violence are employed by the Kings to guard territory, maintain discipline, and to gain respect.

Writing under an assumed name, Reymundo Sanchez (2000) details the violent nature of being a member of the ALKQN in his book "My Bloody Life: The making of a Latin King". The book is a firsthand account from a man who was in the gang before and after its transformation into a social organization and he writes about the coexistence of religious rites and observances and violent criminal activity.

The book describes the violence that is expected and required of Kings. A Puerto Rican immigrant to Chicago, Sanchez joined the Latin Kings for safety and a sense of belonging. His story offers an insider's perspective of the violent crimes committed by members of the Kings. Revenge killings, robberies and beatings were a means of solidifying one's reputation as a violent individual who would suffer no insult to his race, his gang, or himself. As Pee-Wees, pre-teenage associates of the Kings, youths are instructed to commit robberies to fund gang activities and to gain the respect of the older members. Beatings are a means of discipline for members of the gang but are only handed down after a trial by senior members of the Kings. Another act of violence sometimes sanctioned within the gang as told by Sanchez (2000) is the rape of female members as a form of both discipline and recreation.

Prior to his initiation into the ALKQN, Sanchez questioned a member about the inconsistencies he had observed between the organization's constitution and their actions. First, even though the Kings purport to be advocates for Latino issues, they are guilty of acts violence against fellow Hispanics. Hispanic members of other gangs are seen as *crusaos* or traitors and are therefore enemies. Second, the law ordering that members honor their parents is disregarded by most. The author states that risking death and prison on a daily basis as the Kings do is not honoring one's parents. Lastly, the constitution proscribes drug use but many of the Kings are drug users. One Queen accounts for this contradiction by stating that the rule which explicitly states the organization's aversion to drugs is taken to mean that one should be in control of oneself when under the influence. These discrepancies exemplify how the Kings can sometimes live with apparent hypocrisy in their lives. This could help explain the commingling of religious devotion and violent crime.

Discovering the principles and practices of the Latin Kings and the discrepancies between the two is beneficial to the current research because all members of the sample

population are initiates in a gang that very closely mirrors the structure, behavior, and convictions of the Almighty Latin King and Queen Nation. It can be reasoned that what is true of the ALKQN can be superimposed on the gang of the sample population. Confidentiality considerations preclude further elaboration.

Hypothesis

Because of strong family ties in Hispanic communities and the fact that immigrant populations are often centered on a church, Latino gang members will have high levels of religiosity and will attend services of some sort frequently. However, because of the poverty that grips these areas, the blocked opportunities that immigrants face, and the violence that is employed by gang members to respond to disrespect, this religiosity will exist alongside attitudes in favor of violence and guns.

Methodology

A packet containing informed consent forms, questionnaires comprised of two scales, instructions on distribution, and a short debriefing statement was hand-delivered to a known contact in a chapter of a particular gang in the mid-western United States. The initial contact is a former high school classmate of the researcher's and a mid-level leader of this gang.

The first scale included in the questionnaire is the *Attitudes toward Guns and Violence Questionnaire* (AGVQ), which was developed by Dr. Jeremy P. Shapiro (1998). The AGVQ measures the attitudes of young people, ages 6 to 29, toward guns, aggression, and interpersonal conflict. It is composed of 26 items that ask individuals to choose one of three response options to indicate the extent of agreement with each item.

The test yields scores for four subscales: *aggressive response to shame*, *comfort with aggression*, *excitement*, and *power/safety*. The *aggressive response to shame* subscale measures sensitivity to disrespect from others and the belief that violence repairs damage done to one's self-esteem. The *comfort with aggression* subscale measures acceptance of violence as part of everyday life. *Excitement* is defined as the feeling that guns are intrinsically exciting, stimulating, and fun. *Power/safety* is the view that guns and gangs are a means of preserving personal safety and experiencing feelings of power.

The AGVQ is an attitudinal, rather than self-report, questionnaire. The answer form is titled "What's Your Opinion" and does not ask the respondent to report any criminal behavior. Research has shown that violence-related attitudes are key influences on aggressive behavior (Shapiro, 2000). It has also been found that when violence-related beliefs held by incarcerated people are changed, violent criminal offenses decrease (Guerra & Slaby, 1988). One of the leading theoretical frameworks

for the attitude-behavior relationship is the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), which states that people make rational decisions about whether or not to engage in a specific behavior. One factor that contributes to a person's decision about whether or not to engage in a particular behavior is the person's favorable/unfavorable evaluation of performing the behavior or attitude toward the behavior (Simourd & van de Ven, 1999). Therefore, studying violence-prone attitudes can provide some insight into the likelihood that a person would engage in violent criminal behavior.

The second scale is the *Religiosity Measures Questionnaire* (RMQ) developed by Rohrbaugh and Jessor (1975). The RMQ, an eight-item multiple choice instrument, evaluates the impact of religion on the respondent's daily, secular life as well as determines the extent of the individual's participation in ritual practices. Fellow criminologists concede that though church attendance is far from a flawless measure of religiosity, it is a relevant proxy for religious commitment (Johnson et al., 2000).

The RMQ operationalized Glock's (1959) four dimensions of religiosity -- *consequential*, *ritual*, *ideological*, and *experiential* -- in two-item subscales. The *consequential religiosity* subscale measures the effect of religious teachings and advice on the respondent's daily choices and actions. The *ritual religiosity* subscale measures the frequency of behavioral practices such as prayer, meditation, and attendance of religious services. The *experiential religiosity* subscale measures how frequently the respondent experiences feelings of religious reverence and feelings of comfort and security from religion. Last, the *theological religiosity* subscale measures the respondent's belief in a personal god and a personal life after death.

Items pertaining to ideology contain the verb "believe", whereas items oriented toward the experiential dimension inquire about "feelings". Items concerning ritual participation are behavioral in nature (Hill & Hood, 1999). Each item is scored from 0 (indicating the least religiosity) to 4 (indicating the most religiosity) with the exception of "attending religious services" which is organized into four breaks between 0 and 50+ times in the last year. A 0 is scored "0" and 50+ is scored "4".

Though the RMQ was created in 1975, it has been found to be both reliable and valid. Cronbach coefficient alphas were over .90 indicating high internal consistency (Scott, 1960). The data collected by this instrument are consistent with findings in the field, such as females being more religious than males and high school students being more religious than college students (Rohrbaugh & Jessor, 1975). This indicates good construct validity.

The questionnaires were completed in fifteen minutes during two meetings at the initial contact's place of residence. The researcher was not present at these meetings.

An item was on the consent form that asked if the respondent would agree to a

telephone interview. One of the five participants responded affirmatively and the researcher conducted a one-hour telephone interview the next day. The interview was a six question, semi-structured style interview which the researcher recorded by hand written notes.

Results

To facilitate interpretation, AGVQ raw scores are standardized in relation to normative data. Standardization is useful because it translates raw scores, whose meaning is not immediately apparent, into numbers that place an individual's score on a distribution of scores produced by an appropriate reference group (defined, for example, by age and sex). Two types of standardizations are used here: (a) *T-scores*, which have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, and (b) percentile ranks, which state the percentage of young people who produce scores lower than the respondent's (Shapiro, 2000).

The sample population's AGVQ total score and the scores for all four subscales were above the median for people of the same gender and age range. In the *aggressive response to shame* subscale, the mean *T-Score* of the sample population was in the 71st percentile. The mean *T-score* for the *comfort with aggression* subscale was in the 83rd percentile. The mean *T-Score* for the *excitement* subscale which measured whether the respondent intrinsically *likes* guns, thinks they are fun or would enjoy using one was in the 62nd percentile (Shapiro, 2000). The mean *T-Score* in the *power/safety* subscale, which measured the degree to which the concepts of power and safety were associated with gang affiliation and the ownership or possession of firearms, was in the 85th percentile (Shapiro, 2000). The sample population's mean *T-Score* for the total questionnaire was in the 84th percentile.

The eight-item *Religiosity Questionnaire* is also arranged into four subscales with two items in each subscale. The maximum number for each subscale is "8" and the minimum score is "0" with a total possible score of 32. The mean for college-aged men is 12.5. The mean of the sample population who were all also college-aged men was 14.6.

The mean score of the sample population in the *consequential religiosity* subscale was 1.8 out of a possible 8. The mean score in the *ritual religiosity* subscale was 2.4 out of 8. The *experiential religiosity* mean was 4.4 out of 8 and the *theological religiosity* mean was 6 out of 8 with two of the respondents receiving the maximum score of 8 out of 8.

Discussion

The literature on the subject of gangs and violence shows that gang members commit serious violent offences at a higher rate than the rest of society. This is supported by the findings of the data collected with the AGVQ in the current research.

The members of the sample population recorded higher pro-violence attitudes than 84% of men between the ages of 17 and 29 years old. The mean *T-Scores* in the *comfort with aggression* (*T-Score*=61) and *aggressive response* (*T-Score*=56) were especially high. The *comfort with aggression* items asked about a respondent's respect for violent versus non-violent people and as such provides insight into the type of person the respondent would admire and model himself after. Being extremely comfortable with violence and violent situations could indicate an inclination toward violent behavior in the sample population.

The *aggressive response to shame* subscale is closely related to the increased violence associated with the culture of "respect" which was discussed in the literature review. The high score in this subscale reflects a reliance on violence to repair damage done to one's self-esteem. It has been shown that carrying these attitudes into adulthood leads to increased violent criminal behavior (Shapiro, 2000).

The *T-Scores* in the remaining subscales were further away from the range that is considered 'high' (>60). However, the *T-Scores* were above the median for all four categories demonstrating that the gang members sampled in this research have relatively high levels of pro-violence attitudes.

The results of the RMQ showed that the members were more religious than the average college-aged man. The scores of the subscales offer some explanation on how this can be true in spite of such high pro-violence scores.

The highest scoring religiosity sub-scale for the sample population was for the theological reality items. These two items asked the respondents to indicate their beliefs about God and the afterlife. The scores in this subscale point to 1) most of the members in the sample believe in a real, personal God who is active in their daily lives, and 2) most of them believe in a personal spirit existing in some capacity after death. However, the lowest scoring subscale, *consequential religiosity* shows that these beliefs have little to no effect on the way in which members of the sample population choose to act. It can be inferred that, because God has a minimal effect on how the respondents choose to act, a strong belief in a personal God has a negligible effect on the existence of violent attitudes and behaviors.

The data collected during the interview with one member of the sample population offer some explanation of this phenomenon. The respondent reported that though he grew up going to formal religious service with his family, he has since reduced the frequency of his visits. This statement reflects that the church plays an

important role in the lives of immigrants, as outlined in the literature review. He also stated that though he never doubted the ideologies he was taught as a child, he had decided to forego formal ceremonies and has been attempting to live out the principles he holds on his own. The respondent expressed feelings that the church was too rigid and he preferred to discuss his spiritual issues with peers and family friends. This may help to explain why there are high levels of *theological religiosity* and low levels of *ritual religiosity* reported in the sample.

In terms of *consequential reality*, the respondent stated he believes that God watches him and is active in his life but he rarely pauses to consider whether or not any given action is “godly”. This statement provides further insight into the group’s low level of consequential religiosity. Additionally, the respondent did not consider himself to be more religious than the majority of his peers. He expressed the belief that most of the people in his social circle echoed his feelings about religiosity and that only the language used to describe the principles differs.

The answers given by the respondent to the interview questions demonstrated a high level of comfort with aggression. According to the respondent, engaging in violence was not a source of joy in his life but he had accepted it as a part of his life as a gang member. He stated that he and his associates were not ones to initiate violent situations but were compelled to respond to violence in kind in order to protect the interests and reputation of the gang.

Overall, the data from the interview supported the questionnaire data in that both showed high levels of theological religiosity, comfort with aggression, and aggressive responses to shame.

It is worth noting that there were a few limitations to this research. Most of the limitations were due to difficulty of recruiting eligible participants. First, the small sample size of five participants makes it impossible to generalize the findings of this research to the population as a whole. However, the results provide some useful insight into the lives of these five men and demonstrate that at least some gang members are religious and have pro-violent attitudes. Second, demographic statistics that were collected showed that all of the participants were males between the ages of 19 and 20 with at least a tenth grade education with one high school graduate. Four of the men were Hispanic and one was African-American. This sample was not representative of the population of Hispanic gang members in terms of the attributes of gender and age. This further limits the ability to generalize the results of this research. Third, the RMQ was standardized by administering it to a group of college students. Though the members of the sample population were college-aged, none of them were actually college students. This hampers the ability to compare the difference between the two means.

Even with its limitations, this research contributes to the minimal amount of literature on this subject. It also draws attention to the relationship between these two variables and the possibilities of future research. For example, there is evidence that non-gang affiliated females are more religious than their male counterparts both in high school and college. It would be interesting to discover if this is also true in gang members. Finally, the high levels of ideological or theological religiosity beg the question: when and where were these beliefs imparted on the sample population? Future research could examine whether the transmission of theological teachings from gangster parents to their children occurs in the home or elsewhere.

Conclusion

The hypothesis was partly supported by the results of this research. Though there were relatively high levels of religiosity reported in the data, there was no evidence that this religiosity was accompanied by attendance of formal religious services. Attitudes toward violence were positive, as expected, but poverty, blocked opportunities, and psychological strain were all less significant sources of pro-violence attitudes than the culture of respect, violent responses to shame, and comfort with aggression.

This research is not an attempt to cast judgments on the beliefs and behaviors of any particular group or person. It is an attempt to connect two topics that seem to have very little to do with one another in order to demonstrate that gangs are complex entities made up of dynamic individuals who can hold a mixture of many different attitudes which may seem contradictory to the outside observer.

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The Conflict of Passing: Hypermasculinity in African American Male Educational Experiences: Preliminary Findings from the Pilot Study's Qualitative Interviews

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A preliminary, qualitative study on the role of hypermasculinity in regards to academic achievement in African American males was conducted using individual and group interviews aimed at collecting information pertaining to hypermasculinity and the African American male educational experience. The participants were 18 years old or older and resided within the Champaign –Urbana, IL area. Data collected from the interviews suggested that hypermasculinity in many forms did have an impact on the educational experiences of the respondents and their African American male peers. Participants often discussed a conflict between social acceptance and academic achievement. Many also argued that hypermasculinity was often more of a survival skill rather than a coping device. Once more data is collected, further research will involve the creation of an instrument to measure hypermasculinity in education, a psychological assessment scale intended to help school institutions better understand the needs of their students.

One does not need to look hard to find evidence of the achievement gap in the United States. In test scores, grade point averages, high school graduating classes, and institutions of higher learning there is a clear disparity between the level of success of white students and their minority counterparts. Jacobson (2001) provides evidence

that African American males are the demographic with the lowest percentages of achievement in high school completion, grade point average, and post secondary enrollment and retention (p. 31). There are many possible causes for this phenomenon including socioeconomic status, school condition, race, and opportunity (Lee, 2002). One factor among these that has not been given enough attention is the performance of *hypermasculinity*. Hypermasculinity means the over exaggeration and emphasis of masculine qualities like strength, aggression, coolness, and an absence of weakness or vulnerability (Spencer, Fegley, Harpalani & Seaton, 2004). When this phenomenon is coupled with cultural and academic pressure the result can mean lower achievement for African American males. This research project will explain and explore the role of hypermasculinity as a reaction to cultural and academic pressure in African American adolescent males in the context of academic achievement and educational experience.

Hypermasculinity in the African American male community can be seen as a response to academic pressure in that some African American males may react to underachieving in school with displays of their masculinity (Spencer et. al., 2004). Furthermore, research has shown that hypermasculinity has also been used as a masking device for African American males dealing with societal pressures of emasculation (hostility and lower achievement/life expectations from teachers and society) (Hunter & Davis, 1994). For example, an African American male responding to his teachers open disdain for him and lack of expectation to succeed, may react by “acting tough/cool” and no longer desiring of academic achievement or approval. When this attitude is repeated and copied, it creates a culture where it is acceptable and expected to achieve less academically simply because of one’s race and gender.

This project is important for understanding the needs of African American male students. Adapting to these needs in the classroom and curriculum can better aid African American male students in achieving at every level of education. A better understanding of African American culture and pressures in the classroom has the potential to greatly affect the achievement of otherwise at-risk students. By modifying schools to create better educational experiences, for example higher expectations and concern for cultural differences, schools can have an impact in reversing the racial and gender achievement gap.

Previous studies into hypermasculinity have not gone into depth regarding its role in the educational experiences of African American males. Subsidiary interests in this project include: the nature of hypermasculinity, how different forms of hypermasculinity (if any exist) may affect academic achievement and the gender/racial achievement gap, how culture supports or refutes the phenomenon, and possible positive effects of hypermasculinity. Furthermore, the information gathered in this study will be organized and coded to produce (or update an existing) hypermas-

culinity index scale that school institutions may use to measure the behaviors and needs of their students and thus take action to ensure equal opportunity for all students. Taking these problems and solutions into account can help ameliorate an increasingly hostile world for African American males.

Terms

- **Hypermasculinity:** the over exaggeration and emphasis of masculine qualities like strength, aggression, coolness, and an absence of weakness or vulnerability.
- **The Gender/Race Achievement Gap:** The disparity in academic achievement between African American males and females and other racial/ethnic groups.
- **Equal Opportunity:** Providing education designed so that each student, regardless of race, class, gender, or circumstance, has an equal chance at academic success.
- **At-Risk Students:** any student in danger of excelling both academically and socially in the traditional classroom or school setting.

Review of Relevant Research and Theory

The achievement gap

The achievement gap refers to the persistent disparity in academic achievement between minority students and their white counterparts in the United States. Many factors comprise the observed achievement gap, for example, standardized tests scores, high school completion rates, college matriculation, and grade point averages. In general Black students achieve less in these areas compared to their white peers. Research on the subject shows that “the gap in black-white test scores has narrowed over the past 30 years” (Orr, 2003 p. 281) however such progress has slowed and in some cases “widened in the 1990’s” (Lee, 2002 p. 3). A study by The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) found that “black-white gaps in mathematics and reading achievement appeared in every grade studied...even for students with similar levels of prior achievement one or two grades earlier” in grades 1-12 (Jacobson, 2001 p. 12).

This study will be specifically concerned with the achievement gap in regards to African American males. African American males represent a large subset of the achievement gap. In her article Smith (2004) declared that it is just as likely for an African American male to drop out of high school as it is for him to receive his diploma with his classmates (p. 1). Furthermore, Smith (2004) points out that “the percentage of black youths [that are] neither employed nor in school [is] 24.7%, nearly twice the national average” (p.1). These numbers indicate that there is an epidemic of poor academic performance and outcomes for Black males. This study has great significance due to African American males’ overrepresentation within the achievement gap.

Academic/cultural pressure

One main facet of this study is exploring the prevalence and effect of academic and cultural pressures on African American males. In their study, Adams (2007) argues that

Many poor black men...grow up in families burdened by multigenerational histories of trauma and dysfunction, and embedded in impoverished and dangerous neighborhoods...they exist within familial and community structures that do not adequately facilitate their healthy development (p. 157).

Furthermore, Barbarin (2002) claims that African American adolescent males are “subject more frequently to disapproval and sanctions which are also more personally judgmental, harsh, and punitive” (p. 8). Additionally, according to Hall (2006), equal opportunity fades when “schools, unknowingly or not, construct barriers that discourage, demotivate, and disempower young males of color vis-à-vis curriculum and discipline” (p. 21).

Cultural pressures also come from within the African American community. Specifically, young disadvantaged youth often experience and witness widespread academic underachievement within their communities and thus may equate such as their identity.

Hypermasculinity and Black Manhood

In preparation for this project the researcher considered previous studies on black manhood in America. Hooks (2004) put it best when she stated

Whether in actual prison or not, practically every black male in the United States has been forced at some point in his life to hold back the self he wants to express, to repress and contain for fear of being attacked, slaughtered, destroyed...In patriarchal culture, all males learn a role that restricts and confines. When race and class enter the picture, along with patriarchy, then black males endure the worst impositions of gendered masculine patriarchal identity (p. xii).

In the face of constant repression and emasculation, Black men must still construct a masculinity to draw actualization from. This often means calling on sources not regulated by the dominant oppressive culture.

Hunter and Davis (1994) contend that “black manhood has historically been advertized and regarded as nonexistent” (p. 21). Black men were considered in “perpetual boyhood” and wholly impotent to compare to the privileged white male (p. 20). These perceptions and “the collective frustration and anger over the denial of

manhood, identity, and peoplehood...led to urban riots in the 1960's" (p. 23). These riots were seen as "power[ful] expressions of masculinity as a vehicle for social protest" (p. 23). Thus, the constant emasculation of Black males contributed to the over exaggeration of masculinity (hypermasculinity). These pressures still affect black males today and may be a contributor to hypermasculinity within the classroom.

The main focus of my study is the prevalence of hypermasculinity. Spencer, et al. (2004) conducted a study of hypermasculinity in African American males and asserted that "normative masculinity calls for boys to discourage vulnerability while at the same time presenting themselves as confident" (p. 6). Additionally, an exaggeration of this "discordance of emotions may manifest itself as hypermasculinity" (p. 6). One example of this argument can be found in a study by Barbarin (2002) that found that "young African American males had more difficulties related to aggression, opposition, conduct problems and school failure than females" (p. 8).

Furthermore, another study of young African American males found that many equated masculinity to external indicators. Isom (2007) claims the young boys in the study defined masculinity as "something one does versus the character or nature of who one is" (p. 411). Their identities within masculinity relied on concrete ends instead of abstract being. This creates a problem within the black male community because, according to a study by Cools (2008), black males "are often neither allowed to accomplish nor fulfill traditional male roles" (p. 34). A lack of access to traditional male roles, while still being expected to fulfill them, creates a dangerous pressure combination for African American males to cope with. This study will discuss how hypermasculinity has become a prevalent device used to cope with the cultural and academic pressures that add to their emasculation as a group.

Method

This was a qualitative study of specific behavioral/cultural adaptations to cultural and academic pressure within African American male educational experiences.

Participants: A convenience sample of male UIUC students who identified themselves as African American were recruited. After receiving IRB approval possible participants were contacted, briefed by the principal/primary investigator, and given the informed consent form along with a copy to keep for their records. Once a participant signed the informed consent form, they were contacted by the investigators to set up either an individual or group interview. Interviews: These consisted of open ended questions geared to assess authentic feelings and thoughts regarding self perceptions as indicators of masculinity and how these intersect with educational experiences [See Appendix]. The researcher recognizes that she may not be able to avoid some degree of reactivity because she is an African American female.

Procedure: All interviews were conducted in the Illinois Student Union and took approximately one hour to complete. All participants took part in only one interview. All interviews focused on the topic of the excess of masculine themes and behavior in an educational setting. Other questions topics included but were not limited to: peer influence, school achievement issues, stress and coping, self perception, perceptions of masculinity in culture, and perceptions of masculinity in self. Sample questions and prompts are attached.

Findings and Discussion

In this project the researcher conducted a total of seven individual and group interviews (six individual and one group) aimed at collecting firsthand knowledge on the subject of African American male hypermasculine gender performance in educational experiences. She was successfully able to gather more information that will add to the current scholarship on this subject.

One aspect that was common in most interviews was the lack of definition between black masculine performance and hypermasculinity. The researcher began with asking the respondents views on what is ideal masculinity and furthermore what is ideal black masculinity. At that point she introduced her study's operational definition of hypermasculinity, and found that in many interviews, the definitions presented for black masculinity was often similar or identical to the definition for hypermasculinity. For instance, an interviewee would describe black masculinity as having to be tough and always conscious of the world around you and then describe hypermasculine activities in the same manner. One interviewee when asked his opinions on what the ideal Black man was like he responded that he is "very protective of himself and his family" (Jones, 2008). The idea of being very protective of the self suggests that one is always on guard or resisting vulnerability. An exaggeration of the resistance to vulnerability could be hypermasculinity. In some cases the degree of such activity seemed to be the main difference between respondent's definitions of hypermasculinity and black masculinity.

Interviewees also often suggested that they do not believe that hypermasculinity is a phenomenon that is confined to African American culture but rather American or western culture. One respondent mentioned that one facet of American or western masculinity may be independence, but many eastern Asian cultures actually praise family interdependence over independence of one member (see attached transcript). Thus, an over emphasis of independence may be a part of western culture but not other cultures around the world.

Another subject that was often discussed in the interviews was the duality between academic achievement and social acceptance for African American males. All

respondents spoke of a clear conflict between masculine gender performance and academic achievement. Subjects often noted that in general they found that growing up as an African American male student meant that you did not achieve in school. All of the interviewees shared their process in dealing with the conflict and the researcher found that it actually was not always one or the other. One interviewee responded that it was possible to find a balance between academic achievement and social acceptance explaining that “If you’re smart that’s ok but you gotta be down enough. Gotta know the latest trends and latest songs and the slang” (see attached transcript). However, being “down” and academically inclined was not always the situation. The interviewee explained also that he’d “seen people completely disidentify [sic] with the black students” in favor of white students that may be more accepting in terms of academic achievement.

The African American males in this study were all college matriculated and thus shared the experience of a certain level of academic achievement. This meant that they all had already found (or at least had great experience with) their balance of social acceptance and academic achievement. One respondent explained that he was able to avoid the same social consequences as others for doing well in school because he “mastered [being down] at an early age” while at the same time “consciously made an effort” to do so (see attached transcript). Many other respondents shared the experience of making a conscious effort to fit in.

One respondent also stated that there was a clear difference between how African American males from the inner city and ones from the suburbs treated the issue of academic achievement. He stated that he, along with other high achieving African American males, received more judgment from blacks who resided in the suburbs rather than the inner city. A resident of the inner city himself, he noted that other African American males that lived in his neighborhood applauded and respected his achievement in school while suburban black males teased him for “acting white” (see attached transcript). According to the interviewee “If you were from the hood, Compton, California where I’m from, people don’t really give you hell about being smart” (see attached transcript). This is actually contrary to my initial arguments. Since I am arguing that hypermasculinity partly arises from cultural pressure, and as cultural pressure I mainly site the overrepresentation of black males in depressed inner city settings, I would argue that the males from the inner city background would be more concerned with “acting white.” However, this could still support my argument of cultural pressure that black males from the suburbs may feel an extra push to perform their “hardness” because it is not automatically assumed based on where they are from. The interviewee went on to explain that “In the suburbs you have a lot of pretenders. People trying to be what they think is black” (see attached transcript).

This concept connects with my subsidiary question regarding the role of culture in the teaching of hypermasculinity. The respondent argued that the people from the suburbs were more prone to teasing one for not being black enough, and in turn creating their own performance of what they think being black means. This would suggest that culture has somehow taught them what is black and what is not black and that it is necessary to draw a line between the two. In turn this would create an additional culture of trying to gain respect through hypermasculinity. It would be an interesting topic for further research into whether cultural and academic pressures actually affect suburban and inner city blacks differently.

One of the researcher's main arguments has been that hypermasculinity has often been a coping or masking device. However, respondents in this study's interviews have labeled it as something more compelling and unexpected: a survival skill. Each respondent also discussed how it was part of their "survival" within the school setting to understand their place and function in the world; whether this meant choosing academic achievement, social acceptance, or a mixture of both, all had to be conscious decisions. According to one interviewee

There aren't too many roles that a black male in society is expected to play. They're either the thug, the clown, or the sell out, you know 'the white boy.' Anything perceived as positive that should be positive becomes you're the white boy and you're not down (see attached transcript).

Respondents often displayed a concern with how they were perceived by other black students and how that affected their own performance. Additionally, there were more reasons as to why one would perform hypermasculinity in the classroom. For example one respondent stated that he "might have [his] angry black man face on in an AP classroom full of white people...I might be chillin' in the back not saying anything and getting an A on the test" (Jones, 2008). It was interesting that the respondent said he would have his "angry black man" face on in a classroom of white people. To have on this reaction suggests that the respondent understands that the "angry black man" face is simply a mask in his gender and racial performance. In addition, the classroom full of white people is what prompted this performance. In some way the classroom has become a place where he feels he must protect himself by putting on a mask. Many of the respondents displayed an understanding that the "cool pose" or acting tough was in fact a performance. One respondent summarized his experience well when he explained that in terms of his academic achievement "you cannot show that face before you show another face...and that other face is the rough and tough" (see attached transcript). They understood that the performance of their

race and gender often protected them from outside negative forces that they perceived. This notion of hypermasculinity as a possible survival tactic dealt with one of my subsidiary questions on whether hypermasculinity had any positive attributes. It was suggested that many African American males use hypermasculinity as a way to survive in an academic world that can often be hostile.

One important part of this study was gathering information on the different forms of hypermasculinity that may be present in school settings. Across the board the main form of hypermasculinity found in the classroom was anti-intellectualism. Anti-intellectualism is the regard for things relating to academia like class room achievement and participation as negative. The idea of being against academic achievement seemed to be central and universal for all of the respondents who all hailed from different parts of the country. It was interesting to see the different forms that this took in the lives of the different respondents. In some cases it meant getting teased by other students and in some it meant simply not displaying any connection to academic achievement. Another participant in the study answered that he often witnessed people “not take tests” because they didn’t believe any good would come of it (see attached transcript). If one wanted to achieve in school one had to “be real quiet about what you’re doing” (see attached transcript). It was also suggested that this trend may contribute to the phenomenon of African American males being overrepresented in special education (Smith, 2004). The interviewee stated that he saw “quite a few friends [be] placed in a lower or remedial track because they’re perceived as dumb” because they took being quiet too far (see attached transcript). Anti-intellectualism may be the norm in some spaces but in others it can greatly handicap a student from further achievement.

Other forms of hypermasculinity that were not as prevalent were sexism and homophobia. At least one interviewee argued that growing up he felt a need to always be smarter than the girls because boys are supposed to be smarter (see attached transcript). This connects to the main views of hypermasculinity that males are urged to resist anything vulnerable or feminine. They felt a need to separate themselves from anything that may be degrading. A few interviewees also stated that one who was hypermasculine was “extremely homophobic” (see attached transcript). Another respondent contended that hypermasculinity “comes more so in trying to prove your sexuality than lack of intelligence” (see attached transcript). From these it is clear that more research needs to go into how African American males view themselves in school settings and the importance of not allowing oneself to be vulnerable to any sort of attack.

I also asked respondents what, in their opinion, can schools do to help meet the needs of students that may turn to hypermasculinity as a coping device or survival skill. Almost every respondent stated that “more teachers that look like the students”

would help (see attached transcript). They all seemed to want a better representation of African American males within everyday life. Other ideas that were brought to the table cited more educational programs for African American males and better and more culturally diverse teaching styles that made a huge difference in their lives and educational achievement. For example, one participant shared a story of his high school geometry teacher who “even had gangsters getting A’s” in her class (see attached transcript). When asked what was so different about this teacher as compared to others the participant stated that “she took the exact same amount of time with everyone” (see attached transcript). The respondent suggested that this teacher established equally high expectations and treatment within her classroom. Through her close attention to the students in her class she was able to bridge the gap of hypermasculinity.

Limitations

Although this study successfully obtained firsthand accounts of hypermasculinity in the classroom, it only represents the beginning of what the researcher hopes will be a continuing series of investigations. With the limitations of time and resources during this summer, the researcher was unable to collect a large enough sample of respondents to recognize what may be a potential emerging trend within hypermasculinity. In addition, expanding the study with further interview data would potentially garner further results to shed more light on the problem. It would be beneficial to utilize the results of the study to develop a future questionnaire instrument specifically designed to address the issue of hypermasculinity among African American males. To accomplish this goal, it would be useful to recruit a somewhat larger sample within the community and obtain additional data about their feelings regarding gender performance in educational spaces. Also, since all of the participants in the current pilot study were college matriculated, all of the interviewees had at least *some* experience in what it takes to succeed in an academic setting. A larger sample of respondents would really foster richer and perhaps more informative data on how hypermasculinity affects students at various levels of performance – those who are *at risk*, *mediocre*, and *high achieving*. In this way, the researcher would be able to more comprehensively address the various aspects of the phenomenon and make greater strides towards investigating this complex problem. The researcher also found that it was difficult to isolate and identify precisely how hypermasculinity affected the participants’ lives – both inside and outside of conventional educational setting. It was clear that for many recalling elementary and high school outside culture and school culture were greatly intertwined. Future research could examine how to actually measure what effects these factors might have on the educational experiences of African American males

and not just cultural experiences alone. For example, would African Americans from the suburbs and ones from the inner city within a single school district respond and perceive cultural pressures differently? It would be interesting to see if gender and racial performance are a function of where a student is from – inner-city versus suburbs — and how does this might affect the achievement of students in a mixed school district. It would be interesting to investigate how cultural pressures differ between the genders — how this phenomenon affects the achievement and educational experiences of African American *females*. Finally, it would be interesting to look into the issue of sexism between African American males and females in educational settings. Since a few interviewees in the current study did suggest a conflict between the two groups, understanding how sexism is perceived in both African American males and females in educational settings would add to the knowledge of how these groups interact and achieve in school.

In summary, this study has demonstrated that the issue of hypermasculinity is very complex one that deserves further research into how it affects the lives of at risk African American males. By constructing a hypermasculinity index scale, educational institutions can better understand the needs of their students. Ideally, through a series of questionnaire items, such an index might be able to isolate different educational needs that arise based on each African American male student's unique experience with hypermasculinity.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions:

1. *How do you define a “real man?”*
2. *Do you feel that the definition of a “real man” changes in regard to race?*
3. *Do you feel the settings/situations you grew up in gave you the tools to become an ideal “real man?”*
4. *Do you have any educational experiences that connect with your opinions of a “real man?”*
5. *Hypermasculinity is the overemphasis of masculine gender performance such as the “cool pose” or anti-intellectualism. Would you say you have witnessed this phenomenon in a school setting?*
6. *If so, what effect, if any, do you think it had on your educational experiences?*
7. *Could you observe any effects on the educational experiences of others?*
8. *What are your feelings on the phenomenon?*
9. *Do you think culture supports or hinders hypermasculinity?*
10. *Do you think it is a special occurrence in the African American male population?*
11. *Do you think hypermasculinity has mostly positive or negative effects on your population? A mixture?*
12. *Do you think hypermasculinity exposes any educational needs that are not being met?*
13. *How many African American teachers did you have in your elementary schools? Black Males? Middle/Secondary?*
14. *Who is an African American male you look up to? Why?*

Appendix B

Excerpts of Interview Transcriptions

A= Student Investigator I = Interviewee

A: So to start off do you understand what I mean by hypermasculinity?

I: Um, I do. Hypermasculinity is when a male tries to fit the stereotypical roles of what a man should be based on the social and cultural context of the society they're in. And often that is overcompensating for whatever reason.

A: Ok. Yeah the definition I am working with is hypermasculinity is the overemphasis of masculine traits like "coolness" or lack of vulnerability. First question, how do you define a "real man?"

I: A real man is someone who has reached a point where he can be who he is without worrying about what other people are thinking and a person that makes his own decisions and a person who is above things or structures that might try to define him as well as he takes care of his responsibilities and that is just as important.

A: do you feel that your definition or society's definition of what is a real man changes in regards to race?

I: I think that society's definition changes in regards to what a man should be. My definition of a man overall as a human is bigger than any racial divides. I think society has different definitions for what a man is in different cultures or what a man is based on stereotypes. So a lot of times in a society black men are in the prison system or court systems or they're portrayed who are inferior to white males and society may feel like all black males have to be like that. This is versus an Asian male would be expected to be more uptight, smart, and into science and math. Or a white man is your typical corporate executive or has a job or doesn't really have the same problems.

A: ok so you're saying that true masculinity transcends race?

I: Yes

A: Do you feel that the settings and situations that you grew up in gave you the tools to become the ideal real man that you described?

I: I do, because I had a strong father figure. While I was raised around a lot of women, I was also raised around a strong male figure that I was glad to have in the house. While me and him are not as close as I am with my mother, I still look at him as an example of how things should be. But that's a whole 'nother issue of having a black male in the home. Yes my father was more strict than my mother. Yes, we butt heads at times but, I stayed in line because if I got out of line I knew that wouldn't fly.

A: would you say that teachers or other people from your community would expect you to become the ideal real male you described before?

I: I think that they did and that was because I was typically the exception. I was the black male that was something that you don't see very often or maybe 1 or 2 or 10 out of your school of 2000 students. I got good grades but I was still "down." I never got picked on or bullied for being smart everyone was still cool with me. I had no issues as far as that goes. So teachers pushed me but if I was to look at it as the average black male that was in my schools I feel like teachers taught or looked at them a little differently or wrote them off a little bit more because they will have their own culturally embedded beliefs. They'll talk to the students differently or teach the students differently or socialize the students differently because they might think that that student may only get to far based on the performance he's doing or the image he has of himself or they may not really know the real person.

A: Ok so if you are the exception. Would you say that teachers or society would expect other black males in your school to become the ideal male figure?

I: Not your average teacher. It wasn't blatant it was more subtle unconscious interaction that I could sense that from. I was good that my high school had a lot of black teachers also. Strong black male strong black female teachers and those were the teachers that took me under their wing a lot of the times. So I found that regardless of that situation I stated earlier that some people may have stereotypes in their minds some people were still provided the tools they need.

A: Do you have any educational experiences that connect with your ideas of a real man?

I: Well I had a strong father figure. I was involved in the church and the community that had a lot of strong black male role models. It wasn't until 11th grade where I really experienced a strong black male in my school setting. I was a part of this program called DIME that stood for distinguished intelligent men of excellence it was a black male group the leaders of the group, Mr. X and Y who really changed what it meant to be black and male. I mean you look up to them because as a black man I knew to have role models like that that's not as readily available as it is for a white male to be in a position that can be a role model. Not only are we minorities but we're even bigger minorities because of all the systematic and social things that just don't include us. I mean we do some things to ourselves but a lot of it has to do with systematic and cultural things that are going against us.

A: Hypermasculinity is the overemphasis of masculine gender performance. Would you say that you have witnessed this phenomenon in a school setting?

I: Yes, and it's difficult to fill in the exception role that I described earlier. As black males there aren't too many roles that we can fulfill because unfortunately not only does media and stereotypes affect the way we see ourselves but we internalize those things. I've seen countless black males refuse to show their intellect for fear of persecution from peers. Really, acting tough is more of a survival skill than anything

else. I've seen people completely disidentify with the black students because they felt more comfortable with white students who may be more accepting of them.

Like, there aren't too many roles that black male is expected to play. They're either the thug, the clown, the sell out, you know, "the white boy." Anything perceived as positive that should be positive becomes you're the white boy and you're not down. It's like a self fulfilling prophecy, people perform based on roles that they see. Once you've done it for so long it becomes part of your normal routine.

So I think it's a survival skill. If you don't want to be the punk or the faggot or just the white boy you need to do those things.

A: Can you give any specific experiences you have with trying to be "down" while still achieving in school?

