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Volume X Summer 2012

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2009-2010:
Two McNair Scholars

2010-2011:
One McNair Scholar

- 2011 Grammy for Best Engineered Album: Recording Industry Professor John Hill
- Grammy wins for two alumni: Clarke Schleicher ('80) for “Record of the Year” and Josh Kear ('96) for “Best Country Song” and “Song of the Year”
- $40,000 McCormick Foundation grant to School of Journalism for hosting conference on media coverage of Islam in the South
- New student media center coming in Fall 2011: home to campus newspaper Sidelines, public radio station WMOT, student radio WMTS, record label MT Records, and MTTV Channel 10
- $90,000 in cornerstone pledges from corporate and individual donors for student media center
- $1.4 million grant for new mobile production lab, Electronic Media Communication Department
- EMC Associate Professor Michael Johnson executive produced talk show Monique on BET

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From the Director

The Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program at MTSU is completing its 13th year. Until 2011-12, the program had been funded in 4-year cycles. During 2010-11, the Department of Education decided to lengthen the funding cycle to five years; so, McNair Programs across the country were awarded a single year of funding while proposals were being prepared for five-year funding beginning in October 2012. Preparing a proposal for external funding is a good time to reflect upon the many successes of a program and to be grateful for the campus support received from administrators, faculty members, and staff.

The successes are easily reflected in the McNair students who have graduated and moved on to graduate schools across the nation. To date, MTSU’s McNair Program has served 169 students, including 30 students currently participating. In the last 13 years, 129 of these students have graduated with a baccalaureate degree; 38 have earned master’s degrees; two students have completed professional doctoral degrees (MD and JD); and four students have received Ph.D. degrees. Other students are nearing completion of this milestone in their lives. I look forward to recognizing them in future editions of the Review. Graduate schools that former McNair students have attended or have been accepted to include Vanderbilt University, Brandeis University, North Carolina State, University of California-Davis, The Ohio State University, University of Maryland, Notre Dame, Loyola, George Washington and the University of Florida, to name a few.

This is the 10th volume of the McNair Research Review. Since I was instrumental in getting the first volume published, I can say, with certainty, that the Review has evolved into an exemplary publication of which the MTSU community is proud. The credit for improved packaging goes to Steve Saunders, Assistant Director. His past experiences in editing and publishing have been very beneficial to MTSU’s McNair Program.

Volume X of the McNair Research Review contains the research of 19 students. The students and their faculty mentors deserve all the credit for the outstanding papers published in this volume of the Review. Cindy Howell, program secretary, and Johnathan Gilliam, graduate assistant, receive my thanks for the time and effort they contributed to bringing the publication of Volume X to fruition.

130 MTSU faculty members have served as mentors to McNair students over the past thirteen years. Their contributions to the success of the students and the McNair program cannot be overstated. The support of President Sidney A. McPhee and Provost Brad Bartel is also instrumental to the success of the McNair program. Thank you.

I also want to thank the nine colleges and the James E. Walker Library (listed on page 2) who contributed to the production of Volume X of the McNair Research Review. Without your support, this publication would not be possible.

To be eligible for the program, a student must meet the following criteria:

- Be a first-generation college student (neither parent or guardian has earned a baccalaureate degree) and be financially disadvantaged (according to federal guidelines);
- Or, be a member of a group currently underrepresented in graduate education (Black, Hispanic, Alaskan native, or American Indian);
- Plan to pursue a doctoral degree;
- Be enrolled in a degree program at MTSU or transferring to MTSU;
- Have completed at least 60 semester credit hours with a CUM GPA of 3.2 or higher;
- Be a U.S. citizen or permanent resident.

If you are an MTSU student and meet the qualifications above, please consider applying for admission to the program. If you are a member of the faculty, administration, or staff and know a student who is eligible, please encourage the student to drop by the McNair office in Midgett Building, Room 103 or go to www.mtsu.edu/~mcnair.

Sincerely,
L. Diane Miller, Ph.D.
Director
Scholars in This Issue

Ennie Aladejana  Matt Bennett  Kaylei Branch  Mat Elder

Matthew Foriest  Lindsay Gates  Shaun Guffey  Matt Hampton

John Meese  Petra Morkel  Eric Pegues  Carole Presley
Scholars in This Issue

Erica Simmons
Paige Stubbs
Jamie Sutton
Laurence Tumpag
Ana Valenzuela
Melody Vaughn
Danielle Whitlow
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Born October 21, 1950, in Lake City, South Carolina, Ronald McNair graduated valedictorian of his high school class in 1967. He earned a B.S. degree from North Carolina A&T State University in 1971 and a Ph.D. in physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1976. He conducted research on electro-optic laser modulation for Hughes Research Laboratories until chosen by NASA in January 1978 to train as an astronaut. Ronald E. McNair died onboard the space shuttle Challenger when it exploded on January 28, 1986.

Later that year, Congress created the Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program. This was the sixth TRiO program (named after the original three programs: Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Student Support Services). The purpose of the McNair Program is to help disadvantaged students (first-generation college/low-income or under-represented) complete their undergraduate degree, enroll in graduate school and earn a Ph.D.

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Submissions should have approximately 15 to 30 typed, double-spaced pages and may include revisions of papers presented for classes, for Scholars Week, the Social Science Symposium, or Honors theses. Papers should include a brief abstract of no more than 250 words stating the purpose, methods, results, and conclusion.

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Economic Stability in Nigeria: The Trigger for the Successful Integration of West Africa’s Economy

Enitan Aladejana

Dr. Mamit Deme
Department of Economics and Finance

The 1975 signing of the Treaty of Lagos by West African countries signaled the birth of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): a trade union founded with the goal of reducing trade barriers. Since its inception, ECOWAS has experienced a series of reforms, causing it to expand its scope. It is currently in the process of becoming a monetary union and single market. The region’s efforts to adopt a single currency are slowly becoming a reality. Recent successes like the adoption of a single passport are evidence of popular support for the cause. Despite the groundbreaking accomplishments and reinforcements, member countries worry about the economic viability of other members. Nigeria, the most populous country in the region, whose citizens are known for constant migration, has been the subject of much concern. Is the concern about Nigerian’s economic viability factual or baseless? Does Nigeria have an unstable economy? ECOWAS has laid the foundation of a single West African market, but what role does Nigeria play in making the union’s vision a reality?

Introduction

The commissioning of ECOWAS came with one major goal: its 15 member countries wanted to minimize intraregional trade barriers to boost economic development within the region. The group aimed for economic development through the combination of resources and efforts. This 1975 goal remains alive; even as the union continues to expand its scope. ECOWAS’s most recent venture, the decision to convert the trade union into a monetary zone, has brought the West African region into the spotlight.

Each unique and extremely diverse country is on the way to giving up its ability to enact and enforce monetary policies within its borders. Each country will be giving up its right to print its currency and control interest rates to one central decision maker, the ECOWAS monetary board. Like countries in the EU, these countries are setting aside their differences in order to become a united force and major competitor in the global market. West Africa, despite being faced with so many differences and diversity in language, culture, religion, values, beliefs, and political systems, is uniting its efforts, a decision that has been discussed, researched, and investigated for over 20 years.

After 20 years of deliberation on the issue, the recent introduction of a regional passport is evidence of the move toward a West African Monetary Zone. A common passport says though you might be called Nigerian, Gambian, or Ghanaian, speak English, French, Yoruba, Igbo, or Portugese, you are a citizen of West Africa, and do not need a visa to cross the borders of the ECOWAS countries. With this passport, citizens of the region are facing a new reality. A reality of a possible unified housing and job market that will come with this freedom to migrate, a reality that this freedom will lead to a single job market introducing more competition and new jobs, a reality that the single currency will reduce the cost of relocation.

This reality, combined with the ability to work in any member country without the need of a working permit, is no doubt threatening to an already competitive and over-supplied labor market. With this freedom and reality, Nigeria has been placed in the spotlight. This spotlight is not necessarily favorable. Nigeria’s support of the proposed monetary zone has become an object of great concern.

The Question

Nigeria’s motive for the support of the single West African currency, the Eco, is continuously questioned and scrutinized. The biggest questions that linger in the mind of ordinary citizens are: Will the opening of borders result in an influx of Nigerian immigrants, intensifying competition for jobs in the rest of West Africa, or a hike in the unemployment rate? Will increased migration offset economic growth and development? The research question is, what is the probability that Nigerians will migrate in search of greener pastures within the monetary zone, and do the other member countries offer greener pastures?
ECOWAS

ECOWAS is a regional group of 15 West African states: Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Cote D’Ivoire, Togo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Cape Verde, Mali, Benin, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Guinea, and Guinea-Bissau. It was commissioned by the signing of a treaty, out of a vision to achieve trade-based growth for the region. Its aims are to raise the standard of living, enhance economic stability, foster relations among member states, and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent. As noted earlier, its role is no longer limited to economic decisions. It has extended into the region’s politics, as evidenced by its institutions: the ECOWAS Parliament, the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), the Community Tribunal, and the Community Court of Justice. ECOWAS ventured into the business of peacekeeping; a stance that it reinforced by its involvement in the Liberian Civil War. The vision of ECOWAS is to establish a unified ground for international competition, a vision that seems almost impossible, as individual member countries are too small to make an impact in the global market.

Previous research on the region has focused on the prerequisites of ECOWAS member countries’ institution for a successful integration (Borrman, 2006). The impact of ECOWAS reforms on direction of trade and trade flows has been the subject of many research papers (Gbetnkom, 2006). Many more scholarly articles have been dedicated to investigating factors affecting private investment (Adewuyi, 2009). A significant amount of literature is available on ECOWAS’s failure to increase trade expansion and trade-based growth (Hanink, 1998).

This research strives to address the fear of economic integration, particularly the fear of Nigeria’s motive for the support of a monetary zone and elimination of trade and migration barriers. With reference to the law of convergence, historical events, GDP and population data, the research question is answered. Findings indicate that ECOWAS countries have more to gain from a single market economy than Nigeria.

Nigeria’s Motive

As depicted in Table 1, Graph 1, and Chart 1, Nigeria is the most populous country in the ECOWAS regional group. It also possesses the largest economy among ECOWAS countries in terms of real GDP, as illustrated in the significant gap between its real GDP and that of other West African countries as seen in Table 2 and Graph 2. Besides ownership of labor and its economy, Nigeria owns the biggest military, fueled by its large population. The aforementioned facts pave the way for the question: which of Nigeria’s self-interests is prominent in its strong support for economic integration? The term “self-interest” can be traced as far back as sixteenth century economic and philosophical thinking, with great thinkers like Jean...
Jacques Rousseau calling it “self-love,” Bernard Mandeville describing it as “a vice requiring proper management of a politician to make it translate to public benefit,” and the world-renowned Adam Smith, a great supporter of laissez-faire economics, claiming the power of the “invisible hand” is enough to transform self-interest to public benefit. With these many theories, the question remains: what is Nigeria’s biggest motivation?

Access to a wider trading and investment environment, increased economies of scale, linkages and contribution to regional value added, and increased diversification of resources have been identified as reasons for the support of regional trade zones (Musila, 2005). Data gathered from the International Financial Statistics (IFS) database shows that the country accounts for more than half the population of the West African sub region. As illustrated in Pie Chart 1, Nigeria accounts for more than half the West African population. At least, one in every two West Africans is a Nigerian. With this in mind, the fear of Nigerian’s dominance in the emerging union is a genuine one. A dominant question is, will history repeat itself as the case was with Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

The ECOMOG was established in 1990 as part of an ongoing effort to end the Liberian Civil War (1989-96). It has been well over two decades since the initial deployment of ECOMOG troops into a West African nation. In addition to the Liberian intervention, ECOMOG author-
Table 1: Population of ECOWAS member countries in Millions

|---------------------|-------|--------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------|--------|--------------|----------|------|-------|---------|---------|--------------|------|

Source: International Financial Statistics (IFS) database

Graph 2: Real GDP for ECOWAS member countries over the last twenty years in millions of U.S. dollars

Source: Data for Nominal GDP and inflation retrieved from the International Financial Statistics (IFS) database and later analyzed to produce the above table

***It is important to note that Liberia is excluded from this dataset as the country's financial data is not available.
organization’s research into the viability of a single West African Economy. This finding is proof to just how long, delicate and critical the issue of the integration of ECOWAS countries is.

**Migration**

A 2009 research publication funded by the International Organization for Migration and the European Union, *Migration in Nigeria, A Country Profile 2009*, found that there are more people emigrating than immigrating to Nigeria. A majority of the country’s immigrants (74%) are low skilled workers from neighboring ECOWAS countries, in particular from Benin (29%), Ghana (22%) and Mali (16%) (Afolayan, 2009). For any country to sustain its economic growth and development, the need of skilled labor cannot be overemphasized. 10.7% of highly skilled workers trained in Nigeria are employed in foreign countries. From the publication, it can be inferred that Nigeria is a victim of “brain drain,” a condition that occurs when a country’s emigration of high-skilled workers is greater than its immigration of such workers.

**Trust Issues**

The general lack of trust for Nigerians is another source of apprehension on the issue of economic integration in the sub region. In recent years, the region has been subject to the law of convergence, a situation that positions many West African countries to gain more from integration than Nigeria. The flow of Nigerian labor and capital into West African countries is significant. A recent example is Ghana, which saw an increase in its Nigerian touring and investing immigrants. The unexpected increase in cash flow created an increase in price level, which stemmed from an increase in capital. The flow of capital increased Ghana’s standard of living, and high returns on capital was experienced. Immigrants caused increase in demand of hotels, which in turn raised the supply, profit margin, and supply of hotels and tourist attractions, all events boosting the Ghanaian economy.

Traditional fabrics called Woodin also saw an increase in demand resulting from its trade in Nigeria. The recent appreciation of Ghanaian property due to increased demand by Nigerians is another evidence of convergence of market in all higher returns of investment. Prices of properties have more than doubled in the last 24 months at Ghana’s upscale Italian development called Trasacco Valley. Unfinished condos and the penthouses called VILLAGIO across the road from Ghanaian President Kufuor’s residence doubled in prices long before completion (Momodu, 2007).

The law of convergence supports the shift towards a regional average due to mobility of capital and labor. Under this theory, countries with large capital and low returns will see a loss of capital to countries with low capital and low returns. The move of capital will cause an eventual increase in the return of the originally high capital region and decrease in the returns on the low capital region as the move towards a regional average. Convergence and flow of capital supports increased investment and standard of living in ECOWAS countries. As capital availability directly translates to job and wealth creation, Nigeria is once again at a disadvantage.

With economic integration, Nigeria will be established as a major player in the West African economy. In Ghana, Nigerian businesses account for 60% of foreign investment (Kolawole, 2010). This reality may be a source of threat to governments of other West African countries, but it all works towards a greater good. Based on convergence, the discrepancies noted in real GDP and GDP per capita (see Table 2 and 3) should even out.

This is not saying Nigeria is perfect. As a country, it has so many issues to work on: inadequate power supply, corruption, unstable exchange rate, poor infrastructure, high cost of production, high interest rates, cost of land procurement, are some of the many issues plaguing the country.

**Conclusion**

ECOWAS may aim for one region, one market, economic efficiency, and zero transaction costs. Based on my findings, Nigeria is not the problem. The fear on the economic viability of citizens of member countries is expected, but available facts do not justify the fears. To an average person, this means more competition for limited resources. The law of convergence supports a belief that several ECOWAS members will experience faster growth, and the discrepancies in the economy of the countries will slowly dissolve. ECOWAS’s current standing as a convergence club of poor countries leaves room for a catch-up effect (Jones, 2002).

Table 2 and Graph 2 show Nigeria in a recession from the late 1980s to early 1990s. Over the past decade, the country has been emerging from it. The country has experienced relative economic stability, and has seen a slow, but steady rise in real GDP. The significant difference in GDP of member countries was accounted for by examining individual country GDP by population (GDP per capita). Standard of living can be inferred from GDP per capita. In that light, the only ECOWAS member country with a higher GDP per capita than Nigeria is Cape Verde. Nigeria has a relatively higher standard of living than most West African nations.
**Table 2:** Real GDP for ECOWAS member countries over the last twenty years in millions of U.S. dollars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Benin</th>
<th>Burkina Faso</th>
<th>Cape Verde</th>
<th>Gambia, The</th>
<th>Ghana</th>
<th>Guinea</th>
<th>Guinea-Bissau</th>
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Source: Data for Nominal GDP, and inflation retrieved from the International Financial Statistics (IFS) database and later analyzed to produce the above table

***It is important to note that Liberia is excluded from this dataset, as the country’s financial data is not available.***

**Graph 3:** Real GDP per Capita for ECOWAS member countries over the last twenty years in millions of U.S. dollars
In all, and contrary to popular belief, Nigeria is not a threat to the success of a West African monetary zone. Convergence and flow of capital supports increased investment and standard of living in ECOWAS countries. The reality is many member countries stand to gain greater benefits from the adoption of a single currency. In fact, the threat of increased brain drain, continued inflow of low-skilled workers, and outflow of capital, place Nigeria in a delicate situation.

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Sociocultural Barriers to Mental Health Treatment

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Significant differences exist in utilization and efficacy of mental health services when the race and/or ethnicity of the patient or client is considered. This study is a qualitative investigation of the barriers individuals face in seeking and receiving effective mental health services. It specifically attempts to isolate racially and culturally unique factors that contribute to treatment disparities. In individual online interviews, questions about provider race/ethnicity, willingness to seek treatment, and familial expectations were examined. Socioculturally specific differences were found in willingness to seek treatment, expectations from service providers, and family responses to participants’ decisions to seek mental health services. The study shows that family and community culture, whether based in racial/ethnic differences or not, are important factors in competent mental health treatment.

In the last 50 years, the use of mental health services has moved from a means to segregate the lowest functioning individuals from mainstream society into an integral part of the biopsychosocial model of wellness. The net result of these changes is a huge growth in consumers of mental health treatment to encompass individuals with relatively mild symptomatology. In 2009, over 45 million adults in the United States had some form of mental or emotional illness diagnosable under the criteria of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV). This number represents just fewer than 20 percent of the adult US population (SAMHSA 2010). According to the same report, more than half of those individuals sought some form of treatment in that year. Furthermore, the proliferation of medications for depression and other mood disorders has made mental health treatment a more discrete and convenient service. Things which once would have been considered within the range of normal human behavior are now seen as legitimate and treatable illnesses, for example the prescribing of SSRIs (e.g., Prozac, etc.) for individuals with cases of mild depression, debatably a normal sadness level (Horowitz and Wakefield 2007). This is one example of the sociological process of medicalization, and has created a much larger market for mental health services (Conrad 1992, 2010). However, this growth has not affected all segments of the population equally. Minority groups in the United states are still substantially less likely to utilize mental health services. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between racial or ethnic minority status and mental health treatment underutilization. Within the same time span during which the scope of mental illness has steadily expanded, the United States has done much to correct discrimination against racial minorities, most notably at the structural level. Institutionally, Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act established that no program receiving federal funding, including hospitals and other healthcare providers which receive Medicare/Medicaid payments, can exclude or discriminate against individuals on the basis of race or ethnic origin. However, none of these efforts has been a complete success, for both mental illness and minority status still carry substantial stigma. Erving Goffman (1951:13) gives us the benchmark definition of stigma as “... an attribute that is deeply discrediting.” In fact, Gary (2005) asserts that the two labels, when applied to the same individual, have a compounding effect, what he refers to as double stigma. This may help us begin to explain some of the disparities discussed below.