I: I had mastered that from a really early age. I grew up around a lot of friends and cousins and a lot of people didn't necessarily have that background. So I saw people not really teasing but being ostracized because they weren't black enough. If you're smart that's ok but you gotta be down enough, gotta know the latest trends and latest songs and the slang. From an early age I sort of developed a double consciousness. I guess I consciously made an effort to be down.

Like with me I might have an angry black man face on in a class, an AP classroom full of white people. I might be chillin' in the back not saying anything and getting A's in the class.

A: Do you think Hypermasculinity exposes any educational needs that schools can meet to fight this problem?

I: well it really needs to start way earlier in the families. But overall I think that schools can model real life better. I think schools need more teachers that look like the students. I don't care what anyone says there are certain things about a black person that only another black person can understand. There just needs to be a larger representation of us in those job seats in those careers that students will be looking up to for roles outside of what is already in place.

Interview 2

A: ok so first I would like to know what you think I am talking about when I say hypermasculinity.

I: Hypermasculinity is when a male portrays extra manliness to make up for anything else that may be wrong with him.

A: Actually the definition I am using is the over emphasis of masculine gender performance traits such as the cool pose. Question one: how do you define a real man?

I: Sports, a leader, walks before a girl and holds the door for a girl. Exercises, likes to

drink beer, wears jeans, likes the outside, girl crazy.

A: does your definition of a real man change in regards to race? Is an ideal black male different from the ideal white male?

I: well of course there are different social barriers and situations for the typical white male and black male. I would say the ideal white male may be the executive figure that provides for his family. The Ideal black male would be similar but also very protective of himself and his family.

A: do you think you have been prepared to become a real ideal man?

I: Well my parents have taught me to hold the door a lady. If you see somebody who needs help carrying something you help them with it. I was never into sports though.

A: Do you have any educational experiences that shaped how you viewed the ideal black male.

I: Well I had some black male teachers in my elementary school and I looked up to them because they were teachers. They had the answers and I did not.

Like I do remember that at times it would make me mad to see a girl that was smarter than me because I guess I believed that boys were supposed to be smarter so I got really competitive. In later years I figured out that if I could just date the girl that seemed smarter than me then I would have almost a leg up on her.

A: would you say that you have witnessed hypermasculinity in a school setting. Anti-intellectualism?

I: I would say that I often noticed people seemed to have dual personalities that on one hand they were good in school and then among a different crowd they would use “the cool pose” and divorce themselves from that. I would say recently though that hypermasculinity comes more so to prove your sexuality than lack of intelligence.

A: can you see any possible positive effects of hypermasculinity?

I: well it depends on the case. Possibly in some situations hypermasculinity can be a tool for survival.

A: Do you feel that hypermasculinity exposes any educational need that can be met?

I: yes, I believe that there needs to be more black role models in the schools that can teach young black men that there are different ways to attain your masculinity that do not always revolve around sports and being tough. But what the school can do is emphasize hyper intelligence.

Interview 3

A: So what comes to mind when I say hypermasculinity?

I: I would say over exaggeration of someone trying to be a man.

A: how do you define a real man?

I: work hard, educated, responsible, and lastly driven. Has goals put in place

A: do you feel that the definition changes in regard to race?

I: possibly, there are different social contexts to what a white person may grow up in. We don't have institutional racism against whites and you may have that against people of color. The ideal white man may be a lot easier to attain and it might be a corporate individual. Or like a person of color and what they might live or go through may paint a picture that they have to protect themselves and life situations may warrant them to be tough.

A: do you think the settings you grew up in gave you the tools to become the ideal real man?

I: No I mean it all helped me to mature. I grew up in section 8 housing. I grew up in the projects. That's a past I like to stay away from. I put on a façade of I didn't go through that. You have to be hard and tough because there are people in the neighborhood that are going to test you.

A: Do you have any educational experiences that connect with your opinion of a real man?

I: I guess within my AVID space they explained what an ideal person is. AVID was like a mcnair program. That was given to both males and females and they just emphasized that an ideal person is educated, goal oriented, and responsible.

A: would you say that you have witnessed hypermasculinity in a school setting?

I: simple it almost seems like institutions are designed for the success of women. I hate to say so. Yes, women do work hard but I almost feel like the system is more interconnecting for females.

Yeah, I've seen people not take tests. I have seen people not take AP exams because they felt that they were useless. The funny thing is they were all really smart but they don't feel a need to broadcast it. It's against our nature. I see females do it all the time but black males just don't feel a need to broadcast their intelligence.

Hypermasculinity just informs you to be real quiet about what you're doing. I mean I've met people who have been really smart but you would never have known it because they're exterior is anti-intellectualism.

I've had quite a few friends that have been placed in a lower or remedial track because they're perceived as dumb by the administration.

People just learn early on that you cannot show that face before you show another face and that other face is the rough and tough.

A: So it's important to keep quiet about being smart but if you take it too far then you will be labeled as dumb?

I: Yes.

A: What are your feelings of hypermasculinity?

I: It exists. Like some people may complain and ask why are there only females doing this and why are there not enough black males doing that. They're smart, but like I said achievement just doesn't have that pedestal importance.

A: Do you think culture supports or hinders hypermasculinity?

I: I would say a split yes and a split no and I can't really elaborate on that.

A: do you think hypermasculinity has mainly negative or positive effects on your population?

I: I would say negative. You only need to look at the TV to see black males that feel that they need to show the world that they are tough and they can't be messed with.

A: Do you think hypermasculinity exposes any educational needs that need to be met?

I: yes, I think that it shows that there is a lack of programs that encourage better representations of black men. They need to interrupt the message that black males need to be so tough and against academic achievement. You need programs that can break the silence of hypermasculinity and anti intellectualism.

A: how many black teachers did you have growing up?

I: I had none. I didn't have a black teacher until college.

Interview 4

A: So to start off what is your definition of hypermasculinity?

I: an excessive trait of what would be masculine. Very independent and leads a very macho or tough life. Hypermasculinity would be an extreme version of that. Like extremely homophobic or independent.

A: how do you define a real man?

I: I don't know. Someone who is very wise and responsible owns up to life. One who leads but is also willing to concede and follow.

A: do you think the definition of a real man changes in regards to race?

I: No, but it probably changes in regards to culture. I think the extreme would be Chinese or Japanese culture versus western culture and African American culture. For example American culture as a whole is different and based on what we perceive as masculine. Like for example Asian cultures look down on independence and individuality in a sense. Leaving a family is looked down on. So I think cultures can change the definition on what a man is.

A: DO you feel that the settings and situations you grew up in gave you the tools to become a real man.

I: Theoretically no because I didn't have a father. But I had very strong black women in my life raising me. They were all very strict and unsympathetic and unempathetic with me. In a sense they were very effective in their ways and I wouldn't be here without them.

A: do you have any educational experiences that connect with your views of what a real man is?

I: I don't really have any. My African American male role models were all in my family.

A: Hypermasculinity is the overemphasis of masculine traits such as the "cool pose" or anti-intellectualism. Would you say you witnessed either of those in a school setting?

I: Of course yes. It's hard to give a specific example. But I definitely remember seeing African American males who really exalted hypermasculinity in a classroom. The only time I really never saw that was with my 10th grade geometry teacher. She was Indian and she used a more eastern teaching style that was more conceptual and very effective. She had gang bangers getting A's on geometry tests and exams and we actually did homework. Everyone respected her and everyone loved her. She was the best because usually we would walk all over a foreign teacher but she was able to reach us in a way that no one else seemed to be able to.

A: What effect if any has hypermasculinity had on your educational experiences?

I: None. I mean my grandmother and aunts took special care to make sure I was going well in school. I mean I never did well until my Grandmother died and that was a turning point for me. My aunts made me read every night and I couldn't watch TV except for on the weekends and this was even without cable. There was one time when they tried to put me in a special education class and they just weren't having it. With all of their effort I went from having a 1.4 coming into 10th grade to having a 3.5 by the time I finished high school.

A: Did you ever witness hypermasculinity as a part of others' experiences?

I: yes. You noticed it. One aspect of being an African American male was that you could not be smart. I was never like that because I always wanted to be successful. But it was a very devastating feeling to know that all of your friends were just taking it so easy and not struggling as bad as you were. I was always catching up and I didn't have time to be against my academic achievement.

You did see black males disregarding academics. And even the ones who did try and put effort into class, did homework, and raised their hands were labeled the suck ups, ...nerds. But at the same time it also varied. Usually you received a lot of hell from African Americans who were from the suburbs. If you were smart and doing your stuff you got a lot of slack.

But in the hood, where I'm from, Compton, California people don't really give you hell about being smart.

I think it's because in the suburbs you have a lot of pretenders. People trying to be what they think is black. A lot of my friends from the neighborhood however knew I was going places and would not allow me to step out of the box.

A: do you think that hypermasculinity exposes educational needs that can be met? You

mentioned a teacher earlier that was able to bridge the gap concerning gangsters and thugs in her class. What made her different?

I: Yes there are educational needs not being met. One thing I noticed about that teacher is she gave everyone an equal amount of effort. Like often you see teachers giving more attention to students that they already know can learn and not others that haven't proven themselves. But when you can get someone who has been historically, being me, where math equaled kryptonite. Like math was oil and I was water no matter how much you shook it up it did not mix. When you can turn around and make strengths out of weaknesses...that's a good teacher. I had the highest math grade in my class that year.

Race, Identity, and Power—Where Art and Popular Culture Unite: George Herriman's *Krazy Kat* and Philip Guston's *Flatlands*

Michele Kaminski

Dr. Julia DeLancey, Mentor

During the late 1960s Philip Guston chose to defy convention and return to his interest in comic art. Popular culture during the 1920s centered on the daily comic strip. This paper establishes a connection between George Herriman's June 29, 1920 Krazy Kat comic strip and Philip Guston's 1970 painting Flatlands. Analyzing stylistic influences from Krazy Kat and social issues such as race and identity establishes themes of power, violence, and punishment in each man's work. Confronting these issues through the illogical and absurd allowed Guston to accept his identity and illustrate how popular culture can penetrate our lives.

A radical change occurred in American painter Philip Guston's work in the late 1960s. This new work drew from popular culture, and from what some at the time considered one of the lowest forms of that culture, comic art. Change occurred throughout Guston's career and this drastic change originated in the 1920s with popular culture and in part the comic strip *Krazy Kat*.¹ This article will argue that Philip Guston's painting *Flatlands* (1970) came about because of Guston's familiarity with George Herriman's comic strip *Krazy Kat* and through it with Herriman's style of drawing and ironic way of dealing with issues of social concern in the comic strip *Krazy Kat*. Guston's later paintings contain similarities of line, composition, perspective, and

¹ I would like to thank Professor John Bohac at Truman State University for supplying me with the idea for this paper. I would also like to thank my mentor Dr. Julia DeLancey at Truman State University for all of her help and encouragement in writing this paper.

color which emulate the work of George Herriman's 1920s comic strip *Krazy Kat* thus revealing underlying connections in attitudes about race, power, identity, and violence.

Popular culture—including computers, cell phones, the internet, satellite television, video games, books, and movies—impacts our lives in various ways. Cell phones, video games, and the Internet have changed the way an entire generation deals with the world around them. MySpace and Facebook are essential to the younger generation and not having a cell phone is considered worse than not having a car. The Harry Potter book and movie series has created a sensation with children and adults alike since the early 1990s. When a new Harry Potter book is published stores cannot keep them on the shelves and the release of the latest movie finds children as well as adults standing in lines waiting to watch it. Essential merchandise such as video games, t-shirts, and action figures relating to Harry Potter fill store shelves across the country. The concept of a character becoming a national sensation is not new. In 1902 the comic strip, Buster Brown first appeared in the *New York Herald* and six years later in 1908 “Buster Brown was a nationally known name that produced considerable revenue for its owner.”² Since the early twentieth century popular culture has penetrated our lives and the artist Philip Guston's later work grapples with the formal and social issues that the 1920s comic strip *Krazy Kat* expressed. Guston embraced the popular culture of his childhood later in life and found a way of expressing lifelong personal and social concerns.

Overview of Historiography and Scholarship

An abundance of research explores Guston's early works, his abstract paintings, as well as his later works but very little has been written on the connection between his later paintings and *Krazy Kat*. Scholars who engage in any dialogue regarding the influence of Herriman's *Krazy Kat* on Philip Guston's later paintings only mention the connection in passing and to date there exist no extended analysis of the connections between the two artists and their work. This article seeks to fill that gap and connects with the development of visual culture which seeks to expand the boundaries of what we consider ‘art’.

Artists, poets, friends, and Guston's own daughter mention similarities between Guston's paintings and *Krazy Kat*. Among the first to do so, artist Robert Storr remarked in 1986 on Guston's caricature style and his “spontaneous graphic manner” in connection to the comic strip noting that the motivations for such a radical change were the “possibilities” the style allowed Guston and the ability it afforded him to respond to “the social as well as aesthetic climate of the late 1960s.”³ In the “Notes”

² Ian Gordon, *Comic Strips and Consumer Culture: 1890-1945* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), 47.

³ Robert Storr, *Philip Guston* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986), 51-52.

section of his book Storr did include a discussion of what he called “borrowings from *Krazy Kat*” which included “the butte-like forms...the lima bean shape of his archetypal heads, and the bricks that fly through” Herriman’s work.⁴ Storr found similarities but implied that Herriman created the various forms, such as *Krazy Kat*, Ignatz, and the landscape only as a form of comical drawing. He hinted that Guston might have used these same forms symbolically, although he never expanded on the symbolic meanings of these forms within Guston’s later paintings.

Musa Mayer, Guston’s daughter, found many references to *Krazy Kat* in the artist’s own writings. In 1997 Mayer wrote *Night Studio: A Memoir of Philip Guston* in which she recalled that “as a boy, my father loved the newspaper serials and comic strips. Particular favorites were George Herriman’s *Krazy Kat* and Budd Fisher’s *Mutt and Jeff*.”⁵ Mayer also points out Guston’s interest in various elements central to his processing of Herriman’s work. One of these major elements in Herriman’s *Krazy Kat* is the brick which flies constantly through the air after Ignatz the mouse throws it at Krazy Kat. After Guston’s death in 1980, his daughter, Musa Mayer found scribbled notes in his studio on which Guston wrote “How would bricks look flying in the air—fixed in their gravity—falling? A brick fight[.]” At some point during this period Guston contemplated the use of this element in his work.⁶ According to Mayer, *Krazy Kat* was “much loved by [Guston] for its quirky metaphysics and endearing desert vistas of mesas and buttes and cacti.”⁷ The elements of Herriman’s comic strip were an essential part of Guston’s later work.

Another significant component in Guston’s later work was the unusual hooded figures. Mayer discussed these controversial hooded figures within Guston’s work and stated they were, “evil and funny all at once...there they were in chalky, up-tilted landscapes across which bricks were flying.”⁸ She also noted an explanation written by Guston in 1977 in which he mentioned the hooded figures in connection with the Ku Klux Klan: “The KKK has haunted me since I was a boy in L.A.”⁹ Throughout Guston’s life the shrouded figures and the violence of the KKK were a constant figure in his work. The paradoxical associations between Guston’s work and *Krazy Kat* are seen not only in the fact that Guston enjoyed the comic strip but also that he used Herriman’s comical irony to address feelings of alienation and shame.

The catalogue *Philip Guston Retrospective* published in 2003 included an article by Bill Berkson entitled “Pyramid and Shoe: Philip Guston and the Funnies.” Berkson, a poet and friend of Guston’s, acknowledged in his essay the limited

⁴ Ibid, 103.

⁵ Musa Mayer, *Night Studio: A Memoir of Philip Guston* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1997), 13.

⁶ Ibid., 148.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.,149.

⁹ Ibid.

scholarship connecting the graphic arts such as comic strips to “the domain of serious American painting” but did not delve into any deep analysis of Guston and *Krazy Kat*.¹⁰ His essay analyzed Guston’s work in connection with comic strips and cartoon art, citing specifically *Krazy Kat*, *Mutt and Jeff*, and the work of R. Crumb. Berkson linked Guston’s work to *Krazy Kat* but also connected his work to *Mutt and Jeff* and Disney’s *Mickey Mouse*. While Berkson discussed some possible connections such as the flying bricks and stylized characters the bulk of his article moved to an analysis of Guston’s work in comparison to the work of R. Crumb.¹¹

The only example of any kind of formal analysis was an article written in 2004 by D.B. Dowd for *Comic Art* magazine entitled “Philip Guston Retrospective: An Excerpt from a Longer Exhibition Review.” Dowd mentioned the ways in which Guston’s work was visually constructed, such as the “stylistic figures” of *Mutt and Jeff* in association with the “stick-tube arms and legs” in Guston’s later work, the “iconography of hurled bricks and bleak expanses” with *Krazy Kat*, and the “existential hostility of Ignatz the Mouse.”¹² Dowd went on to point out the connection between Guston’s color palette and the use of spot color in comic strips. Dowd conceded that more research was needed to provide a full understanding of Guston’s late work.¹³

Guston’s work during the late 1960s through the 1970s reflected a familiarity with popular culture and thus needs to be analyzed within that framework. The artist Philip Guston and the comic strip *Krazy Kat* were both born in 1913 and in a letter written in 1970 fifty-seven years later to his friend Bill Berkson, Guston wrote, “I used to dream of having my own strip one day.”¹⁴ Examining Guston’s paintings from the late 1960s through the 1970s clearly shows stylistic influences from Herriman’s *Krazy Kat* such as the inclusion of elements such as the flying bricks, sparse backgrounds, and the cartoon-like drawing style, as well as indirect commentary on social issues including race and heritage. Critics, such as Elizabeth McCausland, first recognized Guston’s work in 1938 and since then scholars have written an overwhelming number of books and articles which analyzed the paintings and drawings of Philip Guston in various ways, but rarely analyzed are the connections between Philip Guston and *Krazy Kat*.¹⁵ This article establishes a clear connection between the political and social issues affecting both Herriman and Guston during the 1920s and the return to the simplistic cartoon-style, figurative paintings of Guston’s later work.

¹⁰ Bill Berkson, “Pyramid and Shoe: Philip Guston and the Funnies” in *Philip Guston Retrospective* (Fort Worth, TX: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 65.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹² D.B. Dowd, “Philip Guston Retrospective: An Excerpt from a Longer Review” *Comic Art* 6 (Summer 2004): 78-79. I would like to thank Professor D.B. Dowd of Washington University, St. Louis, for an enlightening conversation and sharing with me some of the intricacies and nuances of the comic strip.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁴ Berkson, 69.

¹⁵ Elizabeth McCausland, “Murals from the Federal Art Project,” *Parnassus* 10, no. 7 (December 1938): 8.

Guston's Early Life and Career

Guston's interest in art began early in his life and although he acquired some formal training he was predominantly self taught. After his father's suicide in 1923 drawing became a way for Guston to deal with his grief and loss.¹⁶ His mother noticed his artistic abilities and to encourage him enrolled Guston in a correspondence course for cartooning; thus began his illustrious career as an artist.¹⁷ He spent time as a young man attending various art schools, but the conventions of formal learning left him jaded and he eventually dropped out of formal education entirely.¹⁸ After leaving school he was introduced to artist Lorser Feitelson, and through Feitelson to the work of the Italian Renaissance painter Piero della Francesca, to Surrealism, and to Mexican muralists such as José Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera.¹⁹ Guston's exposure to various styles of drawing and painting as a young man contributed to his ability to incorporate a range of styles into his later work.

Events during the early 1930s shaped Guston's personal ideals regarding politics and social issues. He became involved with the John Reed Club "a Marxist study group," that encouraged artists to discard the fantasy that "art can exist for art's sake."²⁰ Guston and various artists in the group painted large murals in Los Angeles, which depicted the violence taking place in America against African Americans, specifically "the trial of the Scottsboro boys" and the violence of the KKK.²¹ Painters from the John Reed Club watched one morning as a hostile group of men "destroyed several murals and shot out the eyes and genitals of the figures in his completed work."²² The destruction of these murals and subsequent trial in which the artists were blamed for inciting the violence led the group to the conclusion that "America was in a dangerous state of violent confusion."²³ This incident also helped establish Guston's personal belief in civil rights and less government interference both of which were expressed throughout his career including his work during the late 1960s and 1970s.²⁴

During the later 1930s Guston's work continued to reflect social concerns within the United States. In 1936 Guston moved to New York and began doing "government-sponsored public art" with the Federal Art Project (FAP).²⁵ The mural work which

¹⁶ Mayer, 13.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Storr, 12.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Dore Ashton, *A Critical Study of Philip Guston* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 27.

²¹ Harold Evans, *The American Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 261. The Scottsboro boys were a group of nine black youths who were accused of raping two white women in Alabama. Although there was no evidence proving the rapes, the boys were sentenced to die by electrocution in 1931. This sentencing was overturned by the Supreme Court.

²² Ashton, 27.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Lea Rosson DeLong, *Shifting Visions: O'Keeffe, Guston, Richter* (Des Moines: Des Moines Art Center, 1998), 40.

Guston participated in during this time centered on the American laborer and the American way of life. However, in the 1940s Guston moved to Iowa City working as an artist in residence at the University of Iowa; at this time his paintings demonstrated a highly personal quality. He created works such as *Martial Memory* (1941) which dealt with emotions from his urban childhood and the violence and death of the Spanish Civil war and World War II. *Martial Memory* “transformed the urban genre scene into an allegory of war.”²⁶ Themes of violence, death, and childhood emotions continued throughout his career. Guston received much praise for his work during the 1940s, but felt the need to experiment with ideas of purity, abstract images, and spontaneous creation in the 1950s. He eventually became a very well-known artist in the Abstract Expressionist movement.²⁷ However, in the late 1960s Guston found himself disillusioned with Abstract Expressionism and returned to experimenting with figurative drawing.²⁸

In 1970 after two years of concentrated work Philip Guston shocked the art world with an exhibition of his latest work at the Marlborough Gallery in New York City.²⁹ The exhibition at the Marlboro Gallery demonstrated the extent of change within Guston’s work and reflected his contact with the *Krazy Kat* comic strip. Since childhood Guston had “remained an avid fan of the movies and of comics such as *Mutt and Jeff*, *Barney Google*, and *Krazy Kat*, which had inspired him” and he understood the comedy of life that Herriman created within the comic strip *Krazy Kat*.³⁰ Most children see through the posturing of the adult world and view things in a very simple and matter of fact way. For a time during adulthood Guston succumbed to that posturing but during the late 1960s he stated “I got sick and tired of all that purity! Wanted to tell stories.”³¹ In a letter written in 1979 to his friend Ross Feld, Guston admitted “that the ‘50s work and early ‘60s was “forced” to “look... abstract”... I knew it at the time but couldn’t tell anyone.”³² From the late 1960s through 1980 he revisited “his earliest enthusiasms [cartoons].”³³ Guston’s daughter, Musa Mayer, in her book *Night Studio: A Memoir of Philip Guston*, recalled a letter Guston wrote in 1974 to Dore Ashton, in which her father wrote, “I want to ‘paint’ of things long forgotten.”³⁴ Guston returned with a flourish to his childlike attitude about painting and painted just to paint. The childlike nature of comic strips in general and *Krazy Kat* in particular allowed Guston to re-establish a personal integrity within his paintings.

²⁶ Storr, 16.

²⁷ Ashton, 28.

²⁸ Storr, 52.

²⁹ Mayer, 149.

³⁰ Storr, 51-52.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

³² Ross Feld, *Guston in Time: Remembering Philip Guston* (New York: Counterpoint, 2003), 84.

³³ Storr, 50.

³⁴ Mayer, 12.

Comic Strips in the Early Twentieth Century

Since the late nineteenth century newspapers published cartoons and comics but it was not until the mid-twentieth century that daily comic strips became a sensation across the United States. Ian Gordon notes in *Comic Strips and Consumer Culture* that by 1903 comic strip supplements were carried by newspapers across the country and comic strip characters created a shared experience for urban and rural readers alike. In 1908 seventy-five percent of newspapers carried Sunday comic strips.³⁵ Comic strips such as *Buster Brown*, *Yellow Kid*, and *Krazy Kat* were read by approximately eighty-four percent of children “between ages eight and sixteen” by 1924.³⁶ Young and old alike were “drawn together by the visual images of comic strip characters.”³⁷ In 1931 George Gallup, a scholar of advertising, conducted a survey showing “the most popular and most frequently read part of a newspaper was the comic strip page.”³⁸ Comic strips in general were for entertainment purposes but *Krazy Kat* was one of the first strips that contended with such controversial issues as race, identity, power, and violence, albeit tangentially. During Guston’s childhood the comic strip was the popular culture of the day, just as Harry Potter has become a major part of our popular culture.

Krazy Kat and George Herriman

George Herriman’s daily comic strip *Krazy Kat* debuted as a “strip-beneath-a-strip” in 1910 and went on to become “an independent daily feature” in 1913.³⁹ Herriman based the strip on animals and opposites, somewhat of an irregularity in the genre of comic strips at the time when typical topics for cartoonists centered on such features as “domestic comedy,” “talkies,” “slice of life,” “soap opera strips,” and “kid strips.”⁴⁰ Herriman set the comic in Coconino County, Arizona and created a world in which things were not as they seemed; the cat loved with the mouse, the dog protected the cat, and the mouse continuously threw bricks at the cat while the cat believed those bricks were a symbol of the mouse’s love. *Krazy Kat* was not a comedic slice of American life or domestic comedy, such as *Bringing up Father* or *The Timid Soul*; rather it was a fantasy which made people look at their own ridiculousness. Krazy viewed the world through the eyes of a child and with humility showed the make-believe world adults created.⁴¹ “A graphic poet of words and images,” Herriman

³⁵ Gordon, 38-40.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁹ Brian Walker, *The Comics Before 1945* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2004), 76.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 74 – 75. Examples of the various types of comic strips which were running in newspapers during this time would be George McManus’s domestic comedy, *Bringing up Father* (1913), Sidney Smith’s *The Gumps* (which incorporated the talkies and soap opera strips into one successful comic strip), Tom McNamara’s kid strip *Us Boys* (1912), and H.T. Webster’s slice of life strip, *The Timid Soul*.

⁴¹ Gilbert Seldes, *The Seven Lively Arts* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1924), 239.

fashioned a world in which reality became a comedy of imagination.⁴² The cultural influence of *Krazy Kat* can be seen in the variety of people who enjoyed his work such as E.E. Cummings, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and the writer and cultural critic Gilbert Seldes who wrote in 1924, “*Krazy Kat*, the daily comic strip of George Herriman is, to me, the most amusing and fantastic and satisfactory work of art produced in America today.”⁴³ *Krazy Kat* was an escape from the disheartening state America found itself in during the 1920s as well as an ironic comment on the problems plaguing America throughout that period.

Historical Background and Context

Looking at the historical aspects of the 1920s and the late 1960s will give a clearer understanding of the issues of race, identity, power, and violence in the work of both men. 1913 brought the birth of both *Krazy Kat* and Philip Guston. Seven years later in 1920 Guston was reading Herriman’s comic strip and in 1960 Guston’s radical change in style began. These two periods set the stage for Guston’s later work in the 1960s. The 1920s were a critical period in American history: the First World War ended in 1918 and the country was adjusting to huge economic and industrial growth.⁴⁴ As Harold Evans points out in his book *The American Century* the country struggled with social problems which directly related to Guston’s Jewish heritage and Herriman’s race. Many Americans worked “ten to twelve hours a day with no real job or health security.”⁴⁵ Disillusionment with the government existed throughout the country and the issue of immigration resulted in a powerful, crucial struggle with Jews as well as African Americans or anyone of mixed race, leaving those groups feeling unwanted and persecuted.⁴⁶ A festering disenchantment across the country “led directly to the dangerous revival of the Klan as an organization of white, native-born Protestants” that felt something needed to be done about “the Catholics, Jews, foreigners, and blacks.”⁴⁷ By 1924 the KKK “had recruited 4.5 million ‘white male, native-born Gentile citizens,’”⁴⁸ and became a catalyst for many post WWI fears, such as racism and anti-Semitism.⁴⁹ During 1919 “seventy-four blacks were lynched,” labor strikes were at an all-time high, and foreigners were being deported because of supposed connections to communism.⁵⁰ Jews and Catholics were singled out as anti-American and anti-

⁴² Walker, 77.

⁴³ Seldes, 231.

⁴⁴ Evans, 182.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁴⁹ David J. Goldberg, *Discontented America: The United States in the 1920s* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 117.

⁵⁰ Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 151-152.

Christian because they did not conform to “Christian ideals or Christian principles.”⁵¹ Persecution and fear filled the lives of numerous Americans during the 1920s; Guston and Herriman were included in that group and most likely experience the fear of KKK harassment and of being found to be Jewish or non-white respectively.

Many of the same issues came up again in the 1960s and because of the various political and social events leading up to and during the 1960s Guston questioned once more his faith in the American people and the political system.⁵² Social and political issues were creating tensions within the United States. During 1951 almost twenty bombs “exploded in Miami, demolishing black homes, Jewish synagogues, and Catholic churches.”⁵³ By the 1960s southern blacks fought over the right to vote, over segregation, and for equality in all aspects of life. Racism and prejudice continued as race riots happened throughout the country. Whites as well as northern African Americans rode into the south to campaign for civil rights and were met with floggings, shootings, and explosions.⁵⁴ Martin Luther King marched peacefully on many occasions in favor of civil rights and the rise of the KKK once again exploded into violence throughout the US.⁵⁵

Backgrounds of Herriman and Guston

The issues and events which were transpiring during 1920-1930 and during the 1960s directly impacted the work of both Herriman and Guston. Issues of race and identity were very important to both Herriman and Guston’s work thus their backgrounds are relevant to analyzing the symbolic content contained within both. Born in 1880 George Herriman and his family moved to from New Orleans to Los Angeles in the mid-1880s.⁵⁶ As a young man Herriman enjoyed drawing and in 1897 he sold a sketch to the *Los Angeles Herald* and contemporaneously landed a job with the Herald.⁵⁷ In 1900 Herriman went to New York eventually selling his work to *Judge* magazine, a large humor magazine at the time. In 1902 he created his first comic strips, *Musical Mose*, *Professor Otto* and *His Auto*, and *Acrobatic Archie*.⁵⁸ According to Patrick McDonnell in his book *Krazy Kat: The Comic Art of George Herriman*, *Musical Mose* was a comic strip that “portrayed the plight of a poor black musician that performed songs at various ethnic gatherings” and impersonated that ethnicity, an interesting comic “in light of Herriman’s clouded ethnic background” to

⁵¹ Ibid., 179.

⁵² Storr, 53.

⁵³ Wade, 295.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 309.

⁵⁵ Evans, 463.

⁵⁶ Walker, 92.

⁵⁷ Patrick McDonnell, *Krazy Kat: The Comic Art of George Herriman* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 31.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 33-34.

be discussed further below.⁵⁹ *Acrobat Archie* centered on a hyperactive young boy who always ended up “destroying property, hurting himself,” and getting into trouble.⁶⁰ Professor Otto was an adult version of Acrobat Archie, although he always found his way out of trouble.⁶¹ These early strips of Herriman’s show the beginnings of his interest in using the comic strip form to explore issues with race, identity, and punishment.

Many of the books on the comic art of George Herriman discuss the issue of his race but there is no conclusive evidence regarding Herriman’s exact racial background. Herriman was an intensely private person and “never publicly divulged any information about his personal life or his background.”⁶² He rarely discussed race and always wore a hat to hide his black, kinky hair.⁶³ Census records indicate his parents were “mulattos,” and, while his birth certificate listed him as “colored,” his death certificate cited him as “Caucasian.” He once identified himself to a friend as “Creole” with some “Negro blood.”⁶⁴ By 1890 Herriman was ten years old and segregation was typical throughout the South and before long anyone with “black ancestry whatever found themselves classified with the ex-slave population.”⁶⁵ This view continued even after his death in 1944. Because of Herriman’s marked privacy there is little information about his own lived experiences and we may never know Herriman’s exact racial identity. However, his early use of obfuscation and similar aspects of his behavior suggest that race was a powerful issue throughout his life.

As a young man Guston deliberately chose to conceal his own heritage and this concealment was eventually seen within his paintings. Born in Canada as Phillip Goldstein in 1913 to Russian-Jewish parents, Guston’s family moved to Los Angeles in 1919. In 1937 before his marriage Goldstein, changed his name to Philip Guston.⁶⁶ According to his daughter, Musa Mayer, Guston changed his name out of a desire to impress his wife’s parents; however, he eventually realized it was a “shameful and cowardly act.”⁶⁷ Mayer also wrote that after World War II and the horrific disclosures about the Holocaust “it became crucial for him [Guston] to reclaim his Jewish identity.”⁶⁸ The desire to hide his previous behavior showed in the hooded figures of his later paintings.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 34.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² McDonnell, 30.

⁶³ Walker, 92.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ McDonnell, 30.

⁶⁶ Leonard Gold, “Creativity and its Imprint: Three Jewish Artists and Some Books about Them: Philip Guston, Charlotte Salomon, R.B. Kitaj,” *National Foundation for Jewish Culture* (Accessed February 19, 2008, <http://jewishculture.org/>).

⁶⁷ Mayer, 228. Mayer never states when Guston came to this realization.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 229.

In 1978 during a talk at the University of Minnesota Guston said the hooded figures were “self-portraits.”⁶⁹ Guston used the hooded figures not only as a symbol of the violence during his childhood but also as a means of concealment. Scholars hold conflicting beliefs regarding the hooded figures; Robert Storr noted that the figures do not conform to the typical implications of the KKK and argues that Guston deliberately created them to oppose the conventional image of the evil KKK cloaked in white by turning them into “vaudevillian...desperadoes.”⁷⁰ The artist Christopher Bucklow in his book *What is in the Dwat* explored the idea that the hooded figures are Guston’s way of hiding himself from the backlash of breaking the clique of the Abstract Expressionists.⁷¹ All are interesting and poignant arguments. Although the hooded figures do not literally represent the KKK, the hoods, with eyes cut out, certainly resonate with American audiences and carry those implications as well as support the argument that the hooded figures are used by Guston also as an act of concealment. In both of these men’s lives hiding behind the masks they created played an important role in their own creations, Guston’s hooded figures and Herriman’s *Krazy Kat*.

Comparative Analysis

Many formal and symbolic connections are found between Guston’s work and *Krazy Kat* and require a much deeper analysis than this article will be able to achieve. Given the space and time available, this article will highlight a few of the formal associations, such as line, color, scale, perspective, and composition. Because of the constant repetition and relevance to this paper the symbols highlighted in this article will be the bricks, Krazy Kat and Ignatz, and Guston’s hooded figures. This article will focus on the violence stemming from the brick throwing, the concealment shown in conjunction with the hooded figures and umbrellas, and the spatial relationship between Krazy Kat and Ignatz, which demonstrates power and control. All of these link the social issues of race, identity, power, and violence in Guston’s work to *Krazy Kat* and show the power and violence used in both compositions and the self-hatred and punishment which stem from both artists’ either episodic or lifelong concealment of their respective identities. Artistic unity will be shown through formally connecting the two and then focusing on the social issues such as race, identity, power, and violence in Herriman’s *Krazy Kat* comic strip from June 29, 1920 (fig.1)⁷² and Guston’s 1970 painting *Flatlands* (fig.2).⁷³ While we will likely never know whether

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Storr, 53.

⁷¹ Christopher Bucklow, *What is in the Dwat* (Cumbria, England: The Wordsworth Trust, 2007), 40.

⁷² Deyra Ataker, ed., *The Kat Who Walked in Beauty: The Panoramic Dailies of 1920* (Seattle Washington: Fantagraphics Books, 2007), 79.

⁷³ Michael Auping, ed. *Philip Guston Retrospective* (Fort Worth, TX: Thames & Hudson, 2003), plate 81.

or not Guston saw this particular strip, we do know that he was a regular reader of *Krazy Kat*. Thus this strip serves as an example of the kinds of approaches that Guston would have seen Herriman taking throughout the strip.

In both Herriman's strip and Guston's painting the formal elements of scale, perspective, and composition establish the particular themes of power and violence throughout their work. Scott McCloud in his book *Understanding Comics*, describes comic art as "amplification through simplification," using less to create more meaning.⁷⁴ For example in *Krazy Kat*, Herriman uses two small circles to create a body and head and by adding two thick lines he implies the idea of a face. Herriman draws two small ovals to simulate the ears and finally he uses straight lines to suggest arms and legs. Using very little detail Herriman visually created a mouse and at the same time by adding various movements and facial expressions he created the character Ignatz.

Within many of the *Krazy Kat* comic strips Herriman created Krazy Kat by using solid black, oval shapes with small rounded, rectangular forms for the nose, legs, and arms; however in the June 29, 1920 strip Herriman chose to cover most of Krazy Kat with an umbrella alluding to not only the issue of concealment but also a topic that will not be addressed in this article—the fact that Krazy Kat is a non-gendered cat. A very interesting implication and although it will not be addressed in this article it is a major issue which has been discussed in many of the writings about *Krazy Kat*. When asked about the gender of Krazy Kat, Herriman stated: "Krazy was something of a sprite, an elf. They have no sex. So that Kat can't be a he or a she."⁷⁵ The correlation between Krazy Kat's non-gendered identity and Guston's non-gendered hooded figures warrants its own in-depth analysis beyond the scope of this article.

The *Krazy Kat* strip from 1920 demonstrates a powerful attachment between Krazy Kat and Ignatz. The first panel begins showing a horizon line and a lonely tree which builds a deserted, wide open space. As the panels continue Ignatz the mouse sees a figure walking under an umbrella. Ignatz makes a comment, clearly trying to decide whether it is Krazy Kat under the umbrella. Krazy Kat and Ignatz then begin a conversation and the background fills, alleviating the sense of loneliness and bareness brought about by the wide open space. Filling the background with small, thin lines Herriman creates the illusion of a smaller space which brings the two characters together. He continues with the filled background, turning Krazy Kat and Ignatz towards each other, at the same time bringing them closer together thus alluding to a close attachment between the two characters. In the last panel the open space returns as the umbrella covers Krazy Kat and Ignatz picks up a brick to throw at him.

74. Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1993), 31.

75. Walker, 77.

Herriman sets up an unusual relationship by creating a triangular composition between the two characters. Ignatz stands on the left side in the middle ground of the panel. At the top of the panel sits a large cactus. Herriman places Krazy Kat on the right and in the foreground. As the panels continue Krazy Kat and Ignatz reverse positions, although Ignatz is always placed at a higher level in the panels suggesting that even though Ignatz is smaller than Krazy he is the one who controls the relationship. Throughout Herriman's work he continually uses these elements to destabilize what is visually contained within the panels.

Guston uses the same "amplification through simplification" as Herriman and yet, through his use of this method Guston's work eventually leads to his exploration of issues of power and violence.⁷⁶ Guston chose to sporadically fill the background of *Flatlands* with small, everyday objects such as clocks, the sun, a large red hand, a wooden board with nails, and bricks using the large surrounding area of negative space to create a sense of, emptiness, loneliness, and abandonment. Although Guston's painting was most likely not designed to be read from left to right as a comic strip, for a comparative interpretation this article will analyze Guston's painting from left to right and using this reading Guston begins to fill the negative space as done in the Herriman comic strip. A small hooded figure on the left and a slightly larger hooded figure on the right, a disembodied foot, and a floating brick connect the two figures and suggest a relationship of power, violence, and attachment between the two. Continuing to the right the negative space begins to take over the painting across the bottom and top as the objects grow smaller and closer together in the center. Guston also creates a triangular relationship between his two hooded figures; the smaller figure on the left sits higher on the middle ground. Guston places a disembodied foot at the top of the triangle and places the larger figure closer in the foreground; this triangular shape stabilizes the forms.⁷⁷ *Flatlands* and Herriman's June 29th strip both use empty or negative space to generate a balance between the objects or characters in each piece as well as using composition to illuminate unseen emotions in each.⁷⁸ The formal aspects of both Herriman and Guston's work unite the two pieces in parallel visual manners.

In *Flatlands* Guston creates a painting that utilizes lines and perspective similar to Herriman's 1920 strip and adds color to create a stark awareness of power and violence. As seen in the June 29 strip, Herriman uses a fluid, continuous line throughout the strip producing a sense of stability and calm and, by applying short, choppy strokes indicating shadowing throughout he adds a slight feeling of instability. The wavy, meandering lines around the sun generate an effect of heat permeating the deserted

⁷⁶ McCloud, 31.

⁷⁷ Bucklow, 39.

⁷⁸ McCloud, 92.

space. Herriman establishes the perspective of the strip by using a thin line across the panels, creating the horizon. Moving the horizon line towards the center of the panel he brings the images closer; with small, subtle movements he shifts the line and within the composition of the strip Herriman creates the idea of a real space. Guston paints a heavy, unsteady line to create the various images in *Flatlands* thereby constructing a solid, grounded, and stable piece. The thicker, irregular lines under the objects generate shadows which help to ground the images in the painting. At the top of the painting Guston uses a half circle setting on a thick black line to make the horizon and give a sense of perspective to the painting. Guston also introduces a color palette to his paintings which at first glance seems very unusual but Coconino County, Arizona—where Herriman based *Krazy Kat*—is a beautiful desert area filled with many of the curious colors Guston uses. Using an orange-red hue with a minimal amount of deliberate black strokes he creates the impression of heat pervading the space while the sun sets on the horizon towards the top of the canvas. Guston also utilizes a variety of red and white hues to render colors which evoke blood and peeled skin. Both Guston and Herriman's usage of formal elements create similar compositions and bring power and violence to the forefront.

The symbols in Herriman and Guston's work intertwine and connect in several different areas such as power and control. The relationship between Krazy Kat and Ignatz contains an element of absurdity as well as a highly charged reversal of power. The emotional and illogical love of a cat for a mouse destroys any notion of reliability within the strip.⁷⁹ At the same time Herriman establishes a dynamic power relationship based on love, hate, and violence. Krazy Kat loves Ignatz no matter what the mouse does; Krazy Kat sees the violence of the brick throwing as a token of Ignatz's devotion while Ignatz despises Kat and chooses to express that hatred through violence—not unlike abusive relationships in which the victim views the violence of the abuser as expressive of true love.⁸⁰ Guston on the other hand implies the illogical notion that the hooded figures are entertaining and childish through his cartoon figuration. He builds a power relationship between the two figures by not only creating one smaller but moreover by the eerie, skinned, severed foot situated between the two suggesting a chilling glimpse into how the two figures might have been involved in the dismembering of the body, suggesting a secretive violent connection. The smaller figure also includes a red-colored shape with small bumps at the top indicating a hand, protruding out of the left side of the hood. This shape connects with the idea of the involvement of the two figures in the mutilation of the foot because it suggests that the smaller figure is secretly whispering to the larger figure. Herriman consistently kept his

⁷⁹ Edward A. Shannon, "That we may mis-unda-stend each udda": The Rhetoric of *Krazy Kat*" *Journal of Popular Culture* 29, no.2 (Fall 1995): 213.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 214.

identity secret and Guston for a period of time concealed his identity; both unknowingly acknowledged the power a larger society can hold over personal interests. Herriman and Guston construct a foundation of power and violence through the absurdity of the relationships each one creates.

The implication of power and violence can also be perceived by the bricks used in both works. In the *Krazy Kat* strip Ignatz picks up the brick to throw at Krazy—a violent action itself—but when interpreted through Krazy’s love for Ignatz, withholding the brick allows Ignatz to control Krazy’s love. Cruelty is a type of recognition and acknowledgement and “to be desired if all other forms fail to materialize.”⁸¹ Another message the brick implies is that of guilt and self-hatred.⁸² Abuse breeds self loathing and guilt over not being able to control the reasons for the abuse. In the last panel Krazy covers himself with the umbrella again and speaks of being afraid of getting a tan, while Ignatz picks up a brick and says “This brick will tan you up a bit.”⁸³ The wording in this panel suggests two different meanings and both apply in this strip. One meaning is that of the old saying “tan your hide” as in punishment for something done wrong; the other is the implication of the word “tan” as making Kat darker skinned, implying something negative by the throwing of the brick. The negative connotation here suggests the issue of “passing” where in the early twentieth century the word referred to light-skinned African Americans who would “pass” as Caucasians, thus becoming something they were not. The terminology Herriman used in this passage suggests that the character of *Krazy Kat* was trying to “pass” as something other than a cat. Thus the brick would reveal the darker side, what the cat was trying to hide. As noted previously, Herriman’s lighter skin tone gave him the ability to pass as a white person and the act of pretending to be something other than what he was may have produced a form of self-hatred as well as created some form of self-punishment because of his own behavior.⁸⁴ Krazy understands the fear of becoming “tan” and acts to avoid the guilt but Ignatz punishes Krazy anyway and wants to make him feel the self-hatred by making Krazy “tan.” Power and violence play out through the comic strip and the brick is the ammunition of self-hatred, guilt, and control.

A variety of explanations combined with Guston’s own understanding of *Krazy Kat* contribute to the diverse meanings found within *Flatlands*. This painting contains a solitary brick and a smoking chimney made of red bricks and Guston uses these to suggest power and violence as well, albeit somewhat more discreetly. Bricks are a central feature in most of Guston’s later paintings and bring to mind various implications, the first of which is the connection to *Krazy Kat*. Another connection the bricks

⁸¹. Robert C. Harvey, *The Art of the Funnies: An Aesthetic History* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1994), 179.

⁸². Ibid.

⁸³. Ataker, 79.

⁸⁴. Harvey, 179.

form relates to Guston's Jewish heritage. In the book *A Critical Study of Philip Guston*, Dore Ashton stated that in Guston's paintings "Brick walls appeared, reminiscent of his old holocaust allusions to suffocating imprisonment."⁸⁵ The representation the brick in the painting *Flatlands* lingers on the head of the larger hooded figure giving the impression of a powerful weight bearing down, crushing the figure at the same time paradoxically giving it a sense of weightlessness.

Another connection with the bricks can be seen in Guston's choice of including a red brick chimney. Guston's Jewish background would have given him knowledge of the Old Testament story about the Israelites in Egypt as well as knowledge of the persecution of the Jews during the Holocaust. The Old Testament recounts the story of the Israelites becoming slaves to the Pharaohs of Egypt and how they were forced to use straw and mud to make bricks for building the pyramids and other buildings. They were persecuted and violently punished for not producing or working hard enough. Eventually the God of the Israelites liberated them and caused great harm to come to Egypt. This unites Guston's own identity issues with those which have plagued the Jewish people for many years. Guston's choice of using the brick in this painting may be read as symbolic of the slavery of the Israelite people and reflects the power and control they were under during this time. The crushing weight of the brick is alleviated as it lingers over the head of the hooded figure alluding to a sense of liberation.⁸⁶ The red smoking chimney contains messages of both power and violence. The smoke swirling out of the top evokes a fire burning within unseen and the creation of the chimney relates back to the guilt of Guston's concealing his identity as a Jew and then subsequent horrors of the German holocaust.⁸⁷ According to Christopher Bucklow, Guston made specific comments during the late 1960s regarding the photos of the Holocaust stating, "We are the witnesses of the hell. When I think of the victims it is unbearable."⁸⁸ The chimney with its smoke billowing out of the top is reminiscent of the gas chambers found in the concentration camps after World War II. Guston's use of bricks throughout his later paintings calls to mind the power and control that some choose to exercise over others.

Issues with race and identity show up throughout Herriman and Guston's work as well. In *Krazy Kat* Herriman uses a non-gendered black cat, an umbrella, and text to communicate matters of race and identity. The non-gendered cat brings to mind a sense of non-identity and seclusion—an indication that Herriman's own race and identity were questionable even to him. Creating *Krazy Kat* as black might be of no consequence although Harvey has argued that Herriman's own sensitivity on the matter

⁸⁵. Ashton, 156.

⁸⁶. Ex. 1:7 – 14:31.

⁸⁷. I would like to thank Dr. G. Victoria Landrum for encouraging me to look into this aspect of Guston's work.

⁸⁸. Bucklow, 100.

of race “suggests an unconscious emotional source for his inspiration.”⁸⁹ The use of an umbrella signifies shelter and protection from not only the elements but protection from the possible harassment of being of mixed race as well. The umbrella also implies the concealment of his race similar to the hat he wore even indoors to hide his hair. The use of these various symbols mirrors Herriman’s concealment and confusion about his race and identity not only from the public but also from the people in his personal life.

As previously mentioned Guston changed his name in 1937 and led a life concealing his identity as a Jewish man, although he eventually came to a gradual awareness and self-respect regarding his identity. The hooded figures throughout Guston’s work vary in their meaning and during his later paintings they came to be self-portraits and symbols of his personal guilt and shame. Joanna Weber states in her book *Philip Guston A New Alphabet: The Late Transition*, “These hooded self-portraits place Guston within the game of hiding from the truth” as all people do.⁹⁰ During Guston’s life Jews were constantly persecuted and harassed as being “children of the Devil” hated and unwanted in the United States as well as Germany and other countries.⁹¹ This hatred and persecution bred guilt and shame similar to that which Herriman must have felt such as self-hatred and shame because of his race. Guston chose to use the hooded figures as a paradox by creating them to resemble the KKK and—by creating them in a cartoonish style—he was able to undo the self-hatred and guilt felt throughout most of his life. As Musa Mayer stated, “during those last years my father seemed capable of revealing—and redeeming—himself.”⁹² Confronting the fear of the hooded figure in terms of the illogical and absurd allowed Guston to see the other side of evil and allowed him to come to terms with his own identity.

Conclusion

The issues of race, identity, power and violence are dealt with in various ways in both *Krazy Kat* and *Flatlands*. When analyzed within the frameworks of social and historical issues as well as of form the paintings of Philip Guston and the comic strip *Krazy Kat* are strikingly similar. Through the use of line, perspective, composition, and color Herriman’s comic strip *Krazy Kat* and the *Flatlands* painting by Philip Guston connect formally and exhibit forms of power and violence. Both use perspective and scale to create relationships of power to unite the characters in each piece. The use of composition and color expresses not only power and violence, creates a sense of permanence in the power and violence between the characters, and builds a foundation of visual connections.

⁸⁹ Harvey, 179.

⁹⁰ Joanna Weber, *Philip Guston A New Alphabet: The Late Transition* (Norwich, CT: Thames Printing Company, 2000), 19.

⁹¹ Wade, 283.

⁹² Mayer, 129.

The symbols used in both works relate to social issues both artists faced within their lives. Power and violence show up in the forms of Krazy Kat and Ignatz as well as Guston's hooded figures. The bricks in both works lead to persecution, punishment, self-hatred, and guilt all relating to the race and identity of each man. Both artists use some form of concealment—the umbrella in *Krazy Kat* and the hooded figures in Guston's work—alluding to their own shame and guilt. The illogical relationship between Krazy Kat and Ignatz compared to the inappropriate comedic relationship between Guston's hooded figures attest to the influence popular culture had on Guston's work.

Although the paintings of Philip Guston from the late 1960s through the 1970s shocked the art world in the late 60s when analyzed in conjunction with the earliest art influence in his life—*Krazy Kat*—numerous parallels are found. From childhood popular culture affects us in various ways and as we grow this culture finds its way back into our lives. Christopher Bucklow wrote, “There can be a moment in later life when all one's past interests and involvements begin to appear to be connected;”⁹³ Guston found a connection within the work of George Herriman and through all the phases and influences in Guston's paintings his last works took him back to his beginnings. Social issues throughout Guston's life of racial and ethnic hatred were brought full circle. This circle brought him back to his childhood years and the things which influenced him, the popular culture of the comic strip *Krazy Kat* and cartoon-style drawing.

In the twenty-first century we are bombarded everyday with visual images and these images help to create the world we live in. Our visual culture began in the early twentieth century with the creation of nationally-known characters such as Buster Brown and nationally-syndicated daily comic strips such as *Krazy Kat*. Our world has changed dramatically since the early twentieth century and defining art continues to change as well. Many artists' works since that time have been influenced by this popular and visual culture and to gain a complete understanding of their work, in the twenty-first century as well as in the future, it is crucial that we as art historians, analyze both the popular and visual culture which has shaped and impacted their lives. This article establishes a connection between one painting and one form of popular culture, the comic strip; the possibilities of this form of analysis can be applied to many different artists, such as Roy Lichtenstein, Arshile Gorky, and Stuart Davis. We must not take the influences of popular and visual culture mediums such as advertising, newspapers, television, radio, and other mediums, lightly; they must be analyzed as many art historians are beginning to do, as crucial to understanding the work of artists since the early twentieth century.

⁹³ Bucklow, 154.

Illustrations



Figure 1. Deyra Ataker, ed., *The Kat Who Walked in Beauty: The Panoramic Dailies of 1920* (Seattle Washington: Fantagraphics Books, 2007), 79.

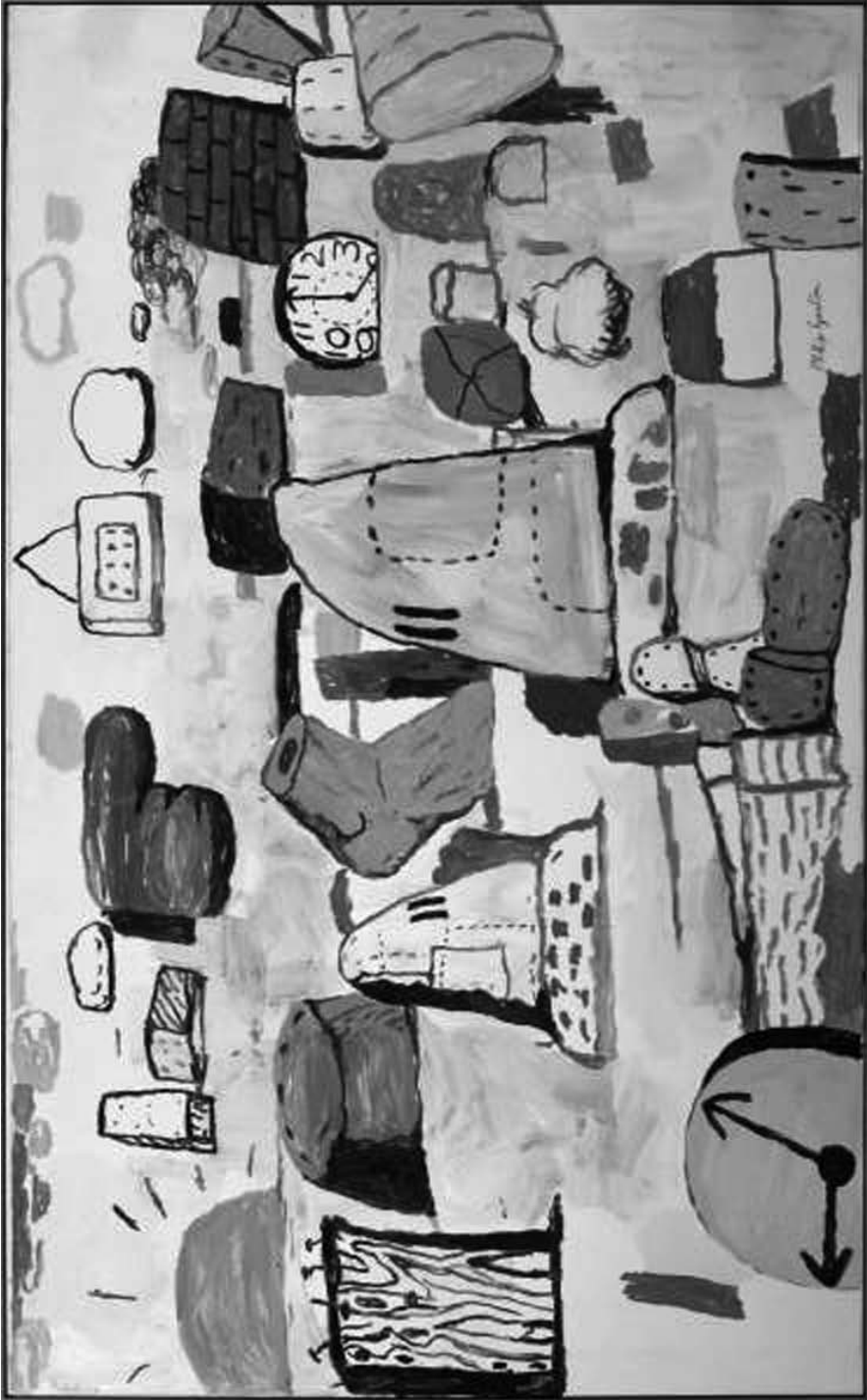


Figure 2. Philip Guston, *Flatlands*, 1970; oil on canvas; 70 in. x 114 1/2 in. (117.8 x 290.8 cm); © The Estate of Philip Guston.

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What Explains Variation of Women's Representation in Sub-Saharan Africa's Parliaments?

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This research paper attempts to explain the variations of women's representation within sub-Saharan African parliaments. Currently, sub-Saharan African countries vary widely in the number of women present in the region's legislatures. Despite the fact that sub-Saharan Africa is considered to be one of the poorest regions in the world, the number of women in parliament exceeds that of some wealthier countries, including the United States. This research suggests that gender quotas and whether or not a country is democratic would have a greater affect on the number of women in parliament. After running a logistic regression analysis, the results illustrate that the presence of gender quotas significantly increases the number of women in legislature, but the type of government as an independent variable does not.

Introduction

Throughout history, women have been considered to hold a plethora of responsibilities. These responsibilities may include being a devoted wife, a loyal mother, and a dedicated employee. Yet, over time, these roles have become stereotypical for women. For this reason, women have struggled to get their voices heard. “[W]omen all over the world have struggled against inequality and restrictive practices in education, work force participation, and family roles” which may have led to an imbalance of women

being a part of the policy decision-making process (www.pbs.org, 2007). Various countries have different percentages of women in legislature. Specifically, women's political representation in lower House parliaments range from 2% to 50% in sub-Saharan African countries. This percentage gap illustrates that there may be certain variables that influence women's participation in parliament. This paper strives to extend existing research on why there is an imbalance in women's representation in the parliaments of sub-Saharan African countries.

The issue of gender and representation has existed for many years (Stokes, 2005, 18-19). Whether or not women and their concerns are equally represented in both parliamentary and presidential governments is still in question. In previous research, scholars have raised questions such as: are women only capable of representing issues only tied to women? (Breuning, 2001, 38). Or is the decision to run for office a matter of women formulating their own views at a very young age, despite the fact that society labels them as sensitive and compassionate individuals? (Hodson, 1997, 36). These questions could help explain why women participate in the policy decision-making process.

Sociologists Lane Kenworthy and Melissa Malami argue that "gender inequality continues to pervade many aspects of society. Politics is the arena in which it remains perhaps most pronounced" (Kenworthy and Malami, 1999, 235). With this notion, it is necessary to look at the reasons why the gender inequality gap exists. The number of women participating in sub-Saharan Africa's legislatures may have an influence in their communities and neighboring countries. Much of the research available focuses on women's representation in industrialized countries, which is why it is imperative to be aware of the disparities in representation in developing countries such as those in sub-Saharan Africa. Often times women and their representation in more underdeveloped or developing countries are overlooked. Kenworthy and Malami illustrate that there has been an expansion on the analysis of underdeveloped countries and whether or not political or cultural factors influence the number of women in parliaments (236). Some argue that political and cultural factors influence such representation gaps while others argue that socioeconomic factors affect whether there are more women in parliament. This paper presents current arguments from scholars who have researched both industrialized and developing countries and their percentages of women in parliament. Currently there is a limited amount of research available on women's representation in sub-Saharan Africa's parliament, this "warrants exploration" (236). In order to carry out this research, literature will be taken from American and European studies and will be applied to sub-Saharan Africa's analysis.

Literature Review/Arguments

Who represents and why?

Many scholars have argued that the concern for representation arises when there is a discussion of whether gender matters or makes a difference in representing interest of constituencies. Wendy Stokes suggests that there are “two under analyzed aspects of representation: first, the question of what is represented, and second, the question of whether it matters who our representatives are. Discussions of political representation are generally concerned with two goals: the representation of interests and the representation of the people” (Stokes, 2005, 19). The interests of the people are important factors in the decision to choose who will represent in legislature.

Relying on the notion that different groups in society will share a common interest has been argued. Stokes states that “every woman is an expert on being a woman; yet each woman’s experience of gender is unique” (19). Not every woman will encounter the same experiences, face the same issues or even make the same decisions. Due to such assumption that any group will share interests leaves room for individuals to ignore the idea that not all groups or individuals within that group will share a common interest. “There are two problems with this: the presumption that one group is associated with an interest to the exclusion of other people, and the belief that women make up unified groups who share an interest” (19). Interests may vary depending on different political ideologies, socioeconomic status, religious affiliations, age and gender. Relying on the idea that a woman will represent stereotypical women’s interests is an assumption. The assumption that all women will have the same concerns or would want another woman representing their concerns would counter argue the idea that maybe some women do not feel other women are needed in legislature to have their voices heard.

Scholar, Farida Jalazai contends that women favor policies that are beneficial to women and minorities (Jalazai, 2004, 88). In addition to Jalazai, Stokes agrees that it does matter whether women are elected into office (Stokes, 2005, 18-19). Furthermore, Amy Caiazza, suggests that having women in office would extend the political debate to include a range of issues ignored by male policymakers (Caiazza, 2002, 1). However, based on these observations, it would be considered a generalization to state that the more women elected to legislature, the more issues of health, education, and social welfare will be addressed.

To reiterate the idea that the presence of women in parliament does not guarantee whether there is a policy change for women, researchers state “while their presence alone does not guarantee change for women, it allows them to demonstrate

sound political leadership, awareness of women's needs and the importance of gender inequality, all of which will open doors for the next generation of women leaders" (www.iknowpolitics.org, 2008). Even though many scholars feel that the quantity in numbers does not constitute whether women's needs or interests are addressed, there is a better goal to be attained, and that is, to pave the way for the future generation of female political leaders.

Does it matter where in government women represent?

Whether women are represented in government is not the only significant question; we must also examine where in government women representation exist. The concerns that relate to where in government women are represented have also been important in determining whether women's representation in parliament is important. Jalazai argues that because of the limited information known about women in the executive, "politicians tend to focus more on women in legislative rather than executive office." This research may suggest that there is a focus on women in legislature because so few women participate in the executive. Beth Reingold in her article, "Concepts of Representation among Female and Male State Legislators" states, "finally, we have strong evidence from the female legislators that, because of their gender, they felt uniquely qualified to handle the concerns of their female constituents" (Reingold, 1992, 531). Based on this concept, some female legislators do in fact believe that they represent women and their issues.

In the "Case for Gender Equality in Elected Institutions in the UK," women are thought to promote a higher quality of decision-making, reflecting the greater diversity of experience of those making the decisions (www.womenandequality.unit.gov.uk, 2006). This case argues that women involved in legislatures are not just fulfilling quotas, but are actually bringing new fresh ideas that in fact, encourage diversity among policy makers. "Indeed, the expectation that women bring a greater focus on peace and social justice to foreign policy arena has a long tradition that reaches back to the nineteenth century (Stokes, 2005, 18-19). These ideas did not originate at the turn of the 21st century, but have existed for many years. Whether a woman is of color or other descent, her voice matters and empowers inventive ideas that will influence society. Former UN Secretary Kofi Annan stated "study after study has shown that there is no effective development strategy in which women do not play a central role. When women are fully involved, the benefits are immediate -- families are healthier and better fed and their income, savings and investments go up. And what is true of families is also true of communities and, in the long run, of whole countries" (Mutume, 2004, www.un.org). This research suggests that women do in

fact play a unique and significant role in making the lives of the community healthier and productive whether represented in legislature or executive government.

Influential factors that may or may not encourage women's participation in legislature

Political Participation and Mobilization

Scholar Shireen Hassim (2006) suggests that “women’s political participation and mobilization will increase the number of women in decision-making office and, consequently, will enable women to have influence over decision-making in regards to national budgets, policy priorities, and ideological direction of governmental policies” (172). These areas to which Hassim refers to are not stereotypical women issues; however she argues that with an increase of women mobilization, women are more likely to handle such issues. Her analysis suggests that the more women there are in a given population, the more women will be elected into office.

Political Parties

In addition, some scholars argue that political parties play a role in whether women are elected in the legislature. Scholar Miki Caul engaged in a study in 1997 and looked at the how party characteristics influence women’s representation in parliamentary parties of twelve industrialized nations (U.S and Western European nations) in the years 1975, 1985 and 1989. These years are important in that they illustrate times when “women increased the level of pressure for greater political representation” (qtd. in Caul, 1997, 6). Caul’s study focused on four party level factors of political parties: *organizational structure*, *ideology*, *women party activists* and *gender related candidate rules*. Caul argues that both political characteristics and electoral rules work hand-in-hand in influencing representation among women in the legislature. Caul’s found that:

“[H]igh levels of women working at internal party offices and the presence of formal rules designed to increase the number of women Members of Parliaments are each conducive to women’s representation...because parties are vote-seeking organizations they can be pressured to promote minority candidates. As the gatekeepers to parliamentary office, the parties’ efforts can directly increase the proportion of underrepresented groups in parliament” (Caul, 1997, 13).

The claim that political parties’ influence the number of women in legislature suggests that the people’s interest alone does not guarantee whether women are

elected into office, but rather the agenda of political parties and whether or not they aim to increase underrepresented groups in parliament, specifically women.

Electoral Systems

To help explain and compare women's representation in national parliaments, scholars often compare electoral systems. Caul states, "comparative research on women's representation in national parliaments has primarily focused upon characteristics of the electoral system to explain cross-national patterns (Caul, 1997, 1). Various electoral systems such as party lists, first-past-the-post, two-round and party block can influence the number of women in parliament differently. Scholars Pippa Norris and Joni Lovenduski propose that party-lists systems with large district magnitudes appeal to higher levels of women in parliament (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995). This would suggest that parties who favor women in larger districts will automatically have more women in legislature. Yet, some argue that other electoral systems may have a greater influence on women's representation in legislature. For example, Jon Fraenkel recommends countries that adopt *proportional representation* (PR) systems would not be beneficial in trying to increase women's representation if a country does not have a well established "multi-member constituency-based electoral system" (Fraenkel, 2006, 59). These arguments have been applied to Pacific Island and British Parliaments. Even though these arguments focus on different regions of the world, they may very well apply to sub-Saharan Africa.

Quotas

Scholar Aili Mari Tripp suggests that countries in sub-Saharan Africa with large percentages of women in parliament are result of the presence of quotas. Tripp states, "Nowhere in the world has the rate of increase in the political representation of women been as fast as in sub-Saharan Africa over the past four decades. One of the main factors accounting for this increase has to do with the expanded use of various forms of quotas. In part, these quotas result from pressure applied by women's movements in African countries, as well as by international women's movements" (Tripp, 2003, www.quotaproject.org). In sub-Saharan Africa, women are often encouraged to run for office by influential women's movements and organizations across the region. As a result of such movements and organizations, quotas are given in some sub-Saharan African countries. Currently there are three main quota systems that exist. They include: "*Constitutional quota*: some countries, including Burkina Faso and Uganda, have constitutional provisions reserving seats in national parliament for women. *Election law quotas*: provisions are written into national legislation, as in Sudan and *Political party quotas*: parties adopt internal rules to include a certain

percentage of women as candidates for office. This is the case with the governing parties in South Africa and Mozambique (Tripp, 2003, www.quotaproject.org). According to Tripp, these quotas are grouped into two categories.

“**One** includes reserved seats or executive appointments that are intended to determine the number of seats to be held by women in an election. Women may run for reserved seats in their districts and can be elected either by an electoral college of men and women (Uganda), or by women in each district/province (Rwanda). Another variant of the reserved seats system is the women-only list in which only women can vie for these seats on a nationwide basis regardless of party affiliation or district. In Tanzania, a reserved seat quota for women is allocated to political parties based on the proportional number of parliamentary seats won in an election. The **second** category involves measures adopted voluntarily by political parties aimed at influencing the number of women candidates (for example, placing women higher on the party list, alternating women and men). Sometimes the adoption of national legislation or constitutional mandates requires that all parties nominate a certain number of women as electoral candidates (Tripp, 2003, www.quotaproject.org).

Quotas help in examining the ratio of women’s representation in parliament. If quotas were not in use throughout the sub-Saharan Africa region, there would not be as many women representing in their parliament today. This argument would suggest that substantive representation influences who is elected into parliament.

Government leadership, male counterparts and the media

Other influences that may reflect women’s representation may include government and/or leadership, opinions of the male counterparts and the media. According to Jalazai, “the government does not believe that it would be right to make positive action compulsory in order to increase the number of women elected. It is for political parties to decide for themselves whether they wish to increase the number of women candidates standing for election for their party and, if so, how to achieve this increase (Jalazai, 2004, 88). It may not be the responsibility of the government to increase the number of women involved in legislature; however, the government has a great way of influencing the people and the ways in which they vote.

Furthermore, the president or ultimate leader can also have an influence on the inclusion of women in the legislature.

“[P]residents can still have an important role in setting the tone of their administration with respect to the inclusion of women and women’s voices. Favorable actions can range from presidential pronouncements on the need to place women in positions of authority to issuing executive orders...that would force government departments to recruit or promote women” (McGlen and Sarkees, 1997, 109).

This statement helps support the idea that if leadership promoted the idea of increasing involvement of women in legislature, more women may be represented. This not only goes toward women’s representation in one country, but it could influence other countries as well.

Statements from the male politicians may also influence women’s participation in the legislature. These statements include comments such as, “On women in legislature: I don’t even notice their bosoms, what can I say, no one does,” and “women are accepted largely to the extent that they become ungendered but equal” (Deutchman, 1992, 417-418). Based on the ambition of the woman, comments such as these might discourage a woman from being a part of a country’s legislature. If majority of men represented in parliament of sub-Saharan countries share attitudes toward women in legislature such as this, women would be less likely to run.

Finally, the media portrays women as a stylish individual, rather than an intelligent constituent who is willing to participate in decision-making by parliament. For example, journalist and writer Jatar Kulkarni asks,

“But why, one wonders should a person who wishes to hold an important public post, be placed in the kitchen? Who has ever seen a picture of a male politician carrying the bazaar bag home, or changing the bulb? Media decides the context in which a woman should be placed, and reinforces it constantly” (Kulkarni, 2006, nitawriter.wordpress.com).

Kulkarni continues to address this issue by acknowledging the fact that women achievers are subject to irrelevant, even distasteful queries. Women are often asked and criticized of their marital status, attire and even questions concerning their place of residence; whereas, their counterparts are rarely asked such questions.

Theory

Previous research illustrate that the interest of the people, political mobilization and participation among women, political parties, influence of political leaders, the media, and electoral systems matter in the number of women in parliament. However,

emphasis on the notion that PR systems and quotas are the leading causes of an increase in women's participation in parliament seems to be most popular. With this in mind, this paper argues that quotas and democratization influence whether more women are elected to legislatures.

United Nations' Statistics notes that Rwanda and other countries are currently increasing the number of women in parliament.

“Rwanda's success in bringing women to the political table mirrors that of a small, but growing number of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In South Africa and Mozambique, for example, women hold 30 per cent of the seats in parliament - matching the international target. Women's representation in national parliaments across Sub-Saharan Africa equals the world average of about 15 per cent. Despite being one of the poorest regions in the world, the level of women's representation in parliament in Sub-Saharan Africa is higher than in many wealthier countries, observes UNIFEM in its *Progress of the World's Women 2002* report. In the US, France and Japan for instance, women hold slightly more than 10 per cent of parliamentary seats (Mutume, 2004, www.un.org).

There is a difference in the number of women represented in parliament in industrialized countries than in developing countries. Some developing countries seem to have far more women in legislature than in wealthy or industrialized countries. For instance, “female representation is far greater today in some poorer societies -- like Mozambique (ranking 9th in the world), South Africa (10th), and Venezuela (11th) -- than in some of the most affluent countries, including the U.S. (50th), France (59th) and Japan (94th)” (Norris and Inglehart, 2001, 126). The presence of quotas influences women's participation in legislature. Research involving the presence of quotas suggests that compared to other regions, sub-Saharan Africa is leading in the number of women in parliament, despite their economic state as a whole. Yet, within the region itself, there is some level of imbalance in women's representation.

Political Scientist Mi Yung Yoon in “Democratization and Women's Legislative Representation in sub-Saharan Africa” explores the affect of democratization on women's legislative representation in Africa. Yoon found that democratization did not increase women's representation in parliament, but decreased it and gender quotas appeared to improve the number of women representing in legislature (Yoon, 2001 169). However, because Yoon's research was conducted between the years 1990 and 1999, this might have changed. The fact that some countries in sub-Saharan Africa are generally under authoritarian rule can be detrimental in increasing the number of women elected into

legislature. Some of Sub-Saharan African countries continue to deprive women the privilege to own land and receive credit by law (170). With this in mind, if a country is moving towards a democratic government, then that country may be more likely to elect women in office. Despite the existence of discriminatory customary, statutory and religious laws in sub-Saharan countries (170), this research counter argues Yoon's analysis and suggests that a democratic country will increase the percentage of women in parliament than countries who have adopted other political systems.

Hypothesis

H₁: If women are more likely to hold a position as a member of parliament then, the *presence of quotas* and whether a country is democratic, will be an influential factor in increasing the number of women in parliament. Quotas and having a democratic government will have a positive relationship with the percentage of women in parliament while the other independent variables such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), life expectancy, electoral systems and literacy levels for women will have a negative relationship. It is reasonable to suggest that this may be the case because research has shown that the presence of quotas has increased the number of women in parliament substantially, yet, whether or not a country is democratic has not been looked at in depth.

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) will help in explaining whether or not the economic state of a country influences women's political representation in parliament. Life expectancy of women is also a key variable in whether or not women are represented in parliament, in that if women are more likely to die before the required age for anyone to run for office, it would decrease the number of women in office. Because electoral systems have been studied among other scholars, it is important to include it as a variable in order to compare with other scholars and their arguments that stress the influence of a PR system. Lastly, literacy levels for women are important being that if women are less likely to be able to read, then it would be difficult to vote in an election. In other words, the more difficult it is to read a ballot, the more difficult it will be to elect a woman to office. The equation for this test is as follows:

- $Y (\% \text{ Women in Parliament}) = a + b_1(\text{life expectancy for women}) + b_2(\text{GDP}) + b_3 (\text{PolityIV}) + b_4(\text{electoral system}) + b_5(\text{quotas}) + b_6 (\text{literacy})$
- Predicted Model
 - *Life expectancy* will have a small effect on the dependent variable with a negative relationship. Whether there are high percentages of women over the age at which they may run for office will not make too much of a difference in influencing whether women are in parliament or not.

- o *GDP* will have a big effect on the dependent variable and a negative relationship with the dependent variable. As GDP decreases, the number of women in parliament decreases as well.
- o *Polity IV*, a data system which measures political systems from -10 (most authoritarian) to 10 (most democratic), will have a large influence on the dependent variable. If the country is closer to being a democratic state, then it is more likely to have more women in parliament. It is predicted that this variable will have a positive relationship with the dependent variable. As this number increases (most democratic) then the number of women in legislature will also increase.
- o *Electoral systems* may vary given that there are four systems across the Sub-Saharan region. However, this research anticipates that all electoral systems will have a small negative relationship with the dependent variable, and electoral systems will have little to no affect on the number of women in parliament.
- o *Quotas* will also have a big and positive effect on the dependent variables. If a country has a quota for women in parliament, then more women will be present in those countries rather than in others.
- o *Literacy* will also have a small negative relationship with the dependent variable. Whether an individual is able to participate in voting by reading a ballot may not have a great influence on women's representation in parliament.

Design and Methodology

In order to carry out this research design, the seven variables previously highlighted had to be taken into account. Before the variables are defined, it should be made clear that this research involves in-depth analysis of all 48 countries (cases) in sub-Saharan Africa. Please see Appendix A for countries included in this study. Data recorded for these cases were gathered from the CIA World Factbook, qoutaproject.org, PolityIV data set and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU); all to which was gathered in 2007-2008. To test this hypothesis, the researcher created a data set in Microsoft Excel and transferred it to STATA data analysis software. The independent variables are present at the top of the columns and countries are presented in the beginning of each row. Once, the variables were transferred in the data editor, the variables were coded as follows:

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this data is the percentage of women in parliament. This variable will be measured continuously. In order to determine record data for all 48 countries the CIA World Factbook will mainly be used.

- *% Women in Parliament (% Women)*: This variable illustrates the current percentage of women in parliament for each country. Current data was taken from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). This variable was coded in the data set as (% women) directly given by the IPU data set.

Independent Variables

There are six independent variables, they include: *life expectancy for women, GDP, type of government, electoral system, the presence of a quota and literacy levels and the percent of women currently in parliament.*

- **Life Expectancy (Life)**: Age will be measured with the *CIA World Factbook*. The age to which life is expected for women in a country was recorded. There was no coding for this variable; recorded as listed in *CIA World Factbook*.

- **Gross Domestic Product (GDP)**: The Gross Domestic Product will be measured using the *CIA World Factbook* as well. Each nation's reported GDP was recorded under the appropriate year (2007-2008) in a scale measure. This variable is very important to this project. The wealthier a nation is, the more opportunities that are allotted to those that live in it (both males and females).

- **Type of Government (PolityIV)**: This variable was measured using the Polity IV data set. Each nation receives a score on the scale of -10 (authoritarian) to 10 (democratic). Within this data set, nations with scores below the 0 marker were considered most authoritarian, while nations with the +8 marker and above were considered most democratic. This variable is not recoded in STATA.

- o In the data set, the text for government type was entered but the Polity IV data set interpreted the measure on an authoritarian-democratic scale.