Whether owing to the multiplicative effects of double stigma, or the more tangible effects of socioeconomic trends, minorities are significantly under-represented as consumers of mental health treatment. Despite having at least equal, if not higher, rates of mental illness, members of minority groups in the United States are far less likely to avail themselves of treatment options than white Americans (Atdjian & Vega 2005, USDHHS 1999, 2001). This is not merely a by-product of the strong correlation between poverty and race; utilization disparities exist across the range of social strata (Thurston & Phares 2008). Rather, many of the perceived barriers to accessing treatment are socially and racially based for minorities, being at least in part driven by racial stereotyping and prejudice (Conner et al. 2010, Witt 2006). Specifically among minorities that are traditionally discriminated against, notably African-Americans and Hispanics, there is not only
reduced first-time utilization of mental health treatment, but a significantly reduced incidence of continuing care. Furthermore, reduced quality and efficacy result when sociocultural issues in treatment are not considered (Bae et al. 2004, Miranda et al. 2003). Research also suggests that minority patients tend to distrust their mental health providers more than whites, and they perceive their quality of care as inferior due to their race (Carpenter-Song 2010; Witt 2006). Misunderstandings that result from providers who are not adequately aware of sociocultural issues serve to compound this situation (Bettencourt & Maina 2007; Comas-Diaz 2006). One notable exception to this rule is involuntary psychiatric commitment: in this case African-Americans are more likely to be forced into psychiatric hospitals than their white counterparts. African-Americans are also less likely to successfully plead insanity in criminal court than whites (Thompson 2010). It is no surprise then, that minority groups have consistently expressed a belief that mental health services do not effectively treat them, due to perceived cultural insensitivity within the profession (Obasi & Leong 2009).

In fact, in at least one study, African-Americans who were being medicated for mental illness felt that their psychiatrists were “experimenting” on them. This description was a response to doctors’ making multiple medication changes, a common practice since many drugs within a specific class (i.e., SSRIs like Prozac, Effexor, etc.) are very patient-specific in terms of effectiveness. It can take months if not years of trial and error to determine the most effective drug(s) for an individual, as typically medication must be utilized at least six weeks before its effectiveness can be ascertained, and many drugs work differently in combination with others, creating an enormous number of permutations. In contrast, most Caucasians from the same study, and undergoing the same trial and error method of treatment, felt that the “tuning” of their medications was an important part of an effective treatment regimen, and reflected the skill of their clinician (Carpenter-Song 2010).

To bridge this gap, racially specific barriers that hinder access to mental health services must be identified and understood. Research on the topic suggests that utilization is directly related to the sociocultural competence of service providers (USDHHS 2001, Snowden & Hu 1997). When providers recognize sociocultural differences, communicate with their patients, and set priorities which address those issues, the effectiveness of communication improves, and the provider-client relationship is strengthened. (Kagawa-Singer & Kassim-Lakha 2003). This project will attempt to identify the unique sociocultural barriers to mental health treatment, with an awareness of the effect which both the ethnic community and society as a whole have on informing those perceptions. For this project we will use Yamada and Brekke’s (2008) definition of sociocultural factors as “… those issues arising out of socioeconomic and cultural differences. Sociocultural factors include a variety of issues related with ethnic minority status that are difficult to disentangle from cultural beliefs and practices” (2008:1387). Note that this is not merely a question of race, but of ethnic and cultural differences as well. These differences can be as subtle (to the naked eye) as an individual’s religious devotion, or as profound as deafness or other language barriers. But what is significant within the scope of this research is identifying barriers for specific groups which are unique and in addition to the common stigma of mental health which pervades our society.

Methodology

Once the IRB approval process was complete, researchers selected participants for interviews in two ways: 1) from the university campus and the surrounding area with flyers, and 2) through online promotions directed at mental health advocacy websites. Both materials contained information about the study and solicited individuals willing to give their opinion on the subject. Potential participants were directed to an online survey with questions including contact information, availability, and self-identification of race, categorized into four broad groups: African-American, Asian, Hispanic, and Caucasian. For the purposes of this study, and owing to its limited scope, participants who did not self-identify in one of these groups were excluded. Participants who met criteria for interviews were then emailed the web address and passcode for the secure chatroom. Six participants were interviewed during the course of the study, five females and one male, ranging in age from 23 to 53 years.

The chatroom, hosted at website Chatzy.com, was private: it could not be searched for, nor could it be entered without the passcode. This ensured that only individuals who had been given both the private web address and the passcode could be present during interview sessions. During the interview sessions, questions were administered by the principal researcher from a topic guide (see appendix A) which was developed for the study based on established protocols for interview/focus group moderation (Krueger 1994, 1998). Sessions ranged in duration from approximately 45 minutes to two hours, 25 minutes. As a matter of course, online interviews were transcribed, and those transcriptions were immediately saved in anticipation of textual analysis.
Major Themes

There was a marked difference in family dynamics between white and minority participants. In general, minority participants who had received services openly reported more negative responses than their white counterparts. Interestingly, this result held true even for “model” minority groups like Asian and Asian Indian Americans who are perceived as encountering less open discrimination (Wong et al. 1998). For example Rita, a 53-year-old female of Middle Eastern descent, chose to access care for several years without telling her family because of her fear of their reaction. In response to questions concerning her family’s view of mental illness and treatment thereof, she said the following:

My family of origin (not the family I created) is very religious. They think you can find peace and happiness by nurturing your relationship with God. They also think it is a sign of weakness to be psychologically unhappy or unstable ... We live where community is powerful, everyone knows everything. Most people would have stigmatized [someone receiving treatment]. My family of origin is modern compared to the rest of the community that surrounded us.

Anne, a 31-year-old female of Asian descent, related a similar story about her initial treatment, and the continuing status of her family’s involvement:

I started telling my friends in increments that I had started taking antidepressants. I didn’t seek therapy until months later, but didn’t really tell people about that part. My family found out much, much later ... Yes, it did bother me to tell them that I had anything to do with mental health services ... but I’ve never been all too clear about what I said to a provider had s/he been Asian. I would have been much more careful about this situation if your treatment providers were Asian also?

Anne: Honestly, I may not have been as forthcoming about my illness had my provider been Asian. I would have attached the same fears that I have with my family to that provider ... An Asian provider really would’ve made me feel uncomfortable, as if s/he could see more of me than I want to expose ... I would have been much more careful about what I said to a provider had s/he been Asian. Also, the specific ethnicity matters too.

In regards to cultural competence, minorities typically did not cite same-race providers as essential to competent care. In fact, Anne stressed that for her, a same-race provider would have been a detriment:

Question: Do you think it would have changed anything about this situation if your treatment providers were Asian also?

Anne: Honestly, I may not have been as forthcoming about my illness had my provider been Asian. I would have attached the same fears that I have with my family to that provider ... An Asian provider really would’ve made me feel uncomfortable, as if s/he could see more of me than I want to expose ... I would have been much more careful about what I said to a provider had s/he been Asian. Also, the specific ethnicity matters too.

In light of these comments, cultural competence as we typically think of it seems as if it would be counterproductive, limiting the depth of interaction between provider and client. Also, Anne raises an interesting point when she mentions specific ethnicity. It is a reminder that culture is very specific, much more than common language or the physical cues by which society creates broad racial categories. She continued:

In a blanket sense, I feel more comfortable with a white person. ... But if I were to deal with an Asian provider, my parents would’ve definitely been more wary of Asians not of our exact descent. I will say that I would’ve cared, too, as if I were revealing some sort of weaknesses within my own ethnic community.

A similar awareness was expressed by Rita. Even from the very first question about her ethnicity, she had some resentment at being categorized too broadly. To the initial question of race and ethnicity, Rita replied, “I am a 53-year-old woman of Middle Eastern background. The U.S. authorities consider that white caucasian, but I never felt I was part of that group...
and wished we had our identity differently grouped.”

White participants were mixed in their feelings about receiving treatment from minority providers. In this study, Brad was the one white participant who had been a client of a minority therapist, with a poor result:

I did have a black therapist and he was nice but I didn’t connect with him like the last guy I had which was white. Not sure if it had to do with race, but also he was younger and the black guy was older. I felt I could associate with him a little better if that makes sense.

However, it must be noted that the vast majority of mental health providers themselves are white. According to the American Psychological Association’s 2011 member profiles, less than 10 percent of its membership report being from an ethnic or racial minority group, at any education level from undergraduate to practicing member (APA Center for Workforce Studies 2011). So many white individuals may not have encountered minority service providers very frequently, if at all, across the course of their treatment. Furthermore, those minority service providers are, by nature of their profession and its educational requirements, well acculturated to a white-dominated professional culture in the U.S. This means that as potential clients, whites are dealing with minority service providers who are fluent in English, and have learned their therapy styles and methodology from primarily whites, and based on research conducted overwhelmingly by whites. This undoubtedly eases the process of forming an effective relationship between provider and client, as the issue of cultural competency is largely irrelevant if even minority providers are acculturated to majority behavior.

Examining Minority Status

Typically, the idea of minority status is associated with skin color in the United States, and certainly racial minorities have received a great deal of deserved attention. However, minority status can be a function of cultural differences which are not as immediately apparent. One interesting example was that of Jane, a white female with total hearing loss. Ostensibly, she is a member of the majority in America, but throughout the interview Jane made a compelling case that the deaf community should not be seen as merely “mainstream” individuals with a disability, but rather as a completely separate cultural minority. While it is beyond the scope of this study to affirm or reject this idea, Jane supported her assertion with several compelling points:

Deaf individuals face a profound language barrier which pervades their interactions. This disadvantages them in two significant ways. First, most of their interactions take place through an interpreter. Jane, despite receiving treatment for many years, could describe only one experience with a therapist who signs: “They are extremely hard to find. … Due to the situation at the time I was only allowed to see her twice.” This creates an obvious barrier of translation, in a situation where nuance is essential. Furthermore, it necessitates that the deaf client develop a trusting relationship with not only a provider, but with a translator as well. Translators create additional cost, which must be absorbed by the provider, which many providers attempt to avoid by either not treating the hearing impaired, or asking them to bring friends or family to translate on their behalf. It seems needless to say that having one’s family member listen in on one’s therapy session will necessarily limit one’s choice of topics.

Second, even when mental health professionals are trained in sign language, they are still fundamentally restricted in communication, by sign language’s limits to simultaneity and inflection (Napoli & Sutton-Spence 2010). Finally, by Jane’s assertion, the parents of many, if not most, deaf children are not fluent in sign language at a high level. The majority of children with hearing loss are educated in schools which accommodate their needs, but with the unfortunate side effect of segregating them from the rest of society. In both pedagogy and social interaction, deaf children have a very different education, and therefore, a very different socialization from other children. This cultural isolation becomes more striking if the parents of hearing impaired children are not fluent in sign language and therefore are diminished as the primary socialization method.

On these bases, Jane asserted that individuals with hearing loss must be seen as culturally distinct, and afforded the same cultural accommodations as other minorities. If this assertion were to be proven valid, it would require a fundamental change in how services are delivered to the hearing impaired, moving from a model of accommodation within a normalized cultural framework, to one of cultural competence in the conventional sense.

Cultural Competence

Cultural competence is a much discussed topic, yet it is not an especially well-defined target. While culturally sensitive treatment is a much desired and striven for goal, its execution is at best poorly managed. For example, native language proficiency is often used as an obvious example of improved competence in service to minorities. This is the impetus for California law, which mandates language accommodation for non-English speakers. However, when access to mental health was evaluated within
the accommodations provided under the law, after a short increase in mental health consumption, the effects of language accommodation actually began to decrease over time within a minority population, in effect gradually reducing the number of mental health consumers (Snowden et al. 2011). This points to the highly complicated and highly personal way in which individuals measure and define their own race and ethnicity, and what those things mean for their interaction with society as a whole. And while mental health care as an institution has made a substantial effort in improving cultural competence, it is difficult to even ascertain what has actually been done, much less what has worked. Bhui et al. (2007), in analyzing 109 evaluated models for culturally competent service delivery, found that only nine even published their techniques and methods. Worse still, only three of these potential papers used quantitative assessment of the programs’ effectiveness.

In the course of this research, it became clear that simply installing treatment providers of the same race as minority clients was not adequate, or in many cases even desired. Analysis suggests that for minority individuals who already perceive a limited “in-group” where they feel comfortable, there is a reduced willingness to spoil their identity within that group. Additionally, there may be an opportunity cost associated with being from a model minority, an increased need to behave and appear “normal” to members of the same ethnic subgroup and the white majority that may not exist as often for other racial groups, who do not feel they have any sense of acceptance to lose (Wong et al. 1998). So what results for some minority patients is a desire that their providers actually be of a different race, like the earlier example of Anne.

For participants within this study, a far more important measure of cultural competence was the feeling that they were being taken seriously, and not marginalized. This in fact was true for both minority and white participants, and shows that more subtle cues from treatment providers are critical to perceived cultural competence. Regardless of opinions on race, all participants cited a concern about the gender of their provider, and unlike skin color or ethnicity, gender was an issue which participants consistently indicated was a criterion for selecting a service provider participants overall reported much less support from their families for their treatment than did whites. Second, understanding a person’s cultural identity requires recognizing more than skin color or native language. This is especially critical in the stigmatized area of mental illness, where many minority groups already feel marginalized. In the case of the hearing impaired, understanding their needs in cultural terms as opposed to physical accommodation may be necessary. Third, cultural competence, often a poorly managed goal already, is less about providers being of similar racial or ethnic origin; in many cases this is detrimental to the client-provider relationship. Instead, providers should focus their efforts on being sensitive to the added social pressures on the minority client (e.g. lack of family cooperation), and recognizing that family and community support may not exist for the minority client. These findings may lead to an expanded definition of minority status in terms of mental health services, and to more effective models for treating the minority client.

**Limitations and Future Research**

This study was limited by both the number of participants and the diversity of the participant group. The study was initially envisioned as a series of racially-homogenous focus group meetings, conducted in person by the principal researcher. However, difficulties in obtaining participants, and especially minority participants proved substantial, even after a shift to the online format was made. This change has been motivated in part because of scheduling difficulties in bringing the groups together, but also in the hopes that increased anonymity would encourage greater participation. The study was further limited by the lack of participants who had not ever received mental health treatment, for the above mentioned reasons. The participant group was overwhelmingly female as well, although this is in keeping with known trends for females to both access care more often, but also to be more willing to discuss it (Maier et al. 1998; Piccinelli & Homen 1997).

This study did highlight the need for a more insightful examination of minority status as it relates to mental health services. Furthermore, it identified the hearing impaired as a group who perceive themselves as poorly served, whether they are an actual minority group or not. It also found valuable information about how culture, and cultural competence efforts, affect different minority groups.

Further research into the helping relationship within the framework of cultural competence should help identify specific improvements for treatment providers. Future research should also examine the differences in percep-
tion and expectations of cultural competence for model minorities and disadvantaged ones. Much additional and valuable research should also be directed toward Jane’s assertion that the hearing impaired should be viewed as a cultural minority, in particular in regard to developing more sensitive models of treatment which minimize the aforementioned barriers for hearing-impaired clients.

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Variability of Spreading Activation in Alzheimer’s Disease

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Alzheimer’s Disease (AD) is a progressive degenerative disorder affecting mainly the old. What distinguishes these patients from typical aging individuals is the severity of impairment found within their semantic/lexical networks. Many studies have been conducted to better understand this semantic deterioration. Previous studies have assessed various aspects of semantic memory, which include knowledge of concept attributes as well as the ability to name objects of a picture, recognize object names, complete a sentence, and many other semantic memory tasks. Some reports suggest that this impairment is due to a retrieval deficit, while others believe it is due to issues related to saliency. This paper will pick up where others have left off, which will include the utilization of the Kucera-Francis corpus as well as calculations of Root Mean Square of Successive Differences (rMSSD) and Amplitude Frequency Transformation in efforts to analyze the variability of spreading activation, a novel procedure to assess semantic/lexical networks.

ALZHEIMER’S DISEASE (AD) is a degenerative brain disorder characterized by neuron and synapse loss in addition to senile plaques and neurofibrillary tangles primarily in the hippocampus and association cortices of temporal lobes (Terry, Peck, DeTeresa, Schecter, & Horoupian, 1981; Terry, Masliah, Salmon, Butters, DeTeresa, Hill, Hansen, & Katzman, 1991; Terry & Katzman, 1983; Hyman, Van Hoesen, Damasio, & Barnes, 1984). These areas are responsible for the consolidation and storage of memories, which explains why the aforementioned neurological alterations would cause disruption in semantic memory networks and semantic memory impairments in patients with AD (Bondi, Salmon, & Butters, 1994; Welsh, Butters, Hughes, Mohs, & Heyman, 1992).

Semantic memory networks are described by Collins & Loftus (1975) as being composed of semantic memory nodes organized in a hierarchical manner based on how often a particular node is activated and the associations between memory nodes. Each node is a representation of a semantic memory (e.g. oak tree), which is organized in a larger conceptual network (e.g. deciduous trees). The conceptual network is organized along the lines of semantic similarity; the more properties two concepts have in common, the more links there are between the two nodes via these properties and the more closely related are the concepts. For example, the node for “vehicle” and the node for “machine” have a much stronger connection than the node for “vehicle” and the node for “apple.” This is because vehicle and machine share many properties while vehicle and apple have relatively little in common. Clearly, the relative proximity between nodes is a factor in the strength of their connection. Further, according to the Hebbian Principle, neurons that fire together wire together. The strength is also determined by how frequently the node is accessed or activated. This is because frequently accessed/activated nodes have a lower activation threshold compared to nodes that are less frequently accessed/activated. Hence, when a frequently accessed node is activated the spreading activation will be stronger and go further since that node is connected to other related nodes that possess inherently lower activation thresholds.

Research has indicated a disturbance in the organization of semantic knowledge in AD patients (Butters, Salmon, & Heindel, 1990). Previous studies have suggested that the number of associative links that AD patients’ semantic networks shared in common with that of the normal control (NC) subjects is decreased (Chan, Butters, Salmon, Johnson, Paulsen, & Swenson, 1995; Chan, Butters, & Salmon, 1996). This is demonstrated in a study conducted by Chan, Butter, and Salmon (1997), in which both the NC subjects and AD patients were asked to categorize animals. The findings indicated that the number of animals that were highly associated and clustered together for NC subjects were not as strongly associated for AD patients. Additionally, AD patients exhibit more atypical associations. Abeyesinghe, Bayles, & Trosset (1990) reported that when AD patients were asked to choose the word that was most related to a concept (e.g., moon) from several choices (e.g., star, light, rocket, and fire) AD patients often failed to select the appropriate word relative to NC subjects. Another
study supporting atypical associations is that of Marin & Fedio (1983) who asked patients with AD to list items that could be purchased in a supermarket. The patients with AD retrieved fewer words and had a greater propensity to generate category labels. For example, they would generate words of a conceptual network such as vegetable or fruit instead of specific examples. An additional study supporting AD patients’ atypical associations is the one conducted by Chan, Butters, Salmon, Johnson, Paulsen, & Swenson (1995), which concluded that AD patients focus upon a concrete perceptual attribute such as size when categorizing concepts, as opposed to abstract conceptual attributes such as domesticity as demonstrated by NC subjects.

These atypical associations are somewhat justified by a study conducted in 1993 by Chan, Butters, Salmon, & McGuire who reported that individuals who have lost the knowledge they once possessed, tend to organize concepts in a relatively more chaotic way. Hence, given that AD patients’ semantic knowledge deteriorates as the disease progresses, it is not surprising that their networks become more and more chaotic. The words generated on the Controlled Oral Word Association Test (COWAT) and the Animal Naming (AN) test have been used as a basis for measuring spreading activation. The COWAT involves having individuals name as many words as possible within 60 seconds. To calculate spreading activation the word frequencies for each of the words generated on these tasks is obtained. With increasing spreading activation more lower frequency words will be activated and produced, thereby resulting in a lower overall average word frequency. Using this procedure, patients with Parkinson’s disease have been found to exhibit increased spreading activation (Foster et al., 2008).

Furthermore, Foster et al. (2009) found reduced spreading activation in patients with AD as evidenced by a significantly higher average word frequency for the AN test. Unlike other paradigms used to measure spreading activation (i.e. lexical decision tasks), the paradigm based on words generated on the COWAT and AN test permits evaluation of variability in spreading activation. As will be discussed, measuring variability in spreading activation involves examining the differences in word frequencies for consecutive words generated on the COWAT and AN test. Given the aforementioned findings of patients with AD exhibiting a more “chaotic” organization of semantic information, this paper hypothesizes that AD patients will demonstrate increased variability in spreading activation within their semantic networks, as measured by the words produced on the COWAT and AN test.