- **Electoral System (SYSTEM)**: This variable is important when trying to explain the ways in which each particular country goes about selecting their representatives. This variable is coded as dummy variables. The electoral systems include: party-lists, first-past-the-post, party block and two-round. Each electoral system was given a "0" if the country did not have that particular system and a "1" if the country practiced the electoral system. For example: Angola has a party list system so it was coded with a "1." Countries that did not have a party list system received a "0."

- o This variable was taken from Scholar Eileen Connolly (2008), a

professor at Dublin City University in Ireland.

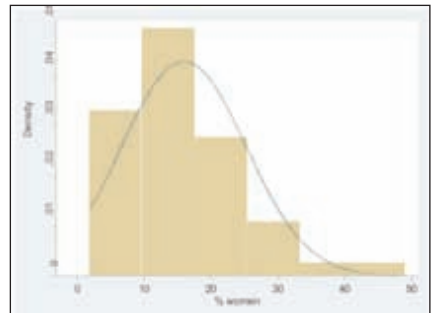
- **Literacy (Literacy):** This variable is beneficial in finding whether the percentage of literate women enhance the chances of a women being elected into office. This variable will be tested in percentages as seen in the *CIA World Factbook*.
- *******Quotas (QUOTA):** Quotas are important in that they have been tested to influence women’s representation in parliament; they can either influence or discourage women’s representation in policy decision-making. This variable will also be coded as a dummy variable. Those countries that do not have quotas for legislature will receive a “0” and countries that have quotas will receive a “1.” The data collected for this variable was taken from www.quotaproject.org.

In order to test the hypothesis, a linear regression model was used for both dependent and independent variables using STATA.

Results

Before each variable is explained, it is important to illustrate the differences in women’s representation within sub-Saharan African parliaments. Below is a graph that reveals over a 40% gap of women’s representation in parliament (those countries with fewer women in parliament to countries with almost 50% women in parliament).

This graph illustrates a skewed right distribution, which shows that there is a substantial difference between countries and their percentages of women in parliament. It also shows that majority of the countries have a range of 10-20% women in legislature.



The chart below (Table 1) illustrates the relationship the dependent variable (% women in parliament) has with the independent variables. The coefficient for life expectancy

shows that there is a negative relationship with the dependent variable. The p-value for life expectancy illustrates that it is not a predictor of whether women are represented in parliament. Second, GDP also shows a negative relationship with the dependent variable. Whether GDP increases or decreases, does not affect the number of women in parliament. The Polity IV variable coefficient illustrates that there is a negative relationship with the dependent variable. The closer a country is to being most authoritarian (-10) or most democratic (10) does not have an influence on the number of

women in elected in office. This would suggest that regime type has no influence over the percentage of women in parliament. Quotas, the only independent variable that illustrates significance with the dependent variable has a p-value of 0.030, according to the standard significance level (0.05). The more quotas the sub-Saharan region has, the more likely women will be elected into the legislature. On the other hand, none of the electoral systems show significance with the dependent variable. The p-values in each category exceeded the .05 level of significance. Compared to other research, PR systems were more likely to have a greater amount of women in parliament; however, based on this data, systems do not show any significance with the number of women in parliament. The two-round system was dropped in the statistical test. The reason being may be that there was some colinearity between the other electoral systems. Finally, the literacy levels of countries have no significance to women in parliament. However, the researcher predicted that it would have a small negative affect on the dependent variable, whereas after the regression, literacy levels show a positive relationship with the dependent variable. In other words, if the p-value of literacy level were significant, then it would be predicted that as the literacy levels increase, so does the number of women in parliament increases.

Regression Equation: $Y (\% \text{Women in Parliament}) = 13.7 + (-0.1131) + (-0.00001) + (-0.191) + (8.25) + (5.214) + (2.8603) + (4.5134) + (0.0203)$

Table 1:

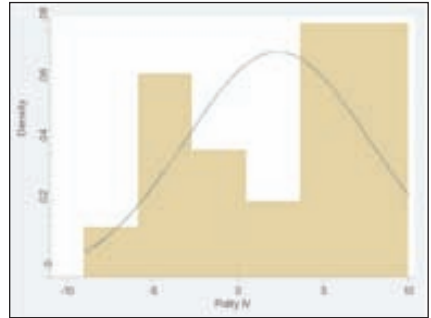
Variable	Coefficient	(std. error)	P> t
<i>Life Expectancy</i>	-.1131379	.1798749	0.535
<i>GDP</i>	-.0000112	.0004626	0.981
<i>Polity IV</i>	-.1919337	.3007265	0.529
<i>Quota</i>	8.254103	3.597677	0.030
<i>System</i>			
• Party list	5.214089	5.724989	0.370
• First-past-the-post	2.86036	5.452171	0.604
• Two-round	dropped		dropped
• Party block	4.513429	7.489766	0.552
<i>Literacy</i>	0.0203792	.0903739	0.823
Constant	13.70439	11.98341	0.263

Equation entered in STATA: reg women life gdp polityiv quota block fptp partylist two round literacy

R-squared = 0.302

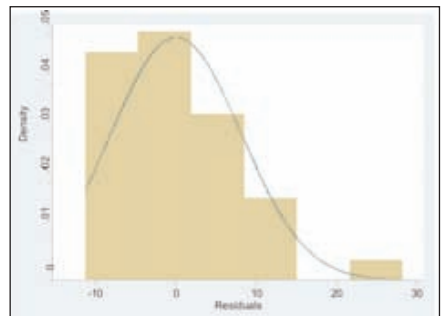
The R-squared value or coefficient of determination illustrates that I have explained 30% of the variation of my dependent variable and 70% still remains unexplained. This could be due to the 12 missing cases in my data set. Some countries in the IPU did not report the number of women in parliament in addition to the Polity IV measure, which did not list 8 countries' polity scores. For example, the histogram below illustrates the scale of democracy (Polity IV (-10) authoritarian and (10) most democratic). For some countries their polity scores were listed and others were not.

This graph shows that the majority of sub-Saharan African countries are democratic. Yet, it did not seem to support my hypothesis that countries that are democratic are more likely to have a larger amount of women in parliament when compared to other countries in the region. Polity IV measure did not show any type of significance. Meaning that whether a state is democratic does not necessarily guarantee women's representation in parliament.



Predicted Errors

This graph illustrates that my errors are mostly zero, but are skewed to the right. The errors seem to be more one-sided. This shows that my predictor variables did not exactly explain the dependent variable.



Conclusion

Out of the six variables used to test my dependent variable, only one variable showed significance after running a regression. This research suggests that sub-Saharan Africa's Parliament is widely influenced by quotas. Countries that did not have a quota system had fewer women in parliament e.g. Sao Tome and Principe with 1.8% women in parliament. The higher the percentage of quotas for women in the country, the more women are likely to hold seats in parliament. However, it is good to note that since 1995 all of the sub-Saharan African countries have increased in the number of women in parliament. The only exception is Benin, which stayed constant with 8% women in parliament and no quota.

These findings reemphasize the notion that the presence of quotas continues to

increase the number of women in legislature. Those countries where women are not represented should adopt a law that will require and enable women to empower and influence ways in which their government is run just as their male counterparts. If women are more likely to represent issues related to the family etc. (Stokes, 2005; Jalazai, 2004) then women should pursue in running for office to improve the lives of future generations as well as their own.

For future research, other predictor variables that may have an influence on women's representation in sub-Saharan Africa's Parliament might include the influence of the predominant religion within each country, whether or not men or women spend more time in household labor (time allocation) and/or a gender empowerment measure. It would also be useful to use a measure that would encapsulate attitudes towards women in sub-Saharan Africa's parliaments. Survey data such as *Afrobarometer* could be resourceful in measuring this variable. Using such variables could help support the claim that Norris and Inglehart demonstrates when they raise the question as to how relevant culture is to equal representation in political leadership (Norris and Inglehart, 2001, 126).

The purpose of this research paper was to extend previous work done by scholars who have studied various countries and the disparities between women's representation in parliaments. Future research on this subject matter should be encouraged, given that there may be other factors that influence the number of women in legislature. Although much of the findings did not show any statistical significance, the extension of this research illustrates that there is a need to investigate more closely why there are more women represented in some parliaments than in others.

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Appendix A

(Countries in sub-Saharan Africa [48])

Angola	Madagascar
Benin	Malawi
Botswana	Mali
Burkina Faso	Mauritania
Burundi	Mauritius
Cameroon	Mozambique
Cape Verde	Namibia
Central African Republic	Niger
Chad	Nigeria
Comoros	Rwanda
Congo	Sao Tome and Principe
Cote d'Ivoire	Senegal
Democratic Republic of Congo	Seychelles
Djibouti	Sierra Leone
Equatorial Guinea	Somalia
Eritrea	South Africa
Ethiopia	Sudan
Gabon	Swaziland
Gambia	Tanzania
Ghana	Togo
Guinea	Uganda
Guinea-Bissau	Zambia
Kenya	Zimbabwe
Lesotho	
Liberia	

Destruction of Nature in *De Rerum Natura* 5

Van Le

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Lucretius' philosophical poem De Rerum Natura, or On the Nature of Things, discusses the ideas of life, death, nature, and humanity. Despite its numerous observations on the natural world and Lucretius' own scientific propensities, few scholars have examined it outside the scope of philosophy, history, or poetry. The purpose of this project is to examine the second half of the fifth book of De Rerum Natura in terms of ancient attitudes toward nature and environment. This study specifically argues that Lucretius, from an Epicurean philosophical standpoint, equates the destruction of nature with discord in the natural world, in human society, and in human nature.

With the advent of globalization and technological advances, environmental issues have become increasingly complex in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Every week, newspapers and magazines churn out facts and figures that report rising levels of global warming, natural regions deforested, and species eradicated and endangered on account of human activity. Science, providing the numbers that decry current human action as destructive towards nature, has played an undeniable role in people's perception of environmental problems in the present day world. However, science is not the only approach. A comprehensive understanding of this subject requires examinations from different disciplines. This is especially true as environmental issues are problems that civilizations generations past, for which modern

science was not known, have had to deal with. In other words, it is an “age-old” problem that has plagued people thousands of years ago, not just within the last two centuries, and has been understood in other ways than through experimental science.

In this sense, literature has been instrumental in preserving and tracing this understanding of people and their understanding of nature. By using literature to access the perceptions of past civilizations on attitudes toward nature, new insights into current day problems can be gained. One such work that can be tapped is the epic poem, *De Rerum Natura*, or *On the Nature of Things*, written by Lucretius.

Background

Lucretius was a Roman poet believed to have lived in the first century BCE. Little is known about him. However, it is clear that he was a follower of Epicurean philosophy, a school of thought originating from the Greek philosopher Epicurus who lived over two centuries before Lucretius’ time. The Roman poet is known for his philosophical poem, *De Rerum Natura*. The work, spanning six books, gives Lucretius’ viewpoint on life, death, mankind, and nature, and adheres to Epicurean philosophy, a school of thought often mistaken for advocating hedonism, but in actuality advocated a good life through *ataraxia*, or the long-term absence of disturbance. As a follower of Epicureanism, Lucretius supported atomism, the concept that all things are created from indivisible particles. The author especially taught that fear from superstition and death, leading to irrationality, can be overcome through the observation and understanding of nature. The poem expounds upon several theories and observations, primarily atomism and human progress, but also human sense and perception, cosmology, natural phenomena, and the origins of humanity.¹

Because of the various themes it touches upon, *De Rerum Natura* has been examined by scholars from different viewpoints, particularly from the philosophical, historical, and literary perspectives. Yet despite Lucretius’ thorough discussion of nature in the poem and his own scientific propensities, few scholars have examined the work as an early form of environmental criticism, a discourse on humanity’s treatment of and attitude towards nature and the environment, and the ensuing environmental issues that afflict them. The purpose of this study is to examine *De Rerum Natura* in terms of ancient attitudes towards nature and as “environmental criticism.” Specifically, this study argues that Lucretius, from an Epicurean perspective, equates the destruction of nature with discord in the world of atoms, in human society, and in human nature. The focus will be on the second half of the fifth book, in which Lucretius describes how people have interacted with their environment since the beginning of human history.

¹ Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature: A History*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994) p. 159.

This research centers on Lucretius not only because he was among the few authors of classical antiquity who observed and commented on his environment, but also because he wrote during a pivotal time in Roman history. The late Republic was experiencing political unrest inside and outside of Roman borders. What was once an agricultural civilization was increasingly becoming an empire subsuming other civilizations. The Roman people were becoming increasingly dependent on foreign sources for food, resources, and luxury items. Finally, traditional Roman values were challenged with the integration of new peoples and cultures, and the physical environment was undergoing changes because of deforestation, mining, overpopulation, and overgrazing. All of these changes are not unlike the current state of the United States today.

Although the Romans did not exploit their natural resources to the same extent that present day peoples do, their impact nevertheless remains. The evidence of environmental destruction is indicated by both ancient literature and modern archaeology. Palynology, the study of pollen and spores in sediments, along with aerial archaeology, provide evidence for understanding changes in the natural landscape of the ancient world.² Lucretius himself focused on two particular issues: mining and animal exploitation.

Mining in the ancient world had several negative effects on the land. J. Donald Hughes states that whole forests were cut down or dug up for metals. Entire mountains were also collapsed for underground mining. Erosion would consequently result on land stripped of its natural covering. Furthermore, hydraulic mining, during which aqueducts were built to flood out metals with water, used large amounts of water. Hughes also states that these waters would often become contaminated from the lead, mercury, and arsenic being excavated, and traces of the metals would remain even after the area was mined.³ The lead extracted was often used to make water pipes for the Romans, often leading to lead poisoning. Studies of bones found in Roman cemeteries indicate high levels of lead and defects in bodies contaminated.⁴

In regards to wildlife depletion, exotic animals such as tigers, elephants, bears, zebras, and rhinoceri often became extinct in certain areas due to hunting, fishing, overgrazing, habitat destruction, and entertainment for the Roman arena. During Lucretius' century, Pompey and Caesar, and later Augustus, all employed hundreds to thousands of animals in the arena to entertain the Roman public. This proliferated after Lucretius' time. After the emperor Trajan conquered Dacia in the second century BCE, 11,000 animals were slaughtered in celebration of the event.⁵ This was

² J. Donald Hughes, *Pan's Travail*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994) p. 81.

³ Hughes, *Pan's Travail*. p. 122-123.

⁴ Robert Shepherd, *Ancient Mining*. (New York: Elsevier Science Publishers LTD, 1993) p.176.

⁵ Hughes, *Pan's Travail*. p. 101.

in the Roman entertainment sector alone. The introduction of domestic species to wild animals during pastoralism often meant wide-spread habitat destruction for the latter, which were not able to compete once the former inhabited the same land. By looking at writings on nature and environmental issues from a classical perspective, we can gain new insights into our own environmental problems today.

Atomism and Agriculture

A study of ancient “environmental criticism” first requires an examination of the author’s own worldview. To first understand environmental destruction from a Lucretian perspective, the concept of atomism must be considered. Roger French states that “atoms in motion are for Lucretius the only explanation of the nature of things.”⁶

As an adherent of Epicurean philosophy, Lucretius was grounded in the belief that all things were composed of indivisible atoms and void, and that the universe operated on the workings of this natural system. In particular, he argued that nothing could arise from nothing, and that matter could not be destroyed. Rather, because all things were made of atoms, matter was recycled when these indivisible particles broke down and reformed. Roger French states, “Matter, being atomic, is for Lucretius an important factor in the fixity and regularity of nature. It is because their matter is bounded and fixed that the flowers and fruit appear regularly, so that the birds do not suddenly hatch from the sky or trees leap from the earth.”⁷ Thus, from an atomic perspective, the universe had natural “fixity and regularity.”

This concept is supported by Lucretius’ claim that all things have their own particular “seed,” a notion that is rather difficult to conceptualize, and the meaning of which Lucretius leaves loosely defined. But what can be understood is that “seed” gives matter their “fixity” and their nature.

In the same way in the natural world there were never (as some may affirm, observes Lucretius) rivers of gold or trees that bore jewels as fruit. Nor were there men who could stride through the seas and turn the heavens with their hands; no, all things are fixed in their boundaries by the nature of the seeds and the law of Nature that formed them.⁸

Birds do not swim and fish do not fly because each comes from their respective seeds which dictate their characteristics. Lucretius bases his logic on atomism and seed, stressing the ideas of cycle, fixity, and regularity.

⁶ Roger French, *Ancient Natural History*. (New York: Routledge, 1994) p. 156.

⁷ French, *Ancient Natural History*. p. 157.

⁸ French, *Ancient Natural History*. p. 155.

A central point to note is that Lucretius labels this concept “seed.” Semen in Latin has the meaning first of “that which is sown, the seed of plants.”⁹ Lucretius defines the concept with agricultural terminology. This move is deliberate as the cyclic nature of atoms is similar to the cyclic nature of agriculture. It also conjures the image of traditional Rome and the agrarian community it was before its expansion as a Mediterranean power. The notion of a simple, Roman agrarian life is one that Lucretius continually revisits throughout his poem. The concepts of agriculture, “seed,” fixity, and cycle are to be considered in examining environmental destruction from a Lucretian point of view.

Mining

Because he advocated the importance of agriculture, it is unsurprising that one of the practices Lucretius was most critical of was mining, which he believed was in opposition to agriculture in nearly all respects. According to John Humphrey,

In the late Hellenistic period it became a philosophical commonplace to denounce the technological trappings of urban civilization as corrupt, especially those that brought about marked deviation from the “natural order of things – such as mining, long-distance trade by sea, the use of money, and refined food stuffs.”¹⁰

In his poem, Lucretius describes how humans have exploited natural resources, using mining as the prime example. He describes how people first came into contact with certain metals, still hot and newly formed by the earth. They then learned to shape those metals and use them for personal benefit. (See Appendix A for a literal translation) Throughout the passage, the poet describes how people’s relationship with nature has changed over time, using mining and metallurgy as examples. Specifically, he posits that increased exploitation of natural resources correlates with amplified “discord” in human nature.

What Lucretius discerns regarding mining is that humans often exploit natural resources and destroy *natura* because of their fascination with material goods and the external appearance of things, a fixation which is indicative of discord in human nature. He states thus:

*quaecum concreta videbant
posterius claro in terra splendere colore,*

⁹ “Semen.” Oxford Latin Dictionary. (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).

¹⁰ John Humphrey, *Greek and Roman Technology: A Sourcebook*. (New York: Routledge, 1998) p. 173.

tollebant nitido captei levique lepore...(5.1257-1259).

And when they [early peoples] were perceiving these things [the metals] having hardened, later to glitter with a bright color on the land, delighted by their shining and smooth charm, they stole them.¹¹

Lucretius stresses that the very first thing humans notice about metals such as gold and silver is their attractive appearance. The repetition of the idea is enforced by the following words: *claro* “bright,” *splendere* “to glitter,” *nitido* “shining,” *captei* “delighted” or “taken,” *levi* “smooth,” and *lepore* “charm.” In describing the actions of the people, Lucretius also uses an interesting word with his selection of *tollebant*, meaning not only “to lift,” but also “to steal” and “to destroy.” Thus, the idea of not only taking, but stealing from the earth is implied.

In destroying nature by exploiting natural resources, people have come into a state of disharmony within their own nature. This is because, according to Lucretius, humans are by nature rational beings. From an atomic point of view, human nature, unlike animal nature, is fixed with the ability to reason. The poet, in fact, discusses at length the various forms of the human mind and soul, describing *ratio* “reasoning” (3.93), *animus* “mind” (3.94), *anima* “spirit” (3.136), and *mens* “mind” or “intellect” (3.94), and stressing that mind and intellect are the set realms for human nature. Therefore, preoccupation with material goods is a baffling state for the use of reason, for it neither supplies people with the basic necessities to live, nor does it appeal to human intellect. The fixation on material goods represents discord in human nature in that people are out of alignment with that which is in their given nature, namely *reason* and *intellect*.

Greed and excess are other issues which Lucretius highlights in the poem:

*Ergo hominum genus incassum frustra que laborat
semper et (in) curis consumit inanibus aevum,
nimirum quia non cognovit quae sit habendi
inis et omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas.* (5.1430-1433)

Therefore the race of people always, in vain and uselessly, labors, and devours its life in empty cares, not surprisingly since the human race did not learn what the end of having may be, and to what extent altogether true delight may grow.

¹¹ Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 5.1257-5.1259. *All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

Human civilizations continually strive to consume more than what is sufficient for them. People do not wish for their fields to be merely rich, but *fat*, as described by the word *pinguis* (1248), which has the connotation of being saturated and overstuffed. Several other words in the passage about mining convey this sense of excess including *pandere* “extend” (1248), *exederat* “devour” (1253), and *appetit* “strive after” (1279).¹² An interesting point concerning these words is their relation to food and the suggestion of an unsatiated human appetite.

For Lucretius, the exploitation of natural resources on account of greed and excess is equivalent to discord in human nature since excess is a state which undermines the idea of natural human limitation. From an atomic point of view, because all things have their own defining semen, or “seed,” they have fixity, and consequently limitation. Therefore, to exploit natural resources such as gold and silver from greed is an act of exceeding one’s limitation. To desire more than what is necessary is to break a natural boundary, and therefore indicative of disharmony in one’s own nature.

Another example which signifies the dissonance in human nature is the concept of power and forging in the passage. Lucretius states that people have extracted metals not only on account of materialism and greed, but also because of power. The strength inherent in the metals is shaped and forged to further *human* power. *Potestas* “power” (5.1271), *validi primum violentis viribus aeris* “...first with the violent powers of strong bronze” (5.1270), and *vis* “strength” (5.1271) are examples.

In the natural state of a Lucretian universe, Nature is the driving force for all things. Lucretius describes Nature as *rerum natura creatrix*, or “Nature, the creatress of things” (5.1362). However, to illustrate the imbalance when people destroy this force, Lucretius reverses the order of power, with Nature, and its physical manifestation as the natural environment, often in the accusative case, the object being acted upon, and humans as the subject of the verb. *Ut sibi tela parent, silvasque ut caedere possint* (5.1266). “So that they may prepare tools for themselves, and so they may be able to murder the woods.” All which were unarmed, nature, animals, or even humans “were yielding” *cedebant* (1292), to those equipped with metal weapons. Lucretius describes the metals themselves as subject to human will. *Cedebat victa potestas, nec poterant pariter durum suffere laborem* (5.1271-1272). “The strength [of silver and gold] having been beaten, was yielding. Nor were they able to endure the labor equally [as the strength of bronze].” *Victa* is an effective word choice that means “struck,” “beaten,” or in the most literal sense, “conquered.” The metals were not only beaten when people forged them, but also beaten in the sense that their

¹² Compare in the fifth book *pandere* “to extend” (1248), *agros pinguis* “fat fields” (1248), *feras interficere et ditescere praeda* “to kill wild beasts and to become rich with spoils” (1248), *exederat* “had devoured” (1253), *percoxerat* “scorched” or “cooked” (1254), *appetit* “is sought” or “is strived after” (1279), *floretque* “flourishes” (1279), *copia maior* “greater abundance” (1288), and *processit* “advanced” or “proceeded” (1293).

power had been transferred to humans, and they were forced to “endure the labor.” Lucretius personifies the metals and makes them, along with nature, subservient to the human race, creating a reversed hierarchy of power which demonstrates the discord associated with the destruction of nature.

Lucretius furthermore states that all this work was in vain because gold and silver are, by nature, weaker than bronze, and the human desire to change their natures will be unfulfilled. He describes human attempts to change what is natural as futile. He often uses the terms *nequiquam* “in vain” (1271), *incassum* “in vain” (1430), and *frustraque* “uselessly” (1430) with high frequency in describing human efforts to mold nature.¹³

The *purpose* for exploitation of natural resources is another issue Lucretius touches upon. It is not so much that humans have mastered tool-making as the fact that they have used the tools for unnatural means that is suggestive of the discord caused by mining and metallurgy. Lucretius states, *aere solum terrae tractabant* (1289). “They were dragging out the land of the earth with bronze. *Tractabant* is the frequentative form of the verb *traho*, meaning “to drag,” and suggests the forcefulness and frequency with which people have treated their environment. He also states, *et ferro coepere solum proscindere terrae...*(1295). “And they began to break up the earth with iron.” This suggests that people have used the matter created from the earth to exploit the earth itself and subgate it to human will.

Perhaps the most unnatural objective for which people have exploited their natural environment is for war. The word *violentis*, which Lucretius uses to describe the strength of bronze, is not only an adjective that means strong, but also strong for violent and destructive purposes.

*Aere solum terrae tractabant, aereque belli
miscabant fluctus et vulnera vasta serebant.
Et pecus atque agros adimebant. Nam facile ollis
omnia cedebant armatis nuda et inerma.
Inde minutatim processit ferreus ensis (5.1289-1294)*

With bronze they were dragging out the land of the earth.

With bronze, they were mixing up the waves of war and sowing vast wounds. And they were taking away cattle and fields [from those who were unarmed], For all things naked and unarmed were yielding to those [armed]. From there, little by little the iron sword advanced.

¹³ Combined, the three terms were used no less than thirteen times in the entirety of the fifth book.

The use of *serebant* “to sow” as a mixed metaphor to describe the sowing of wounds rather than the sowing of seeds is a point of interest. It is agricultural terminology, reminding the reader that the earth is only productive and fruitful when humans tend it in farming. The imperfect tense suggests past time and habitual, repeated action, which makes reference to the traditional image of the Roman farmer. The next example reveals the idea of cultivating the earth:

...fructusque feros mansuescere terra
cernabant indulgendo blandeque colendo. (5.1368-1369)
By being kind and by tilling them coaxingly, people were perceiving
that the wild fruits improved on the land.¹⁴

Thus, Lucretius proposes the idea of people as “stewards of the earth,” and that people must indulge and coax the land to gain from it.

However, when attention is directed to mining and metallurgy, the fruit reaped is war and destruction. In the same way that farming produces food and nourishment, mining and metallurgy proliferate war and death. This idea is inherent in Greek and Roman mythology as well. The Roman god Vulcan (Hephaestus in Greek) is known as the blacksmith of the gods, and is continually depicted as a lame god. His physical disability correlates with his forge work with metals taken from the bowels of the earth.

Furthermore, from an atomic point of view, all natural cycles have been stopped. Agriculture, which recycles atoms in a cycle of sowing and reaping, perpetuates the natural rotation of matter and brings about food and nourishment. Mining, in contrast, breaks that cycle. The metals are removed from the earth, but they are not returned. Instead, they become lodged in bodies during war, becoming instruments for destruction. This anti-war sentiment is developed in another passage in which Lucretius describes animal exploitation during war and the discord associated with it.

Animal Exploitation

In the fifth book, Lucretius describes a war scene in which animals, both wild and domesticated, are used by the Carthaginians to fight the Romans. During the battle, the Carthaginians attempt to manage the animals, which mostly comprised of elephants, tigers, and wild boars. However, the plan backfires when the wild beasts indiscriminately destroy all the living creatures in their sight. In this passage, Lucretius suggests that the exploitation of animals reveals disharmony in the nature of the universe. In attempting to tame wild animals for warring purposes, humans again have

¹⁴ Lit. “became tame.”

exceeded given limitations by attempting a feat which only nature can accomplish.

It is imperative to first understand the relationship between humans and animals in the Roman world, and to what extent the term “animal exploitation” applies in Lucretius’ work. If “animal exploitation” is stipulated as the utilization of animals with a negative connotation, such as their employment with unjust treatment, what then would qualify as “unjust treatment” in the Roman world? A thorough and accurate treatment of this subject requires severance from modern notions of animal exploitation, especially those associated with the animal rights movement in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Ingvild Gilhus asserts, “In the Roman empire, the use of animals was fundamental and absolutely necessary. Not only the consumption of food and clothes made out of animal products but also the use of power based on animals’ bodies was essential for the management of the empire.”¹⁵

Gilhus further states that what the Romans seemed to have definitively understood about animals was that there were two kinds: the domesticated and the wild. It is this distinction that sets the foundation for defining “animal exploitation” from a Roman perspective. According to Gilhus, once an animal was domesticated, it had entered an agreement with the human race. In exchange for meat, clothing, and labor, domesticated animals received food, protection, and safer lives than if they had been in the wild. “Thus the agreement implied that animals should not be maltreated. Animals that were not useful to men were not covered by this agreement” (24). While wild beasts were often admired in the ancient world, the Romans also recognized their indomitable nature and did not hesitate in treating them as enemy and prey. Thus, from a Roman perspective, generally only animals that had entered a tacit agreement or possessed a clear relationship with the human race could be “exploited” by it; all others were subject to Roman treatment as enemy or prey.

In line 1334, however, Lucretius implies that the Carthaginians had indeed entered into a contract with wild animals when they attempted to domesticate them. The beasts they had brought into the war were believed to be *ante domi domitos satis*, or “sufficiently tamed before at home.” In trying to domesticate wild animals, humans had entered into an understood partnership with them, and therefore were held responsible in treating them “justly.” This is the context in which animals could be exploited.

And the animals which Lucretius describes are, in fact, exploited. The elephants are described as *taetras*, “fearful” or “horrible.”¹⁶ *Belli docuerant vulnera Poeni sufferere* (5.1303-4). “The Carthaginians had taught them to endure the wounds of war.” The anthropomorphism renders them as capable of suffering on the same level as humans.

¹⁵ Ingvild Gilhus, *Animals, Humans, and Gods*. (New York: Routledge, 2006) p. 35.

¹⁶ “*Taeter*” *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1980). See note on translation in Appendix B.

They are further described in the passive voice as *ferro male mactae* (1339), or “badly afflicted by the goad.” The lions are painted as subjugated and held by chains *vinclis* (1312).

Lucretius again does not simply criticize animal exploitation. He makes the association between animal exploitation and discord in the natural order of the universe. The idea of disharmony is most evident in the description of the physical event itself, which is described chaotically in two ways: in terms of emotion and action. Groupings of key words in the passage highlight emotional and physical discord in the scene. From this, the overriding feelings are seen to be those of fear and confusion, present in both humans and animals.¹⁷ Likewise, the prevailing actions are destructive ones, mostly performed by the terrified animals and which humans suffer. *Sic alid ex alio peperit discordia tristis* (1305). “Thus sad discord spawned one thing after another.” The animals were foaming in their mouths because of *vulneribus* “the wounds,” *clamore* “clamor,” *fuga* “flight,” *terrore* “terror,” *tumultu* “tumult” (5.1336). In this particular example, the lack of Latin connectives, words like “and,” amplifies this sense of action, trepidation, and confusion in the scene as the words pile up one after another nonstop, just like the animals and people Lucretius depicts.

The poet demonstrates a reversal of natures between humans and animals. Humans, whom he believed were rational by nature, became irrational. They are described as *saevisque magistris*, “savage masters” (5.1310), with the savagery which was often used to describe the wild animals. Likewise, beasts that were free and indomitable in their natural setting were captured and often bound in the confines of human institutions such as slavery. As mentioned earlier, the elephants are anthropomorphized as having “to endure the wounds of war,” as a human. In this passage, the reversal of roles between humans and animals supports the idea of disharmony in the natural order of the universe.

It is interesting to note that the scene which Lucretius chooses to depict is one of war, and that war itself is a social form of discord. Throughout *De Rerum Natura*, the anti-war sentiment is expressed through the mythological figures of Venus and Mars. Venus, whom he invokes at the beginning of his poem, is representative of the earth, productivity, and fertility. Mars, on the other hand, symbolizes disorder and destruction. In a scene in the first book, Venus subdues the god of war with love, thereby expressing Lucretius’ desire for the triumph of productivity and fertility over war and destruction (1.31-37). William Green asserts,

¹⁷ Compare in Book Five *taetras* “foul” or “fearful” (1302), *discordia tristis* “sad discord” (1305), *horribile* “horrible” (1306), *terrificas* “terrifying” (1315), *perterrita* “frightened” (1316), *nec poterant...mulcere* (1316) “nor were [the cavalymen] able to soothe [their hearts], *irritata* “aroused” or “provoked” (1318), *minitanti* “threatening” (1325), *effervescente* “foam in fury” (1335), *malum...foedum* “evil and foul matter” (1343)

Throughout his account of history Lucretius is much preoccupied with the horror of war. His youth had seen the fearful days of Marius and Sulla, and, though for a time thereafter Italy enjoyed respite from bloodshed, the formation of the first triumvirate clearly marked the opening of a new revolution. While Lucretius was writing there were disorders in the streets of Rome, and the rivalry of the leaders constantly threatened to loose the inevitable war.¹⁸

Thus, by equating destruction of nature with discord, of which war can be counted as a social form, Lucretius is effectively able to criticize the existing civil strife of his own generation.

Implications

The destruction of nature was the physical indicator of the deeper underlying problems, particularly greed, excess, and war in Roman society and politics at the time. By the first century BCE, Rome had expanded across much of the Mediterranean, engulfing several other civilizations and their riches. The greed and excess which Lucretius stresses is an indirect reference to the Romans, especially the corrupt politicians, during the first century BCE. As the riches were pouring into Rome, the reality of the Roman as the simple farmer was being obliterated.

This farming imagery pervades the poem and the purpose for this is many-fold. It first reminds the reader of *earlier times*, when the Romans were simple farmers, unengaged in power and politics except as necessary to defend Rome, and living in harmony with the earth.¹⁹ The imagery also makes references to the land distribution problems of Rome in the first century BCE. Farmers who had left to fight for Rome would return to see their land being redistributed after the war. This was amidst the wide-spread political corruption of the time, as evidenced by the murders of the Gracchi brothers who advocated for land reform.

Power is another issue that Lucretius implicitly addresses with the destruction of nature. In the same way that people try to dominate their environment and the animals in it, so the Romans during the first century BCE tried to dominate the Mediterranean. A civilization that was once an agrarian community was quickly turning into an empire. The pursuit of power became the individual endeavors of politicians rather than communal ventures for the good of the *patria* "fatherland." For Lucretius, this struggle for power seemed not only futile when considering the idea of human limitation, but also destructive for humanity and against the traditional

¹⁸ William Green, "The Dying World of Lucretius." *The American Journal of Philology*. 63. 1 (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1942) p. 59.

¹⁹ See 5.1425-1431

ideals of the Roman republic.

Finally, environmental criticism allowed Lucretius to reproach war. In exploiting natural resources and animals, people would use them for war. The wars most immediate on Lucretius' mind were in all probability those of his own generations. Not only did exploitation of natural resources provide the means by which people fought, but it was often also the *motive* for the fight. Thus, he points out a destructive cycle that occurs with the fixation on exploiting the natural environment.

Context

Lucretius is able to make the connection between destruction of nature and discord, in part, because of the word *natura* and its various meanings. One must recall that the entire poem itself spans six books, and covers an array of topics, of which Lucretius' environmental criticism spans a few hundred lines. However, the fact that the poem is entitled *De Rerum Natura*, suggests that the unifying idea of the poem is nature in all of its meanings. *Natura* is a word with several definitions not only in Latin, but in English as well. The following examples illustrate the various meanings of "nature" in the English language. To say, "Let's go outside and observe nature" is to imply that nature is the physical environment. "She is good by nature" suggests inborn or human character. "Nature pushes for survival of the fittest" means nature in a systematic sense, the force that drives the workings of the universe. Then there is also "The hippy wanted to bond with Gaia, Mother Nature," which is figurative and personified. Finally, *natura* is associated with the idea of birth, which for Lucretius, meant the birth of a Roman equivalent for the Greek philosophy of Epicureanism. The title *De Rerum Natura* is indeed an encapsulating one. All of these meanings of nature are present in the poem.

For Lucretius, all of these senses of nature are also interconnected. An alteration in one form of nature will be represented in another form of it. In Lucretius' own writing, the destruction of the physical environment demonstrates discord in all other forms of nature: an upset in the systematic workings of the atoms, the corruption of human nature, and the figurative triumph of Mars and destruction. This understanding of nature, its various meanings and how they are interconnected, provides the foundation to the claim that Lucretius equates environmental destruction with discord. The topic of *natura* touches upon many realms of thought, including philosophy, ethics, poetry, and natural philosophy.

Conclusion

In summary, Lucretius equates the destruction of nature with discord in the natural world of atoms, in human society, and in human nature. In particular, the

environmental exploitive practices of the Romans were representative of greed, excess, power, and war issues during the first century BCE. This study focused on primarily mining and animal exploitation. Future studies may include deforestation, urbanization, and overgrazing. The works of other authors, such as Pliny or Strabo, could also be explored. By examining the different ways in which ancient authors have viewed nature and environment, new insights can be gained on the current environmental issues.

Appendix A

Literal translation for 5.1241-1296: Mining

Next (is that) copper and gold and iron were discovered and at the same time the weight of silver and the power of lead, either when a fire burned the huge woods in the great mountains with its flame, or when a lightning bolt of the sky was sent down, or because [primitive men] waging a war of the woods among themselves had therefore brought in the fire of dread to the enemy, whether because, drawn in by the goodness of the land, they were wishing to extend their fat fields and to turn the countryside into pastureland, or to kill wild animals and to become rich with spoils. (For to hunt with pit and fire arose before encircling the glade with traps and flushing out [the prey] with dogs). Whatever it is, from whatever cause the fiery-red flame had devoured the lofty woods from the roots with a horrible sound and had scorched the earth with its fire. A stream of silver and of gold, and likewise of copper and of lead, coming together into the hollow places of the earth, was dripping from boiling veins. And when they were perceiving these having hardened, to glitter later with a bright color on the land, delighted by the shining and smooth charm, they were stealing it.²⁰

[5.1260] And they were seeing that the things, having been formed, each had outlines that were in a similar shape to those of the holes. Then it got through to them that these things, melted by heat, were able to assume into the shape and appearance of whatever they wanted, and straightaway that these things by forging are able to be drawn into the tips, sharp and fine, of swords; So that they may prepare spears for themselves, and so they may be able to murder the woods, to roughhew matter, to plane smooth planks, and to also pierce and perforate and make a passage.²¹ They were preparing first to do these things no less with silver and with gold than with the violent force of strong bronze. In vain, since the strength (of silver and gold) having been beaten was yielding. Nor were they able to endure the labor equally. For bronze was more in worth and gold was despised, blunt with a dull tip, on account of its uselessness.

[5.1275] Now bronze is despised, and gold has ascended into the highest respect. Thus time being turned changes the fashions of things. That which was in value, finally becomes of no respect. Another thing succeeds forward and comes out from contempt. Every day the thing having been found is more sought after and flourishes. And it is with praises and with wondrous respect among mortals. It is easy for you yourself to learn now, Memmius, by yourself how the nature of iron was found. Ancient weapons have been hands, nails, and teeth, and likewise stones, fragments of a branch of the woods, and flame and fires, after they have first been known. Later the

²⁰ *Tollebant* "they were stealing" has several meanings, including "to lift," "to steal," and "to destroy."

²¹ *Caedere* "to murder" means not only "to chop down," but also "to slaughter" or "to murder."

force of iron and of bronze was discovered; the use of bronze was known before that of iron in that its nature is easier and the abundance greater. [5.1289] With bronze they were dragging out the land of the earth. With bronze, they were mixing up the waves of war and sowing vast wounds, and taking cattle and fields (from people who did not have bronze). For all things naked and unarmed were yielding easily to those armed. Thence, bit by bit the iron sword advanced and the appearance of a bronze sickle was turned into a disgrace and they began to break up the ground of the earth with iron, and the struggles of an undecided war have been made equal.

Appendix B

Literal translation for 5.1297-1342: Animal Exploitation

Thence, the Carthaginians taught the fearful elephants with the turreted body to endure the wounds of war and to disturb the great troops of Mars.²² Thus sad discord spawned one thing after another, a thing which was horrible for the human races in arms. Each day it added an increase to the terrors of war. They even tried bulls in the service of war and they tried to send savage boars against the enemy. And some sent strong lions in front of themselves with armed trainers and savage masters who would be able to restrain them and hold them with chains. In vain, since being inflamed with slaughter mixed in, the savage lions were agitating the troops with no distinction, shaking the terrifying manes of their heads on all sides.

[1316] Nor were the cavalrymen able to soothe the hearts of their horses, terrified by the growling, and nor were they able to direct them with reins against the enemy. The lionesses were throwing their aroused bodies with a leap on all directions, and they were leaping straight at the faces of those who opposed them. And for those not thinking, the lionesses were tearing them down from the back and claspings them, and having attached themselves with strong bites and hooked claws, they were casting those defeated by a wound onto the land, and the bulls were throwing their own people, and were trampling them with their feet, and they were goring the sides and bellies from underneath of the horses with their horns, and they were pawing the earth with threatening intention. And the wild boars were slaughtering their allies with strong tusks, the savage animals dyeing the broken weapons with their own blood, and they were causing indiscriminate ruins of cavalrymen and foot soldiers. For the chargers shying away were trying to avoid the fierce thrusts of the tusks and rearing, were pawing the winds with their feet. In vain, since you would see them collapse hamstrung, and cover the earth with a heavy fall.

[1334] If they were thinking any were sufficiently tamed before at home, they were now perceiving the animals foaming in fury in doing things, because of the wounds, clamor, flight, terror, and tumult. Nor were they able to draw back any part of them. For every various race of beast was fleeing in every direction so that often now the elephants, badly afflicted by the goad dispersed, and gave many wild deeds to their own. If it was that they were doing it.²³ But I am hardly convinced that before the evil and foul matter were becoming common, they were not calm to realize beforehand in their mind and to see the future.

²² In the Latin, *tactras* has the meaning of “horrible” or “foul.” Leonard suggests “fearful,” which has the ambiguity of the elephants both causing fear and being frightful, although probably the former.

²³ Lucretius emphasizes the importance of the portrayal of the event, rather than its historical accuracy.

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College Students' Perceptions of Dialect Influenced English

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The intent of this study was to determine if Truman students could correctly identify the 53 target words contained in the Goldman- Fristoe Test of Articulation – Second Ed., (GFTA-2). The phonological systems of Spanish and English contain some similarities and differences. The differences in the sound systems of the two languages may contribute to speech differences in Spanish speaking individuals who are communicating in English. Often when speaking English some Spanish influence is noted in the production of specific speech sounds. Sixteen Truman college students listened to a tape recorded sample of one male and one female bilingual speaker producing the 53 target words included on the GFTA-2. Students wrote down the words as they perceived them. Results revealed that listeners misunderstood words produced by both speakers. The words most commonly misunderstood were similar across speakers and were characterized by sound differences typical of Spanish-influenced English.

The United States is home to more than 27 million Hispanics yet little is known regarding how English speakers understand and perceive Spanish-Influenced English. Many Hispanics who learn English as a second language often show Spanish phonological influences in their speech. This interference from one language to another may cause the individual to be misunderstood. Pena (2007) stated, “For instance, a bilingual child may confuse two phonemes in the second language if they are differentiated in the primary language. A child whose primary language is Spanish

may treat the English /d/ and the /ð/ the same because in Spanish, they are not separate phonemes.” Major language differences are also found in children of Hispanic background. For example, in Spanish-Influenced English the /s/ is often omitted in the plurals and possessives and the past-tense -ed is often omitted, differences that may result in miscommunication between the speaker and listener. It is important to understand how these differences are perceived by untrained listeners.

Literature Review

Multiple studies have been conducted on the phonological differences in Spanish-English speaking children, but little research has been done on the perceptions of untrained listeners of the speech of Spanish-English speaking adults. Pena-Brooks (2007) states “in the United States, Spanish is the second most common language and children whose primary language is Spanish but who speak English as their second language may exhibit Spanish phonological characteristics.” The same influence can occur in the speech of adults whose primary language is Spanish. When English is spoken as a second language, the speech characteristics of the first (or native) language may be carried into English, resulting in accented English (Carlson & McHenry, 2006). Spanish-influenced English is not a genuine dialect it is instead the represented type of English related to a combination of many different languages and dialects that reflect the origin of a particular speaker. Spanish-influenced English is typically spoken by bilingual speakers who learned English as a second language (Carlson & McHenry, 2006; Owens, 1996, 2004).

The Spanish phonological system is simpler than that of English (Stockwell & Bowen, 1965). English contains three times more vowels (15) than Spanish (5). Also English contains 24 consonants, whereas General Spanish only contains 18 (Perez, 1994). Compared to English, Spanish has fewer consonants in the word final position. In General Spanish only /s/, /n/, /r/, /l/, and /d/ are produced in the word final positions. Therefore, omission of the final consonants may be more frequently observed in native Spanish speakers who speak English. There are many articulatory and phonologic characteristics of Spanish-influenced English that may cause difficulties in communication. Final consonants in Spanish are often devoiced, /b/ is often substituted for /v/, /t/ is often used for “th”, the schwa is frequently inserted before word-initial consonant clusters (eskate/skate, espend/spend), and /h/ is often omitted in word initial position. These phonological differences may cause words to be misunderstood by listeners unfamiliar with the characteristics of Spanish-influenced English (Pena-Brooks, & Hedge, 2007).

The intelligibility of speech is an objective measure of the degree to which an utterance is understood and is influenced by a number of factors (Nicolisi, Harryman,

& Kresheck, 1996; Carlson & McHenry, 2006). The overall intelligibility of speech is not only important to effective communication. Reduced intelligibility has also been associated with lower ratings of attitude and affective responses towards the speakers of English as a second language (Bresnahan, Ohashi, Nebashi, Liu, & Shearman, 2002; Carlson & McHenry, 2006).

In a recent study, Rice (2006) observed problems in the accurate perception of spoken English produced by racial minority clients when clinical assessments were conducted by white clinicians. In addition, Baugh the inventor of the term ‘linguistic profiling’, found in a current study that when a voice sounds African-American or Mexican-American, racial discrimination may follow. The purpose of this study was to determine if college students in the Midwest perceive the English speech of native Spanish speakers to be intelligible and if intelligibility influences their attitudes about the speakers.

If the college students do perceive a difference in the production of sounds that occur when native Spanish speakers produce Spanish-influenced English, how do those differences impact the perception of the speaker?

Method

Participants

Listeners. Sixteen undergraduate students, six males and ten females, with a mean age of 21 years (range =19-24) of various majors (excluding Communication Disorders, CMDS) participated in the study. All participants studied a foreign language at the university level for at least 1 semester (range =1-8). Seven of the 16 participants studied Spanish as a foreign language, 3 studied German, 5 French, and 1 Japanese. All but three listeners spoke English as their native language while one listener spoke Vietnamese, one Tamile, and one Filipino. Table one provides summary information of the listener characteristics.

Table 1: Demographics of Listeners

Participant	Age	Gender	Nationality	# Semesters Foreign Lang. Taken	Foreign Lang. Taken	Bilingual	Native Lang.	Any Other Lang. Spoken at home
1	22	M	Caucasian	3	German and Latin	N	English	N
2	20	F	Black/ African American	4	French	N	English	N
3	22	F	Caucasian	1	German	N	English	N
4	20	F	Asian/American	2	French, Italian	N	English	Korean
5	20	F	Caucasian	1	Spanish	N	English	N
6	20	F	Caucasian	4	Spanish	Y	English	N
7	19	M	Caucasian	2	Spanish	N	English	N
8	20	M	Filipino	1	Spanish	N	Filipino	Tagalog
9	24	M	Caucasian	8	French	N	English	N
10	21	F	Caucasian	4	French	N	English	N
11	21	M	Caucasian	3	Latin, Italian	N	English	N
12	21	F	Sri Lankan	8	French, German, English, Sinhala	Y	Tamil	Tamil and Sinhala
13	21	F	Cuban/American	4	Spanish	N	English	N
14	21	F	Caucasian	2	Spanish	N	English	N
15	20	F	Asian (Vietnamese)	2	Spanish	Y	Vietnamese	Vietnamese and French
16	22	M	Black/ African American	4	Japanese	N	English	N

Mean age: 20.9 Mean semesters: 3.3

Speakers. Two additional individuals, one male and one female, produced the speech sample used in this study. The male speaker was a 35 year old from Guatemala. His native language was Spanish and he spoke English as a second language. He worked as a community organizer in Milan, Missouri and interacted daily with both English and Spanish speakers. In Guatemala he was an elementary school teacher and studied engineering for a year. He spoke English for eleven years. The female speaker was a 48 year old from Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. Her native language was Spanish and she spoke English as a second language. She spoke English for 12 years. She worked as an identification and recruitment specialist, IDNR, with the Missouri Department of Education to identify migrant families. In Mexico she was an executive bilingual secretary and took courses for one year to become an assistant teacher.

Apparatus and Instruments

A Marantz PMD 201 audio-cassette recorder and a Sony Electret EMC 55B lapel microphone was used to collect the speech sample in a sound-treated booth in the Audiology Suite of the Truman Speech and Hearing Clinic. The 53 target items on the *Goldman- Fristoe Test of Articulation* – Second Edition, (*GFTA-2*) were used to elicit the speech [See Appendix A].

Collection of the Experimental Speech Sample

One male and one female Spanish speaking adult whose second language was English produced the speech sample for the experimental tape. Each speaker produced the 53 items on the *GFTA-2*. The speakers were recorded in the Truman Speech and Hearing Clinic in a sound-treated booth. Prior to the collection of the experimental sample, the speakers were introduced to the *GFTA-2* to ensure that they knew the labels for all pictured items. Speakers were instructed to announce the item number, say the target word, and repeat each production three times. In addition to the 53 items on the *GFTA-2* speakers produced two practice items used to orient the listeners to the task. The practice items were “washing machine” and “yesterday”.

Listener Task

The experimental speech sample was played to 16 undergraduate college students who were instructed to write down the words they heard the speakers produce on the experimental tape. Participants were untrained listeners who had no background in Communication Disorders and varied in their degree of training in a foreign language. The participants came to the Truman Speech and Hearing Clinic individually or in small groups (2-3 students) to listen to the recording. They were instructed to write down the words they heard exactly as they perceived them making an attempt to spell the words the best they could to represent the sounds they heard. Training examples were provided prior to the actual experimental task (e.g., “washing machine” for “washing machine”). Each of the 16 listeners listened to the speech sample in the same order. All 53 items on the *GFTA-2* produced by the female speaker were heard first followed by all 53 items produced by the male speaker.

Following the listening task, each listener was asked to respond to a number of questions regarding their attitude about the speech sample. For example speakers were asked if they felt that the speech of the speakers was similar to theirs, if the speakers speech was intelligible, what they thought the speakers ethnicity was, and their perception of the status of the speakers.

Transcription of the Experimental Tape

The student researcher and the research mentor listened to the samples collected from the two speakers and independently transcribed the productions. The

independent transcriptions were compared for inter-judge reliability. Productions that the two transcribers did not agree on were resolved through the process of consensus. Only eight of the 106 produced words were transcribed differently by the student researcher and the research mentor. The transcription of these eight words was easily resolved through joint listening and discussion.

Results

To determine whether college students perceive the English speech of native Spanish speakers as intelligible, the written responses from each of the 16 listeners were compared to the targets on the *GFTA-2*. Each response was coded as “correct” an exact match to the target word or “incorrect” anything except an exact match to the target. This procedure was also used for the two practice item “washing machine” and “yesterday”.

Intelligibility by gender

Unintelligible and intelligible productions were categorized by gender of the speaker as well as gender of the listener. In general female listeners perceived more words as more unintelligible than male listeners for both speakers. Furthermore, female listeners perceived more words as unintelligible for the female speaker than the male speaker. A chi-square analysis revealed no statistically significant difference between the number of intelligible words perceived by male and female listeners.

Frequency distribution by target words

To determine which words were most frequently misunderstood by listeners a frequency distribution by target word was preformed. Results of the distribution revealed that for the male speaker 28 of the 53 target words on the *GFTA-2* were found to be unintelligible by at least one listener. “Quack”, “this”, “stars”, and “balloons” were found to be unintelligible by over 50% of the listeners. Furthermore, duck, scissors, slide, tree, drum, flowers, and bath were all found to be unintelligible by more than 25% of the listeners.

For the female speaker 23 of the 53 target words on the *GFTA-2* were found to be unintelligible by at least one listener. “Yellow”, “starts”, and “fishing” were unintelligible to at least 50% of the listeners. While “thumb”, “watches”, “this”, “quack”, and “zipper” were found to be unintelligible to at least 25% of the listeners. For both speakers the practice item “washing machine” was unintelligible to at least one listener and the practice item “yesterday” was intelligible to all listeners.

Differences in the production of target words

Further analysis of the words most frequently misunderstood was conducted. The transcription of each target word that was misunderstood by at least one listener was compared to the standard transcription for that item. For example “quack” as

produced by the male speaker was misunderstood by all 16 listeners. The transcription for this item was [kwek] “quake” the substitutions of [e] for [æ] by the male speaker resulted in unintelligibility.

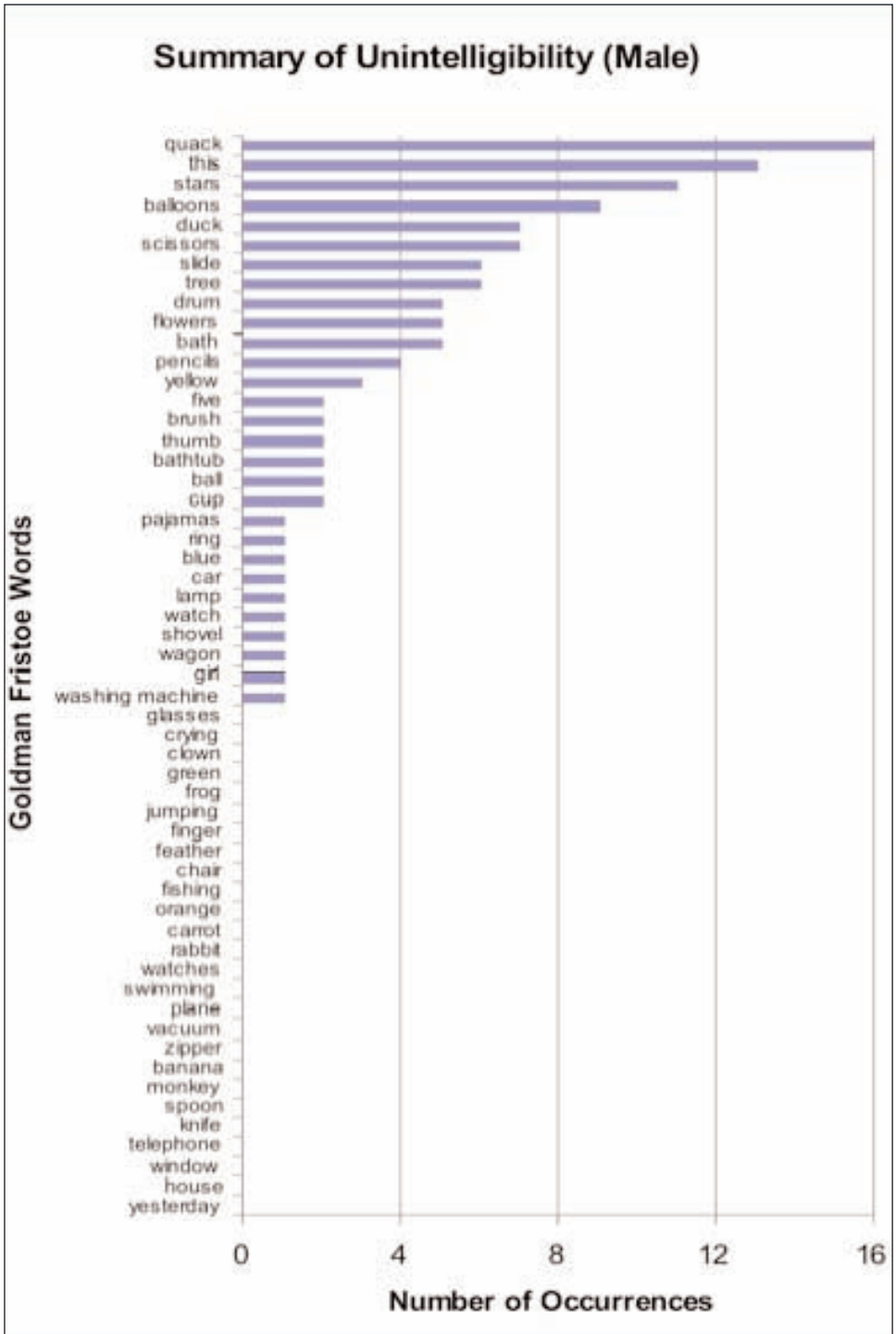
The most common characteristics of Spanish influenced English that contributed to unintelligibility included: vowel substitutions, devoicing of final consonants /z, s/, the substitution of a stop for a fricative and vice versa (particularly voiced and voiceless /θ/and /v/) and the exchange of /j/ for /d/. For example /d/ was used for voiced /ð / in the word this by both speakers and both speakers produced [s] for [z] in the final position of balloons.

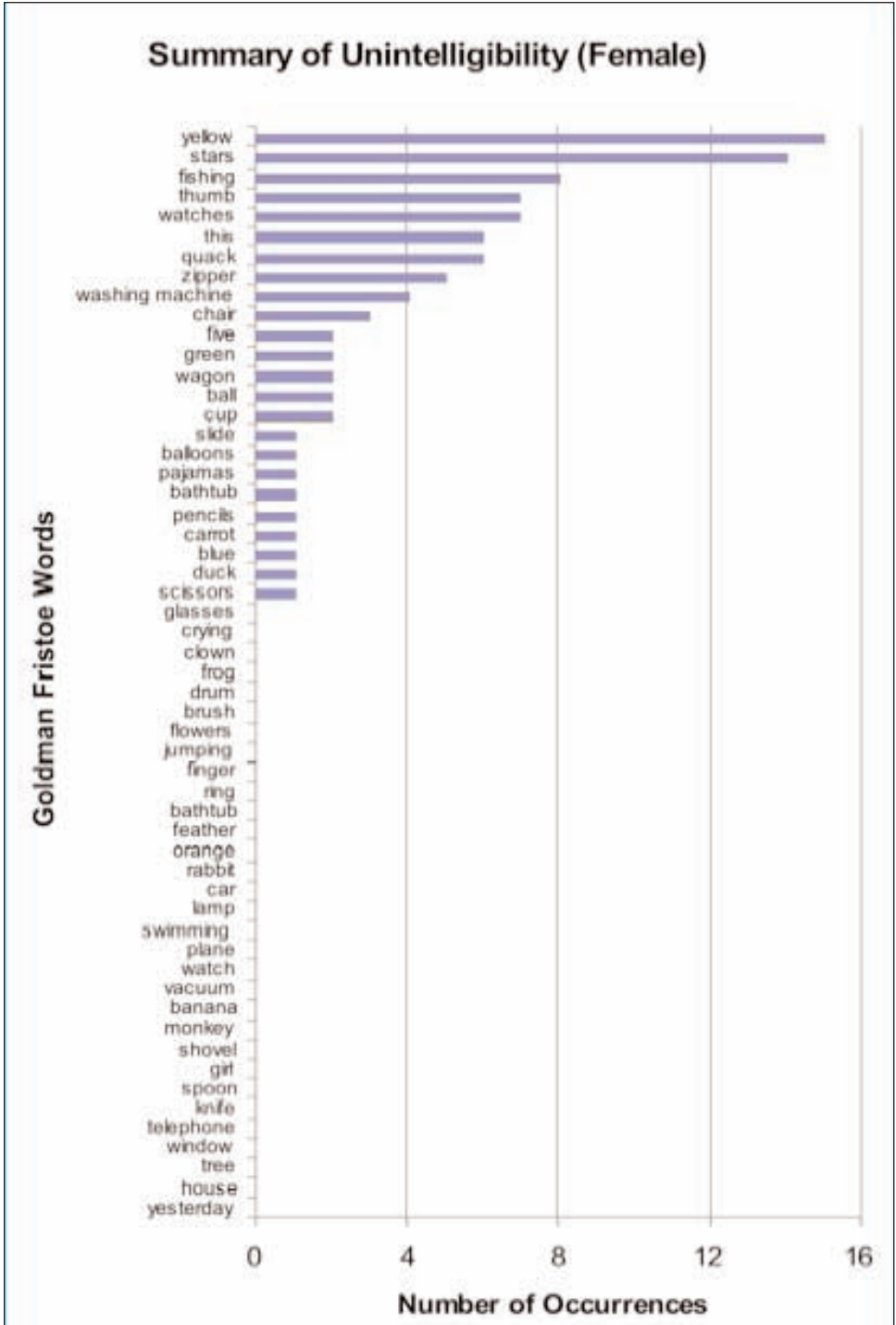
Listener Responses to Attitude Questions

Listeners were asked if they felt the speech of the speakers was similar to their own. Two of the listeners reported that the female’s speech sounded similar to their own; whereas, none of the listeners reported that the male’s speech sounded similar to their own. In follow-up, listeners were asked what they thought might be contributing to how the speech sample sounded. Common responses for the female speaker’s sample included: differences in stress and the presence of an accent or dialect. Common responses from listeners regarding the male speaker’s sample included: his accent, word pronunciation, word stress, and the influence of a second language. In general, listeners reported that in spite of differences detected in the speech samples, the samples were intelligible. Fourteen of the listener’s reported that the male and female speech samples were both intelligible, while only two of the listeners reported that both speech samples were unintelligible.

Listeners were also asked what they thought the speaker’s ethnicity may be based on the speech sample. Thirteen of the listeners reported that they thought the female speaker was Hispanic, one reported African American, one Italian, and one Indian. Twelve of the listeners reported that they thought the male speaker was Hispanic, one reported Italian, one Indian, one European, and one listener did not respond.

Listeners were also asked for their perception of the status of the speaker (high, middle, or low) and what they thought the speaker’s occupation might be. In general, listeners perceived both the male and female to be of middle class status. Only one listener thought that the female speaker was of high class status and one listener felt that she was of low class status. Some of the jobs that the listeners thought the female speaker might hold ranged from a janitor to an individual that had public contact. Three of the listeners thought that the male was of high class status and five thought that he was of low class status. When asked what job they thought the male speaker might hold, listeners responses ranged from: factory worker, to leadership position, to a professor. Some listeners reported that they felt that the male speaker likely did not have a lot of contact with English speakers at his work.





Speaker * Hearer * Intelligibility Crosstabulation

Intelligibility				Hearer		Total 1
				1	2	
0	Speaker 1	Count	43	86	129	
		Expected Count	47.9	81.1	129.0	
	2	Count	45	63	108	
		Expected Count	40.1	67.9	108.0	
	Total	Count	88	149	237	
		Expected Count	88.0	149.0	237.0	
1	Speaker 1	Count	287	464	751	
		Expected Count	282.1	468.9	751.0	
	2	Count	285	487	772	
		Expected Count	289.9	482.1	772.0	
	Total	Count	572	951	1523	
		Expected Count	572.0	951.0	1523.0	

Chi-Square Tests

Intelligibility	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)	
0	Pearson Chi-Square	1.749(b)	1	.186	.225	.118
	Continuity Correction(a)	1.410	1	.235		
	Likelihood Ratio	1.747	1	.186		
	Fisher's Exact Test					
	N of Valid Cases	237				
1	Pearson Chi-Square	.274(c)	1	.601	.634	.319
	Continuity Correction(a)	.221	1	.638		
	Likelihood Ratio	.274	1	.601		
	Fisher's Exact Test					
	N of Valid Cases	1523				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table

b 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 40.10.

c 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 282.06.

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that both male and female Midwest college students perceived differences in the speech of native Spanish speakers regardless of

the gender of the speaker. Approximately half of the target words on the *GFTA-2* produced by both the male and female speakers were found to be unintelligible to at least one listener. There were no differences found between the number of target words found to be unintelligible by gender of the speaker or the listener. Many of the words that were found to be unintelligible contained common characteristics of Spanish-influenced English including: devoicing of final consonants, replacing fricatives with stops, and vowel substitutions. Even small differences in a word such as omitting an *-s* at the end of a word contributed to unintelligibility. Surprisingly, some words that were transcribed with no difference to the Standard English pronunciation were misunderstood by the listeners. For example, the female speaker's production of the words "this", "chair", "green", "ball", "cup", "bathtub", and "duck" were found to be unintelligible to at least one listener in spite of the fact that all sounds used in the words were the correct, standard English phonemes. Similarly, at least one listener found the words "stars", "slide", "drum", "five", "brush", "ball", "cup", "blue", "car", and "lamp" to be unintelligible as produced by the male speaker. Furthermore there were instances in which the listeners perceived a target word to be a word much different in phonetic composition than the target word. For example, the female speaker's production of "watches" was perceived to be "righteous" by several of the listeners.

There are a number of possible explanations for why the listeners perceived more than half of the samples to be unintelligible aside from just the influence of the speaker's dialect. The listeners had no context from which to extract the meaning of the word and the speakers were not visible, therefore no cues from the speakers face or articulators were available to the listeners.

Most listeners perceived the speakers as Hispanic which suggests that they were at least fundamentally aware of the characteristics of Spanish-Influenced English or at least had heard Hispanic speakers before. Most of the listeners described the sample as different from their own, speech and were capable of describing characteristic traits that marked the speaker's speech as different than their own such as stress, vowel choice, and accent. It is possible that formal instruction in a foreign language, particularly Spanish contributed to the listener's ability to describe characteristics of Spanish-influenced English. In spite of the fact that the majority of the listeners reported that the speech samples were intelligible, more than half of the target words on the *GFTA-2* were found to be unintelligible by at least one listener. This suggests that listeners based their perceptions of intelligibility on the entire speech sample rather than on individual words. In addition listeners were unaware whether the word they perceived was actually the word attempted by the listener. Listeners likely judged a word to be intelligible as long as they perceived it to be a meaningful English word.

In general it is difficult to determine whether the attitudes of the listeners towards the speakers were affected by the speaker's dialect. About half of the listeners stated that the speakers were of low class status and held jobs that are typically considered blue collar or lower class status jobs in spite of the fact that they had no prior knowledge regarding the speakers and were basing their judgments solely on the speech samples. It is possible however that since most listeners assumed the speakers were Hispanic, judgments about the speaker's status may have been influenced by misconceptions regarding the speaker's nationality rather than the intelligibility of the speech. Interestingly attitudes about the female speaker were slightly more negative than the attitudes about the male speaker, suggesting that there may be some influence of gender on the attitudes of the listeners. For example, although as a group the listeners found the female's speech to be more intelligible than the male's speech, the listener's attitudes towards the female's speech

One of the important implications of the study is that even though most of the college student listeners had limited knowledge of Hispanic speech characteristics, they were able to identify the listeners as Hispanic. Furthermore, they were able to provide some characteristics of the speech samples that contributed to their perception that the speech samples were different than their own speech and contributed to their perception that the speakers were Hispanic. John Baugh, Ph.D., Professor and Director of African and African American studies in Arts and Sciences at Washington University in St. Louis found in a current study that when a voice sounds African American or Hispanic American racial discrimination may follow. Baugh found that some potential employers, real estate agents, and loan officers treated people differently based on the sound of their voice on the telephone. Baugh coined the term "linguistic profiling" to refer to the ability to guess a caller's ethnic background from a conversation on the telephone. In this study, listeners identified the speaker's ethnic background as Hispanic and may have had some underlying attitudes and assumptions about the Hispanic population in general that might have influenced their attitudes about the speaker's status and/or employment.

This study has important implications for the field of Speech Language Pathology. The results of this study revealed that even small differences from a standard American-English pronunciation can result in a misunderstanding of a target word. For example in this study devoicing of final consonants /z/ , /s/ or the substitutions /v/ , /b/ and /θ/ /t/; as well as vowel reductions caused words to be misunderstood (e.g. bath /bat/, this /dɪθ/, shovel /ʃəbl/, and duck /dʌk/). Unintelligible words were all words that contained common characteristics of Spanish-influenced English. These common Spanish-influenced sound changes, particularly when unfamiliar to the listener, can result in unintelligibility. Speech-

Language Pathologists should counsel non-native speakers of English on these issues and make suggestions for dialect reduction therapy as needed. When listeners do not have a background in the phonological differences of Spanish-influenced English the speech of Hispanic speakers may be particularly difficult to understand. In addition when a listener identifies a speaker's ethnicity based on how their speech sounds the risk of discrimination may increase.

Limitations

One limitation of this study was the limited number of listeners. Broad generalizations should not be made on a sample size of 16 college students in the Midwest. Future studies should include additional subjects, which would increase the generalization ability of the results. An additional limitation was that each listener listened to the male and female speakers in the same order which may have contributed to a fatigue effect. That is to say each listener heard the male speaker second and may have been more tired or less interested in the listening task during that sample. Randomizing the listening order would have counteracted any fatigue effect. Lastly, limited information about the listener's attitudes and perceptions was collected through the study questionnaire. Future studies might include personal discussions or interviews with the listeners in addition to the attitude questionnaire to extract more information on their perception and attitudes regarding the speech samples.

Appendix A

Practice item #1	Practice item # 2	
Washing machine	Yesterday	
1. house	19. vacuum	37. ring
2. tree	20. watch	38. finger
3. window	21. plane	39. thumb
4. telephone	22. swimming	40. jumping
5. cup	23. watches	41. pajamas
6. knife	24. lamp	42. flowers
7. spoon	25. car	43. brush
8. girl	26. blue	44. drum
9. ball	27. rabbit	45. frog
10. wagon	28. carrot	46. green
11. shovel	29. orange	47. clown
12. monkey	30. fishing	48. balloons
13. banana	31. chair	49. crying
14. zipper	32. feather	50. glasses
15. scissors	33. pencils	51. slide
16. duck	34. this	52. stars
17. quack	35. bathtub	53. five
18. yellow	36. bath	

Appendix B

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT FOR PARTICIPANTS

Dear Participant,

I am a student enrolled in the McNair Summer Research Program at Truman State University. I am conducting a study to determine if college students perceive the common sound changes in dialect-Influenced English. In addition, the attitudes of college students toward any perceived sound changes will be explored.

If you choose to take part in the written portion of the interview, you will come to the Truman Speech and Hearing Clinic in small groups (4-5 students) where you will listen to a tape recording containing spoken words. You then will write down the words exactly as you hear them, making an attempt to spell the word the best you can to represent the sounds you heard. An answer sheet will be provided for the recording of words heard. Your answers are strictly confidential. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. This entire process should take no longer than 20 – 35 minutes.

If you take part in the study your participation will assist in our understanding of how non-English dialects are perceived by the college population. The information obtained from this study will help Speech-Language Pathologists identify the discernible/distinguishing characteristics of dialect-Influenced English.

Your responses to all the questions will remain confidential. In order to protect erstigitor, at sm853@truman.edu OR my research supervisor, Dr. Janet Gooch, at jquinzer@truman.edu

Thank you for your valuable assistance and kind consideration,

(Interviewer's Signature)

I, _____, have read and fully understand the
(please print)

information provided in this informed consent document and acknowledge this with my signature as indicated below.

DATE _____

Appendix C

QUESTIONNAIR FOR PARTICIPANTS

Please circle or fill in the blank to each question.

1. Grade:

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- Other

2. Age: _____

3. Gender: _____

4. Nationality: _____

5. # of semesters you have studied a foreign language at the university level:

6. Foreign language(s) taken: _____

7. Bilingual Yes or No

If Yes what Language: _____

8. Native language: _____

9. Are any other languages spoken at home other than English:

Appendix D

ATTITUDE QUESTIONS

Do you feel the speech of these speakers is similar to your own? (Circle one)

YES or NO

If not, what about it is different?

What do you think may be influencing how the speech sounds?

What do you perceive the speaker's ethnicity to be based on the speech sample?

Was the speaker's speech intelligible? (Circle one) YES or NO

(Intelligible meaning how easy the speaker was to understand)

If not what about the speaker's speech was not intelligible?

What status do you perceive the speaker to have? High class, middle class, low class

(Circle one)

(Education, occupation, etc.)

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Environmental Degradation and Genocide/Politicide, 1958-2007

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This paper examines the impact of environmental, such as soil and water, degradation and population density, as potential triggers of genocide. It statistically analyzed over two hundred cases, using binary logistic regression, to determine whether there is a relationship between those two factors and genocide and/or politicide outbreak and if it is statistically significant. According to the results, water resources per capita do not have a statistically significant relationship with genocide/politicide events, as compared to the percent of land severely or very severely degraded. It had both a positive and significant effect on the incidence of a genocidal and/or politicidal event. Little support has been found for the idea that population pressures lead to genocidal or politicidal acts.

Introduction

There has been a considerable interest over the past few years in the relationship between environmental degradation and instances of genocide and conflict (Salehyan, 2008; Raleigh and Urdal, 2007; Homer-Dixon, 2001; Hauge and Ellingson, 1998; Homer-Dixon, Boutwell and Rathjens 1993). Recently climate change was mentioned by UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon (2007) as a principal cause of the conflict in Darfur (p. 10). However, there has been considerable debate on whether the empirical link exists between environmental degradation and genocide/politicide. This paper will empirically examine the relationship between environmental degradation and the

incidence of a genocidal or politicidal act. More specifically (and unlike most studies that examine whether environmental degradation causes conflict) rather than address the question of whether environmental degradation generally causes conflict, we examine whether environmental degradation “triggers” a genocidal or politicidal event, or, in other words, does environmental degradation lead to the escalation of civil conflicts into acts of genocide and politicide. Thus we examine only countries that have had a recorded event of genocide/politicide from 1958-2007, and examine whether that event was preceded in time by severe environmental degradation.

Literature

What is genocide? Although there are several definitions available (see UN Convention; Rummel, 1994; Fein, 1993; Lemkin, 1944) we use the one provided by Barbara Harff, the most recent and empirically inclusive definition. According to her genocide involves the “promotion, execution, and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents — or, in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities — that are intended to destroy, in whole or part, a communal, political, or politicized ethnic group” (Harff, 2003, p. 58).

Early in 1990s scholars started to look at possible links between environmental conditions and violent conflicts. Their studies have suggested that there is a direct relationship between environmental degradation and acts of genocide. Such approaches that focus on resource depletion are generally referred to as Environmental Security perspective (Homer-Dixon, 2001; Homer-Dixon, Boutwell and Rathjens 1993). The relationship between environmental issues and national security includes the possibility of conflict over scarce resources such as fresh water and arable land, the influence of global climate changes on the types and locations of future conflicts (Haneberg, 2007). In essence, increasing scarcity of resources wrought by global climatic changes, particularly freshwater and arable land, results in more conflict. The leading scholar of this “scarcity” approach is Thomas Homer-Dixon examined sixteen cases and concluded that the most important factor affecting conflict was the growth of the human population and its consequent consumption of increasingly scarce resources.

Related to this idea that scarcity is what contributes to the escalation of conflict is the population growth argument. In short, a growing population also contributes to the growing scarcity of crucial resources. King and Elliott (1996) studied rapid population growth and pressures on the land as a key element explaining the 1994 Rwandan genocide which they describe as a “demographic” and further assert “It is the concurrence of all these and other factors that made population pressure critical...It was inevitable that the pressure would express itself by reopening the tribal fault line” (p. 42).

A more or less similar view was expressed in a UNHCR presentation at the UN

Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994: “The recent strife in Rwanda is a striking example of ethnic conflict ignited by population pressure and diminishing land resources” (UNHCR 1994 cited in Berry & Pott-Berry, 1999, 420). May (1995) reported on the demographic situation in Rwanda in the 1980s and early 1990s (before the 1994 genocide). He notes, for instance, that more and more marginal land was brought under cultivation (e.g., steep hills), fallow periods were shortened and pasture and forest land was converted to cropland.

One of the first systematic cross national and quantitative studies that examined the posited relationship between growing scarcity and conflict were Hauge and Ellingsen (1998). They found that when examining all countries in the period 1980-92 (and confirming earlier studies) that factors like deforestation, land degradation, and scarce supply of freshwater, alone and in combination with high population density, significantly increased the risk of domestic armed conflict, even when controlling for economic and political factors. However, they did note that scarcity contributed most to low level conflict, and that the intensity of conflict was more closely related to military expenditures.

However, more recently, the resource scarcity argument has come under growing criticism. Salehyan (2008) has argued against the deterministic point of view that climate change will lead to resource competition, mass migration, and, ultimately, an increase in armed conflict around the world. Rather, he argues that the effect of climate change on armed conflict is contingent on a number of political and social variables (particularly ethnicity) which, has led to poor predictions about when and where conflict is likely. Raleigh and Urdal (2007), using data from the 1990s and using geo-referenced (GIS) data and small geographical, rather than political, units of analysis within countries, found that while population growth and density are associated with increased risks of conflict, the effects of land degradation and water scarcity are weak, negligible or insignificant. The results indicated that the effects of political and economic factors far outweigh those between local level demographic/environmental factors and conflict. Earlier, De Soysa (2002) tested whether World Bank estimates of “natural capital,” comprising soil and forest asset measures, were significant predictors of civil war outbreak but found no relationship. Levy, Thorkelson, Vörösmarty, Douglas, Humphreys (2005) investigated the relationship between water availability and internal war outbreak. Their work represents the first test of climate-security connections utilizing global sub-national time series data. They created harmonized spatial time series databases on a sub-national global grid of internal war, renewable freshwater surface water resources (in the form of runoff), a measure based on global monthly rainfall data set to calculate measures of temporal variability, created by Miguel et al (2004), and rainfall deviations and population for the period 1980-2002. They also utilized national-level data on infant mortality,

political institutions, and trade openness as controls.