**Methods**

**Participants**

A total of 25 patients (5 men and 20 women) diagnosed with probable AD participated in this investigation. Patients met criteria for probable AD based on the NINCDS-ADRDS criteria (McKhann et al., 1984) and were recruited from the Drexel University College of Medicine. The ages of the AD patients ranged from 71 to 89 years (M = 79.64, SD = 5.12), with an average education of 12.52 years (SD = 2.02). A sample of 20 control subjects was also used (5 men and 15 women), with an age range of 51 to 82 years (M = 67.20, SD = 8.88) and an average 14.35 years of education (SD = 2.48). The controls were recruited from the community.

**Apparatus**

As mentioned previously, the COWAT requires the subject to generate as many words as possible that begin with a specified letter (F, A, and S). Participants are given 60 seconds to generate as many words as possible. Subjects are also provided with three rules: they cannot use proper names or nouns, cannot use numbers or count, and cannot use a stem word and then place different endings on the stem. The AN test was also administered to the participants and requires them to generate the names of as many animals as possible in 60 seconds.

**Procedure**

Subjects were administered the COWAT and the Animal Naming test using standard procedures. The word frequencies for each word were then obtained using the Kucera-Francis (1982) corpus. Variability was then calculated using the Root Mean Square of Successive Differences (rMSSD). This procedure involves first creating a line graph of the responses produced for each condition (letters F, A, S, and the animal names), with the word position plotted on the y-axis and the frequency of the word plotted on the x-axis. The peaks were then obtained and the difference between peaks calculated. These differences were then squared and the average of these squared differences was calculated. Finally, to return the data to scale specificity, the square root was then obtained. Variability was also measured using a transformation based on the amplitude-frequency characteristics. This included subtracting the lowest divot from the following highest peak for each divot and peak in the graph, summing the differences, taking its average, and then multiplying that number by the hertz, which was calculated by dividing the number of peaks in the graph by 60.
Results

After conducting a univariate analysis of variance for rMSSD, results showed that the FAS rMSSD was statistically significant between the AD and control groups, $F(1, 42) = 6.33, p = .016$. However, there was no statistical significance for AN rMSSD, $F(1, 42) = 2.44, p = .142$. Likewise, a univariate analysis of variance was conducted for the AFT and the results showed a statistically significant difference between the AD and controls for the FAS AFT, $F(1, 42) = 6.92, p = .012$, but not for the AN AFT, $F(1, 42) = 3.03, p = .089$. See Fig. 1 for means and standard deviations for AD patients and controls.

Discussion

Reduced variability exhibited by the AD patients was evident once the numbers were converted into graphs. AD patients had no problem retrieving words of high frequency, however showed difficulty retrieving words of low frequency and retrieving as many words as the NC subjects. Because these low-frequency words are located on the outskirts of semantic networks and because AD patients tend to retrieve words of conceptual properties, as demonstrated in the study in which AD patients retrieved words such as vegetables instead of carrots, celery, etc, it is reasonable to suspect that their networks are not more chaotically organized but degenerated, therefore, less abstract and dimensional. This is witnessed in previous studies where AD patients relied on concrete attributes such as size when categorizing animals while NC subjects relied on abstract attributes like domesticity; attributes that require more associative links, thus creating more dimension (Chan, Butters, Salmon, Johnson, Paulsen, & Swenson, 1995). In other words, AD patients’ associative links to words further out in the network (low-frequency words) seem to have deteriorated, causing them to lose their semantic dimension and have reduced variability.

Conclusion

This paper conflicts with the notion that AD patients’ semantic networks are disorganized but is consistent with the idea that their semantic networks are comparatively altered. Furthermore, the reduction in variability suggests that their semantic distortion is due to the deterioration of associative links resulting in dimensional loss, as opposed to their allegedly chaotic design. Although these findings were not expected, they do effectively add to the literature a better understanding and a new measurement of spreading activation. However, this only speaks for verbal semantic networks without regard for nonverbal semantic networks, raising a curiosity worth exploring in the future.

Figure 1: Means and Standard Deviations for AD patients and Controls:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AD</th>
<th>Control</th>
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<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>25 (M=5, F=20)</td>
<td>20 (M=5, F=15)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>79.64 (5.12)</td>
<td>67.20 (8.88)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edu.</td>
<td>12.52 (2.02)</td>
<td>14.35 (2.48)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMSE</td>
<td>22.52 (2.84)</td>
<td>29.15 (1.27)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDS</td>
<td>3.68 (3.54)</td>
<td>4.30 (4.31)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FAS</td>
<td>24.80 (10.73)</td>
<td>43.90 (11.20)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>9.44 (3.98)</td>
<td>21.10 (4.84)</td>
</tr>
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References


ary). Reduced spreading activation of lexical networks in Alzheimer’s disease. Poster session presented at the annual meeting of the International Neuropsychological Society, Atlanta, GA.


Doug Varone and the Emergence of Professionalism

Mathew Elder

Department of Theatre and Dance

I knew that attending the Doug Varone and Dancers seminar/intensive was going to open a floodgate of growth in dance technique and choreography through close interaction with this creative genius and his talented company. What I did not anticipate was the gift of something larger that would prove to be the foundation for my future goals and career: the emergence of professionalism, or the manners/behaviors a dancer acquires while becoming a professional.

According to the company’s website, dougvaroneanddancers.org, Varone has been internationally recognized for the past two decades. Along with his company, which is based in New York City, he has received many honors including “the Presidential Distinguished Alumni Award in 2007 … a Guggenheim Fellowship, two American Dance Festival Doris Duke Awards for New Work, three from the National Dance Project and two New York Dance and Performance Awards (Bessies) for Sustained Achievement in Choreography, and for his 2006 Boats Leaving.” He has also branched out into the world of education, opera, and theatre and has become a leading man in each. Needless to say, it was a high honor to take part as a dancer and scholar in this seminar.

I left for Varone’s intensive, which was held at SUNY Brockport on June 4th. The next day I was immersed into the world of a professional dancer. The daily schedule was as follows: pilates at 8 a.m. to warm up and strengthen the body, two hours of technique that emphasized Varone’s unique style of release of tension, initiation of movement through the scapula and upper back, and skills to elongate traveling steps such as leaps and runs to eliminate space on stage, one hour of phrasework that was excerpted from Varone’s repertory in order to teach each student an appreciation for choreography and to harness the skill of learning movement and replicating it quickly, a two-hour lunch break, two hours for ballet, and then a two-hour elective course that focused on one aspect of learning (my elective was Performance Techniques). Following a relentless day of dance, Varone held lectures and demonstrations of his repertory. He described his choreographic devices that he used to create work, and then demonstrated these tools in a practicum performance.

After three weeks, each participant was asked to take part in a public showing of work to show their progress. I performed two pieces, both choreographed by Varone, entitled “Tomorrow” and “Chapters from a Broken Novel.” Though the itinerary was exceptionally intense, it was my observations of and conversations with members of his company that proved the most profound in my discovery of professionalism.

A daily schedule for a Doug Varone dancer consisted of teaching the courses at the intensive from 8 a.m. to 12 p.m., a two-hour rehearsal with Varone in order to learn and review repertory, a 90-minute lunch break while a guest artist taught the students ballet, teaching elective courses, and then performing in Varone’s demonstrations or shows for the public, which usually began an hour after their last class. A typical day would end no earlier than 10 p.m. This does not include the obligations each has to additional jobs, which I learned through discussions with the dancers is a reality many professional artists have to realize due to a lack of financial patronage. Julia Burre, one of Varone’s dancers, works at a law firm in New York City when she is not dancing. Other common jobs among the remaining dancers are teaching at local studios and serving at restaurants. My life as a participant in the intensive was extremely less exhausting compared to the members of Varone’s company.

My experiences and personal observations will surely benefit my future endeavors. The life of a professional dancer revolves around finding time to perform and finding money to survive. As the dancer leaves rehearsal, he hurriedly rushes to the next job. When he has to go on tour or teach in an intensive like Varone’s, he may have to take an absence from his other occupation(s) in order to attend, which may put him into a financial bind. All of this is due to the crisis many art institutions are facing in their lack of financial stability and ability to pay their performers. This prompts outside observers, including myself, to ask dancers why they take the risk of poverty and instability. According to the dancers, the hardships are accepted for the passion of continuing this legacy of dance and present-
ing moving art to the general public that would otherwise not be seen. To be a professional dancer, money cannot be the first priority in life. Dedication, passion, a hard work ethic, and the sense of furthering public awareness have to be present in each of their lives. These characteristics are what define professionalism in professional dance.

Next, I will spend time as a struggling artist in a small company. This will give me personal experience of the struggles these individuals face and the dedication to and love for the art that makes the struggles worthwhile.
Lifelong Commitment to Social Change: The Impact of Youth Civic Engagement on White Student Activists of the Nashville Student Movement

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The civil rights movement stands as a defining moment in American history where millions of individuals rose up against oppression and fought to take part in the American Dream. Participants sought to overturn centuries of racial oppression and receive equal rights which had long been denied to them. While the majority of activists in the civil rights movement were African Americans, which is to be expected in a movement organized around African American civil rights, there were also countless white activists who strove toward the goals of greater equality in America. Due to the standard narrative of the civil rights movement as a “Black Movement” these white activists often shy away from telling their story, despite the profound impact that activism had upon their lives. The involvement of white activists in the civil rights movement had a lifelong impact upon those participants, and understanding that impact is an important part of understanding the long-term influence the civil rights movement has had on America.

First active for social change as students in the Nashville sit-ins in the early 1960s, the white activists of the Nashville Student Movement went on to live lives dedicated to reform as a direct result of their youth civic engagement on the streets of Nashville. The Civil Rights Movement was not about its white activists, which was well understood by the white students who risked their lives fighting with their black peers for the common cause of equal rights. White students appreciated that the grassroots movement for legal rights under the U.S. Constitution developed to benefit others who were not born to the rights and privileges that automatically accrued to them by accident of birth and skin color. They understood full well the secondary nature of their participation and their support roles. And when the movement became pointedly segregated in the mid-1960s, they slipped quietly back into school and eventually moved on to the adult world of work.

But their engagement in civil rights activism in their youth proved to have had profound personal consequences on the rest of their lives and positioned them, with direct experience as street activists, for involvement in social change for a variety of issues. Stories of students, both black and white, in actions with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Freedom Riders, and Mississippi Freedom Summer, for example, have been well recorded. Little however has been published of the white students who studied under Jim Lawson and Diane Nash during the Nashville Student Movement and who tangled with white racists on the streets of Nashville. Providing case studies from oral histories, this paper argues that the involvement of white student activists in the Nashville Student Movement and sit-ins had lifelong impacts on the white participants themselves, whose commitments to social change expanded more broadly in years following their civil rights activism in Nashville. Understanding their participation as student activists is important for more fully understanding the influence of the civil rights movement on America.

Nashville Sit-ins

The sit-ins of the 1960s were a backlash against southern segregation. The black community chafed at the restrictions commonplace in southern retail. Blacks were encouraged to spend their money in shops owned by whites, but amenities such as lunch counters were off-limits. While school desegregation slowly proceeded after the Brown decision, there was little progress in many other avenues of southern society. So, as plans challenging segregation in other realms were drawn up, college students focused on integrating lunch counters as a symbol of their refusal to continue to accept the Jim Crow mentality. Students believed coercing the local lunch counters in their commu-
ties to open service to blacks would be another step toward dismantling the embedded system of racial discrimination throughout the South.

Sit-ins were nonviolent demonstrations that sought to temporarily shut down the businesses of segregated lunch counters. Students scouted locations to see what the store policies were before planning their demonstrations. The students politely asked to be served, and when they were denied service by a particular business, they would inquire of the employees and manager about the store’s policy. After gathering information from multiple lunch counters, students chose which of the vendors to target. Students would queue up outside of the chosen establishment and wait while other students sat at the stools of the counters inside. When the first ones were denied service on the basis of race, students would attempt to occupy other empty seats and also ask to be served. After being denied, the students remained in their seats. If they were physically removed by police or segregationists, the removed persons would not fight back. Instead, they would curl into defensive postures to protect themselves while more students stepped up to take the now-vacant seats. Their hope was that responding to violence with nonviolence might end the cycle of hate permeating the South.

Although Tennessee enforced many of the same Jim Crow laws that were common throughout the South, Tennessee had a moderate political culture throughout much of its history, which was sustained after the Brown v. Board decision and would prove true through the sit-ins. The perceived progressive attitude of the state drew many students and activists who would later join the sit-in movement. The city of Nashville held a relatively liberal reputation for a major southern city for a variety of reasons. The poll tax, one of the most common methods that kept African Americans from voting in the South, was defeated in the late 1940s in Tennessee. As a result, Tennessee blacks voted in much larger numbers than in other states, which greatly impacted Tennessee cities’ political landscapes. Nashville elected two black city council members in the late 1950s in large part due to black voting rights. Although Nashville was far from a bastion of racial equality, its more moderate political climate made it more attractive to northern students and activists who wished to settle in the South.

While traditional southern political attitudes supported segregation in all facets of life, Dixiecrat ideology was not dominant in Tennessee as it was in other southern states. Tennessee’s moderate political culture was reflected by its two U.S. senators, Albert Gore Sr. and Estes Kefauver. Whereas the senators of many southern states signed the Southern Manifesto, a document expressing disapproval of the Brown decision as an action of judicial activism, neither of Tennessee’s senators signed the document. Several Tennessee congressmen also did not sign it and then-governor Clement opposed it. The progressive stance of Tennessee’s political leaders reflects why the potential to demonstrate against segregation in Tennessee would have been assessed by civil rights advocates as promising greater potential for racial progress, as opposed to Alabama, for example, where every member of its House and Senate delegation signed the Manifesto. Tennessee’s more tolerant leadership helped the state stand out as a viable location for northern students to settle to take part in the civil rights movement.

The strong editorials of the Nashville Tennessean further cemented Nashville’s reputation. While most southern newspapers tended to rally against the Brown decision or remain passive in their coverage of the topic, the Nashville Tennessean supported desegregation in its editorials and, in the words of author David Halberstam, covered the implementation of integration with a “fearlessness that made it nothing less than a beacon to young journalists in the South.” Dogged, supportive press coverage was particularly important as the city implemented its stair-step integration of public schools, whereby one grade level at a time was integrated. The Tennessean highlighted the ways in which the residents of Nashville responded to the Brown decision, such as when on May 25, 1954, civil rights groups and parent-teacher associations met to organize biracial school associations to smooth the implementation of Brown. Had the Nashville Tennessean not devoted so much coverage to desegregation, the city’s enlightened handling of integration may not have been known. The paper’s exposure presented Nashville as a city that students and activists such as Jim Lawson perceived as an appropriate base for their desegregation activities. Because of the due diligence of the Tennessean, civil rights activists anticipated that their actions would receive fair treatment in the media in Nashville.

The sit-ins took place in large part due to Jim Lawson’s move to Nashville during the academic year of 1957.

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to 1958. Lawson, served as a missionary in India before his arrival in Nashville and acceptance to Vanderbilt Divinity School. He had a background in and commitment to the philosophy of nonviolence and had already been in contact with Nashville clergy before moving. He wasted little time before engaging in the local churches and the Nashville Christian Leadership Council. It was through the Council that Lawson worked with the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith, who offered his church for activism functions, as well as with Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), who helped Lawson establish nonviolence and social action workshops.\(^7\) Smiley was a white liberal with 30 years’ experience working with FOR, while Lawson was a black minister who had spent years studying the implementation of nonviolence in India. From the beginning, both knew that the philosophy and practice of nonviolence would be of paramount importance in successfully promoting interracial activism.

Although the Nashville sit-ins generated controversy by challenging Jim Crow status quo, the tactics taught to sit-in participants were founded in mainstream, middle-class Christian values. Students who participated in the nonviolence workshops and seminars received instruction grounded in the teachings of Jesus Christ, Mohandas Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, all of whom extolled the virtue of passive resistance to oppression. The most widely circulated principles instilled in the student activists revolved around the instructions “Don’t strike back or curse aloud if abused,” “Show yourself friendly and courteous at all times,” and “Report all serious incidents to your leader.”\(^8\) Ministers and theological students taught the scriptural basis and intellectual theory behind nonviolence and taught secular and historical writings on nonviolence from sources ranging from ancient Chinese philosopher Lao-Tzu, to the Hindu beliefs behind Gandhian active pacifism, to modern works by Thoreau and Hegel.\(^9\) Studying the theories behind nonviolence was instrumental to the development and practice of the role-playing scenarios of later workshops that prepared students for the physical and verbal abuse they would encounter during their demonstrations. It was not enough for students to grit their teeth and bear through the abuse they might suffer; the students had to believe in all aspects of the doctrine so that they would not be tempted to strike back in the heat of the moment.

Although most students received nonviolence instruction, the workshops also prepared individuals for specific duties during the demonstrations. The most common roles were organizers, spotters, and demonstrators. Organizers tended to help out behind the scenes in functions that did not require exposure to violence. They would help with recruitment drives, fundraising, and sit-in planning. There were various reasons behind-the-scenes people were required. The students who acted in this role often were those who could not maintain a nonviolent outlook; they agreed with the goals of the sit-ins and wanted to help, but many were aware that they would be too tempted to fight back.\(^10\) Spotters were students trained to remain outside of locations where sit-ins were taking place to watch for signs of trouble. They were given a list of phone numbers and instructed whom to contact in specific situations. Many white students were assigned spotter duties under the assumption that troublemakers and others who assaulted the sit-in demonstrators would typically ignore white onlookers.\(^11\) Students who were involved in the demonstrations were tasked with prep work prior to the scheduled sit-ins. They scouted local lunch counters in racially mixed groups and ask to be served, and if they were refused they would then ask if their white companions could be served; but the white students were also typically denied service because they were accompanying blacks.\(^12\) After the students returned and discussed what had taken place on these scouting trips, the groups planned their demonstrations around the advance information.

**White Student Activists of the Nashville Sit-ins**

Nashville attracted many students who wanted to participate in the movement not only because of its progressive reputation but also due to the large number of universities throughout the city. The Vanderbilt Divinity School had a nation-wide reputation of excellence that brought many white theology students into contact with church-based civil rights activism in Nashville. James Lawson’s attendance at Vanderbilt Divinity School, beginning in the fall of 1958, influenced several of the white ministry students there to assist his efforts in promoting nonviolence.\(^13\)

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8 Joel Rosenthal, “Southern Black Student Activism: Assimilation vs. Nationalism,” *Journal of Negro Education* 44, no. 2 (Spring 1975), 120.
10 LaPrad, Nashville Public Library Civil Rights Oral History Project.
12 Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 87-88.
White students were also swayed through their involvement with the Nashville branch of the National Council of Churches where white ministers such as Reverend Will Campbell strongly supported Lawson’s work.\textsuperscript{14}

While the civil rights movement was greatly influenced by religious beliefs, students at secular colleges and universities significantly contributed to the movement's success. Many of the white students who attended Nashville’s secular historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), such as Fisk and Meharry, felt similarly to Paul LaPrad, a white northern student who attended Fisk University. He said that he wanted to attend a “good college that was predominantly black, with black students, in order to give me a life experience … of working and living with people who were different than what I had grown up with.”\textsuperscript{15}

Motivated students like LaPrad were predominantly liberal and wanted to participate in the civil rights movement due to religious reasons as well as their personal commitments to social justice. They viewed the secular issues of equality promised in the Constitution just as important as the religious motivations for the movement. The presence of so many universities in and around Nashville persuaded such civicly minded students to get involved in social activism as an extension of their education.