Thus much of the more recent literature has suggested that the relationship between environmental degradation and conflict is not as direct as suggested earlier. Critics have suggested that variables such as ethnic composition, the level of political openness, the level of economic development and resource endowments are all much better predictors of conflict (and presumably genocide/politicide) than environmental degradation alone (Salehyan 2008; Uvin 1998). However in this paper, we focus not on whether degradation causes conflict, but whether in countries that had genocide or politicides, the event was preceded by environmental degradation. Thus we can ascertain whether environmental degradation triggered the genocidal or politicial act. In addition, since several scholars have suggested that genocidal or politicial acts are more to result in countries already in conflict when there are deep ethnic divisions in the population (Salehyan 2008) we introduce this as a control variable in the model below.

Variables and Data

Our primary dependent variable is the incident of a Politicide/Genocide event during a five year period from 1958-2007. According to Harff (2003, 58) “genocides and politicides are the promotion, execution, and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents — or, in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities — that are intended to destroy, in whole or part, a communal, political, or politicized ethnic group. In genocides the victimized groups are defined by their perpetrators primarily in terms of their communal characteristics.” In politicides, groups are defined in terms of their political opposition to the regime and dominant groups. Both genocides and politicides are carried out at the explicit direction of state authorities, or those who claim state authority. Harff used five guidelines to distinguish cases of genocide and politicide from other kinds of mass killings that occur during civil conflicts:

- 1.) Is there complicity by the state (or, in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities) in actions undertaken that endanger human life?
- 2.) Is there evidence, even if circumstantial, of intent on the part of authorities to isolate or single out group members for mistreatment?
- 3.) Are victims members of an identifiable group?
- 4.) Are there policies and practices that cause prolonged mass suffering?
- 5.) Do the actions committed pose a threat to the survival of the group?

Turning to the independent variables, the first is the “total renewable water resources per capita” in a given five year period from 1958- 2007. This indicator measures renewable water as that which is caught in rain tanks and reservoirs, or collected from

streams, rivers, lakes, ice or groundwater sources that are not being diminished or salinized as a result of the extraction. The volume is measure as cubic meters per inhabitant per five year period (Kaly, Pratt and Mitchell, 2004). This indicator provides a measure of reductions in water availability as a trigger for extreme civil conflict as represented by politicides and genocides. A related independent variable the “Percentage of territory water consumption exceeds 40% of available water” Measures the extent to which there are severe water shortages. An indicator of relative water demand was computed by dividing total human water demand (domestic + industrial + agricultural water) by renewable water supply (Q). A threshold of 40% was established as the threshold for water stressed conditions (for the measure see Vörösmarty, Douglas, Green and Revenga, 2005) the data were compiled by the University of New Hampshire, Water Systems Analysis Group (2009).

To measure the extent to which land itself has been degraded by human intervention, we turn to the United Nations Farm and Agriculture Organization’s (UNFAO) Global Assessment of Soil Degradation (or GLASOD) survey which used satellite technology to estimate the extent to which soils had been degraded over time by map coordinates. For each mapping unit, national experts were asked to estimate:

- Type of degradation: water erosion, wind erosion, chemical deterioration, physical deterioration, and subdivisions of these.
- Degree of degradation: light, moderate, strong, extreme.
- Relative extent of degradation, as percentage of the mapping unit affected.
- Causative factors of degradation: deforestation, overgrazing, agricultural activities (improper agricultural management), overexploitation of vegetation (cutting for fuel wood, etc.), industrial activities (pollution).

These dimensions were combined to produce an estimated percentage of varying degrees of degradation by country defined inn terms of reductions in land productivity.

- Light: somewhat reduced agricultural suitability.
- Moderate: greatly reduced agricultural productivity.
- Severe: biotic functions largely destroyed; non-reclaimable at farm level.
- Very Severe: biotic functions fully destroyed, non-reclaimable

Another often cited trigger of conflict is increased population densities that are associated with stresses on the land. Changes in population density are taken from the Aquastat Online Database (2009); This is the change in population per square kilometer by five year period 1958-2007. Finally, there has been a considerable amount of literature that has argued that ethnic heterogeneity is a trigger for conflict generally — hence we might expect that the advent of politicide and genocide are likely to happen with greater frequency in states that are ethnically heterogeneous. The degree of ethnic homogeneity is measure by the percentage of the population of the largest ethnic group as defined by

the CIA World Factbook (2008).

The data for the variables were collected for five year periods for 1958-2007 for all the countries where a politicide/genocide event had been recorded since 1955 (these included 27 countries by 10 five year periods, for a total of 270 data points). These countries are listed in Table 1 (Harff, 2007). There were several reasons for collecting data in this fashion. First, much of the data — especially the data on water and land degradation — were presented in five year periods from 1958 onward. Hence, it was convenient to use five year periods by country as our unit of analysis. Second, we believe that the effects of environmental degradation on extreme forms of conflict such as genocide and politicide are longer term. Hence to account for the lagged effect of water and land degradation, we used five year periods by country as our unit of analysis. We also only selected countries that had recorded instances of genocide and/or politicide in order to assess whether environmental degradation actually “triggered” the occurrence of a genocidal or political act.

Table 1: List of Countries That Have Had Genocide/Politicide Events 1958 – 2007

<i>Country</i>	<i>Years</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Years</i>
Afghanistan	1974-1982	Guatemala	1978-1990
Algeria	1962	Indonesia	1965-1966
Angola	1975-1994; 1998-2002	Iran	1981-1992
Argentina	1976-1980	Iraq	1963-1975; 1988-1991
Bosnia	1992-1995	Pakistan	1971;1973-1977
Myanmar (Burma)	1978	Philippines	1972-1976
Burundi	1965-1973; 1988; 1993	Rwanda	1994
Cambodia	1975-1979	Somalia	1998-1991
Chile	1973-1976	Sri Lanka	1989-1990
Congo-Kinshasa	1964-1965	Sudan	1956-1972; 1983-2002
El Salvador	1980-1989	Syria	1981-1982
Equatorial Guinea	1969-1979	Uganda	1980-1996
Ethiopia	1976-1979	Vietnam	1965-1975

Reported by Harff (2007)

Analysis

Table 2 reports the results of running a Time Series Cross Sectional Binary Logistic Regression analysis, using the five year period as the time unit. The use of binary logistic analysis is appropriate given that the dependent variable (whether a genocidal or political event occurred during a five year period) is coded as “0” or “1”. In addition

to coefficient estimates, we report pseudo r-square and the Durbin Watson statistic to verify that there are no problems with autocorrelation (particularly after employing a lagged endogenous variable to correct for any problems with autocorrelation). In addition we test for potential problems with multicollinearity by examining the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) a commonly used statistic used to detect problems with collinearity.

As indicated in Table 2, statistically significant relationships are exhibited by changes in population density, the percent of land severely or very severely degraded, and the percent of the population made up of the largest ethnic group. However, changes in population densities were negatively related to the incidence of a genocide/politicide event, contrary to much of the literature that suggested population pressures acted as a trigger for such events. In part this might be due to increasing urbanization rather than increased population pressures on the land. Indeed urbanization may lead to fewer pressures on the land, although this would lead to greater population densities.

Table 2: Coefficient Estimates and Collinearity Statistics, Politicide/Genocide Event for Five Year Period 1958-2007

Variable	Coefficient Estimate	Variance Inflation Factor (VIF)
Total Renewable		
Water Resources per capita	.000	1.404
Change in Population Density	-.013**	1.979
Percentage of territory in which consumption exceeds 40% of available water	-.040	1.405
% Land Severely or Very Severely Degraded	.048**	1.960
% population largest ethnic group	-.018*	1.017
Politicide/Genocide event lagged	22.297**	1.007
Pseudo R-square = .40	* = p < .05	
Durbin Watson= 2.067	**=p<.01	
	***=p< .001	

Interestingly, of the various indicators of environmental degradation, only the percent of land severely or very severely degraded had both a positive and significant effect on the incidence of a genocidal and/or political event (unlike problems with water). Although water may be related to land degradation, it is not the only reason for land degradation (slash and burn farming, lack of nitrogen fixation, charcoal production

etc). Land degradation over time appears to be a strong trigger for a genocidal or political event. Thus unlike some earlier studies that suggested that land degradation was not related to instances of conflict, land degradation does appear to be a trigger to escalate conflicts into acts of genocide or politicalicide. Also, it appears that the more ethnically homogeneous a country, the less frequent is the incidence of a genocidal or political event. This would suggest that acts of genocide/politicalicide are most likely in an already conflict ridden situation when there is greater ethnic heterogeneity.

Finally, in terms of problems of autocorrelation and multicollinearity, the Durbin Watson statistic of 2.067 indicates that the use of a lagged endogenous variable corrected any problem with autocorrelation (if the statistic is close to 2 then there is little in the way of autocorrelation). Further, there appears to be no problems with multicollinearity, given that none of the VIF scores exceed 4, the commonly used threshold to detect problems with collinearity.

Conclusion

Although only preliminary, our analysis suggests that a key trigger for the incidence of a genocidal or political event is severe land degradation. This supports much of the literature that examined land degradation as a cause of conflict (examining both countries that had conflict and those that did not). The findings suggest that severe land degradation is also a trigger for those conflicts to escalate into acts of genocide or politicalicide. However, little support was found for the notion that water resources are a key to explaining conflict, which had been argued by Levy, Thorkelson, Vörösmarty, Douglas, and Humphreys (2005) at least in terms of escalation into genocidal or political acts. Further, we found little support for the idea that population pressures lead to genocidal or political acts. Rather, severe land degradation (which is independent of water resources availability) appears to act as the real trigger for genocide.

What can be done? Although we are in no position to offer any remedies, our analysis suggests that a real culprit is the way in which land is used, as opposed to population densities and water resources. Slash and burn techniques, reliance on charcoal fuels which deforests the land and hastens desertification, and reliance on food crops that deplete the soil, all contribute to increasing land pressures — and it is such depletion of the land which contributes most to acts as appalling as genocide

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Black Nationalism from the Home Front: Creating a Space for the Expression of both the Black and Female Selves

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By employing a deconstructive analysis that actively historicizes the place of Black women in the Black Movement, this study examines Bambara's claiming of opposing dual identities, both as a Black Nationalist and a Black Feminist, and how she has helped to give a face to African American women who were not only participating in the Nationalist Movement but were dissatisfied with their treatment within the contemporaneous project of Black Machismo politics. Situating Bambara in the literary legacy left in the wake of the Harlem Renaissance and the Black Arts Movement, this paper focuses on the incorporation of free agency and authenticity in her short story collection, Gorilla, My Love and in her novel, The Salt Eaters. Central to the current paper's thesis is the notion that Bambara, while simultaneously invoking the community prevalent in the current paper's 1940s in the Harlem Renaissance, critiques the over-arching hyper-masculinist experience of blackness, thus unifying both the racial and gendered selves through her advocacy of Black Feminism as an offshoot of the Black Nationalist Movement.

Black womanhood has traditionally been located in a space separate from both Black and female gendered identity politics. The occurrence of a Black Feminist Movement separate from the, then, ongoing Black Nationalist Movement as well as the concurring Women's Liberation Movement is an example of the disunification in the expression of identity that results from multiple sites of oppression. Black feminist

and Black Nationalist writer Toni Cade Bambara creates a space that melds together both feminist rhetoric with Nationalist ideology, thereby finding unity in political identities that have, at one time or another, been repressed for the “greater good of the community.”

Toni Cade Bambara’s novel *The Salt Eaters* (1989) and her short story collection *Gorilla, My Love* (1979) explore the roles of African American women in the Black community who found themselves divorced from the Black Nationalist Movement and estranged from the Women’s Liberation Movement. Bambara writes as a feminist while at the same time she claims to be a Black Nationalist. Given Black Nationalism’s generally sexist attitudes how can Bambara identify herself as both a feminist and a Black Nationalist? In order to appreciate just how unique a voice Bambara has cultivated, we need to understand the historical formation of the Black literary canon.

The acceptance of a racial identity is truncated with the knowledge that the I of the self is compromised by the exact opposite elements that differentiate "you" from “me.” The relationship of both the “Black” and “White” identity is dependent on what the other lacks. Singh calls this relationship “Black and White symbiosis.” Singh uses this term to emphasize that “while there exists a connection between the formations of the White and Black selves it has not necessarily been a healthy relationship.” This interaction between Whites and Blacks culminated during the early twentieth century into a system known as white patronage. White patronage largely functioned to create a Black literary canon that ensured that the works being published were largely those that would help them to retain preexisting notions of Blacks that they had, be it of the “noble savage” or of “Sambo.”

The positioning of the black body as “other” is present in the works of African American writers, going as far back as the slave narratives. The blending of the sociopolitical, or social issues that were affecting Black political rights, with traditional storytelling structures and rhythms to create a style, has been continued by writers’ in the post-Harlem Renaissance tradition. The narratives produced in both the pre-Civil War and Harlem Renaissance periods are marked by the questioning of the social construction of race and racial identity. In the Harlem Renaissance period, in particular, the notion of “Blackness” or the consciousness of a self constructed by the dominant society starts to be deconstructed. This, in fact, is the first time in African American history that we find in both the literary and social contexts the concept of a collective good being evinced. The “theoretical” resistance to racism and acculturation, present in the literary output of the Harlem Renaissance, was translated into an “active” form of resistance during the 1960s Black Nationalist Movement.

During the 60s Black Nationalist Movement calls were being made to the individual to work for the collective good of their fellow African Americans, which

unified Black communities nationwide but came at a cost to the individual self, a price made especially heavy for the Black woman. Black Nationalists used the concept of the collective good to focus on extolling the ideals of Black patriarchy. This made Black women's concerns secondary to the proscribed needs of group identity. For example, African American women's reproductive rights, and social programs such as affordable daycare for single mothers, were not a primary objective in the original Black Nationalist party's agenda until government eugenics laws were passed and enacted. Before the shift in focus towards the Black family, Black Nationalism's attention had been spent on four core tenets which, according to Melissa Victoria Harris-Lacewell, were founded "in the theories and organizing efforts of Marcus Garvey. Garveyism identified the international and historical bases of black subjugation and declared the right and necessity of black separation from oppressive polities by developing separate political representation, cultural icons, and economic institutions" (25). As the survival and health of the family structure was threatened, Black Nationalism incorporated a fifth tenet centered on the community. It is the fifth tenet of Black Nationalist ideology that has provided a space from which Bambara has been able to successfully unite and express both the Black and female selves.

The purpose of this paper then is to describe and evaluate how Bambara's works, *Gorilla, My Love* (1972) and *The Salt Eaters* (1980) have used Black Nationalist ideology to form a framework for her writing and the development of a post-1960s black identity. Bambara situates her writing around the community. Derek Alwes article, "The Burden of Liberty: Choice in Toni Morrison's *Jazz* and Toni Cade Bambara's *The Salt Eaters*," states that, "For Bambara there are only two choices available in any consideration — the right one and the wrong one — and the right one always involves subordinating individual freedom to the needs of the larger community. In *The Salt Eaters*, the exercise of personal liberty is inevitably isolating, and isolation is a form of suicide" (354-355). I argue that while Bambara does link isolation to cultural suicide, she also shows how even within a community brought together by Black Nationalist ideals isolation becomes possible. For example, in *The Salt Eaters*, Velma Henry is the focus of the novel and a metaphoric representation of the community and its problems. Velma has just tried to commit suicide by sticking her head in the oven. This slow form of suicide becomes symbolic of the growing litany of problems left unresolved by Black Nationalism in the African American community. One such problem is the place of African American women and their political voice within the Black Nationalist Movement. Before the Black Feminist Movement, Black women found the dialog for their political expression through medically created discourse over the Black female body and its reproductive capabilities.

Francis Beal's essay, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," cites a specific

instance of medicalized oppression that came as a reform under the 1960s New York Welfare Program. Compulsory sterilization was begun as a form of eugenics to ensure that defective genes such as mental retardation or mental imbalances were not passed along to offspring. The program specifically targeted minority women of whom, African American, Hispanic, and Native American women. As part of the shift in focus of the Black Nationalist Movement to the family, the body becomes the site for political resistance to hegemonic culture. Women were encouraged to support the Movement by having children. Black Nationalism placed importance on reproduction in the African American community because it was “only through the Black woman that Black men could be born,” stressing cultural preservation and racial solidarity through encouraging non-interracial relationships. Beal’s piece, endemic of many burgeoning Black feminist writers during this time, hesitates to critique the Movement’s reduction of Black women down to sexuality, and the attempt for control over that sexuality by her male counterparts. Instead, Beal challenges the ‘others’ (White males) right to define the terms of reproduction for African American women. Bambara utilizes reproduction and the issue of free choice as a background element in her works that is questioned as part of the established institutional systems that Bambara’s character’s rebel against.

In Bambara’s *The Salt Eaters*’ protagonist, Velma Henry, details the story of the African American women’s challenge to the basic and supportive roles that women had been saddled with under the patriarchal order of Black Nationalist ideology. In an interesting narrative style, this novel unfolds in a series of shifting voices that are set up to critique the moral and spiritual decline of the community, thereby critiquing the spiritual degradation of the Black Nationalist Movement from within the community. Through an intra-communal perspective we come to learn more about Velma and her fight to unite both the expression of her racial identity with other marginalized categories of intersection such as “woman,” with the demands and needs of the community at the forefront of how her own unique experience of Black womanhood is shaped. Ann Fowell Stanford’s, “Mechanics of Disease: African-American Women Writers, Social Pathologies, and the Limits of Medicine,” reads Velma and her attempted suicide as, “the culmination of an increasing physical and emotional exhaustion, as well as an alienation from her body and her legacy as an African American and as a woman....Despite her desire to be fully engaged in social and political struggle, the gap between herself and her body — her femaleness and her lineage as an African American—is vast, and mirrored by the community’s insensitivity to repressive sexual politics” (35).

Under mounting individual problems, the repressed self emerges in Bambara’s continual reference to the spirit and its state of being, as we see in Velma for whom

the push to be overly identified with Black Nationalist ideology and group-based politics culminates in her falling into depression and then attempting to commit suicide. The book opens with Velma's spirit being healed by an ancient folk healer, while members of the community look on. Much like a tree of origin, it is from Velma that the narrative is brought out in a way that underscores the problems that are still prevalent in the community and have not been addressed by the movement.

Velma, was starting to show signs of a mental breakdown or at least severe exhaustion, early on in the novel Velma is watching the piece of spinach stuck in her husband's mouth as he begs for another opportunity to start over with a clean slate. He begs her to "push the past aside, dump all of it" (25). Silently, she is thinking exactly what past it is that her husband would rather they forgot, things such as "going to jail and being forgotten, forgotten, or at least deprioritized cause bail was not as pressing as the printers bill. Like raising funds and selling some fool to the community with his heart set on running for public office" (25). Velma is angry that he is asking her to forget about all of the past hurts and reconcile with him. But she is angrier at his motivation for wanting reconciliation, which is chiefly not because they are divorced or separated, but because their involvement in the forefront of the political group means that they are under the watch of the community, and must behave accordingly with the dignity and responsibility conferred on them for being the leading figures of resistance in the community.

As the center of discontent and alienation, Velma struggles to support her husband and the 'cause' while suppressing her own needs and feelings in their relationship. The novel closes with two key things that help us understand what has broken the relationship between Velma and her husband. Stress, brought on by the pressure of trying to keep up a happy façade and inspire the young members of the community, in addition to having miscarried a child, coupled with the growing disconnect between Velma's individual self versus the unified self has forced Velma to the breaking point. Velma's husband, Obie, is of no help to her because he has already become wrapped up in the Movement and its emphasis on reproduction that has encouraged him to go outside of the marriage. He doesn't notice his wife's increasingly strange behavior till after she has attempted suicide.

Friction between the self and the Movement is also highlighted by the first joint meeting between the main branch of the action and the ladies ad hoc committee. In a seemingly innocent and humorous moment of Velma's relived experience we get to learn things about the overall condition of the Black women in the Black Nationalist party and how the individual needs gets subordinated to the group cause. Velma comes back from the restroom in the Patterson Professional building where they are having their meeting. Velma states that, "She felt uncomfortable, damp. There'd been

nothing in the machines-no tampons, no napkins, no paper towels, no roll of tissue she could unravel and stuff her panties with” (26). The novel thus emphasizes that health concerns of women had to be advocated separately from the overall aims of the Movement, as suggested by the character, Lonnie Hill, who maintains that, “Ruby and Jan and Velma but especially Ruby ought to be cool, lighten up, give some slack, get back lest the group and its work get a rep as a “woman’s thaang,” (26). A “woman’s thaang,” as Lonnie calls it, down plays the women’s role in the political movement, thereby suggesting that to be considered “woman” means that one stands on issues that are separate and not germane to the issues that are affecting the Black community at large. “Woman” in this sense has already been construed as being foreign or different from the rest of the group and therefore is to be excluded from the decision-making process.

The “woman’s thaang” is juxtaposed with the image that Velma creates of her going off to a rally that had not even started to organize itself together and having to use inadequate and disgusting facilities with the thickening blood starting to dry on her legs and stick like “syrup.” In pain, tired, and dizzy, Velma still tries to keep the ‘cause’ together even as she sits on the crumbled flyer leaflets that the ad hoc committee had spent so much time getting together for the campaign. It is a very solid testament to the strength and will of “womanness” that she is able to endure all of the hardships of being both ostracized for her race and then excluded for being a woman. The use of the flyleaves to stuff her panties is Bambara’s most direct critique of the Movement’s relationship with its female members, though most definitely not the last one directed at the Movement.

Bambara’s critique of the gendered power structures and the roles that African American women have played in the background of the Movement, as hinted at in *The Salt Eaters*, is summed up by Daisy Multries’ mother, who grabs the floor and demands answers to such questions as “Who put your campaign together, Reilly, while you and Grace vacationed on Jekyll Island?” “Who raised the money for the South Africa ad, composed it, gathered up the signatures and the money, placed it and absorbed the backlash?” “Who muzzled the Claybourne Inquirer, got them to squash the smear when your books turned up funny Hill?” “Who saved your ass—and never got reimbursed for toll calls or gas?” “Who trudged through dust, through rain, through mud, through the corridors of the Chinese pajamas (35)?” Daisy Multries’ mother continues listing the number of things that the women of the ad hoc group have done for the group, operating all the while as a support group for the main branch of the Movement without having received even half of the benefits that their male counterparts received. The decision-making power lies with the male-dominated branch, while the ad hoc committee helps with the realization of those decisions on

behalf of the larger body. The separation of the ad hoc committee from the larger branch of Black Nationalist policy making is another example of the subordination of the self to the community, a separation that is reflective of Black Nationalist politics at this time.

Black Nationalist politics grew directly out of the Harlem Renaissance tradition, during which writers were trying to get the mainstream American people to rethink their notions of race and race relations by writing with the deliberate thought that, "I am human and therefore capable of the same level of intelligence and depth of emotion as you are if you would allow me to express it." Following in the advancement of the Civil Rights Movement, the undercurrents of the 1960s were not the same "impassioned" desire for equality that had crested during the height of the Harlem Renaissance; instead, it was a deliberate move away from the polite and obedient image that W. E. B. Dubois was pushing. It became a movement spurred on by the thought that, "We are not trying to prove it to you, and we no longer want to be considered the same as you because we are different." This thought can be found as early as the late 1940s, and beginning in the 1960s the literary tradition of blending the social political into the framework of the social consciousness shifted and became an actual force for social reconstruction. This created a gap in the literary realm, which African American women were filling in droves during the 1960s. Spurred on by the influence of the African American community and feeling the weight of sometimes coercive solidarity, the developing Black female consciousness emerged from the oppression created by the ideology of a 'black-linked-fate'.

To summarize, Victoria Harris-Lacewell's concept of Black linked fate comes directly out of the ideology of "collective good," which means that there is a strong belief in the necessity of a collective consciousness. Black linked fate posits that the life of every African American is intangibly woven together. Black Nationalists used this to their advantage when trying to persuade the Black community at large as well as its more recalcitrant members that in order for a change to come about dissent had to be abolished within the ranks of the Movement and in the community. One of the many causes of dissent was the rising frustration with unified identity politics. Hortense J. Spillers' essay, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," cites Daniel Patrick Moynihan's, "The Moynihan Report (The Negro Family: The Case for National Action)." In his essay, Moynihan argues that, "In essence, the Negro Community has been forced into a matriarchal structure, which, because it is so far out of line with the rest of American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole and imposes a crushing burden on the negro male and, in consequence, on a great many Negro women as well" (58). Moynihan blames African American women for the downfall of Black men in society, because of the perceived

emasculatation of the Black male fostered by the Black family existing outside of a patriarchally established power relationship, such as the one that has suppressed women in the dominant culture of American politics. Despite a clear rejection of the hegemonic ideas of “Blackness,” and racial myths, Black Nationalism drew upon this blatantly sexist literature to provide legitimacy to their commodification of the black female body and its reduction into most basic physical capabilities, i.e. reproduction.

Because, under the logic provided by Moynihan, the Black female body had not been sufficiently suppressed by the Black male, he could not claim his masculinity in society as whole. Spiller rebukes Moynihan’s analysis by offering her opinion that “the fiction of Moynihan does not adequately represent family structure, because the Father figure is present” (60). She goes on to state that, “my contention that these social and cultural subjects make doubles, unstable in their respective identities, in effect transports us to a common historical ground, the sociopolitical order of the New World” (60). While Spiller is referring to the appropriation of the Black body and its being pressurized into the society in which it has been appropriated, I would like to further connect this with the intra-oppression of the Black Nationalist party.

The way in which African American women were to show their solidarity was by being unquestioningly supportive of their male counterparts. Francis Beal’s “Double Jeopardy: To be Black and Female” (1969), while remaining unchallenging of the African American male’s right to dictate African American female production, opting for Black women to be allowed to decide when to have children based on the “struggle,” questions the view of solidarity by making the point that, “there seems to be some confusion in the movement into who has been oppressing whom. Since the advent of Black Power, the Black male has exerted a more prominent leadership role in our struggle for justice in this community” (Crow 155). The vantage point from which one is viewing the situation may always affect the ways in which we perceive any form of oppression, however, the issue of perspective is made even more poignant by Beal’s statement that “certain black men are maintaining that they have been castrated by society but that black women somehow escaped this persecution and even contributed to this emasculation” (Crow 155). Beal’s argument, throughout her article, has been one that expresses the sentiments of the masculine interest centered Black Nationalist Movement. Even her admission of Black men’s adoption of the very same oppressionistic system of racial myths that they were rebelling against and its use by African American men to now oppress African American women, still lacks a direct confrontation of Black male culpability in trying to reuse the same system of oppression within its own community. Instead, Beal cites capitalism, misconception, and distortion as a means of explaining the reluctance of Black men to incorporate Black women’s issues into the political agenda of the Nationalist Movement.

Many African American women, discontent within the Black Nationalist Movement, were unable to seek refuge in the coinciding Women's Liberation Movement. Toni Morrison's essay, "What the Black Woman Thinks," (1971), brilliantly spells out the problem that the Women's Liberation Movement presented Black women in the early 1970s with the overall feeling of, "Distrust. It is white, therefore suspect." Morrison goes on to explain further that, despite being an already well formed women's movement, Women's Liberation was a source of great mistrust by Black women because, "In spite of the fact that liberating movements in the black world have been catalysts for white feminism, too many movements and organizations have made deliberate overtures to enroll blacks and have ended up by rolling them. They don't want to be used again to help somebody gain power—a power that is carefully kept out of their hands. They look at white women and see them as the enemy—for they know that racism is not confined to white men" (Crow 454). The Women's Liberation Movement purposely "white washed" the Movement's goals in an effort to present a unified subject.² The goal of unification was to avoid the barrier created by otherwise greatly splintered identities within the feminist movement, for the benefit of a few. The Women's Liberation Movement engaged in the same pursuit of the unified subject as the Black Nationalist Movement. In both of these political sites of identification African American women were being asked to suppress some aspect of their selves that their specific situations would have them demand.

Collective good, at least in the early stages of Black identity, still forms the center locus of expression and identity. The Black woman, while fighting for an end to racial oppression just as much as for gender equality, has not broken away from the fear instilled by the institutions of both the Black communities in which they live, and by the White male-dominated political structures that have sought to control them. The assimilation of mainstream American values by Black men has resulted in a stringent conceptualization of femininity as well as a negative view of Black femininity as being "other" or inauthentic. These conceptualizations have represented the main struggle against the acceptance of a Black femininity formed independently of male politics. Victoria Harris-Lacewell explains that, "for feminists to seriously engage with and on behalf of black masses is a difficult process fraught with the historical legacy of black perceptions of feminism as alien ideology" (216). Harris—Lacewell goes on to cite from The Combahee River Collective that, "the reaction of black men to black feminism has been notoriously negative. They are of course, even more threatened than black women that black feminists might organize around our own need" (217). Accusations that Black feminism divides the Black struggle were powerful deterrents to the growth of an autonomous Black women's movement. Leeriness of being castigated as "other" has persisted in the Black feminist writing of today. Certain

subjects, such as The Million Man March, and critiques of about other modern African American reality are almost taboo subjects for Black feminist. During the sixties and seventies the pressure to conform to some bare minimum of traditional community values would have been at its highest. The challenge of early Black feminist then was to appeal to the value systems of group identity. Arguably, one of the most efficient ways to do that was to situate the argument for an autonomous Black femininity would be to couch it in terms of its appeal and benefit to the community at large. Toni Cade Bambara drew upon the concepts employed by writers of the Harlem Renaissance period, and transcribed them into the 1960s Black Nationalist culture.

Toni Cade Bambara, as later Black feminists have done, manages to circumvent any claims of “otherness” made against her by drawing upon the African American community and the power of Black linked fate in her collected short stories, *Gorilla, My Love* (1976). Elliot Butler-Evans’s, in *Race, Gender, and Desire* (1989), explores the narrative strategy employed by Toni Cade Bambara in *Gorilla, My Love*, stating that, “The stories in this volume were generally received as innocent children’s narratives that presented realistic depictions of an organic black community. Focusing on neighborhoods of ordinary Black working class people, they ignored larger global issues of their time—racial strife in urban areas, the Vietnam involvement, political assassinations, and independence struggles in Africa — and dealt exclusively with the “inner world” of Blacks” (93). It is in this type of world that a strong girl like Hazel, a character who appears in multiple short stories throughout this collection, in various stages of life, is socialized into adulthood. In the first short story, “My man Bovanne”, Hazel is an older woman, in her early 60s. She is dancing with Mr. Bovanne because he has been rendered invisible in the community that has become more imbued with the Black Power Movement, due to his inability to see. On the first page of the narrative the narrator, at this point assumed to be Hazel, says that, “I asked Mr. Bovanne to dance. He ain’t my man mind you, just a nice ole gent from the block that we all know cause he fixes things and the kids like him. Or used to fore Black Power got hold their minds and mess em around till they can’t be civil to ole folks” (3). Blindness has made Mr. Bovanne an unacceptable member for the council of elders that Hazel’s three children are trying to organize, or rather trying to get Hazel to organize. This story indirectly deals with the manufactured identities, or the creation of an individual sense of self based on a prescribed set of behaviors, in the community. In the case of “My Man Bovanne” the aged body has been assigned with a prescription for acceptable behaviors and dress as well as health. Even as the Black female body ages societal operators are still acting to control Black female sexuality, as is the case with Hazel, a widow, who is dancing close to Mr. Bovanne, so that she can

hear the ‘hummin.’ The “hummin’ is the vibration of the soul. As an elder, Hazel knows what the healthy spiritual self sounds like. Her children, obviously unable to hear the sound of the spirit, can only make base assumptions about Hazel’s interests in Mr. Bovanne.

Spirituality was the element that Bambara felt was missing from the Black Nationalist Movement. It appears again in various short stories in *Gorilla, My Love*, and also as the end result in the life of Velma Henry in *The Salt Eaters*. Bambara ties together the lack of spirituality with the “blues.” Velma’s “blues” or depression is brought on by burnout. She burns out trying to play “superwoman,” covering all of the positions that create a weakness in the Black Nationalist Movement. Because she has become so involved with the Movement she has not had the chance to reconnect with her ancestral mother figures or the other women in her community and its elders, AND her spiritual health has deteriorated leaving her vulnerable to mental illness.

Black feminist critic, bell hooks, in her 1993 work, *Sisters of the Yam*, provides startling insight into other issues that have affected Black women growing up in the post sixties world without the benefit that a supportive community can provide. Hooks claims that, “Irrespective of our access to material privilege we are all wounded by white supremacy, racism, sexism, and a capitalist economic system that dooms us collectively to an underclass position. Such wounds do not manifest themselves only in material ways, they affect our psychological well-being” (11). The basis for hooks’ statement is that, contrary to popular political thought, the problems in the African American community (i.e. dropout rates, crime levels, etc.) are not solely the result of economic disparities. To drive this point home, Hooks’ refers to one of the classes that she teaches and her shock when Black, female students, “most from economically privileged backgrounds,” would admit to identifying with the feelings expressed in Bambara’s novel *The Salt Eaters*, in particular, in Velma’s character. What this signifies is that the class gaps in Black society cannot hide the effects of internalized oppression. This oppression incurs the double weight of “woman” as well as of “race.” Hooks quotes Bambara’s passage about the state of the young in the community during the 1960’s, in which Bambara invokes the ancestral figure during the healing process of Velma in which Minnie has called up on the powers of the previous healer. Minnie asks the now deceased healer, “What is wrong, Old Wife? What is happening to the daughters of the yam? Seem like they just don’t know how to draw up the powers from the deep like before” (13). The healing power is vanishing both from the community that Velma is trying to escape from as well as from the real time world in which hooks is postulating her thesis that Black people are no longer connected by tradition. Specifically, both Bambara and hooks underline the fact that Black women are suffering the most from the lack of connection to the

ancestral mother.

In her essay, "Tongues of Fire," hooks explains that the mother-daughter relationship and the phenomenon of "telling it like it is" refer to the blunt and often direct communication about either real or perceived character and personality flaws that an individual has. While this is not limited to just female-centered relationships it is more prevalently expressed in female-to-female relationships. This bluntness was adopted as a parenting style by African American women to "assert their authority over their children" (35). Hooks calls this model of parenting a "mirror of the slave-master power relationship." Hooks states that "Black parents' obsession with exercising control over children, making certain that they are "obedient" is an expression of this distorted view of family relations. The parent's desire to care for the child is placed in competition with their need to exercise control. She talks about this in relationship to Audre Lorde's *Zami* but then extends this statement to show how this negative parenting technique is reinforced as a way of toughening up the children so that they can survive on their own. Hooks is referring to successful African American women reflecting on their childhood relationships with their mothers or the rest of their families, saying that they are successful because of having been exposed to the harsh critiques and negative consequences of this particular bluntness, of this "telling like it is." The negative critiques which hooks calls the maternal rage is mistakenly attributed to their own success. For the Black female these negative critiques play a large role in checking and policing of their bodies.

Hazel makes the statement that "So everybody passin sayin My Man Bovanne. Big deal, keep steppin and don't even stop a minute to get the man a drink or one of them cute sandwiches or tell him what's goin on" (4). The above statement suggests that the young people did not see Mr. Bovanne because he was blind. And this is a big deal because before they got into the Movement he helped a lot of the neighborhood children by fixing their bikes or their skates. Once they became involved in the Movement, they just walked past and did not stop to speak with him; and they walked past because, according to the code of the Movement a person who was mentally ill, queer, and female was construed as weak, not to be associated with the Movement.

Joe Lee, her son, pulls Hazel aside as her other two children, Task and Elo, rush to flank him as he escorts her into the kitchen area, where they denounce Hazel's actions and attire. On the way there, Hazel tries to explain to them that she was "just talkin on the drums" (5). Her children don't understand. Task tells her that, "We just trying to pull your coat. You were making a spectacle of yourself out there dancing like that." She asks, "Like what?" "Like a bitch in heat," says Elo. "Well uhh I was goin to say like one of them sex starved ladies getting on in recent years and not to discriminating. Know what I mean (5)?" At first Hazel wants to chalk the disrespect

being offered her by her own children as a “generational gap” thing, however it is Elo, Hazel’s only daughter, who provides the context for the conversation in her response to a question posed by Hazel. She says that “That’s a white concept for a white phenomenon. There’s no generation gap among Black people. We are a col-,” at which point Joe Lee interjects with “The point is Mama that... well, its pride. You embarrass yourself and us too dancing like that” (6). Hazel is hurt by what her children are saying to her but is definitely more devastated by what her daughter says to her. Women linked fate, very much reminiscent of the concept of black linked fate, is the key to understanding the greater sense of betrayal that Hazel feels when Elo tries to control her sexuality than when either one of her sons does. Women linked fate, especially as lived through the connection between mother-daughter relationships, explained through the ancestral mother figure, is historically a very precious bond for African American women. Elo’s betrayal of her mother is betrayal of the ancestral mother figure and the teachings that have shaped Elo’s own unique experience of “Black womanhood,” the experience of which even today is being shaped by the influence of patriarchal structures in the Black Nationalist Movement and Black community at large.

As with Velma Henry’s character, Hazel’s own experience with “Black womanhood” is learned from the ancestral mother-figure of her mother, as well as from the other Black women, and through her interactions within the community. For Hazel, the development of identity occurs through growing up in the neighborhood and being allowed to explore freely what her dislikes and likes are. Unbeknown to Hazel, while she is playing and interacting with the other children and adults in her community the more ingrained the sense of black linked fate becomes. For instance, in the short story, “The Hammer Man,” Hazel, probably no more than 12 years old at the time, is reconciled with the “crazy” boy Manny with whom she had played a game of “dozens” that was taken too far for Manny’s liking. As Manny becomes angry with Hazel. A brief period occurs in which Hazel tries to avoid Manny by not going to school for a week. Eventually she goes back after Manny has fallen from the roof of a building and broken his arm. This leads to a moment of truce following Hazel’s posturing for the rest of their class at school as to how Manny got a broken arm in the first place. After Manny’s recovery he is playing basketball in the neighborhood courts by himself and Hazel watches him from the sidelines. Two Caucasian police officers drive up and start harassing them for being out past curfew. One of the officers starts to get verbally, and then physically, abusive with Manny when he sees that Manny is not paying him any attention; he is still positioned with arms in an up and open manner waiting for an imagined pass to come his way.

During the course of the first officer’s harassment the second officer, in a

misguided attempt to show some compassion and perhaps to show that the police aren't always the bad guys, calls Hazel "sister." Hazel, upset by the police presence in addition to the first officer's treatment of Manny, takes great umbrage at the term coming from the Caucasian officer's mouth. She responds by firmly making clear the ties and bonds that she has with Manny, a bond that she cannot share with the second officer on account of his "otherness" both within the community and to her community constructed identity. This idea is explained further in Linda Barrett's essay, "Identities and Identity Studies: Reading Toni Cade Bambara's "The Hammer Man," (1998), that "Its collective events suggest, quite differently, that to think, speak, and act in deference to ethnicity/race amounts necessarily and already to thinking, speaking, and acting in terms of gender and sexuality. As patently as the events of the narrative are differentiated into two opposed sections by the polarizing dynamic of ethnicity/race, they are united across that divided by powerful citations of gendered and sexual norms" (14). To summarize Barrett's statement, Hazel has reached a new plateau in her development of an individual identity that rest on her collective position within the Black community. Implied is that during the transition from girlhood to adult hood African American women's identity is located not with the ancestral figure but firmly within the community. This is why Bambara uses the community setting to pose questions about Black identity and patriarchal structures that are functioning in the Black community via Black Nationalism.