Paul LaPrad engaged in political activism because of the influence of his church and the values that were instilled in him throughout his childhood. He was raised in the Church of the Brethren, which was a historic peace church in his home state of Illinois. LaPrad believed strongly in Christian brotherhood and understood that he should experience living with people of other backgrounds to have a greater understanding of his fellow man. Two years into his studies in Manchester, Indiana, LaPrad traveled to Europe to look at life from a perspective different than that in which he had grown up. During his travels LaPrad visited several European countries still dealing with the ravages that afflicted the continent more than a decade after World War II. He traveled to several concentration camps throughout Central Europe and saw firsthand the poverty of refugees from Hungary. Observing the issues distressing Europe broadened LaPrad’s horizons and cemented his resolve to help those in need.\textsuperscript{16}

When LaPrad returned from his trip to Europe, he devoted himself to the cause of fighting injustice and poverty. He volunteered in the slums of Chicago with an inner city Mennonite parish while awaiting replies from his application to several southern historically black colleges and universities including Fisk, Tougaloo, and Tuskegee. While volunteering with the Mennonite pastors, their conversations turned towards the South. One pastor told LaPrad about Jim Lawson and his interest in nonviolence in Nashville. This new information reaffirmed LaPrad’s interest in working in the South and committed him to Fisk University. After he was accepted to Fisk and moved to Nashville in 1959, Paul quickly contacted Lawson and expressed an interest in what he had heard of the emerging nonviolence movement in Nashville.\textsuperscript{17}

Paul LaPrad’s early involvement with Jim Lawson’s nonviolence training put him in a position to greatly assist the growth of a student-led movement in Nashville. While Lawson prepared training sessions with his associates such as Glenn Smiley, expansion of his mission needed students recruiting like-minded individuals on Nashville’s college campuses. Paul LaPrad focused on recruiting on the Fisk campus. Despite the relatively conservative nature of Fisk at the time, LaPrad succeeded in generating interest among black and white students who shared Lawson’s vision of challenging segregation through nonviolence. These students would often congregate in Fisk’s International Center, which is where he persuaded Diane Nash to attend Lawson’s nonviolence seminars.\textsuperscript{18} Diane Nash was skeptical of some of Lawson’s tactics when she began attending the seminars, but she continued going to them with LaPrad because it was “the only game in town.”\textsuperscript{19} LaPrad and Nash studied the nonviolent philosophies that Lawson taught and used those ideas together to entice other Fisk students also to participate in Lawson’s nonviolence training sessions. While LaPrad continued recruiting students who would prove helpful to the Nashville sit-ins and the civil rights movement in general, no one else he personally brought into the movement developed the national name recognition and public visibility as did Diane Nash.

LaPrad’s personal involvement went far beyond recruiting. Many white students who participated early on did so only in spotter or organizational roles, but LaPrad engaged in the actual sit-ins from their beginning. His involvement in the early sit-ins generated some press regarding the “few white students from Fisk” who demonstrated with black students against segregation.\textsuperscript{20} In line with the media attention regarding the spectacle of white college

\textsuperscript{14} Halberstam, The Children, 52.
\textsuperscript{15} LaPrad, Nashville Public Library Civil Rights Oral History Project.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Halberstam, The Children, 59.
\textsuperscript{19} Lynne Olson, Freedom’s Daughters: The Unsung Heroines of the Civil Rights Movement from 1830 to 1970 (New York: Touchstone, 2001), 155.
\textsuperscript{20} “Negroes ‘Strike’ Counter Again,” Nashville Tennessean, February 19, 1960, 4A.
students demonstrating along with black students, LaPrad received significant news focus following the “Big Saturday” sit-in on February 28, 1960. Big Saturday was the fourth of the sit-ins. By the fourth one, students turned out in larger numbers to take part in the challenge to segregation, but so too did local racist thugs who arrived in larger numbers to counter-protest and assault the demonstrators. LaPrad was singled out by several white segregationists for his association with black students, taunted as a “nigger lover” and beaten by a group of white delinquents on the floor of the McClellan’s store in Nashville.21

The image of LaPrad crouching on the floor while being assaulted by white students made the front page of the Nashville Tennessean on February 28, 1960, for all to see, shocking the moderate whites of Nashville.22 Following the tenets of nonviolence, as he was trained to do by Jim Lawson, LaPrad fell into a defensive position to minimize his injuries while not fighting back. Despite his refusal to meet violence with violence, the police arrested him and a hundred other students on charges such as “disturbing the peace” because they refused to move on when McClellan employees tried to close the counter.23 While sit-in demonstrators were arrested en masse, none of the violent racist counter-protesters who attacked them were arrested.

LaPrad’s contributions to the civil rights movement continued for several years and included participation in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC as it began to be called by its members. His involvement in the Nashville sit-ins gave him a unique set of skills allowing him to train new members who joined the organization, as well as nonmembers who took part in SNCC demonstrations, on how to follow the nonviolent tenets on which the organization was based. Although he took part in demonstrations throughout the South, LaPrad often worked closely with individuals whom he had met and worked with early on during his Nashville activism. LaPrad and John Lewis, for example, were especially close activist colleagues; LaPrad drove Lewis to the 1963 meeting in Nashville where Lewis became leader of SNCC.24 However, the increasing backlash against white activists in the civil rights movement during the mid-1960s took a toll on LaPrad. Partially due to his relatively high profile position within the organization but also because of his involvement in an interracial relationship,25 he left SNCC to fulfill his commitment to societal change in a less hostile atmosphere.

LaPrad continued to be supportive of civil rights causes throughout his life, but after he stopped participating in SNCC the next major cause to which he dedicated himself was prison reform. Having seen the problems of the prison system when he had dealt with troubled youths in Chicago, he felt a need to interact more closely with young people who often faced harsh sentences. Taking a job within the Colorado Department of Corrections in the 1980s, LaPrad decided to work within the system in order to follow through with his commitment to social justice. He felt that taking a job as a parole officer would give him a chance to help people while at the same time providing him the steady employment he had not had as a student activist during the 1960s. Furthermore, his own jail experiences from his civil rights arrests allowed him to connect to the troubled youths with whom he worked.26

Another white student who participated in the Nashville Student Movement was Malcolm Carnahan, whose involvement in the Nashville sit-ins began in the spring of 1960 after hearing about the movement as a graduate student at Vanderbilt Divinity School. Carnahan entered Vanderbilt in the fall of 1959, a year after Lawson did. Carnahan sought to become involved in the sit-ins due to his strong belief in social justice and Christian fellowship. He attended meetings that were no longer presided over by Jim Lawson but, by the spring of 1960, by Diane Nash. By the time Carnahan engaged in the movement, the younger generation of student leaders had taken on increased leadership roles and directly oversaw the hands-on training sessions and localized organizing, which freed Lawson to devote his time to wider initiatives. Carnahan acted as a spotter in March and April of 1960 due to injuries sustained in a car crash in the previous winter that had left him in a cast. He observed several sit-ins and assisted the demonstrators when he could, but his injuries kept him from taking a more active role until the fall of 1960.27

In the fall, Carnahan was physically capable of greater direct action in the sit-ins. The Nashville Student Movement officially became a part of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and Malcolm was invited to the planning and organizational meetings. The Nashville student leadership appointed him as one of its treasurers. This position placed him in strategy sessions with the Nashville coordinating committee for sit-ins and other

21 James Tally, “100 Students Arrested Here,” Nashville Tennessean, February 28, 1960, 1A, 6A.
22 “Student Attacked!” Nashville Tennessean, February 28, 1960, 1A.
23 Tally, “100 Students Arrested Here,” 1A, 6A.
24 Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 200.
25 Ibid., 273.
26 LaPrad, Nashville Public Library Civil Rights Oral History Project.
27 Carnahan, Nashville Public Library Civil Rights Oral History Project.
demonstrations against segregation. He attended those summits along with Diane Nash and John Lewis. During the leadership sessions that fall, the group altered its strategies: rather than focusing predominantly on lunch counters, they would confront segregation in nicer restaurants and in movie theaters. Carnahan’s role as treasurer required that he personally hold the money obtained from sources such as the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference that was raised to pay students’ bail after their arrests.28

Carnahan’s first direct action during a protest resulted in his arrest. When the Nashville committee shifted its focus to a broader range of venues to desegregate, the students targeted several well-to-do restaurants. Carnahan demonstrated at one such restaurant, along with John Lewis from the HBCU American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville, by standing outside the establishment and asking to be let in to be served. The restaurant had hired men who acted as bouncers to keep the demonstrators from entering the facilities. The bouncers, however, were not stationed outside to prevent violence directed at the demonstrators. One of the young toughs who accosted the demonstrators targeted Carnahan and assaulted him. Police intervened several minutes later and arrested many of those on the scene, including Carnahan and the man who assaulted him.29

The outcome of that assault was quite unique. On their way to the police station in the same paddy wagon, Carnahan was questioned by his assailant about why Carnahan had not fought back. The man asserted that given the size difference between the two of them, since Carnahan was larger, it was likely he would have won if he had fought back. The young delinquent was not aware of the principles of nonviolence in which the sit-in demonstrators believed and by which they acted, until the philosophy of nonviolence was described to him that day. Carnahan took the time the two shared together in the police vehicle to talk to his attacker about passive resistance and the rights of each individual regardless of race. Several days after the arrest, the assailant found the apartment that Carnahan shared with fellow student and activist Rollin Russell. Carnahan and the man who had beaten him up had yet another discussion on the nonviolent principles. Although the young man did not join the Nashville student movement, he did begin supplying the Nashville sit-in organization with information on the tactics he learned about that were going to be used against the students; he became an “informant.” This logistical information was reported to the Nashville coordinating committee for consideration as they planned future demonstrations.30

After graduating from Vanderbilt Divinity, Carnahan took an assistant minister position in a poor rural church in Iliopolis, Illinois, while the pastor dealt with cancer. When the pastor passed away, Carnahan took over the position for a short time. In this position he incorporated themes of social justice into his sermons. In addition to race issues he also spoke on the separation of church and state, an issue which he was especially passionate about. Through grappling with his own sermons he realized how wrong he believed it was that ministers were exempt from the draft. He thought carefully about how he could follow through with his beliefs on the separation of church and state and after speaking with his wife about the issue decided to volunteer for Army Officer Candidate School to serve in Vietnam. He was accepted into the OCS program, graduated as a lieutenant, and led an Army infantry platoon for a year in Vietnam.31

When he returned from Vietnam Carnahan took an assistant minister position in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, at an inner-city church struggling with the issues of race and poverty faced by the city and Carnahan’s new congregation. The church worked closely with a local anti-poverty office, and Carnahan worked closely with the black leader of the anti-poverty program in his region. Carnahan saw first-hand the extreme difficulties confronting the poor in urban, decaying Harrisburg. He dealt with the anti-poverty office on issues of housing, welfare, and medical care availability and offered the resources of his church when he could. The issues were too large to be solved by one church or one anti-poverty office, of course, but Carnahan committed himself to doing the best that he could by leading fundraising events and getting church members to reach out and volunteer with their community. One instance that Carnahan remembers most was his ability to help raise more than $50,000 in one fund-raising event that could be used by the church to help the poor in his city.32

After several years of work in Harrisburg, Carnahan took a position with the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) office in Chicago. In addition to overseeing and directing grants for housing development and city improvement projects, his position allowed him to tackle what he believed was systemic social injustice. In one example, while overseeing grants that redeveloped urban areas in In-

28 Ibid.
29 “Three White Men Seized in Sit-in,” Nashville Tennessean, November 23, 1960, 1A, 2A
30 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
dianapolis, Carnahan dealt with city officials who refused to pay to help poor families relocate while several Section 8 housing districts were being remodeled or rebuilt. Carnahan entered into negotiations with the city officials in an attempt to force city to pay for the relocation of poor families displaced during construction. The city appealed to his superiors, but ultimately he succeeded in forcing Indianapolis to help its displaced poor families.33

A third case study of a Nashville Student Movement activist examines Rollin Russell, another student at Vanderbilt Divinity at the beginning of the sit-ins, who grew up in a household supportive of civil rights. Russell’s father, a minister in Louisiana, preached themes of social justice to his congregation and attended several civil rights marches and demonstrations throughout the South. Russell already had a strong belief in the need to work for the rights of others who were not born into the privileges that automatically accrued to some by accident of birth and skin color. Russell was first exposed to the growing Nashville Student Movement when he attended class with James Lawson. Russell primarily assisted the movement in administrative functions by seeking out financial contributions, taking notes during meetings, making copies of fliers, and similar tasks. His role wasn’t purely administrative, however, as he did participate in several sit-ins. Although he was never arrested during any of the demonstrations, he did face verbal harassment from other whites in the community. Nevertheless, Russell remained committed to the student movement throughout his studies at Vanderbilt.

Russell actively worked on the Vanderbilt campus to engage new students in the actions taking place throughout the city. It was Russell, in fact, who had entered the Vanderbilt Divinity program in the fall of 1958 as a classmate of Lawson, who had introduced Malcolm Carnahan to the possibility in Nashville of active civic engagement against segregation. Despite Vanderbilt’s rather conservative reputation, Russell and Carnahan were able to recruit several of their classmates into participating. In Russell’s words, “We were probably viewed with a mixture of suspicion and forbearance, and we did not have much to offer except that we could turn out a few of our classmates for demonstrations. That was seen as a plus.”34 The difficulty in recruiting at Vanderbilt was not an objection to desegregation itself because, in theory, the movement towards integration was growing in acceptance among many whites in the South, but rather there was the oft-stated objection that the tactics utilized by the student movement were inappropriate and too confrontational. Many otherwise liberal divinity stu-

33 Ibid.
34 Russell, “Wake-up Call.”

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
student activists who had devoted themselves to the causes of social justice did not simply fade away. The influx of white students with civil rights activist experience into New Left organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) is well documented. However, less attention is paid to the myriad individuals who, outside of national organizations, remained committed to social justice in general as well as to the specific Christian and wider religious ideals from which the sit-ins had been developed. As both New Left groups and many Black Power groups abandoned the Christian ideals on which so much of the early civil rights movement had been founded, many activists took the experiences they gained in the youth movement and utilized them throughout their lives in a lifelong commitment to social justice on an individual basis, without the ideological debates intrinsic within the political groups of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Given how many white students joined the civil rights movement due to their religious beliefs it is natural that their commitment to social justice and civic engagement would continue on for some through church activities. Both Malcolm Carnahan and Rollin Russell were able to use their positions as ministers and assistant ministers to expand the social outreach of their churches to work on issues of racial inequality as well as economic inequality. From Harrisburg to Houston, Carnahan and Russell confronted abysmal conditions in their communities that motivated them to help improve local conditions. Government assistance intended to help the poor in their parishes often achieved little. Yet despite the difficult conditions that they faced, both Carnahan and Russell continued working within their churches to do as much good as they could with the resources they could obtain. They were both able to use the pulpit as a way that focused attention and fundraising efforts to help the poor in their areas. Carnahan did this through fund-raising efforts in Harrisburg that succeeded in raising over $50,000 for his community.39 Russell tapped personal and church resources to establish a nonprofit foundation dedicated to improving low-income housing conditions in Houston.40

Other activists saw working within the government as the best way for them to show their commitment to social justice while helping to alleviate racial and economic inequality. Becoming part of government seems somewhat paradoxical considering that student activists of the 1960s were often treated harshly by police and while civil rights organizations were spied upon by the FBI. However, the social policies of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society programs inspired confidence in the ability of government to address the causes of poverty and uplift the poor. Malcolm Carnahan took a position with HUD after he finished his tour of service in Vietnam with this sort of mentality. Unfortunately, he learned that the funds and reach of government anti-poverty programs were often too little to achieve meaningful success. In some cases, in the view of Malcolm Carnahan, government actions actually made things worse. In his own words:

We could see, 50 years ago, the problems with the welfare system that did not get fixed, and they’ve never really been fixed. They created more negative conditions. ... not allowing men to be in the household. ... as you made money losing your subsidies. ... You couldn’t have designed a program more carefully to keep people in poverty. 41

His position within HUD did give him many opportunities to help people despite the shortcomings he saw in the system. Paul LaPrad faced similar conditions while working with juveniles in the Colorado Department of Corrections. The problems within the criminal justice system meant that he worked with many individuals who had been forced into a life of crime while simultaneously dealing with others who had no interest in rehabilitation. Nevertheless, working within the state system in Colorado gave LaPrad an opportunity to assist many youthful offenders in rejoining society in ways that would have been less possible without systemic supports and incentives.

Scholars often look at the continuity between the various civil rights groups of the early to mid 1960s and the New Left groups of the mid to late 1960s, but less examination has explored other ways in which youth activism impacted the lives of students who did not engage in New Left organizations. The white participants of the civil rights movement demonstrated their commitment to a better society and greater social justice in numerous ways throughout their lives that did not revolve around activist organizations. The examples presented here are but a preliminary sampling of many case studies from life histories that have yet to be examined, of services to society over the long term that developed from the direct civic engagement by activists who worked in their younger years for the community. To the white students of the civil rights movement, their commitment to social justice was more than skin deep; their engagement in civil rights activism in their youth proved to have had profound personal consequences on the actions and professional pathways they took for the rest of their lives.

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Dreaming Development: The Rhetoric and Reality of India’s First Five-Year Plan

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Upon gaining independence in 1947, India quickly embarked on a series of five-year plans designed to boost the economy at large while improving the lives of individuals. These plans stressed central control of many production methods and rapid industrialization with little emphasis on the role of the private sector. Though the first plan was fairly modest, the two following plans were progressively more ambitious. India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was a key figure in this development process and regularly extolled the virtues of industrialization. He was a firm believer in the transformative power of science, technology, and progress and their power to aid not only the Indian nation but the Indian people. Despite this belief, India’s first three five-year plans did not accomplish many of the set goals and allowed the economy to stagnate.

The Indian Government launched its First Five-Year Plan in 1951 with an ambitious set of goals, financial and social. With an economy hampered by 150 years of imperial occupation and a nation recovering from famine and reeling from partition, it is not surprising that Indian planners faced a number of setbacks and failures. Despite these, the First Five-Year Plan established a solid, democratic foundation for planning, a focus on social as well as economic goals, and established a template for future planning. Both the West and factions within the country distrusted the centralization and perceived lack of industry involvement in the plan. Socialist and communist factions thought the plan needed more centralization and allowed too much room for capitalists. As with their international policy, India followed an internal policy of non-alignment, this time economic, conforming fully to neither a socialist nor a capitalist economic system but choosing aspects of each to develop national policy.

Planning before Independence

Indian planning efforts were based on a foundation established under the British Raj. Indian planning began early in the 20th century after the First World War. The war in many ways weakened Britain economically, and India profited in many ways following 1918. Responding to pressure from Indian nationalists, the British government passed the Government of India Act of 1919 to give Indian leaders more autonomy over internal decisions. India grew as a manufacturing and industrial country in the 20th century, supplying a foundation for industrial efforts by Independence in 1947.¹

Indian planning began in a conceptual form as early as the 1930s, and early planning influenced the goals and economic trajectory of independent India. In the 1930s, Britain passed a new Government of India Act allowing greater decision-making authority than the 1919 Act. Despite these early efforts at sovereignty by Indian leaders, planning in the Raj did not begin in earnest until 1944 with India’s first planning board. Under the Raj, the ability of Indian planners to implement their plans was limited, but Indian leaders produced several plans from 1944 to 1951. “A Plan for the Economic Development of India,” largely a construct of India’s industrial and capitalistic interests published in 1944 and 1945, greatly influenced the First Five-Year Plan implemented in 1951.²

Why India Choose to Plan

To proponents of planning, particularly the early planners of India’s economy, why planning was chosen or deemed necessary would be an irrelevant question. According to A.H. Hanson, “The only realistic question is ‘What kind of planning?’”²³ And in light of India’s post-

² Ibid., 7.
The Planning Commission

The Indian government opted to have a Planning Commission rather than allotting those responsibilities to Congress. The Planning Commission’s purview was: the provision of financial and technical aid to existing industries, the conduct of research work for both existing and potential industries, the establishment of new industries deemed to be particularly valuable link in the industrial chain, the provision or encouragement of technical training, the extension of markets and improvements in marketing, the dovetailing of agricultural and industrial employments, the coordination of knowledge and promotion of cooperation with other departments.³

With these ends in mind, the Planning Commission’s role was to offer suggestions to Congress on how funds should be allocated for planning, but they could not allocate those funds themselves. They were theoretically a suggestive body, but as many members of Congress were on the commission and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was chairman, Congress carried out or, at the very least, attempted the majority of the commission’s suggestions. As noted by Medha Kudaisya, “An astute political commentator noted that ‘the Prime Minister is not chairman because of his grasp of economic affairs’ but ‘to ensure that the commission’s recommendations are presented to Government with the greatest possible weight behind them, to influence the speed of work and not its direction and to give his sponsorship’ to the PC.”⁹

Planning was not only an economic undertaking; it had distinct social goals the Planning Commission had to consider in developing policy. As stated by H. W. Singer, “The Draft Outline is also based on the assumption that concepts of social welfare are inseparable from those of economic development.”¹⁰ The Planning Commission’s role was not to plan economic activity alone, but to plan economic activity that would “promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing production, and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community.”¹¹ Chairman Nehru fostered this expectation for improving the standard of living of the average Indian citizen. In Nehru’s opinion, “The nature of the economy can have only instrumental importance ... what ultimately matters is the nature of the lives people can...

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8 Antsey, The Economic Development of India, 221.
11 Planning Commission, First Five Year Plan.
or cannot lead.” Thus, the Planning Commission, at least in theory, had to examine the needs of the country, social and economic, and create a balanced policy that promoted economic growth and enhanced the lives of individuals within the confines of a democratic system. Nehru did not focus on industrialization to the dismissal of the peasant population. He recognized that “India, even urban India, even the new industrial India, had the impress of the peasant upon her.” And he claimed that planning was for the people of India. In his view, poverty was not the inevitable result of industrialization but was rather the result of the economic structure and the machinations of “private capitalists and financiers.” Through economic policies, Nehru hoped to work for the 360 million people wanting food, clothing, shelter, and health. His rhetoric created an expectation in the Indian people that the actions of the government would be in their best interests and a standard to which the Indian people could hold their planners accountable. This may have been Nehru’s greatest contribution to planning.

Nehru and Planning

A discussion of early Indian planning efforts would be incomplete without examining Prime Minister Nehru’s role. Nehru was a strong promoter of planning well before independence. In Nehru’s view, the goal of planning was to “attack the poverty and un employment of India and to raise the standards of our people” through “rapid growth of industry, scientific agriculture and the social services, all coordinated together, under more or less state control, and directed toward betterment of the people as a whole.” Economic planning without addressing the needs of the Indian people was useless. For Nehru, “Finance is important but not so important as people think. What is really important is drawing up the physical needs of the people and then working to produce things which will fulfill such needs.” And despite having no economic background, Nehru had specific views on the sort of plans and methods that would work best for India.

Nehru differed from his mentor Gandhi in goals for the Indian economy and industry. Gandhi envisioned an economy based on cottage industry and, in some ways, a return to the past. Nehru, on the other hand, was of a younger, more secular breed. He did not want to return to the past but to seize the future. He recognized Gandhi’s importance to the nation and the value of his insight into peasant India, but he did not want India to remain peasant India.

Nehru in many ways embodied India’s early economic and political policies. He was educated in Britain with a firm belief in the superiority and necessity of democracy, yet he was also a supporter of Communist Russia and China. He was a promoter of centralization and planning, but he recognized the role or private industry and capitalists in the Indian economy. Early Indian policies largely reflect his views on the balance of democracy and a socialist society and a planning and the involvement of private interests as he actively sought the support of Congress on his views.

Nehru’s goal in planning was to rapidly industrialize the nation, but he did not forget that the nation was largely a peasant population. He claimed that planning was for the people of India. In his view, poverty was not the inevitable result of industrialization but was rather the result of the economic structure and the machinations of private capitalists and financiers with imperialistic aims. Nehru’s rhetoric on the aims of the Indian government worked its way into the Constitution and the First Five Year Plan, and created an expectation in the Indian people that the actions of the government would be in their best interests; it established a standard to which the Indian people could hold their planners accountable.

Socialism

For Nehru, planning was and should be a socialist endeavor, but there are many possible definitions for socialist. In his own words, “The picture I have in mind is definitely and absolutely a Socialist picture of society. I am not using the word in a dogmatic sense at all, but in the sense of meaning largely that the means of production should be socially owned and controlled for the benefit of society as a whole. There is plenty of room for private enterprise there, providing the main aim is kept clear.” Nehru’s fear, and the fear of many government leaders, was not primarily that of private investment, but a fear of outside investment and a weakened government incapable of sustaining itself. It was only a small portion of the

13 Jawaharlal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru: An Anthology, 104.
14 Ibid., 303.
15 Ibid., 370-371.
16 Ibid., 306.
17 Ibid., 312.
18 Ibid., 103.
19 Ibid., 303.
20 Hanson, The Process of Planning, 33.
21 Ibid., 303.
22 Hanson, The Process of Planning, 123.
country — extreme leftists and communists, Gandhians, and some of the intelligentsia — that truly viewed private industrialists as criminals one and all.  

Despite Western criticism and fear of Indian socialist policy, many aspects of early Indian planning were more capitalist than socialist. The socialist aspects lie mainly in the massive investment by the state, the bureaucratic red tape applied to private investment, and the attempts at welfare and social improvements to create a more balanced society. India, at least democratic India, could never be fully socialist because of the many moneyed interests that had embedded themselves into the nation over centuries. Surprisingly, much of the “socialist” rhetoric in the First Plan drew from statements in “A Plan for the Economic Development of India,” largely a construct of Indian capitalists. So called “big business” and moneyed interests were a faction of vital importance to Indian politicians. Beyond their political importance, it is a basic economic principle that saving and investment come from the rich, and surpluses from large business families such as the Tatas and the Birlas were essential to the plans.

**India and China: A Comparison**

Indian planning, committed to the social welfare of individuals, stands in stark contrast to Chinese planning. Indian planning was, from the beginning, committed to a joint effort between the state and its populace. As stated by Singer, “Planning in a democratic State is a social process in which, in some part, every citizen should have the opportunity to participate.” This is in contrast to planning in China which is state implemented, controlled, and demanded despite assertions to the contrary. One example of this was Indians’ ability to move to new areas if work was more available, as opposed to Chinese policies that implemented controls to keep a balanced population in both rural and urban areas. While these controls had the intended effect of controlling labor flow, they limited the potential of many of the Chinese people and disallowed freedom to a better quality of life.

Indian planners also had, at the very least, to placate the Indian people in order for them to agree to the plans and continue to support their political leaders. In the words of Amartya Sen:

The common man has to be given a feeling that extreme disparities of income are being gradually eliminated and something visible is happening in his neighborhood and there is a reasonable promise of his own standard of living and employment opportunities improving during the next decade or so although immediately he is being called upon to bear some strain.

It was India’s adherence to democracy that ruled out radical Soviet and Chinese policies such as forced land reform and redistribution for India. It made India’s attempts at new land policies fairly weak and ineffectual, but it also kept India from devolving into a despotic state. It also acknowledged that Chinese gains in investment rates were made at the direct expense of the quality of life of the Chinese people. The liberal nature of Indian planning and the democratic parameters of Indian planning protected the Indian people from the worst evils associated with centralized planning and communism.

**Conclusion**

Despite democratic controls on planners and the good intentions embedded in the First Five-Year Plan, it was inevitable that the first plan would not and could not improve the life of every Indian or solve all the nation’s economic deficiencies. It was also impossible to please everyone. For example, railways, generally considered necessary by the planners, were accused of harming industry rather than helping by bringing “the competition of cheap machine-made goods of foreign origin.” And agriculture, despite the attention it received, saw little improvement due to failures in land redistribution policies, failed communalism, and the inability of many peasants to modernize or change their agricultural methods. It is also true that planners did not always have an open mind and became caught up in pet projects and plans that would not benefit the maximum number of people. And the majority of the planners were from the upper classes.
and castes of society and were well educated. They often did not understand how their plans would affect peasant India.\textsuperscript{36} The plans that followed the First Five-Year Plan grew increasingly ambitious, more focused on industry, and based less on sound economics.\textsuperscript{37}

Despite these shortcomings, the First Five-Year Plan and later plans saw a number of notable successes. Though poverty remained an issue, per capita income steadily increased through the first three plans, though it was not enough to counterbalance the endemic poverty which was largely the result of 150 years of colonization. Domestic saving increased.\textsuperscript{38} Planners addressed “the problems of poverty and inequality by attempting to achieve sustained expansion and diversification of economic activity.”\textsuperscript{39} And, due to strategies based in the First Plan there was significant industrialization from 1951-1965 averaging 7 percent per year.\textsuperscript{40} The goals of the First Five-Year Plan, though modest, were fulfilled and gave the planners confidence to elevate their goals in the following plans. But perhaps the most notable aspect of the First Five-Year Plan was its democratic foundation and social goals that established Indian planning as valid and workable in a democratic framework. It did not devolve into tyranny as it did in many other decolonized nations nor did it descend into anarchy nor was it abandoned. And despite failures and modifications, planning in India has, at least in some aspects, retained its foundation of working for the individual and improving quality of life as it improves the economy. Though planning drew from the communist template of Soviet Russia and China, it did so in a democratic framework that made planning in India a balanced and original venture distinct from and incorporating both the communist East and the capitalist West.

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Blowing up the Ballot Box: Political Violence in the Election Cycle

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There is a plethora of information regarding political violence in democratic states and methods employed by violent groups; however, there is a lack of information regarding violence and its impact on election cycles. Violence comes in many forms: criminal, domestic, transnational, or the umbrella term of terrorism. Research suggests that violence can increase during election cycles in democratic states. Through the examination of three case studies — Spain, France, and Israel — I found that the impact of violence on elections varies depending on two primary factors: social and governmental sympathy. Additionally, a democratic state’s previous relationship with various forms of violence, and groups that perpetrate violence as well as the democratic state’s traditional use of force will contribute to the effects that violence has on democratic elections.

Introduction

In 1648, THE MODERN NATION state system emerged with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia. “The conflicts of the western world before 1648 were largely among princes, emperors, absolute monarchs, and constitutional monarchs attempting to expand their bureaucracies, their armies, their mercantilist economies, and, most importantly, the territory they ruled” (Huntington, 1993: 22). In the process, they created nation states. Beginning with the French Revolution, the principle lines of conflict were between nations rather than princes. In 1793, as R.R. Palmer stated, “the wars of kings were over, the wars of the people had begun” (Huntington, 1993: 22). This nineteenth century pattern lasted until the end of World War I. “Then, as a result of the Russian Revolution and the reaction against it, the conflict of nations yielded to the conflict of ideologies, first among communists, then fascism-Nazism and liberal democracy, and then between communism and liberal democracy … During the Cold War, the latter conflict became embodied in the struggle between the two superpowers, neither of which was a nation-state in the classical European sense but defined identity in terms of ideology” (Huntington, 1993: 22).

In 1991, the Soviet Union and the communist ideology that permeated the world imploded. This seemed to be a victory for western liberal democracies. On January 29, 1991, President H.W. Bush delivered a famous speech in which he declared that the time was right for the emergence of a “New World Order.” This new world formed in a way that resulted in the emergence of a uni-multipolar world (Korobkov, 2010). A uni-multipolar world is defined as “one superpower with several major powers” (Huntington, 1999: 36). The current international system, especially western liberal democracies, faces new security challenges. Violence, transnational terrorism, domestic terrorism, and ethnic tensions are at the forefront of national security challenges. These challenges encompass many groups that function within the framework of democracies.

Many groups within established democracies have felt marginalized and not part of the democratic process. Therefore, some have turned to violence in order to have their grievances heard. It becomes reasonable to question whether violence had been instrumental in resolving grievances. In the case of western liberal democracies, does violence actually impact the outcome of election cycles? When does this violence tend to occur, and why do many groups feel that violence is their only recourse?

Violence, Political Violence, and Terrorism

“Violence is defined as direct or indirect action applied to restrain, injure or destroy persons or property” (Nieburg, 1963: 43). Individuals and groups, even nations, exploit the threat of violence. “A democratic system preserves the right of organized action by private groups, risking the implicit capability of violence” (Nieburg, 1963: 43). Authoritarian regimes recognize no such right as any hint of dissent is crushed, as it was with the Green Revolution in Iran. The early Jeffersonians recognized this essential element of social change when they guaranteed the private right to keep and bear arms (the second amendment). “The
possibility of a violent revolution once each generation acts as a powerful solvent of political rigidities, renders such revolutions unnecessary” (Nieburg, 1963: 43). The rational goal of the threat of violence is an accommodation of interest, not the provocation of actual violence. Similarly, “the rational goal of a threat of violence is demonstration of the will and capability of action, which establishes a measure of credibility of future threats, not the exhaustion of that capability in unlimited conflict” (Nieburg, 1963: 44).

Political violence in the international system encompasses a wide array of actions including war, genocide, assassinations, democide, and terrorism. Finding an exact definition of political violence is a monumental task and many scholars do not agree on a single definition. “Political violence, roughly defined is a considerable or destroying use of force against person or things, a use of force prohibited by law, directed to a change in the policies, personnel or system of governments, and hence also directed to changes in the society, and perhaps other societies” (Honderich, 1967: 9). Political violence is aimed at very specific targets whereas terrorism is more indiscriminant.

While terrorism is a subset of political violence it has its own distinct characteristics. To say that terrorism is only an extension of political violence is like saying that an apple is a fruit. There are many types of fruit like there are many types of political violence so distinctions have to be made. Political violence is a direct attack on a state or population, while terrorism is an indirect attack on a state or government type that targets civilians (Richardson, 2006: 2). Democide is committed by a state while terrorism is committed by sub-state actors. While terrorism may fall under the category of political violence the two are not commensurable. Al-Qaeda will not launch genocide.

Defining terrorism is as difficult, if not more difficult, as defining political violence. Scholars and governments cannot agree on what the definition of terrorism is or should be. “There is no internationally accepted definition for the term terrorism, and the definitions available are numerous, broad, and to some extent vague” (Art and Richardson, 2006: 2).

Philip B. Heymann illustrates the subjectivity of the term by reviewing several countries’ definitions. According to the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Germany’s internal security agency, terrorism is “the endurably conducted struggle for political goals, which are intended to be achieved by means of assaults on the life and property of other persons especially by means of severe crimes [such as murder, kidnapping, and arson]” (Heymann, 2003: 20). Britain’s “Prevention of Terrorism Act” of 1974 defines terrorism as “the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear” (Heymann, 2003: 21). The U.S. State Department views terrorism as any violent act conducted for political purposes by sub-state actors or “secret state agents” against normally non-combatants with the goal of influencing an audience. Interestingly, the United Nations expressed its frustration with the lack of an unambiguous definition. Without clarity and precision, the UN is prevented from “sending an unequivocal message that terrorism is never an acceptable tactic, even for the most defensible of causes” (United Nations, 2004, 48).

The majority of definitions suggest that terrorist acts have political goals, are conducted outside normal political bounds, and involve violence usually perpetrated against innocent victims (Jebb, et al. 2006: 4). There are many different definitions that governments and scholars use, but for the purposes of this paper, the definition of terrorism is as follows: Terrorism is a violent act carried out by sub-state actors against civilian populations in order to obtain social or political change.

Untangling Definitions

The mistake that governments and scholars make is trying to fit all three categories of violence, political violence, and terrorism into one neat package. This can lead to misunderstandings, a gross violation of civil rights, and ultimately war. If violence is defined as a direct or indirect action applied to restrain, injure or destroy persons and property, can this definition fit under political violence? Yes. “Political violence, roughly defined, is a considerable or destroying use of force against person or things, a use of force prohibited by law, directed to a change in the policies, personnel or system of governments, and hence also directed to changes in the society, and perhaps other societies” (Nieburg, 1963: 45). This definition of political violence is commonly used but does have some limitations and does not address the questions of states and political violence. States have been known to engage in political violence by their security apparatus to address what they deem as a threat. Murder is violence, but when that murder is designed to assassinate a head of state becomes political violence. Assault is violence but not political violence.

Terrorism is aimed at changing policies but targets civilians to undermine the state. These are clear distinctions that need to be made. The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism a “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any
segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (Terrorism 2001). It is because of this definition that someone charged with arson is now charged with a count of terrorism.

**Research Methods**

Returning to the original questions: Does violence actually impact the outcome of election cycles? When does this violence tend to occur, and why do many groups feel that violence is their only recourse? These questions can only be examined through the lenses of political violence and terrorism since murder in a dark alley does not necessarily affect the outcome of elections. There are three particularly important case studies relevant to these questions. France, Spain, and Israel are well established democracies and developed nations according to Freedom House. These three nations have a history of separatist movements and terrorism. This paper will focus on the period between 1991 and the present. This is an important era because after 1991, some political scientists thought that the new world order would usher in an era of political stability and an overall reduction of political violence, However there has been a tremendous amount of political violence and terrorism since the end of the Cold War.

The methods for analyzing the effects of terrorism and political violence during election cycles are case studies, literature review, and an analysis of the incidents recorded in the START database. The purpose of this paper is not to focus on the intricacies of each instance of violence but on the overall impact of violent occurrences on election cycles.

**Case Study I**

**France’s Political System**

The current French political system is relatively recent, dating from 1958. The Fifth Republic, which centralizes power in the president, is a response to the political weakness of the pre-Second World War Third Republic and post-war Fourth Republic (Darlington 2009). Following a political crisis, The Fifth Republic came about over France’s colonial war in Algeria, when Charles de Gaulle took power under a new constitution which gave the president new executive powers. In the French political system, the relationship between the president and prime minister, the first and second highest authorities respectively, is crucial. It is not always the case that these two individuals come from the same political party or part of the political spectrum and when they are of different political persuasions (as was the case in 1986, 1993, and 1997), the two figures must practice a process of cohabitation (Darlington, 2009). The presidency is the most powerful position in the French political system, but all domestic decisions must be approved by the prime minister.

Candidates for the presidency must obtain 500 sponsoring signatures of elected officials from at least 30 departments or overseas territories. The post is directly elected in a two-stage voting system. A candidate who receives more than 50% of the vote in the first round is elected. However, if no candidate receives 50%, there is a second round which is a run-off between the two candidates who secured the most votes in the first round. The term is five years, a reduction from the previous seven years. Nicolas Sarkozy, from the ruling, conservative UMP, won a decisive victory in the second round of the presidential election in May 2007. He gained 53% of the vote, finishing six points ahead of his Socialist rival, Segolene Royal (Darlington, 2009).

The lower house in the French political system is the National Assembly, which has 577 seats representing single member constituencies. Members are elected directly in a two-stage voting system. A member who receives more than 50% of the first round is elected; however, if no candidate receives more that 50% of the vote there is a second round which is a run-off between all those first round candidates that secured more than 12.5% of the votes (Darlington, 2009). Members of the National Assembly serve five-year terms. The National assembly is responsible for day-to-day government business.

The upper house in the French Political system is the Senate. It has a total of 321 seats: 296 representing mainland France, 13 representing French overseas territories, and 12 representing French nationals abroad (Darlington, 2009). Members are elected indirectly by an electoral college and many are also high-level officials. Members serve a six-year term and half of the seats come up for election every three years. The Senate tends to specialize in constitutional matters and foreign policy, including European integration.

French politics are characterized by two politically opposed groupings: one Left-wing centered on the French Socialist Party and the other Right-wing and centered previously around the Rassemblement pour la Republique (RPR) and now its successor the neo-Gaullist Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) (Darlington, 2009). The executive branch is currently composed primarily of the UMP.

In France, unlike most other democracies, the majority of national politicians are former civil servants (often high-ranking). Most presidents, many cabinet members and a very large number of parliament members gradu-
ated from the same prestigious school, the Ecole Nationale d’Administration. The French take their politics seriously and voter participation is very high (it was almost 86% in the 2007 presidential election) (Darlington, 2009).

Groups and Distinctions

Since 1980, terrorist acts in France have come from three fairly distinct types of groups. Most prominent at the beginning of the period were groups that espoused a radical leftist philosophy, similar to the Red Brigade in Italy and the Red Faction in Germany (Shapiro and Benedicte, 2003: 68). These groups were home-grown and ideologically committed to the overthrow of the capitalist system and the downfall of “American-led imperialism.” The most prominent of these groups in France, Action Directe, was active from 1979 to 1987. At first they attacked only material targets; however, they eventually evolved towards political assassination. “Although France has a long tradition of violent revolutionary activity that Action Directe hoped to tap into, the group never gained much of a popular foothold within France” (Shapiro and Benedicte, 2003: 68).