Bambara utilizes the same tools of coerciveness as Black Nationalism, that is, "collective good" and "black linked fate," tools that have become symbolic of intra African American oppression, to pull the viable good of these weapons of community and use them as sources of power and strength to galvanize Black male support for the Black feminist Movement. She justifies the need for there to be a separate women's movement by letting Velma and the other women of the community narrate the story of what life had been like for the African American women living in a patriarchal system. She straddles the line drawn between multiple consciousnesses and manages to calmly express what Black machismo has done to hurt the Black Nationalist unified front, the alienation that it inspired in the women who had been working beside the men just as hard, and for just as long. Bambara's point seems to be that the Afrocentric discourse of the sixties will have meant nothing as long as the people fighting against these systems allow themselves to become complacent with the fact that they have made achievements in areas that had previously been dominated by Caucasian Americans.

Bambara's point, which she has really been unpacking in her novel *The Salt Eaters*, as well as in the short story "My Man Bovanne," is that the African American spirit is slowly being tamed and therefore suppressed by institutionalized systems such

as patriarchy, sexism, and racism. If, as Dubois predicted, the “problem of America in the 21st Century is the color line,” and just the color line of America, then problems such as the huge economic disparities between women and men, across racial lines, would not exist. Instead, there would be just large discrepancies in the amount that was paid to each individual based upon race, more so than gender. This is not to say that racism is not a problem anymore, but rather the problem of racism is inherently tied to sexism and the devaluation of a self that is independent of mainstream values.

Assimilation by African Americans into mainstream society has reached a point in which their beliefs and values have become virtually indistinguishable from those of the hegemonic culture. Patricia Hill Collins’ *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism, and Feminism*, demonstrates how African American youth of the present generation have benefited from both the Nationalist and Civil Rights Periods without showing discernible results because of the new color blind racism. Collins clarifies that colorblind racism or “laissez-faire exclusion” is not racism that has been legalized but rather a form of racism that “has been espoused by the media, to mask the actual segregation in everyday life” (6). Providing evidence for the subtle effects of racism on the Black community perpetuated by the media, Collins cites the creation and maintenance of separate neighborhoods. The inner cities are typically filled with minorities while Caucasian Americans keep moving further away from the city limits. The migration to the suburbs and the subsequent creation of a large minority population within the city limits of a given city encourages unequal expenditure for public renovations and school funding. Collins, thus, highlights the fact that the dominant society in America is easily led to believe that racism is largely a thing of the past. The media plays a key role in the perpetuation of race myths. For instance, there has been great attention paid to those stories or individuals that help to uphold pre-existing notions/stereotypes of Black life, an example of this occurred in the late sixties and throughout the seventies in which blaxploitation films were largely produced.

Today, there exists a repeating pattern in which it is the African American performance of racial stereotypes that propagates racist notions globally now. The hegemonic culture’s advocacy of colorblindness masks the inherent racism in insidious ways as when, citing the success of a few middle class African Americans, the hegemonic culture is able to validate the belief that racism is a thing of the past and explain that the poverty level of most African Americans can be attributed to their own deficiencies. Collins locates the problems facing African Americans in the 21st Century by arguing that, “The simultaneous invisibility and hypervisibility of Black American youth is situated in the broader context. This contradiction of the invisibility of actual racial segregation and the hypervisibility of a new, mass-media-constructed, multicultural America reflects three important features of the new

racism” (7). For Collins, these three features are, firstly, globalization and “its disparate effects on young Black men, Black women, and Black children,” secondly, the role that media plays in translating “blackness” across the world; and, finally, that African Americans in the post Nationalist Movement have no strong public outlet for voicing their discontent, as a result of which racism’s presence can continue to go unchallenged.

The “Black” identity that was created through the concept of collective good as well as through black linked fate has disintegrated, and the vast majority of African American youth have donned the stereotypical identities ascribed to them by mainstream society. Toni Cade Bambara in her essay “Deep Sightings and Rescue Missions” postulates that one reason for this may be because of growing alienation. Bambara states that, “The three aspects of alienation as traditionally experienced and understood by my elders, my age group, and the generation that came of age in the sixties—alienation from the African past...alienation from U.S. economic and political power, and alienation from the self as wholly participating in history — don’t register as immediately relevant” (160). Why don’t they register as immediately relevant in this society in which Blacks have made strides in the political and social arenas? More than thirty years have passed since the end of the 1960s and early 70s, and in that time the Black culture that had once fueled the political quest has been appropriated into mainstream society.

An acculturation of “Black Power” and “Black Pride” has long since then dulled serious attempts at resistance to the current political structures’ treatment of African Americans in the United States. The temporary confiscation by mainstream America of Black America’s own self constructed sense of independent identity and its replacement with cultural icons and representations that have promoted more self harm than good in the remnants of the Black community, has taken its toll. The only types of identity allowed to go unchallenged within the Black community are the ones that rely on a wholly negative perception of what Black life is about. These perceptions have taken root deep into Black Society today and remain some of the more pressing challenges facing Black youth.

End Notes

¹ Taylor, Ula. The Historical Evolution of Black Feminist Theory and Praxis. *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol.29, No. 2 (Nov., 1998), pp. 234-253. “The women’s liberation movement is historically connected with freedom summer of 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964—Title VII—and the rise of Black Power” (240).

² Goldschmidt, Jean; Gergen, Mary M.; Quigley, Karen; Gergen, Kenneth J., The Women’s Liberation Movement: Attitudes and Actions. *Journal of Personality*, Dec74, Vol. 42 Issue 4, p601-617, p17

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Economic Inequity in Ancient Rome: A Study of Elite Education and its Role in Socioeconomic Disparity

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This project explores the dynamics of economic inequity in ancient Rome. Qualitative methods of textual analysis are used to obtain literary evidence about the attitudes held by the aristocratic Patricians, reflected in the writings of major orators and satirists during the Late Roman Republican and early imperial periods. These works reveal the degree of influence that conservative aristocrats had on economic conditions, especially the pedagogical means by which they justified discriminatory socio-economic practices. Examining ancient sources in translation in the light of both modern Classical scholarship and principles of Business and Management, this study concludes that many facets of Roman society, including education, had become institutionalized to allow the rich to grow richer while the poor remained poor.

I. Introduction: The Rich Get Richer; The Poor Get Poorer

Discriminatory business practices, a social and economic issue throughout human history, have prevented people of low economic status from obtaining the necessary capital and privileges to participate equitably in economic exchange. Michail Ivanovich Rostovtzeff was the first historian to compile a systemic account of the socio-economic underpinnings of ancient Rome; his *Social and Economic History of Rome* was published in 1926. He concluded what is, to us in the twenty-first century, obvious: those born into higher social status and greater resources operated more freely in the domain of market interaction. In short, the flexibility and security

associated with financial prosperity was denied to the underclass, and this restriction became institutionalized; that is, it was perceived to fall within the natural order of economic realities. The Roman Republic and Empire experienced a plague of economic disparity characteristic of the ancient world, especially evident during the late Republic (to 44 B.C.), and early Imperial periods (Augustus' *Pax Romana*, to A.D. 180). This essay focuses on how education perpetuated the disparity. The historian Jean Andreau stated that "the very flexibility of the elite, its ability to control everything and profit from everything, was no doubt also the very thing that imposed limits upon the Roman economy" (Andreau, 28).

II. Research Design: Questions and Challenges

To what extent was education an integral part of economic disparity during Late Republican through early Imperial Rome? Three modern economic principles of inequity address this central question of institutionalized discrimination: unrestricted or private lending practices, wealth condensation, and innate ability. Modern theories of business elucidate classical studies of economic practices and their social ramifications. There is a paucity of empirical material available in the extant ancient records, and the reports that do survive are, with some exceptions, fragmentary. To establish the context of economic inequity, we must look to the Roman writings, which are inherently biased because they were created by the educated class; that is, they were created by the class that could afford an education and can be assumed to have had economic parity. These were the orators and satirists whose witty observations of their society provide important clues about the Patricians' (i.e., the landed upper classes') perception and their competition from the *nouveaux-riche* merchants, the equestrian class that had burgeoned since the end of the Punic Wars in 146 BC. The satirical works under investigation include those of Juvenal, Persius, and Petronius, all of the first century, as well as the Republican orator Cicero and the imperial historian Tacitus. Despite the variance in genre, these authors all discuss economic inequity, discrimination, and the social conditions that were responsible for ancient economic woes, particularly a partition in formal instruction. Each writer's situational motivation and bias must be considered in order to draw meaningful conclusions about pervasive Roman economic inequity. Secondary material that analyzes the material is plentiful, but caution must be applied here as well; modern scholars sometimes write from a position of privilege with a passive, unacknowledged interest in maintaining economic disproportion within society.

III. Literature Review: Primary Sources and Secondary Material

The literature used for this study consists of a variety of primary sources and secondary material, all of which discuss the Roman economy or provide some insight into disparity. In addition to the primary sources mentioned above, the documents of the famed Roman political theorist, lawyer, philosopher and orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 - 43 B.C) must also be included. Cicero was one of the most quick-witted (if not far-sighted) men of ancient Rome, distinguishing himself as a linguist, orator, and general statesman on behalf of the Roman Republic. His works include *Epistulae ad Brutum* (Letters to Brutus), as well many philosophical and rhetorical works, such as *de Re Publica* (On the Republic) and *De Fato* (On Fate). Along with Cicero's recorded accounts, the letters of a Roman bureaucrat and politician, Pliny the Younger, also are important with this investigation. Pliny's letters, especially those to the Emperor Trajan in the early second century, as well as his *Panegyricus* in honor of Trajan, reveal many details of economic inequity. While not Pliny's goal, one can read between his lines to find remnants of inequity and disparity throughout his records. The Roman satirists Juvenal, Persius, and Martial are also valuable to this study. Juvenal's repertoire of satire and poems in traditional dactylic hexameter covered a vast range of topics across the Roman world, collected in *The Sixteen Satires* (translated in an accessible version by Susanna Morton Braund). Martial's collection of the twelve books of *Epigrams*, published in Rome between A.D. 86 and 103, are also invaluable, as are the comments of Persius on the proper use of money, The Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, writing under the reign of Nero (54-69) also comments on the proper use of money.

Rostovtzeff's best-known work, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, appeared in 1926, and must be taken into consideration in any economic study of Rome. The first comprehensive work on the social and economic system of the Roman Empire, Rostovtzeff's foundational study discusses economic theories of Rome's demise, and the economic woes throughout its existence that led to its collapse. Work in this vein was continued by historians Moses I. Finley, A.H.M. Jones, and Richard Duncan-Jones. In one of Finley's master works, *The Ancient Economy*, he argued that status and civic ideology, not rational economic motivations, governed the economy in antiquity, thus providing us with a meaningful ideology of basic Roman economic conditions. A.H.M. Jones' *The Roman Economy: Studies in Ancient Economic and Administrative History* and Richard Duncan-Jones' *1990 Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy* continue Finley's narration, bringing modern economic concerns to bear on the study of ancient economy. Another key secondary work for this study comes from historian Jean Andreau, who also serves as the Director of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in

Paris. Andreau provides the theory of economic inequity, and its hidden perpetuation, in his referenced volumes of Key Terms in Ancient History, *Banking and Business In the Roman World*. In this selection, Andreau offers an examination of private business and banking within the many cities of the Roman Empire. He discusses the financial activities carried out by private citizens of Rome, and other cities within the Empire. Andreau's study focuses on the private accumulation of wealth in ancient Rome, disregarding financial transactions between outlying cities.

IV. Ancient Roman Inequity: Perpetuation of a System

An overall economic inequity, perpetuated by Rome's elite class, played a significant role in continuing the socioeconomic immobility of the members of lower class structures, preventing them from enhancing their status. These class structures consisted of three general and overlapping classifications of the elite: the *latus clavus* (called such for the "wide stripe" of purple cloth sewn on the tunic worn by senators and their children); the *imagines maiorum* (known as such for the ancestral memorial wax portrait masks kept by families of the Roman nobility); and the *nobilis* (Rome's renowned, famous, noteworthy, noble, distinguished, or well-born) (Francese).

These classes comprised the foundation on which the mechanics of this inequity rested and was enabled and perpetuated. In fact, from the second century B.C. on, these municipal elites, as the historian Sallust termed them, and accurately, constituted a "reservoir from which part of the knights (*equus*) would be recruited" (Sallust Epistle 114). This disenfranchised but wealthy class, in return, would help supply the senatorial order with fresh reserves of wealth, providing Rome of the late Republic with the elements for a new society (Bohec et al.). With no discernable middle class present throughout Rome's early history, these elite classes, in the face of the ideals of a self-sufficient Roman constitution, constituted the apex of Roman financial existence. They devised and controlled all of the financial, political, and judicial regulations, as well as, albeit indirectly, the source of noble wealth, which was land.

At the heart of the matter, the most conspicuous mechanism of disparity is seen through the system of Roman education, a key concern for any economic advancement in any period of history. Held by tradition and default in tight control by the Roman elite, who had the only source of income to afford private schooling, this, along with the perceived innate inability of Rome's body of poor common citizens, the *plebs*, made economic growth and development impossible because of what Andreau called "the flexibility of the elite, and its ability to control everything and profit from everything" (Andreau, 20).

Considering the three economic principles that support this theory of passive

conspiracy against the reality of inequitable education perpetuated by the elite class, we turn to the literary material of writers and historians of the time just before the age of the Roman Empire, the Civil War, and the ensuing Roman Empire. Writers such as Cicero, who actually was born into a family that belonged to the local gentry, *domi nobiles*, but had no familial ties with the Roman Senatorial class, offers much insight. Though little is known of his mother Helvia, his father was part of the equestrian class in Rome, which held wealth, but no official political power. By the end of the Republic the “order of the knight,” as the equestrian class is sometimes called, was gaining political power, therefore making Cicero’s family increasingly well-connected and substantially financially-secure. One can see in the works of Cicero, particularly in his prolific correspondence, hints and inferences about money-lending practices of the elite class. Based on the historical documents of such men, Andreau points out that “members of the elite class were not subject to loaning regulations, which professional bankers (*argentarii*) of that time had to meet” (Andreau, 10). In fact, Andreau continues, most wealthy men, such as Cicero himself, “lent very much more than others, regarding this source of income as relatively more important than the rest of their patrimony” (Andreau, 15). With practices of money lending demonstrated throughout the works of Cicero, Andreau’s conclusions about the flexibility of the elite hold true, and lead to questions about the roots of perpetual economic inequity during Rome’s dominance of the Western world.

With the increased practices of private money lending, a conflict developed, not over the morality of private interest and loans, but rather over its impact. A standard practice throughout Roman history was that of the poorer citizens, or *plebs*, accumulating unpaid debts to their landowners or private financiers, who, understandably, wanted repayment. Repayment, however, was not always viable due to the lack of capital. Typically, the common people of Rome would take loans from men of elite status, with no form of repayment in mind, and no collateral. This very casual system led to debt slavery, in which the borrowers would perform acts of service for their lenders, until the lenders deemed their debt repaid in full. Juvenal speaks bitterly of this practice in his third satire: “Here in Rome the son of freeborn parents escorts a rich man’s slave, because the slave can give as much as a military tribune’s pay to Calvina or Catiena, to quiver above her once or twice” (Satire 3, Line 30). Naturally, when the beneficiary of the loan is obligated to perform any act of service for the lender, who may have been his neighbor or good friend, a social and political line is drawn, favoring the wealthier Roman. Economic disparity, therefore, was institutionalized as a social phenomenon.

This wealthier class of the *eques*, discussed above, which exhibited an abundance

of riches by the end of the Republic, was frowned upon by a majority of Roman elite citizens, who did not have the means or the permission to carry on any activity except to own land. Throughout early Roman history we see the continued practice of the disenfranchised equestrian class, who imported materials for their private benefit, rather than providing for poorer Roman citizens or the Republic's overall economic benefit. Termed by economists as wealth condensation, the elite, who already held wealth, had the means to invest in new sources of creating wealth, or to leverage the accumulation of wealth otherwise, making them the sole beneficiaries of the new wealth from Rome's incessant territorial expansion. With few exceptions, Rome's fortunate and affluent used all financial resources for their private promotion, sometimes ignoring both where and with whom they received their source of income. They would use their wealth to buy slaves and other property to increase their own personal capital. The elite Pliny the Younger wrote to the Emperor Trajan upon his arrival to Bithynia as its governor in the late first/early second century proclaiming that "large sums of money are detained in the hands of private individuals for various reasons, and further sums are paid out for quite illegal purposes" (*Letters* 10.3). This abuse was not a new phenomenon; as noted in *The Roman Economy*, by A.H.M Jones, "provinces were undoubtedly seriously impoverished by the rule of the Roman Republic, mainly through the illicit exactions of the governors and tax farmers and the exorbitant interest of the debts which they thereby incurred." He explains further that "those who profited from the Empire were the senatorial and equestrian classes in Italy, but they did not use their newly acquired wealth for any economically productive purpose; they spent it either on luxury goods or on the acquisition of land" (124). These goods, with the purchase of even more land, did not aid an already-faltering Roman economy, but hindered even further growth and sustainability of Roman products or exports. The rich were bleeding their country dry, while at the same time contributing to foreign economies through their extravagant trade.

In addition to the direct concern of wealth condensation, intergenerational inequality was also a dangerously negative effect over time. This concept shows the affluent Romans' inclination to provide their offspring with a better education and a hefty inheritance, recycling all facets of elite rule back into Roman elite society. This trend played a pivotal role in Roman history. After all, education was an exclusive privilege for the rich, so any innate ability had little chance to be demonstrated.

As education and its accompanying privileges and prerequisites existed only for the elite, and as economic stagnation and related problems multiplied as a result of a complex set of interrelated problems after the Punic Wars (264-146 B.C.), as shown through the literature of the Roman writers, it comes as no surprise to see how

profoundly the elite class shaped “conditions.” “Conditions,” in terms of Business Management, explains how the factors of economics or income changed, continued, or enhanced the social activity of a nation. Given the role of the elite class in Rome, and their disregard for any person of Rome who could not benefit them, we find examples throughout Roman history of a sharply economically-divided cultural atmosphere, in which those who had the financial resources generally thrived, while those who did not generally suffered.

The Roman writers, who spoke of these social conditions, relating the economic inequity from perspectives of an educated elite, illustrate our best examples of this disparity, even if some of the writers (Juvenal and Martial, in particular) claimed — probably falsely — to be of the lower classes. The intellectual elite themselves complained bitterly, and recognized the intolerable system in which they lived. Their recorded thoughts, and those of other writers such as historians, provide us with the best indication of an institutionalized social divide in Roman civilization. The models of wealth condensation and unrestricted private lending practices have been discussed; on these models rests the concept of innate ability, fortified by the educational system, which leads us to our conclusions.

V. Conclusions: The Vicious Circle

A popular belief, not restricted to the economic world, is that the intelligence, strength, charisma, and other intangible qualities possessed by an individual mirrors that person’s nature, and that human nature is reflected in and demonstrated by wealth. The ancient literature suggests, indeed, that Roman society insisted that their aristocracy demonstrated or at least emulated these intangibles qualities. This socio-economic nexus was underscored by the Roman belief that “anyone with any superiority whatsoever over his neighbors had the right, if not the duty, to make use of it” (Bohec et al., 86). Economic inequity, that tangible division amongst the inhabitants of Rome, affected their lives not only financially but also educationally. Because those without the means were restricted by custom from obtaining a formal education, any rare or innate charisma had little chance of being displayed. Even if some rarity occurred, such as Juvenal professing to be from the lower class, yet speaking on behalf of the squalid living conditions in Rome, it was those with substantial wealth who had the final say in what was done in all matters, including publication and proclamation. In other words, one could get nowhere without a patron, a wealthy social and financial backer, to whom one would then be indebted eternally—literally. This pattern was generational, thus Rome’s elite secured for the vast majority of the population a vicious circle of poverty and indebtedness, outside of which only the wealthy stood. By recycling the financial resources amongst themselves, the rich

controlled and sustained all facets of economic growth, from trade, to social cohesion, to distinct differences in language (a richer form of Latin, as well as Greek, was spoken and taught only to members of the senate and their families). The root of socio-economic inequity was their monopoly on the luxury of education, which hindered the intellectual expansion of Roman underclass society in every way, encouraging only the economically-prosperous elite to enhance the innate abilities they were thought to have had, but also to serve as the spokesmen for the cultural atmosphere. Our key sources--Juvenal, Persius, Pliny the Younger, and Cicero--give us the greatest insight into the financial situation of concern of late Republic and early Imperial Rome. Cicero tells us directly that in the Roman world, "it is fortune, not wisdom, which rules man's life" (*Tusuclanarum Disputitaionem* 59).

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Bread and Circuses: How Red Meat Ballot Initiatives Feed Voter Turnout

Casey Sharp

Dr. John Quinn, Mentor

A study was conducted to examine the use of controversial social ballot initiatives that have become increasingly popular in the United States in recent years as political parties seek to mobilize voters to the polls through direct democracy. Inasmuch as these initiatives have become highly partisan tools to obtain key votes that otherwise may not be retained on Election Day and their effects have been under-researched, this research sought to close the gap by explaining their effect combined with controversial social issues upon voter turnout. Using an Ordinary Least Squares Regression analysis, the study examined whether such factors as early voting, the closing dates of voter registration, education level, wealth, margin of victory in the election, governor's election, region, and the number of African Americans in each state affect the efficacy of ballot initiatives. Results indicated that while red meat ballot initiatives were not found to be significant, the closing dates of voter registration, and the number of African Americans in each state were found to be significant. Analyzing the results in future research red meat ballot initiatives would be coded differently to take into account the type of election itself has upon voter turnout.

Statement of Purpose/ Introduction

The study of ballot initiatives and the effect on voting has largely been focused solely upon voting patterns within a state itself. Furthermore, studies pertaining to ballot initiatives are usually limited to the study of a particular ballot initiative within a state, and how it altered voting patterns within those boundaries. Moreover, previous studies such as Alvarez (2001) or Gilliam (1993) either focus solely on the aggregate level or solely on the individual level. In addition, there is a scarcity of research done on “red meat ballot initiatives”, which are controversial social issues that drive individuals to the polls. The purpose of this project is to compare, during a multitude of presidential election years, specifically 2000 and 2004, voting patterns across the United States to see if there is a larger degree of variability in states that do have “red meat” ballot initiatives as opposed to those that do not. The gap in the literature suggests there is no existent literature showing a correlation or a lack thereof in voter turnout between states that do and do not have controversial social ballot initiatives. Moreover, the studies are during non-presidential years with the belief that ballot initiatives have more of an impact during these elections. This study attempts to extend current research regarding voter turnout and “red meat” ballot propositions combining both aggregate and individual level data. The study will use a hard test by focusing on presidential election years only.

Literature Review

When reviewing the literature on voter turnout, the studies largely involve quantitative data. Furthermore, the scholars tend to focus on one sole reason as to why individuals do or do not go to the polls. Those studies that do observe multiple reasons for turnout, most often do so within the single lens of only looking at the multitude of issues within the confines of a particular state. While some of the variables are largely supported others are highly controversial in providing correlation for voter turnout. In addition, the coding of ballot initiatives varies across the scholars. Most often, only one sole initiative is being looked at or ballot initiatives in a study are only viewed in fiscal terms, consistency is lacking in operationalization.

The percentage of African Americans in an area was a largely agreed upon factor in how it effects voter turnout. In Frank Gilliam’s 1993 study “Influences on Voter Turnout For U.S. House Elections in Non-Presidential Years”, he discovered that the race of an individual plays a key factor on who will go to the polls. African Americans are less likely to go to the polls than Caucasians (Gilliam 1993). This is believed to be due to the voter apathy held by African Americans that they often times do not feel as though a politician can relate to them and their needs (Gilliam 1993). Mark Smith (2001) in his study of “The Contingent Effects of Ballot Initiatives and Candidate

Races on Turnout” discovered a negative relationship between the percentage of African Americans in a region and the turnout of voters in that region come election day.

Widespread agreement among the scholars was also held on income. Michael Alvarez (2001) when conducting the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project discovered that those that have a larger income are more likely to go to the polls. Alvarez’s (2001) assessment is based on the view that the higher income individuals are largely at the type of jobs that make it easier for an individual to step away to cast a ballot. Moreover, those with larger incomes are likely to have more of a leisure time to vote because they do not hold multiple occupations (Alvarez 2001). Smith, Gerber, and Orlich (2003) in investigating “Self-Prophecy Effects and Voter Turnout” discover that those in the white collar jobs tend to frequent the polls more because they “feel as if their occupation is more influenced by what is on the ballot, in items such as a vote on taxing corporations” (p. 596).

The closeness of an election served as a largely agreed upon explanation for fluctuating voter turnout. Smith et. al in the 2003 study examined that individuals make a sub-conscious decision on the marginality of an election by weighing closeness through the measure of the number of ads they have seen, signs, and other forms of political advertisement. Bingham Powell, Jr. in looking at the “American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective” (1986) discovered that the competitiveness of elections in the United States compared with other countries reflects our turnout. Powell (1986) argues that, “the American levels on competition encouraging constituencies and party-group linkages, increases turnout in the states by approximately thirteen percent (p. 34). Gilliam (1993) measured the closeness of an election by the amount of campaign spending in an election, seeing that the closer the election was predicted to be the more money that would be spent. The closer or more competitive an election the studies shows the higher the voter turnout because voters are more interested in races which appear closer, because it gives them the feeling that their vote may make the difference.

Furthermore, not only closeness but closeness in conjunction with another election is also seen to affect voter turnout the same across the board. Gilliam (1993) was one among a multitude of scholars suggesting that the atmosphere of voting differs not only in the year of a presidential race but furthermore in a year of a gubernatorial election. In fact, the existence of controversial ballot initiatives can affect tenor and tone of the other elections. For example, Bucy and Ensley (2006) studied the California gubernatorial races for the period of 1982-1998 discovering that “results suggest that office seekers in direct legislation states should decide their position on salient measures early, recognizing the association between winning

measures and electoral success” (p.26). Pete Wilson, for example, became a strong proponent of the controversial California referendum 187 which was intended to limit social services to illegal immigrants. This in turn, helped lead to Wilson’s defeat (Bucy and Ensley 2006), This caused the consolidation of Latino voting patterns for the Democratic Party in California outside of Wilson and the gubernatorial arena (Bucy and Ensley 2006).

Scholars are united over the vast difference that the varying voter registration processes across the state cause a fluctuation in voter turnout. Alvarez (2001) in the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project discovered that the process of voter registration is a key factor in determining the number of citizens at the polls on Election Day. Alvarez (2001) in discussing voter turnout, stresses that while voter registration varies across the states, the United States as a whole has a continuous register, which consists of a “voter list that is constantly maintained and updated by elections officials; the continuous register is a voter list that evolves over time and is used in every successive election” (p.13). While factors such as the number of documents to register, accessibility of polling places also play a factor, the most essential is the closing date of voter registration (Alvarez 2001). “Citizens who live in states with sixty-day closing dates are 5.6 percent less likely to vote than those with a thirty day or less closing date” (Alvarez 2001, p. 14). In short, it is stressed that, early closing dates, “by requiring people to register long before campaigns have reached their climax and mobilization efforts have entered high gear, depress voter participation in American elections” (Alvarez 2001 p.12). Powell (1986) illustrates through his comparative study how the registration laws make voting more difficult in the U.S. than in almost any other democracy. Powell (1986) goes on to explain that this is due to the fact that, “in the United States registration is entirely the responsibility of the citizens and no set of requirements brings them to the registration sight” (p.21).

However, friction can be created among the scholars when they differ on how a factor, such as early voting will effect turnout at the polls. Paul Gronke (2004) defines early voting as “any system where voters can cast their ballot before the official election day” (p.5). Gronke (2004) argues that since early voting is utilized in only fourteen states, none of which are bell weather states, it does not have a significant effect on elections in a presidential race. Gronke (2004) states that “while there is an added convenience with early voting, it creates a very minor and insignificant change in a presidential race” (p. 18). However, in Alvarez’s (2001) MIT/Caltech Project he discovered that the ease with which an individual can get to the polls, such as if they have multiple days to do so, through early voting increases turnout (Alvarez 2001). Alvarez (2001) argues that early voting was strategically placed in states with a low percentage of voter turnout compared to other states in order to boost that turnout.

Another dynamic of voter turnout that is not clear-cut is the effect that region has on the number of ballots submitted. Gilliam (1993) finds that those individuals who live in the northern states are more likely to participate in an election than those that live in the southern United States due to the traditional values held by Americans. Those that do not live in the South tend to make voting more of a priority than those who reside in the South (Gilliam 1993). However, McDonald and Popkin (2001) in “The Myth of the Vanishing Voter” dispute this by making the claim that it was the southern states who were the most effected by the Jim Crow laws and poll taxes. Now that these voting obstacles have been taken away those in the South realize how far they have had to come to having fairness in voting and thus they take more pride in it, participating in voting more than the other regions of the U.S. (McDonald and Popkin 2001).

Differences of opinion also took place among the scholars when it came to education. Gilliam’s (1993) study found a positive relationship between education and voter turnout, when education was measured as an individual having some form of college education. Smith (2001) recorded education in his study as those who had a high school diploma but also found a positive relationship. McDonald and Popkin (2001) however make the claim that education cannot be positively related to voter turnout. McDonald and Popkin (2001) note that “The paradox is that while certain factors favor higher turnout, notably increased education levels, it is proven that voter turnout across the United States has been in a decline while those receiving a higher education are increasing” (p. 963).

Over the years many have become irritated with how they believe political operatives have used ballot initiatives to get voters to the polls. While the mission, by the politicians, may have been to increase turnout, scholars, disagree on the effects. When Gilliam (1993) looked at ballot initiatives as a motivator to go to the polls, he did not find the change in voter turnout to be significant. However, it must be examined more closely how he coded for ballot initiatives. Gilliam (1993) operationalized referendum into a dummy variable “dividing states into those having tax or spending referenda on the ballot and those that do not”. In short, Gilliam (1993) only looked at referendum in fiscal terms and not those ballot initiatives that look at controversial social issues.

Mark Smith (2001), when looking at the contingent effects of ballot initiatives and candidate races, argues that, depending on the race, there is a diminishing return to having ballot initiatives included in the election. More specifically, he argues that “from a rational choice perspective, when a presidential race already provides a large incentive to vote, diminishing returns likely mitigate the ability for other contests to further increase the benefits of voting” (Smith 2001 p.703). Thus, while a ballot

initiative does increase voter turnout it increases it minimally due to the overshadowing of the Presidential Election (Smith 2001).

Furthermore, it is argued that ballot initiatives serve as catalyst for voters to get to the polls only when the issue is controversial. Smith and Tolbert (2001) use a four-fold typology in their research on ballot initiatives and argue that a “majoritarian” ballot issue is one which drives voters to the polls. “Majoritarian ballot contests are those in which the groups promoting and opposing a ballot measure tend to be large and diffuse, as opposed to narrow economic interests” (Smith and Tolbert 2001, p. 263). However, Bucy and Ensley (2006) stress that ballot initiatives are able to become popular (or majoritarian) when interest groups spend significant advertising campaigns. Bucy and Ensley also argue that with the amount of press coverage given to salient measures the impact is so profound that the “ballot initiative process now vies with candidates for voter attention... [and] have made it increasingly difficult for candidates to establish their own issue agendas” (2006 p. 14) Bucy and Ensley (2006) see this battle for voter attention through declaring a position on ballot initiatives more on the realm of states officials and less than on presidential candidates.

Continuing with this logic, Stephen Nicholson (2005) argues that politicians thrive on largely disputed ballot initiatives to shape the agenda. Nicholson suggests that the party in power will often times try to use wedge issues in ballot initiatives which effectively “can divide supporters of the opposing candidate, either persuading them to switch or to just sit out of the election” (Nicholson 2005, 93). This is strategically done by the party in power in the legislature because in many states the legislature must pass an initiative before it goes to the people, instead of grass root supporters circumventing the state legislature. These issues according to Nicholson (2005) are often times social issues, those that “pull the heart strings of Americans, luring them to the polls” (91). Nicholson’s (2005) study, while looking at specific issues within a state examines causes of voter turnout through multiple lenses of the types of election taking place at the given year. Nicholson (2005) suggests that “candidates compete for scarce voter attention not only with their opponents in a given race but also with candidates running for different offices and not all that infrequently the campaigns for and against ballot measures” (p. 4).

Hypothesis

My hypothesis is that states that have “red meat” ballot initiatives will have a larger voter turnout over the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections than states that do not, all other things being held equal. In this hypothesis, the dependent variable is voter turnout in each state per election, and the independent variable is whether or not each state had one or more “red meat” ballot initiative for that election. From the

literature review the following alternate variables, all measured at the state level, will be included in the model: closing dates of voter registration, early voting, education level, wealth, margin of victory in the election, governor's election, region, and the number of African Americans in each state.

Operationalization

The dependent variable consists of eligible voters that actually voted in the 2000 and 2004 presidential election. The data are derived from the 2000 and 2004 U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey for both of the election years.

Red meat ballot initiatives, the independent variable, were coded using input from the Initiative and Referendum Institute's Ballot Watch. The Institute listed a top ten controversial initiatives for 2000 and a top seven list of controversial initiatives for 2004. These were statewide initiatives and the list was compiled for the top initiatives across the United States. The initiatives were already deemed controversial since they were in the "top" lists for both of the election years. Those issues that dealt with social issues in each state were considered the red meat ballot initiatives. The variable was coded as a dummy variable for both of the election years. A zero was coded as a state having no red meat ballot initiatives and a one was coded as having one or more red meat ballot initiatives on the ballot.

Two other variables that dealt with the voting process, that effect voter turnout, there were voting registration and early voting. Voting registration was tabulated as the number of days that an individual must be registered to vote prior to the actual election. This data was gathered through the Secretary of State website for each state. This variable was entered numerically. Early voting was calculated as to whether or not the state allows individuals to vote early in the election, and not for absentee purposes. For the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections fourteen states had early voting according to the National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES). This variable was coded as a dummy variable with zero being states that did not have early voting and one being states that did.

Two of the socio-demographic variables that were involved in the research were education level and wealth. Both of these variables were coded using the 2000 and 2004 Current Population Survey of the U.S. Census Bureau. Education level is measured by the percent of individuals in each state aged twenty-five or over that have a bachelor's degree or higher. Wealth is measured by the per capita income in dollars for each of the states in both 2000 and 2004. Education is measured as a percent while wealth is the actual dollar amount.

Two other alternate variables, the margin of victory in the election and whether or not there was a governor's race that took place that year, were also measured.

Margin of victory was calculated by subtracting the losing candidate's percentage of the vote by the winner's percentage of the vote. Coding closeness in this manner came to be coding the margin of victory. The margin of victory could be slim or high and the smaller the margin of victory, the closer the election. This was done looking at only the Republican and Democrat candidates for each election. The data on the number of votes for each candidate, for both presidential elections was found in the Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project. The governor variable is a dummy variable with zero being that the state did not have a governor's election during the presidential election and one being that the state had a governor's election at the same time as the presidential election. This data was gathered through the Secretary of State's websites for each state for the election years of 2000 and 2004.

The last two alternate variables are region and the percentage of African Americans in a state. Region was coded using the U.S. Census Bureau Regions and Divisions with State Codes data set. Region was coded as a dummy variable with all of the states listed in the southern region being coded as a one and the states in regions other than the south were coded as a zero. The percent of African Americans residing in each state was taken from the 2000 and 2004 Current Population Survey. The percentage of African Americans in each state then had to be logged in SPSS because there was not a normal distribution.

Results

In analyzing the variables using OLS, in the SPSS program using a ninety-five percent confidence interval three variables were significant and under a ninety-percent confidence interval one variable was significant. The margin of victory, difficulty in registration, and early voting were significant under a ninety-five percent confidence interval, while the percent of African Americans in a state was significant under a ninety percent confidence interval. The margin of victory was significant ($p=0.011$), and the sign was negative ($\beta = -0.096$). In other words as the margin of victory gets slimmer the voter turnout in a state increases. Registration had .007 significance with a beta of $-.199$. As the number of days that an individual must be registered to vote before an election decreases, the voter turnout in that state increases. Early voting was significant ($p=.000$) and the sign was negative ($\beta = -5.631$). It was surprising to see that the fourteen states that allow early voting have a lower turnout than those that do not. The percent of African Americans, when logged for a normal distribution, in a state was significant at a ninety percent confidence interval with a significance of .058 and a beta of -1.034 . Thus the results show that as the percent of African Americans in a state increases, the voter turnout in that state decreases. Region, governor's election, income, education, and ballot initiatives, while all

positive, were not significant. Ballot initiatives had a significance of .603 with a beta of .722.

In testing for multicollinearity and variance among the variables the Variable Inflation Factor (VIF), along with heteroscedasticity, through viewing a scatter plot, was examined. While all of the VIFs were under four, the variables of income and education were still rather high, both having VIFs, in the threes. To run the test without producing multicollinearity, only one of the variables education or income can be used. The data was run twice more, once with taking out education, and once without income. By doing so this caused all of the VIFs to be in the ones and all of the variables were still significant at the same confidence intervals as they were previously, with no new variables being significant.

For variance among the variables, heteroscedasticity was assessed. The scatter plot was clustered, but it was not in a cigar shape. While there was not concrete heteroscedasticity, the clustering suggests that the distribution is fairly normal. The results can be seen in the table below.

Variable	Beta	Significance	Variable Inflation Factor (VIF)
Region	1.375	.361	1.467
Governor's Election	1.597	.276	1.097
Margin of Victory	.096	.011	1.133
"Red Meat" Ballot Initiative	.722	.603	1.080
Income	.000	.697	3.265
Early Voting	-5.631	.000	2.233
Voter Registration	-1.99	.007	1.233
Education	.197	.378	3.117
% African Americans (logged)	-1.034	.058	1.594

Discussion

Due to the insignificance of ballot initiatives in the results, the hypothesis is rejected. After doing the research, however, it is easier to understand why the past research was so concentrated in a particular area. While the United States may have many "red meat" ballot initiatives occurring in a given election year, the weight with which it effects individuals varies. For example, more individuals may be likely to go to the polls in Arizona over ending bilingual education than they would in Oregon over the decriminalization of marijuana, even though both deal with controversial social issues.

Moreover, in future research it would be wise to do the study using presidential election years and non-presidential election years to assess for the impact that ballot initiatives have on a given election. This study would allow for a mix of a hard test and non-presidential election years that are proven to give more of an impact to ballot initiatives. The weight of an election on a ballot initiative impact must be assessed before the impact that the ballot initiative has on voters can be observed.