The second type of terrorist group in France is a regional separatist group that advocates independence or autonomy for specific regions of France, primarily Brittany, and in particular Corsica (Shapiro and Benedicte, 2003: 69). “This group is the least deadly because they usually concentrate their attack against property.” In Corsica, these groups have a degree of popular support in their regions; however, as in other Western European countries, they have evolved into criminal organizations, presenting an extremely difficult but different problem than that of politically motivated terrorism (Cass, 1993: 61).

The third group that emerged in France was international terrorism, overwhelmingly of Middle Eastern origin. In the early 1980s the French were inexperienced with this type of terrorism. “There was so little interest in the problem within the French foreign intelligence service that the Service de Documentation Exterieur et de Contre-Espionnage contained hardly a mention of the problem” (Marion, 1991: 22).

Sanctuary Doctrine

Before the 1980s, successive French governments applied the sanctuary doctrine. In an attempt to isolate the country from international terrorism the doctrine created within France a sanctuary both for and from international terrorists. “As a result, international terrorist groups would have nothing to fear and nothing to achieve in France, where their members could operate with impunity, as long as they did not perpetrate acts of terrorism within France” (Porch, 1995: 431).

The sanctuary doctrine created political problems with opponents of the terrorists that France sheltered, particularly Spain (in the case of the Basque terrorist group ETA) and Israel (regarding the case of PLO). Fundamentally, the sanctuary doctrine could only effectively protect France when terrorist groups did not directly challenge French interests or seek to change French policy. The sanctuary doctrine was an expression of weakness and a lack of confidence in the ability of the French state apparatus to respond to or prevent foreign terrorist attacks. This weakness encouraged terrorist groups. The freedom that terrorists had to operate within France, even for the purposes of conducting operations outside French borders, allowed them to accumulate logistical and operational networks that could be easily turned on their host when the moment was right.

In 1982, an attack at the Rue Marbeuf in the middle of Paris was part of an Iraqi-Syrian dispute. The Syrians took advantage of existing Palestinian networks within France to plant a car bomb outside the offices of a pro-Iraqi newspaper in Paris that killed one person and wounded 63 (Burdan, 162). Because of the random nature of the attacks, terrorism began to become a major source of public anxiety and an issue of considerable political controversy within France. (Shapiro and Benedicte, 2003: 71).

The sanctuary doctrine was abandoned in the wake of a series of terror attacks that nearly paralyzed Paris in 1986. Three waves of attacks in February, March, and September targeted large Paris department stores, trains, subways and public buildings. In all, at least 14 attacks caused 11 deaths and more than 220 injuries. The attacks created enough anger among the French population to make the idea of negotiating with or harboring terrorists politically risky. In response to public outcry, France moved from the sanctuary doctrine, to accommodation, to suppression, and finally to prevention. Political parties began to portray each other as weak on internal security in order to sway the electorate in their favor.

Terrorism and Elections

In figure 1, numbers of violent attacks are represented by the y-axis while the election years are represented on the x-axis. Non-election years are indicated by the white bars, presidential and parliamentary elections are indicated by the solid black bars. From the graph we can determine the amount of violence spiked before and after the 1992
The Algerian government, or foreigners. The end result was a massive, confusing spasm of violence that amounted to a civil war, claiming more than one hundred thousand lives between 1992 and 1998” (Shapiro, 2007: 142).

“For GIA leaders, France represented the ‘mother of all sinners’ because France had colonized Algeria, de-spoiled its riches for more than a century, and continued through its financial and political support for the junta ruling Algeria to reduce Algerian Muslims to slavery and to move Algeria away from religion” (Laidi, 2002: 193). The GIA’s access to a variety of militants and potential sympathizers already residing outside Algeria, particularly within the North African immigrant population in France, gave it the ability to attack France directly (Shapiro, 2007: 142). The Sanctuary doctrine had easily let members slip into France and wait for the right moment. On Christmas day 1994, an Air France flight from Algiers to Paris was hijacked. With this hijacking, the GIA announced its ability and desire to strike French soil directly. The GIA demanded the abandonment of French aid to Algeria, financial reparations for the damages inflicted on Algerians by France between 1945 and 1962, and the liberation for leaders on the FIS and former emir of the GIA before it would release the plane. “On December 26, French commandos stormed the plane on the tarmac in Marseilles and killed the hijacker. Documents later found in London implied that the terrorists had intended to crash the plane in Paris, probably into the Eiffel Tower” (Shapiro, 2007: 143).

The wave of attacks in 1994-1996 represented the first severe test of the system France had put into place in the mid to late 80’s, after the abandonment of the sanctuary doctrine, to combat terrorism on its home soil. In many ways, the system responded well. “Important personal links had been created between the judicial and intelligence services that allowed firm actions before a threat was even manifested; preplanned emergency responses to threats mobilized both the security forces and the wider public and undoubtedly prevented many attacks; and fairly rapid post-attack investigations rounded up those responsible in about four months” (Shapiro, 2007: 145). Despite improvements, there were significant, (even deadly) weaknesses in the French counter-terrorism apparatus. In part, this was due to the changing nature of terrorism itself. “The attacks were extraordinarily simple affairs that essentially used home-made equipment, crude gas bombs surrounded by nails, which targeted random and indiscriminate targets drawing from loose networks of operatives submerged within France’s large Algerian expatriate community” (Shapiro, 2007: 148).

After 1994-1996, the GIA ceased its attacks. Why parliamentary elections. Violence also spiked before and after the 1995 elections, before the 1997 elections, and the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections. The violence seems to taper off in the 90’s. The question is why? Part of the reason was France’s relation to the Algerian Civil Wars.

![Figure 1. The number of terrorist incidents in France between 1991 and 2007.](image-url)
remains a mystery. French authorities tend to attribute it to the apprehension of the suspects and the destruction of support networks within France. Algerian specialists tend to note that the GIA was increasingly under pressure within Algeria in the period. “Its tendency towards violence against Algerian civilians alienated it from its base, while it simultaneously faced stepped up attacks from the Algerian and French governments” (Hafez, 2002: 251).

Civil Liberties Versus Security

Stopping terrorist attacks requires not just intelligence but also surveillance “According to one official, French authorities learned from their experience of finding some but not all of the Islamic networks present in France that they needed to maintain a constant operational surveillance over the wide spectrum of civil society in order to prevent terrorist networks from developing on French territory” (Stroller, 2002). “In the case of potential Islamic networks, that means surveillance of more than fifteen hundred mosques and prayer halls, as well as the more than two thousand Islamic organizations within France” (Cetinna, 2000: 142).

The November 1993 Operation Chrysanthemum was denounced as a sweep, using the French word rafle, which specifically evokes actions taken during the German occupation (Le Monde, 1993). “In this case eighty-eight people were interrogated, but only three were incarcerated and put under investigation of ‘conspiracy in relation to a terrorist enterprise’ (Shapiro, 2007: 155). A variety of media outlets, as well as Federation Internationals des Ligues des Droits de l’Homme, declared the arrest a media spectacle and “destructive of liberty. In view of the French authorities, arresting a large number of people makes is possible to carry out corroborated interrogations in order to maintain knowledge of networks that are in a perpetual state of evolution” (Shapiro, 2007: 156). The attacks on the specialized system of anti-terrorism enforcement in France have not come from Muslim Civil society groups. “There has been little talk about the degree to which this cadre of special antiterrorism legislation contributes to friction between the Muslim community and the state — a debate that is almost glaring in its absence” (Bigo, 2002: 78).

The explanation is that the Muslim community in France appears to have bigger issues with which to contend: issues of cultural integration, economic opportunity, normal criminal activity, and the debate over public religious expression dominate the French political agenda (Shapiro, 2007: 156). In this highly contentious environment, occasional terrorism actions that affect the Muslim population, as well as the constant surveillance by the state, do not generate much public outcry from within the Muslim community.

“In 1995, there were violent outbursts by the Muslim population over the killing of Khalid Khelkal, and probably conveys a general frustration that the French Muslim community feels over its treatment by police and society rather than to a specific response to surveillance and even to roundups associated with the French counterterrorism apparatus” (Shapiro, 2007: 156). It seems clear that future dramatic episodes have the potential to let loose a torrent of social discontent that might find its expression in opposition to the special cadre of antiterrorism laws and methods that effectively target the North African community.

The degree of vigilance and efficacy has been dearly bought. It has entailed massive civil liberty violations and substantial public monitoring, particularly of France’s North African population. “The French system of domestic monitoring predates the foreign terrorist threat and represents a response to the fairly constant threat of domestic subversion, internal terrorism, and even revolution that France has faced over the past two hundred years” (Shapiro, 2007: 152).

Case Study II

Spain and the Political System

Spain is a constitutional monarchy with the king acting as a figurehead while the executive power lies with the president. The president is nominated by the monarch, subject to approval by the democratically elected Congress of Deputies.

The national parliament has two chambers, the lower of which is the Congress of Deputies and the upper of the Senate. The Congress consists of 350 members representing Spain’s fifty provinces and the North African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. Each province is an electoral constituency, with a number of deputies depending on its population. Members of Congress are elected by a system of proportional representation for four years.

The senate has 259 members, directly elected by a first-past-the-post system. Each province provides four members plus additional members in the Balearic and Canary islands, where extra members represent the various islands, making a total of 208 members. The 17 autonomous regions also elect one senator each and an additional member for every million inhabitants, totaling a further 51 members. The senate has the power to amend or veto legislation initiated by Congress.

Spain has 17 autonomous regions, each with its own
president, government administration, and Supreme Court (plus its own flag and capital city). The regions are funded by the central government and the regions of the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalusia are responsible for economic development, education, health, environment, police, public works, tourism, culture, local language and social security. The other regions have less autonomy and fewer responsibilities (U.S. Department of State, 2009).

The people of the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia have also been recognized as separate ethnic groups and have the right to use their own languages in education and administration. With the increasing influence of the Basque and Catalan regional parties in national politics, the question of regional power and autonomy has taken on a new significance. All regions are currently revising their Autonomy Statutes. The Catalan Statute was approved in referendum in June 2006, after months of political wrangling. Many Spaniards outside Catalonia disapprove of the new statute, which awards more autonomy to Catalonia, mainly because the statutes’ introductory paragraphs describe Catalonia as a ‘nation’ (U.S. Department of State, 2009).

Understanding Spain’s political system is instrumental in understanding the challenges that the Spanish government faces regarding terrorism and political violence. However, the emergence of international terrorism is a relatively new phenomenon for Spain.

Franco’s Legacy

“Franco, the winner of the Spanish Civil War, wanted to create within Spain a ‘single personality’: Spanish” (Jebb et al., 2006: 21). In pursuit of this goal, Franco’s regime dealt with the Basque region in a repressive manner, forbidding any outward expression of Basque culture and political identity. “In response, the Basques formed a ‘we-they’ identity between themselves and Madrid, viewing the Spanish as an occupying force” (Ramo and Shabad, 1981: 419). The inability to express cultural or political aspirations through legitimate means created a growing discontent and disfranchisement among the younger Basque nationalists. From 1965-1975, Franco declared 12 states of exception due to political unrest in which five were directed against all of Spain while six were directed only against the Basque region. “Approximately 8500 Basques were directly affected by the arrests, imprisonment, torture, or flight from Spain out of fear of repression” (Ramo and Shabad, 1981: 420). “Tensions between the Spanish center and the Basque periphery deepened as Franco launched a drive to modernize the country by increasing industrial production in the economically developed Basque and Catalan regions; non-Basques flooded the area in search of jobs, competing sharply with the indigenous people for employment, housing, and social services” (Jebb et al., 2006:21). The failure of Franco’s regime to alleviate the social costs of this economic growth was yet another source of political alienation among the Basques (Clark, 1984).

The ETA (Euzkadi ta Askatasuna or Basque Homeland and Freedom) was founded in 1959 as a response to the conditions Franco imposed on the region. The ETA sought to secure Basque cultural integrity and ultimately, to achieve political independence. “Initially, the ETA did not call for a terrorist strategy or violent insurgency but provoked by Franco’s brutalization of their homeland, and encouraged by the successful anti-colonial struggles in the third world, the ETA opened its terror campaign in 1968” (Arquilla and Rondefeldt, 1999: 194-195). “By attempting to stamp out the ETA through severe repression, Franco’s regime inadvertently alienated not only the Basques, but also the much larger population of Spain” (Cullison, 2004: 294).

“On the eve of democratic transition, which began in 1975 with the death of Franco and the designation of Juan Carlos as King according to the Francoite law of succession, Spain possessed significant facilitating conditions that supported democratization” (Jebb et al, 2006: 23). However, ETA activities threatened to upend Spain’s democratic transition. ETA goals remained the same in the post-Franco period as in the past. “The ETA targeted six audiences: the Spanish public at large, with the aim of political polarization; the Basque public, with the goal of eliciting nationalist sentiment; the Spanish military, which the ETA wanted to put at odds with the state; the Spanish state, which the ETA wanted to delegitimize by provoking repressive reactions; ETA members, with the aim of sustaining solidarity; and the Basque regional government and its political parties, which ETA viewed as traitors to the Basque cause, but nevertheless, sought their support” (Ramo and Shabad, 1995: 446). Although the Basque population had not yet reached a consensus as to its political aspirations in the early stage of Spanish transition, the important development was rejection by most of the Spanish population of state repression in the Basque region. “The Spanish people wanted rule of law and favored negotiation. In the face of a conciliatory Spanish state and population, Basque public opinion had less incentive to unite around the banner of independence” (Jebb et al., 2006: 23).

Aldopho Suarez began a policy of inclusiveness that was successful and extended over several years. Robert Hislope identifies the reasons why inclusive steps that Suarez made during the democratic transition were so im-
important: “When minority elites are invited to the political process and regularly interact with elites from the dominant group, common norms and values can be discovered, friendships forged, and hostile stereotypes dispelled. Inclusion, voice, and routine patterns of interaction give minority groups a sense of having a stake in the system” (Hislope, 1998: 141). Elections played an important role in the process of conciliation. Linz and Stephan argue convincingly that by holding statewide elections before regional elections, Spain diffused Basque nationalist fervor. Regional politicians had political incentives to build coalitions with national politicians and organizations and hammer out long term relationships. This political process fostered overlapping regional and national identities that were supportive of democracy (Linz and Stephan, 1996: 101). In figure 2, the number of violent attacks is represented on the y-axis, while the election years are represented by the numbers on the x-axis. The graph gives mixed results as we see that violence spiked before the 1992 and 2000 elections but do not increase prior to the 1996 and 2004 elections. However examining the violence during the election of 2004, one can see the strategically placed bombs and coordinated attacks can change the outcome of an election. The sudden outbreak of terrorism during an electoral campaign is not new. In Spain, the ETA has always tried to influence voters’ decisions in one way or another. For example, 14 days before the general elections in 2000, ETA assassinated the Socialist party leader in the Basque country (Michavila, 2005: 25).

The run-up to the general elections in Spain was rather lackluster and was widely anticipated that the elections would do very little to change the existing political landscape. “With a reasonably comfortable lead in the polls, the incumbent centre-right party Partido Popular (PP) was assumed to emerge as the largest party for the third consecutive time and thus expected to consolidate its dominant position” (Bezen, 2005: 99). Three days before the elections, 10 explosions ripped through commuter trains at three Madrid railway stations.

The impact of the March 11 attacks on the elections held 72 hours later went far beyond anything known before in Spain, resulting in 192 deaths. Spanish society had had to deal with the “socialization of suffering,” the strategy developed by radical Basque separatists, but it never had to bury so many victims on a single day or exchange final campaign rallies for mass funerals. In an article in ABC, Edurne Uriate, professor at the University of the Basque Country stated: “Some of us thought that we Spanish were much better prepared than others to face terrorism, but no, it seems that we were only prepared for the selective and discriminate terrorism of the ETA. Now terrorism has become indiscriminate and massive and we must start from scratch and deal with the effects of fear and disorientation” (Michavila, 2005: 7).

Many scholars agree that the attacks in Madrid on March 11, 2004, had a decisive impact on the elections held three days later. It can be attributed to the “activation” of 1.7 million voters who were motivated to vote by the attacks and the atmosphere surrounding them. Most of the Spanish public was firmly opposed to the Iraq war in which Spain was a prominent partner. When the attacks were revealed to be the work of Al-Qaeeda, those who normally abstain from voting were motivated to go to the polls to punish the current government. Although, this may have been a punishment for the incumbent government, the populace sent a clear message to the terrorist networks that their plan worked.

After the election, the Spanish government’s decision to distance itself from the United States does not appear to have diminished radical Muslim activity in Spain. “Between March 2004 and February 2007 authorities have detained over 200 suspected Islamist militants in Spain—some of them veterans of groups that originated in their home countries such as Afghanistan, Algeria, and Syria (Michavila, 2005: 35).

Case Study III

Israel and the Political System

Israel is a parliamentary democracy that was established in May 1948. There is no formal constitution, however, some of the functions of a constitution are filled by the Declaration of Establishment (1948), Laws of the Par-
The understanding of how different democracies work is crucial to understand how terrorist activities could feasibly change the course of an election. The dissolution of the Knesset by the prime minister has occurred a handful of times in Israel’s short history. It may be done after the prime minister feels the security of the nation is at stake. The president has an interesting power in which he presents a Knesset member with the responsibility to form a coalition government. The president then may pick a member of the Knesset that the population does not agree with, as Shimon Perez did in 2009 when he picked Benjamin Netanyahu over Tzipi Livni to build a coalition government. Benjamin Netanyahu is leader of the Likud, a more hawkish conservative party while Tzipi is leader of the more liberal Kadima party.

Israel and Terrorism

In figure 3, the numbers of violent attacks are represented by the y-axis on the graph, while the election and non-election years are represented on the x-axis. The white bars on the graph indicates that it is not an election year while the solid black bars represent parliamentary and presidential elections. As we can determine from the graph, violence spiked before and after the elections of 1992, 1995, 1998, 2002, and 2005.

The first suicide attack in Israel took place on February 16, 1993. From then until the end of 2003, more than 100 suicide attacks were carried out within Israel and in the territories, killing hundreds of Israelis and injuring thousands (Ganor, 2007: 269). Yitzhak Rabin and his government quickly realized the danger inherent in this type of attack. In an appearance before the Israeli Security Agency, the prime minister said, “Since suicide attacks began in buses and cars, putting into question the continuance of the political process, terrorism has effectively become a strategic threat and most of the resources of the ISA must be devoted to the prevention of these attacks” (Gilon, 2007: 18).

The suicide attacks resulted in mass casualties that cast a shadow over the peace process and presented Israeli decision makers with a difficult challenge. On the one hand, Rabin and his government saw the agreements formalized in Oslo in 1993 and afterward as a strategic choice for Israel. But on the other hand, it was clear to Israeli decision makers that public support for the agreements depended on the level of quiet and personal security they would bring to Israel’s people. In an attempt to overcome the difficulties in continuing the peace process while mass-casualty attacks were taking place, Rabin coined the following motto: “The Palestinian peace process will continue as if there were no
terrorism, while the war against terrorism will be fought as
if there were no peace process” (Haaretz, 1994).

Says Ganor (2007: 270), “Separating the peace process from the fight against terrorism also produces a situation wherein the Palestinian Authority had no motivation to strike the infrastructure of Hamas or even put pressure on it to abstain from attacks against Israel.” In the absence of such motivation, and as long as the infrastructure of the movement was not affected, Hamas had a free hand to carry out attacks as it saw fit to convey its objections to the peace process without putting the process and national Palestinian interest in danger. Following the granting of Palestinian autonomy in 1995, prime minister Rabin was assassinated by a Jewish fundamentalist.

1996 Elections

Following the elections of 1996, the Likud party returned to power and the new prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, put the issue of counterterrorism at the center of his political agenda and built his policies regarding the relationship with the Palestinians around it. One of the foundations of Netanyahu’s policy toward the Palestinians was that of “reciprocity.” The campaign slogan he used to win over the electorate was “If they give—they will get; if they don’t give then they will not get,” which became the very basis of Israeli policy (Maariv, 1996). Terrorism did not expand considerably during Netanyahu’s tenure, as could be expected because simultaneous to Palestinian loss of faith in the Israeli government, a new Palestinian interest was created—the establishment of strategic ties between the CIA and the Palestinian Authority (Ganor, 2007: 273). During a visit to the United States, Yasser Arafat enjoyed the status of a head of state and ally.