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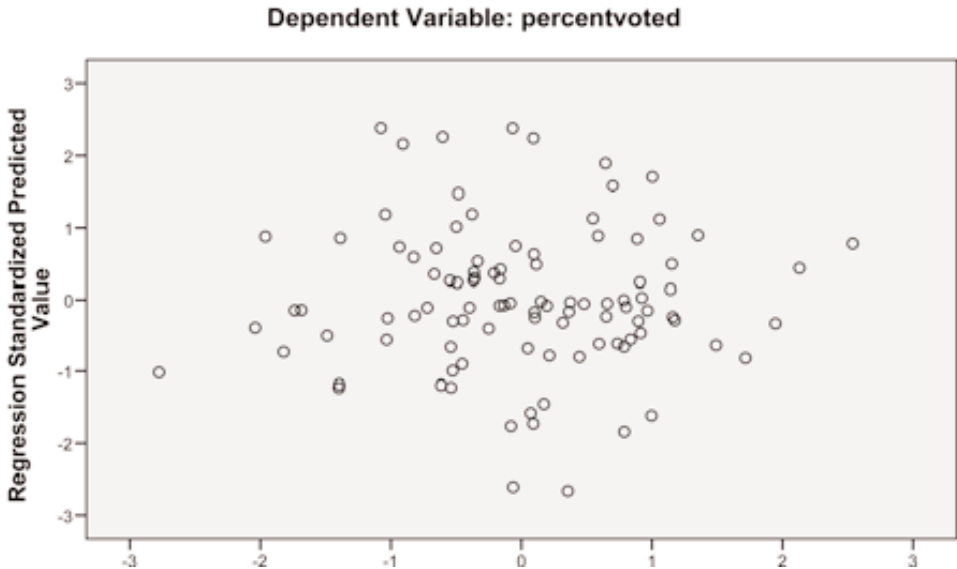
Appendix

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		t		95% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	90.392	12.074		7.486	.000	66.400	114.383
	aaln	-.524	.549	-.106	-.953	.343	-1.615	.568
	Bach+	.268	.215	.185	1.247	.216	-.159	.696
	Registration	-.135	.073	-.189	-1.858	.066	-.279	.009
	earlyvotin	-6.089	1.499	-.378	-4.063	.000	-9.067	-3.111
	income	.000	.000	-.053	-.354	.724	-.001	.000
	ballot init	.905	1.335	.059	.678	.499	-1.747	3.558
	margofvic	-.150	.057	-.246	-2.621	.010	-.265	-.036
	Gov Elec	.689	1.441	.043	.478	.634	-2.175	3.553
	Onotsouth/1south	1.392	1.443	.097	.964	.338	-1.476	4.259
	popln	-2.090	.738	-.317	-2.833	.006	-3.555	-.624

Coefficients(a)

a Dependent Variable: percentvoted

Scatterplot



Another Time, Another Place: Predicting Potential Criminality of Students Enrolled in a Highly Selective, Public, Liberal Arts University

Danielle Tolson

Professors G. Victoria Landrum and Joseph L. Nedelec, Co-Mentors

Making use of routine activities theory, this study analyzed the relationship between on-campus activities that are prohibited by university policies and those that are prohibited by local, state, or federal laws. Participants were students enrolled in a highly selective, public liberal arts university. Correlation and regression analysis of the data supported three of four hypotheses: 1) that students who commit on-campus infractions prohibited by the university are likely to commit on-campus infractions prohibited by the law, 2) students who commit on-campus infractions prohibited by the law are likely to have an intensified propensity for criminality, and 3) on-campus school infractions combined with on-campus law-breaking together predict an intensified propensity for infractions with a greater potential for criminality.

Evaluating the respondents' rule-breaking activity can provide an assessment for potential criminality that has greater legal repercussions (Bachman, Johnston, Osgood & Wilson, 1996). Although an individual will engage in a variety of actions throughout his or her life, one's routine set of behaviors tends to determine one's inclination towards engaging in certain types of activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Routine activity theorists believe there to be a "symbiotic relationship between conventional activities and illegal activities" (Bachman, et al. 1996, p. 636). Actions are not considered crimes in the United States until a legal precedent has been set, thereby criminalizing a specific action or set of actions. For example, in the early

1900s, some people spent portions of their recreation time using opiates and cocaine. These drugs were considered legal before the Harrison Tax Act was created, prohibiting their use. This once acceptable and popular behavior, through government action, became an illegal activity. Furthermore, it has been statistically supported that a relationship to deviant behavior can be drawn from activities that are a part of a deviant subculture such as rule breaking (Bachman, et al, 1996). Choosing to attend a theatrical production provides a different exposure to illegal activity than choosing to visit a bar. Participation in certain routine activities affects the potential criminality of a person at that time (Bachman, et al. 1996).

Consequently, if it is known that habitual actions are viewed as a predictor to other crimes with more consequences, then changes may occur in the decision-making process that resulted in those actions. People who are concerned with the aftermath of their actions may begin to take preventive measures in the future and think more about how their current habits affect their actions.

Routine Activities Theory

Routine activity theory was “developed over 50 years ago, and since then has remained at the forefront of crime analysis and prevention efforts” (Boetig, 2006, p. 12). More recently, steps have been taken by researchers Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979) to change the way that crime is analyzed. They were prompted to make this analysis because of their observance of increasing crime rates despite improving environmental circumstances that many criminologists felt most affect criminality at the time (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Cohen and Felson modified the theory in an attempt to bring focus back to the criminal act and away from the concentration on the criminal. “Routine activity theory explains how changes in daily patterns or activities of social interaction, such as employment, recreation, educational endeavors, and leisure activities, affect differences in crime rate” (Boetig, 2006, p. 13). Instead of viewing criminality as a result of psychological abnormality, routine activity theory focuses on crime as something that occurs alongside the normal happenings of daily life. Disorganization, or a break from norm in ‘routine activity’, provides an opportunity for deviance that may not have been a part of that activity before a change in the series of events. Three fundamental pieces bring routine activity theory together in its view on crime: “[m]otivated offenders, suitable targets, and the absence of capable guardians” (Boetig, 2006, p. 13). A compilation of these aspects is thought to be a necessary setting for a criminal event; therefore, the removal of even one of the elements would be enough to deter and possibly prevent crime (Boetig, 2006).

A motivated offender “must have the willingness and the ability to commit predatory crimes” (Boetig, 2006, p. 14). Simply because a person is in a position to

commit a crime does not mean that they will actually engage in any criminal activity. Without willingness and ability, an individual may not even notice the availability to act out of the norm. Additionally, a person who is merely aware of the available possibility to deviate but is without the appropriate ability or talent to commit the crime is no more advantaged than a person who has no deviant desire because they do not have the means to accomplish the task. Once there is a motivated offender, however, he or she is waiting for an instance where a suitable target, unprotected by a competent guardian, presents itself thereby creating an opportunity to act out.

Motivated offenders have a specific focus when they select their targets and usually base their decisions upon the “perceived value, visibility, accessibility, and inertia of the object” (Boetig, 2006, p. 14). Once there is a motivated offender, that person will eventually seek out a suitable target upon which to focus their deviance. A suitable target can be determined by ease of escape, ability to hide, likelihood of avoiding detection, etc. A motivated offender will weigh out the benefits and costs of seizing a target and decide if it is suitable for the level of deviance that they are willing to commit. They may ask themselves questions like: “is this something I can get away with?” or “is this worth the effort?” The judgment of whether or not a target is suitable is strictly on the discretion of the offender and the risk they are willing to accept (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

In deciding to execute the deviant act, the offender is often concerned with not being detected. The attention of the offender then shifts to determining the presence of a witness. “A capable guardian becomes a determining factor in the actual commission or deterrence of the criminal event” (Boetig, 2006, p. 14). There are several reasons why it is important for deviant behavior to take place in the absence of a guardian. A guardian can be anything that provides an illusion of security or surveillance such as a security camera or a crowd of nearby witnesses. First, once the guardian is aware that the target is susceptible to victimization they are more likely to put greater effort into guarding and protecting the item from being victimized. Second, once a person has been identified as a motivated offender by the guardian, this person is less likely to even be allowed in the vicinity of the target. In some instances, however, the guardian is not aware that they are in fact guarding the target and are simply doing so with their presence. Whether intended or not, the presence of a capable guardian provides security for prevention of crime (Boetig, 2006).

When Cohen and Felson published their adaptation of the routine activity theory, they were focusing on how routine activity affected victimization. Since then, other researchers have taken that same approach to analyze how routine activity has affected the offender’s ability to carry out routine activities and furthermore, what routine activities are likely to increase people’s participation in a criminal event (Craig &

Tremblay, 1995). Their application of the theory helps relate routine activity and potential criminality.

Application of Theory

Several research papers discuss delinquency and its precursors in relation to routine activities theory. Bachman et al. (1996) evaluated the relationship between the frequency of delinquent actions in people who have an unstructured environment and their likelihood to continue with the routine activities. The study attempted to “distinguish which routine activities are most related to deviant behavior” (p. 641). Non-deviant routine activities were observed as having an impact on illegal actions. In addition, this study focused on the “connection between the social structure and individual offending” (p. 641). This study supported the notion that deviant behavior is associated with routine activities in which the offender already participates. Unstructured events, such as time spent unsupervised with friends and siblings, were the main focus of Bachman et al.’s (1996) study.

Craig and Tremblay (1995) discussed factors in childhood that might affect a person’s likelihood to participate in deviant activity. Their theory of prevention stems from the “idea that criminal activity is determined by behavioral and attitudinal patterns that have been learned during an individual’s development” (Craig & Tremblay, 1995, p. 151). This development refers to habits that people learn from their routine behavior. Their research suggests that early intervention aimed at stopping the development of habits linked to criminal activity have shown positive results in deterring the behavior. Also addressed in their research are factors that might increase one person’s potential for criminality over another. “Not only are some individuals more prone than others to commit crimes, given the same circumstance, but they are also more prone than others to place themselves in situations that favor criminal activities” (Craig & Tremblay, 1995, p. 152). While the focus of Craig and Tremblay’s paper was on situations or actions that lead children to antisocial behavior, it is relevant to the current study. The proposition that carrying out one activity might make one more susceptible to carrying out another similar, yet illegal activity is supported by Craig and Tremblay (1995). The authors also discussed prevention methods and acknowledge that modification of a situation can help decrease the likelihood or remove the chance that a person will have an opportunity for deviant behavior. Because their research was on juvenile offenders and not on adults, it is important to mention that intervention has not been shown to be as successful on adult offenders (Craig & Tremblay, 1995). Therefore, in relation to the current study it is expected that there will be varied results as many college students have not yet reached adulthood, in terms of age in years or maturity level.

Self Report Questionnaire

The use of self-report questionnaires on crime and criminality began in the 1940s when Austin Porterfield published his results of an analysis of juvenile court records from Fort Worth, Texas, which identified nearly 60 offenses for which the juveniles had been tried (Krohn & Thornberry, 2000). Since that time many evaluations and changes have been made to the technique leading self-report surveys to become one of the three major sources of information on crime and delinquency (Bruce & Desmond, 1997). Self-reports were developed to deal with the fact that observation is a difficult technique to use to gather data on delinquency. "Given the illegal nature of the behavior and the potential consequences if caught participants in crime and delinquency are reluctant to have their behavior observed" (Krohn & Thornberry, 2000, p. 35). This realization created a need for researchers to get into the mind of offenders or victims without invading their privacy or violating their trust. The creation and utilization of self-reports "found that not only were respondents willing to self-report their delinquency and criminal behavior, they did so in surprising numbers" (Krohn & Thornberry, 2000).

Since the beginning of its use, self-report surveys have yielded profound results. In 1936, a study predating the self-report method found that "estimates of the number of delinquents doubled when they included those referred to unofficial agencies..." (Krohn & Thornberry, 2000, p. 36). In Porterfield's historic first report, he surveyed college students to determine if they had committed any of 55 offenses. He found that at least one offense had been committed by every college student that he surveyed (Krohn & Thornberry, 2000). He also noted, "[f]ew of the college students had come into contact with legal authorities" (Krohn & Thornberry, 2000, p. 37).

Improvements to the self-report method have occurred, helping to make the data more valid and reliable. When studies were conducted to identify the flaws in self-report measures it was

[a]rgued that self-report instruments do not include many of the more serious crimes for which people are arrested. From the observations in the research, suggestions were made to improve the design and application of self-report surveys. Several improvements that have been made to the design are inclusion of a wide array of delinquency items, inclusion of serious offenses, inclusion of frequency response sets, and inclusion of follow-up questions. (Krohn, 2000, p. 37)

These adaptations to self-report tests have led to a better comparison of self-report data with other forms of collected data and helps minimize many misrepresentations that were occurring previously (Bruce & Desmond, 1997).

In deciding to conduct research using the survey method, the researcher felt that a self-report questionnaire was the preferred choice. This instrument allowed for the participants to feel less intruded upon. They were not asked to identify themselves and because the questionnaire was taken over the internet, participants were able to take the questionnaire at a time and location that best suited their comfort level.

The use of an anonymous self-report questionnaire allowed for the researcher to ask an array of questions that might have caused the participants to be worried about their responses being reported to the authorities in inquiries into behaviors that respondents would otherwise not likely report. Questions ranged from on-campus infractions that could be reported to campus authorities, potentially resulting in reprimand from the school, to on-campus law breaking that could be reported to the local police authorities, potentially resulting in legal consequences. The questionnaire also included questions inquiring regarding about actions of the responder that in another instance could result in greater legal consequences; these questions are herein referred to as which was known as the intensified propensity question set.

Research Questions

1. Do the on-campus prohibited actions of college students – rule breaking and school infractions— predict a greater likelihood of committing illegal actions on campus?
2. Does committing illegal actions on campus — law breaking — predict an intensified propensity for infractions with a greater and worse potential for criminality?
3. Do on-campus school infractions combined with on-campus law breaking together predict an intensified propensity for infractions with a greater potential for criminality?
4. Do on-campus school infractions combined with on-campus law breaking for infractions predict an actual criminal conviction?

Method

A quantitative analysis utilizing self-report survey methods was employed for this study in order to better explore the implications of the aforementioned research questions.

Participants A sample of eighty students enrolled at highly selective, Midwestern public liberal arts university in the summer semester of 2008, who were 18 years of age or older, participated in the survey. The university used in the study is located in a small, rural college town with a population of 16,998. This is important to note as the social life available in a location, including exposure to opportunities for criminal activity, are affected by the characteristic of that location (Faggiani & Roncek, 1985).

The majority of respondents were female (67.5%) and the average age of a respondent was 21 years. Students were solicited for participation through the campus email announcement service.

Instruments The campus behavior survey was an internet-based anonymous questionnaire. It was comprised of a total of 15 Likert-scale questions, each having responses along a five point range (See Appendix A), of which three (3) sets of five items comprised its subscales that measured the independent variables of 1.) *campus rule breaking/committing school infractions*, 2.) *committing illegal actions/law breaking on campus*, and 3.) *a intensified propensity for infractions with a greater potential for criminality and worse consequences*. The subscales dealt with three different levels of perceived criminality, hence the three sets of questions.

The first of the aforementioned subscales inquired about activities prohibited by the respondents' university's Code of Conduct and enforced by the university's faculty and staff (Code of Conduct, 2006). These questions gathered information on the frequency of rule breaking in the school environment by the participants. The second group of questions inquired about criminal activities committed on campus and the respondents' participation. These questions were intended to make a separation in severity between respondents who disregard campus rules and respondents who disregard the law, since breaking the law has greater legal repercussions than merely breaking school rules. The third group of questions related to actions that infer a parallel to a crime with greater legal consequences such as trespassing, falsifying an alibi, theft or robbery, plagiarisms, and using false identification. Crimes such as these are a result of actions that are often apart of people's non-criminal behavior pattern such as lying to parents and taking items from friends without permission. Through these questions, links to potential criminality are made from the notion that the participant is already engaging in the action that would be necessary to constitute a harsher penalized crime in a different setting (Craig & Tremblay, 1995).

Each of these 15 Likert type items had a follow-up series of questions asking if the participant had been caught and/or reprimanded for their actions. Definitions were supplied for some terms in the questionnaire (See Appendix D). Lastly, the final items within the questionnaire collected demographic information in order to provide characteristic descriptions of the sample as a whole.

Procedure The self-report method was selected to give the respondents as much anonymity as possible. Respondents were not asked for any identifying information. Anonymity, one of the major benefits of self-report survey (Krohn & Thornberry, 2000), was a very important factor due to the context of the questions asked. This factor was stressed in the informed consent statement that each respondent agreed to before participating the survey (See Appendix B). The study took place over the

Internet to remove any interviewer influences that are possible with such intimate questions (Bruce & Desmond, 1997).

An email invitation letter was sent out on July 22, 2008, to students enrolled in the 2008 summer session of classes (See Appendix E), which provided information on how to access the questionnaire. The online survey was activated and remained active for 32 hours. Data were collected from eighty participants who completed the online survey. Additionally, each participant received a debriefing message after the completion of the questionnaire to thank them for their participation and provide information if any further help was needed from the researcher (See Appendix C). Raw data files were downloaded in a simple, comma separated format and converted into a Microsoft Excel document that could then be imported into SPSS and used for analysis as a data file.

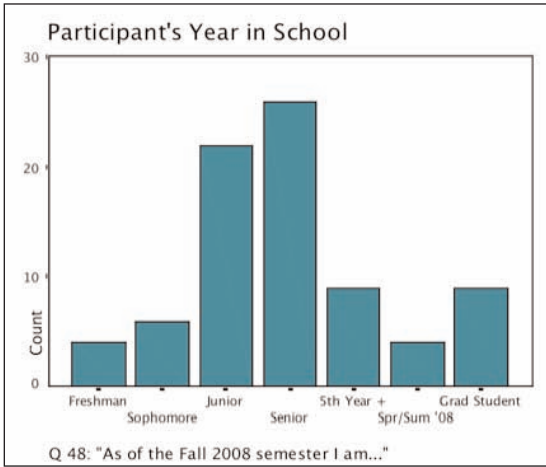
Statistical Analysis For this study, three types of statistical tests were used. Correlation was used to analyze possible relationships between the different groups of questions. Next, linear regression was used to determine whether or not there was indeed a predictive relationship between the groups of questions and the criterion measures. Lastly, a logistic multiple regression with a dichotomous outcome was used to show a predictive relationship between the question sets and the reported conviction history of the participants. The data were also organized to provide comparative information about the demographic representation of the participants and the levels of crime in which they participated.

Results

The data collected in this study supported three of the four hypotheses and indicate several predictive relationships. In general, findings suggest that students who were willing to break rules or laws on-campus have a greater propensity for crime than students who chose not to break those rules or laws.

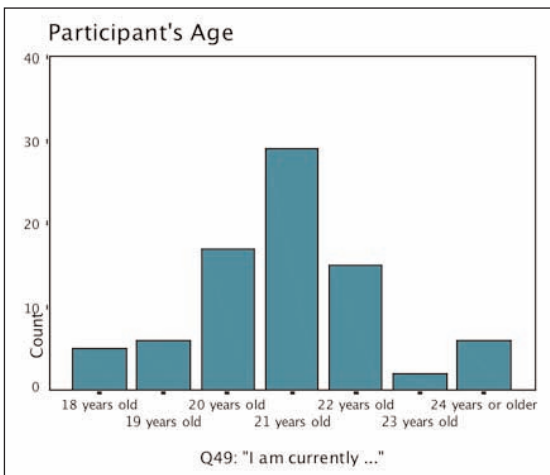
In terms of descriptive data, Graph 1 shows the demographic information for the year of school for the participants. The largest group consisted of seniors (26 out of 80 participants; 32.5%) who were followed closely by juniors. There was drastically less participation from underclassmen, freshmen and sophomores, and graduate students.

Graph 1: Participants' Year in School



Graph 2 shows the age of the respondents when they participated in the survey. The mean average age of participants was 21 years of age. In terms of gender, 67.5% of participants were female and 32.5% were male.

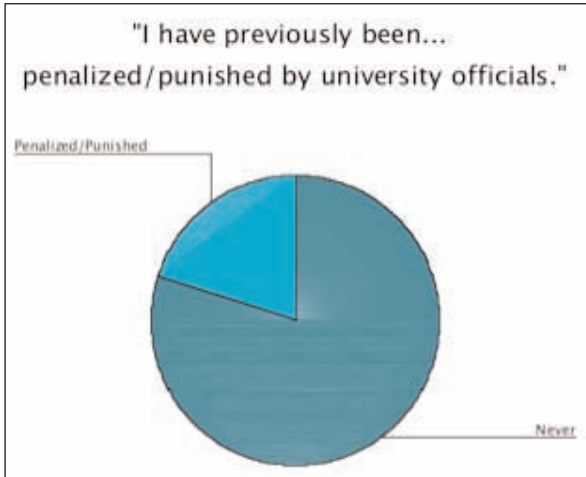
Graph 2: Age of Participants



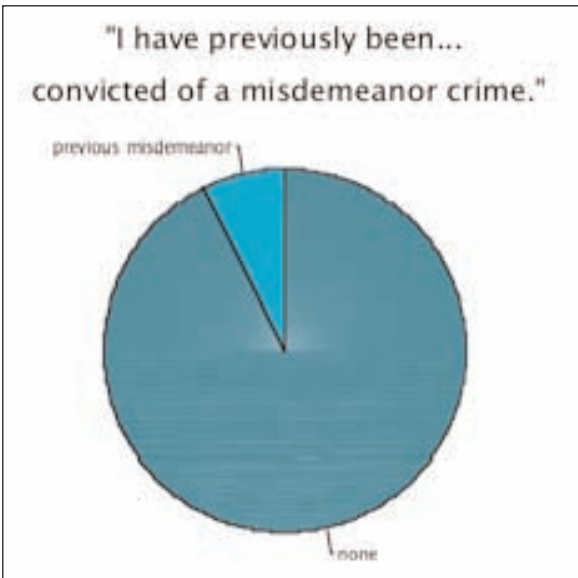
A large majority of university students did not commit the offenses that they were referenced in the survey (See Graphs 3-5). For on-campus rule breaking, 80% of the participants reported not having engaged in any on-campus rule breaking, while 92% reported that they had not participated in on-campus law breaking. Only three respon-

dents, 3.75%, reported participating in activities referred to in the intensified propensity question set. Questions in this set inquired about actions under different circumstances which could result in greater legal consequences.

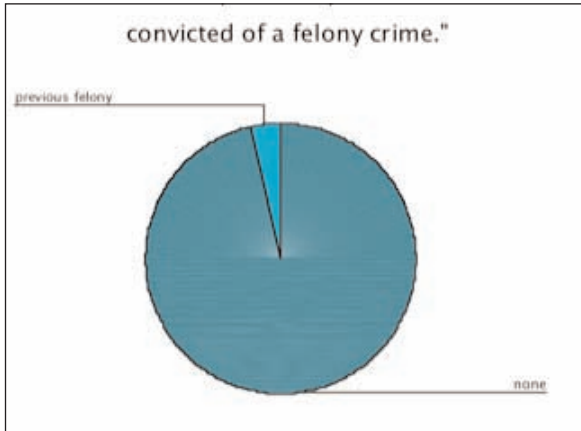
Graph 3: Proportion of Sample Indicating Previously Penalized for Infractions



Graph 4: Proportion of Sample Indicating Previously Convicted of a Misdemeanor Crime



Graph 5: Proportion of Sample Indicating Previously Convicted of a Felony Crime



Next, the relationship between predictor variables measured by the three Likert type subscales was examined. Table 1 presents a matrix of the significant correlations at the .01 level for rule breaking versus law breaking, rule breaking versus intensified propensity, and law breaking intensified propensity. All three question sets were shown to have a significant correlation with each other.

Table 1: Correlation Matrix for the Three Variables:

- 1.) Campus Infractions/Rule Breaking
- 2.) Law Breaking on Campus, and
- 3.) Intensified Propensity for Infractions with Greater Potential for Criminality and Worse Consequences

		RULEBRK1	LAWBRK2	WORSE3
Pearson Correlation	RULEBRK1	1.000	,479	401**
	LAWBRK_2	479**	1.000	407**
	WORSE_23	401**	.407**	1.000

** significant at the .01 level, two-tailed

Linear Regression Analyses

In the first linear regression analysis, on-campus rule breaking as a predictor for on-campus law breaking, indicated in a significantly predictive relationship that was shown at the .01 level. The adjusted R-squared was .219, indicating that the predictor accounts for approximately 22% of the variance observed. The colinearity index was 16.42 and represents a low to moderate possible overlap that each category may have with another category of questions.

The second linear regression, on-campus law breaking as a predictor for an intensified propensity for crime (and potentially worse consequences), reveals that the predictive relationship between the two variables was also significant at the .01 level. The adjusted R-squared was .155 and the colinearity index was 26.92. This relationship indicates a high level of colinearity and greater potential for overlap than the previous regression. In other words, the two variables may essentially measure the same factors, and fundamentally be one and the same.

For the third linear regression analysis, on-campus rule breaking was combined with on-campus law breaking as a predictor for intensified propensity for crime. The relationship was also shown to be significantly predictive at a .01 level and the adjusted R-square was .201. There were two colinearity indices for this regression. The first model, representative of the relationship of on-campus rule breaking as a predictor of criminal conviction, had a colinearity index of 19.29. The second model, representative of adding the second variable of on-campus law breaking into the predictive relationship, had a much higher colinearity index of 33.92. This number is considered extremely high and is representative of a high degree of overlap.

Logistic Multiple Regression Analysis

In this logistic regression, on-campus rule breaking combined with on-campus law breaking was shown not to have a predictive relationship to criminal conviction. This statistical approach was used to measure the strength of the three predictors on a dichotomous outcome measure of *crime* versus *no crime*, where crime was determined to be either a misdemeanor or felony conviction. As illustrated in Table 2, none of the variables were shown to be significantly predictive on either the individual or the group level.

Table 2: Summary of Logistic Regression Model

Variable	Score	df	Significance Level
On-Campus			
Rule Breaking	.064	1	.800
On-Campus			
Law Breaking	.419	1	.517
Intensified Propensity	3.075	3	.343

Discussion

This research has looked at some routine activities among a sample of students enrolled at a highly selective, public, liberal arts college campus and evaluated what their behavioral habits might say about them. Cohen and Felson (1979) have also

examined at how a crime can result from the routine activities of a motivated offender that is presented with the “right” target at the “right” time and circumstance. Routine activities give access to opportunity and experience in dealing with various circumstances because they become familiar to the person taking the actions. In this research participants were shown to have a low level of general criminality since most of them did not report committing any of the offenses that were inquired about in the questionnaire (See Graphs 3 - 5).

The data collected support routine activity theory and show a predictive relationship between on-campus rule breaking and on-campus law breaking (See Table 1). Students who are willing to break rules on-campus are significantly likely to also break laws while on-campus. It was also supported that students who break on-campus laws are significantly likely to have an intensified propensity for crime. Committing crimes is predictive of the offender’s intensified propensity. Routine activities are made up of actions that are often done without prior thought or planning. Those actions in another setting could have greater legal consequences. The participants who showed that they were willing to break on-campus rules, as well as break law while on-campus, have an intensified propensity for crime since deviance is already a part of their routine activities. However, the relationship of on-campus rule breaking and on-campus law breaking is not predictive of criminal convictions. Students reported whether they had ever been convicted of a misdemeanor, felony, or of no crime at all. Most of the students reported never having a previous conviction — only 3 out of 80 cases in all. Routine activity theory asserts that people who have been convicted have an increased potential for crime because they have been proven to have taken action to break the law and are therefore likely to continue in their routine activities (Cohen & Felson, 1979). For example, in the current study it was found that the three variables did not predict actual “real world” felony or misdemeanor convictions. That is, on campus behaviors were not found to be statistically predictive of crimes beyond the campus environment. However, given the current study’s limited sample size and low incidence of criminal convictions – it becomes difficult if not impossible to generalize from those results. Moreover, a lack of conviction does not always equate to a lack of criminality since sometimes people are able to prevent their deviant or criminal behavior from being detected by the police. Hence, the results are less than conclusive and additional research with a larger sample size and greater statistical power would be needed to more fully explore these relationships.

The setting of on-campus was purposely chosen to highlight the special environment of college campuses. In Chickering and Reisser (1993) the stressors and environmental differences were discussed and were broken down into seven vectors

ranging from “developing competence” to “developing integrity”. For most college students, entering into a new academic environment introduces new issues into their lives. Whether it has to deal with moving away from family and friends or having to manage new financial stressors, the environment of college students is one that creates a unique balance of circumstances that is deserving of focus and study.

Pascarella and Terenzini (1991) also felt that college students were in a distinct environment and wrote about several variables that discuss how college affects students that were similar to those of Chickering and Reisser. By focusing on on-campus rule and law breaking, the researcher was able to target the special circumstance surrounding college and campus life. Evaluating whether on-campus rule breaking is a predictor for on-campus law breaking can help provide insight on into how the routine activities of students might affect them after leaving the college environment since their habits have already been formed.

Future Implication for Research

In hindsight of completing this study, there are several things factors to be taken into consideration for future research. First, it would have been very beneficial to have a larger sample size. This would help present a more accurate depiction of the population. It would also behoove the researcher to inquire about a greater array of actions from the respondents. Some people may have broken on-campus rules or laws, but not the ones that were included in the questionnaire. A greater range of questions encompassing more activities may help shine light on different deviant habits that the respondents may have. Utilizing additional, more extensive scale construction techniques might accomplish this goal, as well as enhance content validity and minimize colinearity.

Another dimension could have been added to the research by looking at colleges that are in a variety of institutional contexts. This study focused on rural and public university. However, an interesting contrast could be formed by replicating this with participants enrolled in urban or suburban post-secondary educational settings, as well as private colleges and universities. This would increase the pervasiveness and potential for generalized applicability of the research. Additionally, the focus of the current research was a liberal arts university and a greater look into other levels of schooling, such as two-year or doctoral granting institutions would allow for a more diverse look into how different types of schools affect students. It might also be beneficial to research schools in different regions to see if location in more traditionally conservative parts of the nation like the Southern states might have any effect on the findings.

Conclusion

The results of this research helped strengthen the notion that routine activities

affect the potential criminality of a person. Examining a person's willingness to break rules or laws suggested whether or not the person had an intensified propensity for crime and was more likely to continue in deviant behavior despite a change in circumstances that may create the threat of increased legal consequences. This study suggests that students who are willing to lie to their teachers about their attendance in class would be willing to lie to the police about their whereabouts more than someone who is not willing to lie to their teacher. By focusing on the campus environment, the research also shed light on a phase of life, which had yet to receive much recognition in other studies focusing on potential criminality.

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Appendix A

Campus Behavior Questionnaire

For each of the following questions, please check the box that MOST accurately expresses your primary or secondary involvement in the action described. (e.g. Did you do the action? Did you help and/or facilitate in someone else committing the action?) Words that are in bold and have an asterisk (*) have definitions provided for further clarification.

Question #1

In the past 12 months, I have been actively involved in eating or drinking on campus* in buildings and/or facilities where it is prohibited. (e.g. Pickler Library, Planetarium, Auditorium, etc.)

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once in the past six months
- Never

Were you caught? Yes___ No___

If so, were you reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #2 ***

In the past 12 months, I have smoked inside of a building on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once in the past six months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #3*

In the past 12 months, I have consumed or possessed alcoholic beverages on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once in the past six months
- Never

Were you or someone else involved in underage drinking on campus? Yes___
No___

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #4

In the past 12 months, I have been in a car that parked on campus* without the appropriate parking pass during a time frame when one is required. (e.g. Weekdays 8am-5pm or other specifically designated spots)

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #5

In the past 12 months, I have participated in door propping at a building on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #6

In the past 12 months, I was involved in the removal school of property (with a value of \$5 or more) from campus* without permission from school authorities*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #7

In the past 12 months, I have participated in an activity or meeting in an unreserved room that requires a reservation by campus* authorities*. (e.g. the Planetarium, Baldwin Auditorium, Student Union Rooms, Ophelia Parrish Rooms, etc.)

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #8

In the past 12 months, I have given or received a student identification card to be used on campus* by someone other than the person identified on the card.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #9

In the past 12 months, I have given someone my school assignment so that they could copy my work or have accepted someone's assignment so that I could copy their work.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #10

In the past 12 months, I have given a false excuse for myself, another student missing class, or a meeting on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

*Question #11 ****

In the past 12 months, I have carried or possessed illegal drugs and/or drug paraphernalia (pipes, bongs, etc.) on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #12

In the past 12 months, I have participated in a noise violation on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #13

In the past 12 months, I have urinated or defecated in a public place that is not a bathroom on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #14

In the past 12 months, I have stolen a textbook from on campus* and returned it to a bookstore for money.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

Question #15

In the past 12 months, I have participated in gambling on campus*.

- More than 4 times a week
- At least once a week
- At least once a month
- At least once or twice in the past 12 months
- Never

Were you caught or reprimanded? Yes___ No___

The following questions are asked so that the responses from the participants can be arranged into smaller group. Please remember that all responses are anonymous and any information collected will not be used to identify to participants of the survey.

Question #16

I am currently a...

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior
- 5th year or greater
- Spring/ Summer 2008 Graduate
- Graduate school student

Question #17

I am currently...

- 18 years old
- 19 years old
- 20 years old
- 21 years old
- 22 years old
- 23 years old
- 24 years old or older

Question #18

I have previously been...

(Please check all that apply)

- penalized/ punished by Truman State University authorities/officials
- convicted of a misdemeanor crime
- convicted of a felony crime

Question #19

I am/ was enrolled at Truman State University in the following semesters:

(Please check all that apply)

- Spring 2008
- Summer 2008
- Fall 2008

Question #20

I have been on Truman's campus*...

- within the last month
- one month to three months ago
- three months to six months ago
- more than six months ago

Question #21

I am a...

- female
- male

Appendix B

Informed Consent

Project Title: Another Time, Another Place: Predictions of the Potential Criminality of Students on Truman State University's Campus

Principal Investigator: Danielle Tolson

Co-Investigator(s): Joe Nedelec, Faculty Sponsor, Justice Systems Professor

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

You are being invited to take part in a research study designed to examine the routine activities of Truman State University Students. Each question will ask about a different activity and your primary or secondary participation in such activities. This research is being done to compare the daily activities of students on Truman State University's campus with their potential for other similar activities. The results from this study will be used for a research project in the Ronald E. McNair program for presentations and will be published in the McNair Scholarly Review. This survey studies the behavior of Truman students because it is believed that certain behaviors exhibited today may be indicators for other behaviors (criminal and non-criminal) in the future.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN DURING THIS STUDY AND HOW LONG WILL IT TAKE?

Each person who decides to be a participant will be asked to discuss his or her activities on Truman State University's campus. This survey will be available on the internet for students to access from their Truman email addresses from July 14 to August 1, 2008. If you agree to take part in this study, your involvement will last approximately 15 minutes. This survey is voluntary, and at any time, a participant can choose to no longer participate in the survey. Each respondent will be allowed to participate in the survey only once.

WHAT ARE THE RISKS OF THIS STUDY?

The possible risks and/or discomforts associated with the procedures described in this study include:

the psychological stress of possible guilt associated with having engaged in behaviors that may later be discussed as being similar to other behaviors linked to crime under different circumstance. For the protection of all participants, all responses are anonymous.

WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS OF THIS STUDY?

We do not know if you will benefit from being in this study. However, we hope that, in the future, other people might benefit from this study because we intend to draw comparisons of the studied actions with the potential for criminality on Truman State University's campus. The results may cause some to reevaluate their actions and the possibilities their action have for leading them to criminality. Additionally, some professors may offer extra credit to their student for participating in surveys.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION I GIVE?

The information you provide during this research study will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. To protect your confidentiality, the researcher is conducting an anonymous survey and all responses are confidential. No personal identifiers will be used.

When the results of this project are published, your identity will not be made public.

WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

If you have any questions about this research project, please contact: Danielle Tolson by email at dat830@truman.edu or Prof. Joe Nedelec by email at jnedelec@truman.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the Truman State University Institutional Review Board Administrator, at (660) 785-7459 or by email at Grants4Truman@yahoo.com.

By voluntary checking the box and submitting this page, you have indicated that you are at least 18 years of age or older and that this research study has been explained to you, that your questions have been answered, and that you agree to take part in this study.

- I am 18 years of age or older
- I understand the information provided above
- Take me to the Survey
- No THANK YOU

Appendix C

CAMPUS BEHAVIOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Debriefing

Thank you very much for your participation in the study. We have kept all responses anonymous to ensure the protection of the respondent. If after taking this survey at any point, you wish to receive any counseling, please contact the University Counseling services by calling them at 660-784-4014, visiting them on the web at ucs.truman.edu, or visiting in person at 202 E. Patterson (located next to Grim Hall).

If you have taken this survey for a class that offers extra credit, please print this page and submit the bottom to your teacher for verification of participation. If you do not print this page, there will no way to prove your participation since no identifying information is collected from any participants.

This student has participated in a self-report survey for extra credit. To contact the surveyor please email Danielle Tolson at dat830@truman.edu or Prof. Nedelec at jnedelec@truman.edu

Sincerely,
Danielle Tolson
Ronald E. McNair Scholar
Dat830@truman.edu

Prof. Joe Nedelec
Ronald E. McNair Advisor
jnedelec@truman.edu

Appendix D

Definitions

Authority: Anyone on campus who has the power to issue a penalty or punishment such as a teacher, residential advisor, staff member, hall director, campus police, etc.

Campus: All properties owned and operated by Truman State University including school owned off-campus apartments such as Campbell Apartments, the Football field and surrounding track, and all parking lots and streets running through and around campus regulated by campus security.

Door Propping: Allowing a person through a locked door instead of them going through the appropriate check in point after hours.

Gambling: Play or sponsor of an unlawful game of chance for money or anything of value

School Property: Includes all things owned by Truman State University intended for use on campus such as chairs, tables, desks, toilet paper, trash bags, chalk board erasers, etc.

Stealing: Unauthorized taking of property of another.

Underage: not of the legal age to participate in activities involving alcoholic substance (i.e. 21 years of age or older)

Appendix E

Questionnaire Email Promotion

Hello fellow Truman students,

My name is Danielle Tolson and I am conducting a survey about the routine behavior of Truman State University students. All responses to the questionnaire are anonymous for the protection of your privacy. This survey should take 5-10 minutes to complete.

If you are a Truman student who is 18 years of age or older and who is/was enrolled in either the Spring 2008 or Summer 2008 semesters you are eligible to participate in the survey.

Additionally, your professor may be offering extra credit in your summer class for participation in this survey – check with your professor to ensure you get credit for completion of the survey

Thank you very much for your time, consideration, and participation.

Sincerely,

Danielle Tolson
Dat830@truman.edu
C/O 2009