Ehud Barack

During the period that Ehud Barack was prime minister (1999-2000), Israel began to shift its political emphasis from the Palestinian sphere to that of Syria and Lebanon, with the twofold objective of withdrawing the IDF from Lebanon and reaching an agreement with the Syrians (Ganor, 2007: 293). This policy resulted in a unilateral withdrawal from all Lebanese territory in May 2000. The withdrawal from Lebanon caused Palestinian organizations to believe that if Hezbollah could succeed in ridding itself of Israel, the Palestinians could do the same thing in the territories. “As a result, the influence of Hezbollah grew, and the traditional deterrent image of Israeli strength was damaged” (Ganor, 2007: 274). “The most serious crises of all, and the one that was to change the nature of violence and terrorism for years to come, was the failure of the Camp David Summit in July 2000” (Ganor, 2007: 274). The main repercussion of its failure was the al-Aqsa intifada, a war of attrition involving an unprecedented number of terrorist and guerilla attacks.

Two weeks after the breakout of the intifada, a Palestinian lynch mob slaughtered two Israeli reserve soldiers who mistakenly entered the city of Ramallah in their car. For the first time in many years, Israel used helicopters to carry out aerial attacks on targets in Gaza and Ramallah (Ganor, 274: 2007). Sixty-seven percent of the Israeli public, outraged by graphic TV films of the lynching, felt that the Israeli response had been too weak (Drunker and Shelah, 2005: 310).

Sharon and Disengagement

In 2001, the government once again changed hands. Prime minister Ariel Sharon declared that he would not enter into negotiations under fire. The precondition for any progress in the political process would be a halt to all terrorist activities. At the beginning of 2002, as a result of a series of suicide attacks, Israel shifted its policy and reoccupied most Palestinian Authority territories, stationing forces within them and limiting traffic in most areas.

After the death of Yasser Arafat on November 11, 2004, and the election of Mahmoud Abbas as chairman of the Palestinian Authority, there was a crucial change in the Palestinian policy regarding the use of terrorism. For the first time ever, the elected leadership of the Palestinians believed that terrorism actually threatened Palestinian national interests (Ganor, 2007: 275). The Palestinian Authority, with Egyptian support, reached an understanding with most terrorist groups — Hamas, the al-Aqsa Brigades, and others — temporarily stopping terrorist activities (at least until the Palestinian parliamentary elections in 2005 in which Hamas gained a majority of seats).
Israeli government made the decision to unilaterally withdraw from the Gaza Strip and from a few settlements in the north of the West Bank. The decision was based on the belief that there was no merit in an Israeli presence in the Gaza Strip and the Israeli wish to support President Bush’s initiative in fighting global terrorism by reducing international criticism extended toward America’s ongoing support for Israel (Ganor, 2007: 276).

**Conclusion**

Most of the academic literature argues that democracy encourages terrorism. This is based on the premise that democracies provide greater civil liberties. Expansive and secure civil liberties make it harder for the legal system in democracies to convict terrorists and for democratic governments to prevent or retaliate against terrorism (Schmid, 1992). As Crenshaw (1981, 383) notes, the desire to protect civil liberties constrains security measures. As we can see through the three case studies of France, Spain, and Israel, violence tends to occur before and after elections in democracies.

The policies that France has enacted, ranging from the sanctuary doctrine to suppression, are lessons in counterterrorism that can be applied elsewhere. The sanctuary doctrine allowed the build-up of networks within France that could turn on the government at any moment. The well-established network did just that when the Algerian civil war spread into France. The electorate time after time showed that they would not put up with negotiations with terrorists. This wreaked havoc for a time with one party accusing the other of entering into talks with groups that had attacked them. Many of the violent attacks are carried out by groups that feel that they are not part of the democratic process. In the case of France, many groups feel ostracized by the French government as they try to retain their own identity instead of assimilating into French society.

The case studies have also shown that violent attacks can have an impact on democratic elections as was the case in Spain in 2004. Spain was not prepared for the massive casualties that Al-Qaeda inflicted. The electorate replaced the incumbent government, ultimately giving Al-Qaeda the policy they wanted; withdrawal from Iraq, and diminished support for the U.S. Al-Qaeda chose to strike fear in the hearts of the Spanish electorate and change policy with a coordinated attack on March 11, 2004. There have been many other attacks in Spain, but the groups perpetrating them have been included in the democratic process and their base of support is slowly eroding.

Israel’s voters have continuously showed that when it comes to security, they will change parties if they feel their needs are not being met. This was the case after the assassination of prime minister Rabin when the Israeli electorate elected Benjamin Netanyahu, whose hardliner stance against the Palestinians was a reflection of the seething anger of the electorate.

In the case of Israel many groups have felt left out of the democratic process yet when given autonomy, the attacks have not ceased. To make matters worse, when Hamas was elected to the Palestinian Parliamentary, the U.S. and Israel refused to recognize the results. This is a dangerous precedent as we can see that is what led to the Algerian civil war and the rise of more extremist factions. During periods of heightened conflict the Israeli electorate will lean heavily to the right.

Violent attacks can impact the course of elections. With a well-coordinated attack, a terrorist group can “activate” the electorate and change the incumbent government. If the electorate feels that the current government has not provided adequate security, change in government will ensue. In each case study, governments switched to the opposite end of the political spectrum. In France and Israel, following multiple attacks, the electorate ushered in a more “hawkish” government, while Spain changed from a “hawkish” government to a more “liberal” one.

The attacks mostly come from groups that feel there is no recourse in government as most have been barred from running for political office. If the groups are given access to government the attacks may begin to diminish. However, it is very dangerous if those groups win in the democratic process and the state refuses to recognize them as was the case in Algeria when the former government of Algeria and the French government refused to recognize their legitimacy. It is this same precedent that led to the Algerian civil war that spread to France and allowed Hamas, which won democratically, to perpetuate an us-versus-them mentality.

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The Kuznets Curve

Matt Hampton

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In Simon Kuznets’s 1955 paper, Economic Growth and Income Inequality, the author proposed a relationship between per capita income and inequality. After observing events in multiple nations, Kuznets hypothesized that per capita income directly affected inequality. He stated that as per capita income within a nation increases, inequality increases up to a certain point, however it then decreases beyond this critical point. This forms a parabolic function that is concave down. Kuznets’s hypothesis became very popular and is known today as the Kuznets Curve. This paper makes an effort to replicate the Kuznets Curve using contemporary economic data. To be precise, Gini Coefficient data are used as a measure of inequality while per capita GDP data are used as a measure of national wealth. Preliminary findings show that the replication of such a curve is not seen using these data sources. This prompts the question, does the Kuznets Curve truly exist? Or is it simply a hypothesis that has failed over time?

Introduction

For decades, economists have struggled with various issues of inequality. As defined in this paper, inequality is the difference in the distribution of income between rich and poor. In 1955, Simon Kuznets published a paper in The American Economic Review titled Economic Growth and Income Inequality. In this paper, Kuznets argued that inequality has a distinct relationship with economic growth. To be more precise, Kuznets stated that as a nation grows economically, inequality within the nation increases. However, once growth continues past a critical point, inequality in the nation shifts and begins to decrease. This 1955 paper brought fame to Simon Kuznets, and specifically made famous what is known as the Kuznets Curve.

In order to develop a better understanding of the Kuznets Curve, Figure 1 plots the curve itself. As can be seen, the Kuznets Curve uses income per capita, or GDP per capita, as a representative of economic growth. As mentioned, Kuznets hypothesized that as income per capita increases, inequality increases up to a certain point. Past this point, however, inequality decreases. Primarily, Kuznets provided this hypothesis based on economic changes he witnessed in the United States, Germany, and England. Kuznets saw a large shift of labor away from the agricultural sector and toward the industrial sector. Presumably, industrialization is a motivator of economic growth. Initially, in the beginning stages of this industrialization, a large amount of inequality existed. This was partly due to a large flow of immigration to the industrialized areas.

Industrialized areas had far more inequality than agricultural areas. This provides an explanation for the positive slope of the Kuznets Curve. This being said, what explains the shift from positive to negative slope? According to Kuznets, as more and more people moved from the countryside to the city (i.e. from agriculture to industry), a narrowing of inequality occurred. As more and more people entered an urbanized workforce, this caused a rise in the income share of the nonagricultural sector of the population. This hypothesized phenomenon gave great hope to an industrializing world. The hypothesis strongly encouraged urbanization, as it might eventually become the solution to the ever-existing problem of income inequality.

More recently, the theory of the Kuznets Curve has been applied to many issues of environmental economics. As defined by Stern, 2003, the environmental Kuznets curve is a hypothesized relationship between various indicators of environmental degradation and income per capita. In the early stages of economic growth, degradation and
pollution increase. Beyond this critical level of income per capita (which will vary for different indicators), however, the trend reverses. Therefore, beyond the critical point at high-income levels economic growth leads to environmental improvement (Stern, 2003). In the environmental Kuznets Curve, environmental degradation takes the place of inequality on the y-axis. Though the environmental Kuznets Curve has been of more popularity in recent years (partly due to the emergence of environmental economics), this paper will focus only on the traditional Kuznets Curve.

The Kuznets Curve has been debated amongst economists since its birth. Economists have made attempts to both prove and disprove the Kuznets Curve using both cross-sectional and time-series methodologies. Some economists have found supporting evidence that the Kuznets Curve exists (especially the environmental Kuznets Curve), while others believe that the curve is purely imaginary and speculative. In this paper, I will attempt to replicate the Kuznets Curve using up-to-date, contemporary data. If, in fact, the Kuznets Curve becomes evident through the data, I plan to analyze the curve taking note of any outliers. Data on 216 countries will be monitored, and it will be interesting to note which nations do not follow “Kuznets behavior.”

The overall goal of this paper is to reproduce the Kuznets Curve using contemporary economic data. A causal relationship between GDP per capita and inequality is sought using various econometric techniques. The next section describes the programming language and various methodologies employed in this research. Section three describes data and various data sources, while the final section presents the results, some discussion, and the conclusion.

Methodology

This paper employs the R programming language along with several econometric techniques. According to the R-project website, R provides a wide variety of statistical (linear and nonlinear modeling, classical statistical tests, time-series analysis, classification, clustering) and graphic techniques, and is highly extensible. R is a programming language that is growing extremely quickly in popularity. The work of Farnsworth (2008) is used as a reference for writing code in R. Peter Kennedy’s book, *A Guide to Econometrics, sixth ed.*, is referenced for numerous econometric techniques.

Weight matrices modeling cultural transmission are employed to give a sense of what is borrowed or inherited from one country to another. Weight matrices of two different forms are used. One weight matrix models geographic location, while the second weight matrix models linguistic proximity. Both matrices operate in identical ways. The data for both matrices are held in very large Microsoft excel spreadsheets. In the language proximity weight matrix, there is data on 216 countries. Each country has its own row and its own column. Comparisons of each country with other countries are seen in the connecting cells between row and column. For example, the United States operates out of row 202. Egypt operates out of column BI. When comparing the language proximity of the two nations, there is a resulting data point of 0.0037. This is a number arbitrarily close to zero, thus reflecting that the two countries are dissimilar in spoken language. In two countries that are similar in language, i.e. Saudi Arabia and Egypt, there is a resulting data point of 0.9082. This implies that Saudi Arabia and Egypt speak nearly the same dialect. The geographic location matrix operates exactly like the language proximity matrix, with numbers closer to one implying near geographic location and numbers closer to zero implying distant geographic location. The language phylogeny weight matrix is taken from Eff (2008).

Equation 1 below displays the model employed in this research.

\[ y = \rho Wy + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 X^2 + \epsilon \]

In this model, \( y \) (or inequality) is the dependent variable. Due to possible correlation between the geographic distance matrix and the language proximity matrix, a composite weight matrix \( W \) is formed using the methods defined by Dow and Eff (2009a:142). This composite weight matrix, scalar \( \rho \), and the dependent variable \( y \) work together to form an explanatory variable. A second explanatory variable, or the relationship of interest, is \( X \) with its correlation coefficient \( \beta \). Lastly is the stochastic error term. This type of model is frequently used in spatial econometrics (Kennedy, 2008). Once again, the goal of this model is to pinpoint a relationship between per capita GDP and inequality (preferably a “Kuznets” relationship). The use of this spatial lag model allows for the testing of this relationship, while at the same time accounting for any cultural transmissions that might exist in the data. 1

Endogeneity is a term used to describe a problem often seen in the estimation of relationships using international data (Eff, 2011). According to the statistical program Stata

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1. Note: Because the independent variable \( \rho Wy \) is endogenous, simple Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) methods are inefficient. Instead, Two-Stage Least Squares (TSLS) is required to perform the estimation (Dow, 2007).
endogeneity occurs when an explanatory variable in a model is correlated with the unobservable error term. In other words, this endogenous explanatory variable and the dependent variable could potentially have a relationship of mutual causation. An endogenous variable is a function of other variables presented in the model. Due to this relationship, a Two Stage Least Squares (TSLS) estimation technique must be employed.

In two-stage least squares regression, the estimation is divided into two different parts. The first part requires a preliminary regression different than the model shown above. In this preliminary regression, Wy is regressed against various other exogenous variables. The purpose of this regression is to get a fitted value, or a proxy, for Wy. Once this proxy is obtained, it is placed into the original model in place of \( \rho Wy \). The second part of TSLS is estimation using the original regression model along with use of the proxy. Because TSLS is divided into two regressions, it is clear that it is, more or less, just OLS two times in a row.

## Data

Data employed in this research come from several sources. We use GDP per capita data measured with purchasing power parity prices (GDPpcPPP) as an independent variable in the model. GDP is the measure of all final goods and services produced within a country in a given year. These GDPpcPPP data come from the CIA World Factbook. Also from the Factbook is our measure of inequality and the dependent variable, the Gini Coefficient. Developed in 1912 by Italian statistician and sociologist Corrado Gini, the Gini Coefficient remains today at the frontier of inequality measurement. As stated above, the first stage in two-stage least squares requires the endogenous variable to be regressed against a series of exogenous variables. In our model, these exogenous variables include school life expectancy (the number of years the average child can expect to attend school), healthy life expectancy, and several other related variables. These data come from various sources including the World Bank and the World Health Organization. Once again, the language phylogeny and geographic distance weight matrix data come from Eff (2008).

## Results

As previously stated, a two-stage least squares methodology is employed in this paper. First, the endogenous variable is regressed against a series of exogenous variables. Once this regression is performed, a proxy, or estimation, for the pWy variable is obtained. This proxy is then used in the second stage of regression analysis. Table 1 displays the results of this second stage regression.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>t-val</th>
<th>p-val</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>9.342</td>
<td>3.843</td>
<td>2.431</td>
<td>0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wy</td>
<td>0.828</td>
<td>0.086</td>
<td>9.667</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
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<td>GDPpcPPP</td>
<td>-0.177</td>
<td>0.110</td>
<td>-1.606</td>
<td>0.111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDPpcPPP^2</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.621</td>
<td>0.536</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in the regression results, GDPpcPPP and GDPpcPPP squared remain insignificant in having an impact on our dependent variable inequality. This is due to their p-values being above 0.05. Our third explanatory variable, Wy, however, remains significant with a p-value of 0.000. The correlation coefficient associated with Wy is 0.828. These results imply that Wy, or our cultural transmission variable, has a positively significant effect on inequality. Furthermore, these results imply that our primary variables of interest- GDPpcPPP and GDPpcPPP squared have no impact on inequality. These would obviously be a contradiction to the theory behind the Kuznets Curve.

## Discussion

The results of this paper show that there is no existence of a Kuznets relationship given cross-sectional, international data. This is not to say, however, that a Kuznets relationship cannot be discovered using other empirical methods. Other methodologies could potentially lead to the parabolic graph described by Kuznets. Our primary results find a lack of significance between the two variables associated with the Kuznets Curve, GDP and inequality. However, a significant and positive relationship does appear to exist between inequality and cultural transmission (i.e. similarities between nations). Intuition behind these findings is discussed in following paragraphs.

The theory of the Kuznets Curve is that income per capita has a direct impact on levels of inequality within nations. As income initially rises, inequality grows until it reaches a peak. After a certain level of income growth, however, inequality begins to decrease. It is difficult to believe that such a direct relationship between variables such as these truly exists. In a dynamic world, one with so many different and unique nations, it becomes ever more difficult to believe that such a theory could hold across nations. Inequality is a variable that could potentially be effected by
numerous factors. To say that inequality is only effected by per capita income, seems a bit hopeful at best.

Even Kuznets himself states in his 1955 paper that his theory is derived from a bit of speculation. Near the end of his paper, Kuznets states, “The paper is perhaps 5 per cent empirical information and 95 per cent speculation, some of it possibly tainted by wishful thinking. The excuse of building an elaborate structure on such shaky foundation is a deep interest in the subject and a wish to share it with members of the Association.”

Inequality is typically affected more by issues such as governmental structure and policy. Though wealth of a nation most likely plays a role in inequality, there are also many other apparent issues that are relevant. Once again, this paper does not provide proof that the Kuznets Curve does not exist in empirical data. This paper, however, states that a Kuznets Curve could not be found given our framework. Other empirical studies employing different cross-sectional methodologies and a time-series approach are left for future research.

Works Cited


R-project website- www.r-project.org/ Stata Statistical Software website- www.stata.com/
Public Debt and Income Inequality

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Department of Economics and Finance

A study by Stefania Albanesi (2007) documents the direct link between voter preferences and central government inflation policy. The poor do not want inflation and thus vote accordingly. As inflation has ebbed and central government debt reaches unprecedented levels, a question arises: Is the changing mix of fiscal and monetary policies a direct result of a shift in the political power of the poor? To answer this question, I investigate the link between the political power of the poor and debt policies. Data are gathered from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and examined for this purpose. Using the data combined with examinations of economic theory, the resulting conclusion was that redistribution policies in place to combat income inequality are a direct cause of some level of accumulation of debt. From that, we can conclude that the changes in fiscal and monetary revenue policies are, in fact, at least in some part a direct result of an increase in the political power of the poor.

Introduction

As U.S. central government debt reaches unprecedented levels and the structural integrity of our economy comes into question, a hint of panic ensues. If US debt levels continue to increase at their current rate, the eventual financial collapse of the US economy is inevitable. A brief look at various other countries across the globe shows a similar trend towards higher debt as a percentage of GDP. As such, the direct cause of our current state and the behaviors we may yet change to redirect our future are of utmost investigative importance. What brought us to where we are today? This accumulation of debt is directly the government’s doing, but there is also a similar rise in debt in the household sector. Therefore, is the government misrepresenting its population? Or do its actions reflect the desires of those with political rights?

To be clear, central government debt usually refers to all outstanding stocks (in the case of the US: bonds) within the Federal government body’s total accounts, excluding state and local debts. A deficit consists of the same outstanding stocks within one fiscal year, but central government debt includes each year’s deficit as it is added to the last. Consequently, when referring to the increase in the debt between years, the term deficit can be substituted if preferred. GDP stands for Gross Domestic Product, and represents “the total market values of goods and services produced by workers and capital within a nation’s borders during a given period (usually 1 year)” (Gross Domestic Product). The link between fiscal/monetary policy and voter preferences is an important and vigorously studied topic in economics.

Albanesi (May 2007), for example, studies the link between inflation and political rights distribution, finding a distinct positive correlation that leads her to the hypothesis that credit is due to the hidden conflict behind fiscal policy determination. According to Albanesi’s research, low income households are more susceptible to problems arising from inflation, suggesting they would prefer low inflation fiscal decisions when possible.

Equally so, but in a slightly different context, it is logical to predict that the poor should prefer policies of redistribution, since they have much to gain. An examination of income inequality before and after taxes and transfers comes into play for this specific reason. Change in income inequality because of taxes and transfers represents a specific policy strategy prevalent in many of today’s developed countries: redistribution. I hypothesize that there is a direct relationship between changes in income inequality due to redistribution and levels of central government debt within any country, which, if true, should definitely be taken into consideration during new policy decisions.

This research investigates the connection between income inequality, political attempts to change income inequality, and central government debt to see if there is a correlation that may help us to better understand the policy-preference link. This research further explores the idea that wealth inequality leads to political strategies that may cause higher debt levels within a given country, due to the tendency of lower income households to borrow.

Economic Reasoning

We can assume it is true that a high level of income redistribution means that the poor are politically empowered.
Income redistribution benefits the poor nearly exclusively, and so logically they would be the ones to encourage redistribution policies. The only way that this would actually take place would be if the poor had political power. It is irrelevant in this case whether this is through democratic majority, sympathy from supporters, political activity, or key positional power.

Redistribution takes money from one group and gives it to another. In this case, the recipient is the poor. It is possible to fund redistribution, however, through three main avenues. The first of these is inflation, which is effectively a tax on currency. When money is printed, causing inflation, each dollar (or whatever the unit of currency may be) in circulation becomes less valuable, and the holder of the currency bears the brunt of the tax. Another option would be some sort of “current” tax, which could be in any form of income, consumption, or value-added tax. The final option, of course, is to fund redistribution through debt.

We know from Albanesi’s research (2007) that the poor do not like inflation. As the supply of money rises through the printing of money, the value of each individual dollar falls. Low income households are more likely to have most of their wealth in currency form than any capital investment, and would bear the brunt of any inflation tax. Thus, it is safe to say that in this situation where the poor have political power, they would be unlikely to use inflation to fund redistribution. They would be more likely to prefer either a “current” or “future” tax to fund redistribution.

When faced with this choice between a “current” tax and “future” tax, the choice becomes less obvious. Redistribution requires a lot of revenue, and using a current tax exclusively on the rich requires a great deal of influence. For these reasons, any current tax is likely to create at least a marginal increase in the tax burden on the poor themselves. So although the choice is not to be ruled out, it is not an ideal scenario.

Based on the time value of money, all consumers would prefer a payment tomorrow to a payment today if they were both equal. This is no different than a consumer preferring a dollar today to a dollar tomorrow. However, a future tax (additional debt) usually collects interest, and it is this level of interest that determines whether the present value of the future tax is worth choosing over a current tax. Of course, there are some reasons why a consumer would not want to tax the future. For one, we can safely assume that the poor care about their children equally as much as any other class. Assuming this is true, the poor would not be pleased with the accumulation of debt that must be repaid by future generations. This means more burdens on their children, and perhaps even their grandchildren.

Nonetheless the arguments for a future tax are powerful. Governments (especially the U.S. government) tend to have an exceptionally high credit rating. Because of this, they are often able to borrow large sums of money at rates much lower than the average consumer would be able to. This makes government debt more attractive than private debt. Also, debt spending opens the door to potential gain without immediate loss. For the in-the-moment consumer (or in this case the poor looking for extra income from redistribution) it is a lot easier to “redistribute” money from silent future generations than it is from current, wealthy generations who can speak up for themselves.

A current tax is nearly guaranteed to affect every class to some extent, and although the poor may be able to encourage policies that tax the rich more than themselves, they cannot fund redistribution through taxing the rich exclusively without destroying potential capital and hurting the economy around them. A future tax has its demerits as well, some nearly cataclysmic in proportion, but they are not nearly as visible in the immediate future. It is for these reasons that we predict that in a situation where the poor have political power, we should see very little inflation in contrast to a large increase in the amount of central government debt.

The Data

The majority of the data used in this research were obtained from the OECD online database and some from the St. Louis Fed research database. The data cover the years 1980-2010. The OECD is the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, which represents 34 countries and whose stated purpose is to “use their wealth of information on a broad range of topics to help governments foster prosperity and fight poverty through economic growth and financial stability.”

I first looked at inflation (Figure 1) and public debt (Figure 2) to visually compare them to my hypothetical scenario. It is apparent that public debt has risen, and inflation fallen, in the 30-year period in question.

![Figure 1: Inflation Trend](image-url)
Next, I gathered data relating to debt as a percentage of GDP for each country during the 30-year period. Data are available “that provide comparable information on marketable and non-marketable central government debt instruments in all OECD member countries … The coverage of the data is limited to central government debt issuance and excludes therefore state and local government debt and social security funds” (Central Government Debt 2010). The statistics originated from national sources answering a questionnaire from the OECD Working Party on Government Debt Management.

Next, I gathered data relating to Gini coefficients within each of these countries during the same time period. A Gini coefficient is defined as the area between the Lorenz curve (which plots cumulative shares of the population, from the poorest to the richest, against the cumulative share of income that they receive) and the 45° line, taken as a ratio of the whole triangle. The values of the Gini coefficient range between 0, in the case of perfect equality (i.e. each share of the population gets the same share of income), and 1, in the case of perfect inequality (i.e. all income goes to the individual with the highest income) (OECD). Present day Gini coefficients for income range from approximately 0.23 in Sweden to 0.70 in Namibia (WIID May 2008).

Finally, I looked at countries that included three separate sets of information: Gini coefficients before taxes and transfers, Gini coefficients after taxes and transfers, and debt as a percentage of GDP. I further explored the data set by looking at Gini coefficients at five-year intervals for each country. These intervals were: mid-1980s, around 1990, mid-1990s, around 2000, and mid-2000s. To get an accurate picture of the debt climate at this point, I averaged three years of central government debt surrounding each interval. Yet again, I kept only those points where all the desired data was available. This left me with 76 data points including 20 countries (see Table 1).

From Table 1, I was able to plot Figure 3, which compares Gini coefficients before taxes and transfers with debt as a percentage of GDP, and Figure 4, which compares Gini coefficients after taxes and transfers with debt as a percentage of GDP.

Both figures demonstrate a distinct positive correlation between Gini coefficients and central government debt as a percentage of GDP. This means that as a rule (for whatever reason), the higher the income inequality is within a given country, the higher that country’s debt will be (or vice-versa). Using the same data from Table 1, I was also able to construct Figure 5, which plots debt as a percentage of GDP against the change in Gini coefficients due to taxes and transfers. This change in Gini coefficients, which I shall refer to as “ΔGini,” represents varying intensities of economic redistribution. The higher the ΔGini, the more government redistribution of income is taking place.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Before</th>
<th>After</th>
<th>Gini</th>
<th>Debt%GDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia1995</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>17.866667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia2000</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.16</td>
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</tr>
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<td>0.43</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>60.7</td>
</tr>
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<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>96.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.17</td>
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<td>0.27</td>
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<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada1990</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.18</td>
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As we can see in Figure 5, there is a distinct positive correlation present between ΔGini and debt as a percentage of GDP at any given point. As ΔGini rises, so does public debt as a percentage of GDP. This supports my earlier hypothesis that increased levels of redistribution would lead to increased levels of debt.

**Conclusion**

In conclusion, let me return to the original question: Is the changing mix of fiscal and monetary revenue policies a direct result of a shift in the political power of the poor? My hypothesis was yes, and in the end, the data I gathered tends to support that. I hypothesized that in a situation where the poor have political power, we should see very little inflation in contrast to a large increase in the amount of central government debt. This fits with the behavior we observe in the examples available.

What we see is that redistribution policies in place to
combat income inequality co-vary with accumulation of debt. From that, we can conclude that the changes in fiscal and monetary revenue policies are, in fact, at least in some part a direct result of an increase in the political power of the poor.

This study was limited in scope and data, and I plan to expand upon it, as well as include regression analysis to determine the statistical significance of the relevant factors. For future research I have considered looking into the change in social stigma surrounding debt and other factors that cause the connection between voter and government behavior.

References


Katherine Dunham: The Bridge Between African Diaspora and American Folk Culture

Petra Morkel

Dr. Kristine McCusker
Department of History

In the 1930s, the nation began rediscovering its national roots by conducting both scholarly and artistic research which aided in redefining American folk culture. Folk culture reflects the life of a group of people, defined by the actions and everyday lives of a specific community. During Roosevelt’s administration he established the Works Progress Administration which not only generated political and economic changes, but social and cultural ones as well. This can be seen by exploring the life and work of the seminal artist and anthropologist, Katherine Dunham (1909-2006). Dunham utilized realism and socialization through the arts in her performance method to establish the direct connection between American Folk culture and the African Diaspora.

Two bodies rock, leap, and whirl into feigned attacks while the drum beats out the commands.

Katherine Dunham, writing as Kaye Dunn

On January 27, 1938 THE New Deal’s Federal Theater premiered Katherine Dunham’s ballet L’Ag’ya which was based on a Martinique folk-tale, and utilized a variety of dance forms found in the Caribbean. The performance demonstrated Dunham’s new style of dance which blended authentic Afro and Caribbean dance forms with modern and ballet dance. Her dance pieces became known as “performed memory,” meaning she was able to capture an aspect of a culture and document it by using movement. No one had ever combined so many different forms of dance in one production. Dunham artistically incorporated Ballet, Modern, and Caribbean dance. Of the Caribbean dance forms she included the habanera (Cuba), Majumba (Brazil), and mazouk, beguine, and ag’ya (all from Caribbean). As a result, L’ Ag’Ya is a quintessential ballet of memory because of its composite nature.

Katherine Dunham was the first in the history of dance and anthropology to cross disciplines by artistically and professionally presenting her ideas on stage by creating performed ethnographies of the Haitian people. Her life and work challenged multiple social, education, and racial boundaries. She was the forerunner for dance anthropology, dance history, and choreography alike. She seamlessly blurred the lines between art and science, by creating some of the most culturally rich, and socially bold productions of the time. She proved that by combining the methodology from anthropology and choreography, the researcher is able to produce culturally rich case studies about a particular culture.

Dunham’s childhood in the Jim Crow South did not limit her educational progress. She transcended racial barriers and was able to do so because of her non-traditional family. Dunham was born to a father of African and European descent, and a Canadian mother. Dunham’s biographer, Joyce Aschenbrenner notes “Prejudices expressed by her mother’s side of the family, which was ‘nearly white,’ toward her father and his relatives left a deep mark on the child.”1 She was known as a “culture broker,” and challenged social norms her entire life. Her academic career truly took off when she studied philosophy at the University of Chicago in 1928. In Chicago, Dunham sought to combine her academic interests with her interests in dance. As a dancer and choreographer, she started the first black dance group in 1930, and maintained the only permanent, self-financed, black dance group of the time. Says Dickstein, “She has been called the matriarch and the queen of black American dance.”2

In addition, she was intricately connected to white intellectuals and artists of the time, and published under the name of Kay Dunn because of the regulations on women writers. Dunham began working with Melenowski and Northwestern University where she began exploring the idea of combining dance and anthropology. Her career as an anthropologist ignited and supported her career as a

dancer and choreographer. She eventually developed the field of dance anthropology, received numerous awards and recognitions, and published many books which included her master’s thesis concerning Haitian people (Northwestern University, 1947), many professional articles, and three different books: Journey to Accompong (1946), The Dances of Haiti (1947), and Island Possessed (1969). Dunham’s accomplishments in both the field of dance and anthropology proved that she was not going to allow social or class boundaries to restrict her.

The field of anthropology was evolving in the later 1940s, therefore the authority figures were more receptive to new ideas concerning the discipline. One of the most significant figures in anthropology was Melville Herskovitz. Dunham followed in Malinowski’s footsteps, by initiating participation centered anthropological research, which was particularly effective for the study of dance. Researchers were using new methods of recording and communicating knowledge by utilizing cross disciplinary skills. Dunham in particular experimented with new research methodologies by using autobiography, choreography, discursive essay, drama, and poetry in her research. Throughout her academic career, Dunham was under the mentorship of Robert Redfield, A. Radcliff Brown, Bronislaw Malinowski, and Melville Herskovitz. Dunham expressed an interest in the West Indies where there was a strong connection between religion and dance. She spent most of her career combining the research methodologies from anthropology and dance by doing case studies in the West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Cuba, Haiti, Martinique). In 1935, Dunham received a Rosenwald grant to spend several months learning about the Caribbean society; the vondun in Haiti, the material culture and living conditions. In preparation to conduct field work in Haiti, she began working with Herskovitz, who was one of the mentors in her career.

Dunham’s research was in particular unique because she utilized both observation and active participation during her field work. She understood that many times dance for a society is an extension of their daily communication, dramatically portrayed for a performance. She was able to utilize the strategic and systematic methods of the field of anthropology and place herself deep into the culture she was studying. This often required her to become an active participant in ritualistic activities which were only shared with those genuinely converting to the vondun. At this time other anthropologists were conducting field studies in Haiti, but they were limited by their “outside” observer position which was often a threat to many of these people who were suspicious of outside invasion. Dunham’s “involvement in dance sensitized her to total body response and the translation of culture through movement,” which gave her a more in-depth perspective. In addition, because she was willing to engage in participatory observation she was exposed to private (and sometime dangerous) rituals that no other American had ever seen. One of these rituals was the L’Ag’Ya.

Dunham’s first large production for the Federal Theater surrounded her study of the L’Ag’Ya, which was the “back bone of Martinique country entertainment.” This piece illustrates her ability to use art and science to analyze a culture. Dunham’s research revealed that there was no place in all of Martinique that did not at some point in the year dance the L’Ag’ Ya, yet no outsiders had ever reported on it. Traditionally the ceremony included two men engaged in a dual, audience, who circled around them, and acoustic drummers. According to Dunham, “A real l’ag’ya is a pantomime cockfight.” What Dunham experienced firsthand while conducting research, she attempted to portray on stage. She reflects on her experience in an expert from Johnson:

I continue to think of the sons of Nigeria. This is the l’ag’ya as I know it. As I love it. No lurid spectacle under flickering kerosene torches, while callow-faced men place a piece for the breaking of a companion’s skull... No exhibition for the tourist to come and see and feel a little ill and go away and write about the savage beat of the tom-tom, the bloody attacks of the two naked combatants, and the mad, primitive frenzy of the onlookers. No stench from bodies that have soured all day in the heat and excitement of the fe’té. No order of white rum grown fetid in feverish mouths. No reeling and crowding and cursing to enter the ring and place bets and offer insults to a lagging hero.

Dunham saw the most enchanting, inspiring, exciting, and upstaged production in the villages of Martinique. She wanted to capture the sights, sounds, smells, and passion of movement and bring it back to the American stage. Her husband, John Pratt, designed elaborate costumes that closely resembled the native dress of the Caribbean people which complimented the dynamic set that closely recreated the authentic setting where the dance came from. She utilized props, and hired drummers from the Caribbean to play for her dancers. The all black cast were highly trained.

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3 Aschenbrenner, 87.
4 Ibid., 45.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Johnson, 201.
8 Johnson, 203.
9 Johnson, 205.
ballet and modern dancers who were meticulously taught aspects of Martinique movement that Dunham adapted from her studies. Dunham implemented a research-to-performance method by applying the science of anthropology to the study of the Haitian people; the culmination was a 40-minute-long ballet portraying a Romeo and Juliet type story with dancing and fighting. Aschenbrenner, 114. Katherine Dunham spent her life reintroducing to the American theater many of the cultural traditions of the African, Caribbean, and Haitian people that were lost due to enslavement and isolation. Dunham utilized realism and socialization through the arts in her “research to performance method” to establish a direct connection between American Folk culture and Afro-Caribbean traditions.

By presenting technically proficient African American dancers, performing authentic, native dances, Dunham began redefining Black dance in America. The term folklorist should also be applied to Katherine Dunham because she dynamically reconnected native cultural traditions with American folk culture; the evidence of which can still be found in American folk culture today. Hallie Flanagan, director of the national directory of the Theater Project, stated, “Katherine Dunham, a young choreographer of the Negro group, in L’Ag’ Ya dealt with folk material from Martinique, shaping with authority the native grace of our Negro Dancers.” Dunham utilized her studies in Jamaica, Africa, and the Caribbean to influence her choreography, thus establishing Black dance as something not necessarily primitive, but cultural, beautiful, and technical as well. Dunham became a part of a dynamic group of artists employed by the Works Progress Administration under Roosevelt’s administration which helped established American folk culture on many levels. The 1930s became a perfect breeding ground for folklorist to develop their ideas and avenues of expression, namely due to the establishment of the WPA. The development of a truly American folklore was spearheaded by ethnomusicologists, folklorists and anthropologists. The art that was being produced was anti-middle class, socialist in nature, purposefully authentic, and sexually expressive. Consequently, most of the popular writers, artists, composers, choreographers, and photographers formed a cultural wing that was a part of the larger Popular Front. The Works Progress Administration helped create “a left-wing populism that could be urban as well as rural, that lent dignity to common people, recaptured lost elements of America’s history and folk heritage, instilled energy and hope into people who were suffering from fear and privation, and tried to bridge gaps of sympathy and understanding between different races, classes, and regions.” As a result Americans became even more connected to their cultural roots, and many artists, like Katherine Dunham, exposed, illustrated, and celebrated the connections between African Diaspora and American folk culture.

Dunham was just one of the many artists working for The Works Progress Administration which not only inspired political and economic changes, but social and cultural ones as well. The Federal Theater Project was short-lived due the un-predicted political controversies that surrounded much of the work. L’Ag’ Ya was the first of many pieces that ignited a cultural revolution during the New Deal. Roosevelt’s Works Progress administration was successful, unfortunately of the four Federal One programs the federal theater project was the most controversial and short lived. Hallie Flanagan, the director, was completely committed to creating public awareness by using theater and dance as a means to do so. The Federal Theater Project was the most uncensored of the four projects, but became the most targeted by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) (1938–1975), which targeted the investigation of anti-American propaganda. The most notable contribution Katherine Dunham made to American folk culture was that she built a massive amount of African-influenced artistic material which infiltrated American Folk culture. Moreover, the arts programs helped collect a large amount of “raw material that has proven to be an enormous source to subsequent artists and historians.” Dunham’s work transcended the academic sector and had a huge influence on the social and political realms. Her production, L’Ag’ Ya was the first of many culturally rich, academically sound, and politically charged productions that helped shape American folk culture in a variety of significant ways.

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10 Aschenbrenner, 114.
11 Johnson, 205.
12 Ibid., 452.
13 Ibid., 462.
14 Ibid., 272.
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The Early Years of “Greek Life” at Middle Tennessee State University

Eric Pegues

Throughout the years, fraternities and sororities have thrived because of their ability to unite students from different backgrounds in a common purpose. On the campus of Middle Tennessee State University, the Greek Life system has existed for almost a half century. Between 1967, when the first class of Greeks entered the campus, and 2011, thousands of young men and women joined the ranks of fraternity and sorority life. This research project examines and focuses on the comprehensive history of Greek life on the campus of Middle Tennessee State University as the institution celebrates its centennial. It illustrates the historical foundations of the actual groups, campus climate, and social issues of Greek-lettered organizations.

The American College fraternity system, which is often referred to as “Greek Life” has existed in higher education for more than 235 years. The founding of the first fraternity dates back to the 18th century. Throughout the years, fraternities and sororities have thrived on their ability to unite students in support of a common purpose. These groups represent the oldest form of student self-governance in the American higher education system. In the 20th century, the fraternity system saw unprecedented growth. During the same period, hundreds of thousands of young men and women joined the Greek community. In addition, thousands of new chapters of these organizations were established. The growth of the Greek community demonstrated widespread interest in membership among students.

The family structure of Greek-letter social organizations reduced the overwhelming feelings often experienced on today’s large college campuses. The family structure of these societies also piqued the interest of young men and women. Being a part of an organization of “brothers” or “sisters” who care about your well-being certainly helps to create what former Penn State President John Oswald called “an island of smallness on the large ocean that is today’s college campus.” In addition, fraternities and sororities offer today’s students opportunities for personal development unmatched in most campus organizations. The leadership opportunities alone have caused some to call the American college fraternity a “laboratory” where students can test and develop their skills as organizational leaders, public servants and speakers, and good citizens. On the campus of Middle Tennessee State University, social Greek-letter organizations have existed almost a half of century. The first off-campus Greek society was established in 1961. Since 1967, when the first group was allowed on campus, thousands of undergraduate students have joined the Greek community at Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU). This research project will examine the comprehensive history of Greek life on the campus. While the Greek system has been at Middle Tennessee State half of the university’s existence, there has been no written comprehensive history. To fill this void, the current research in particular will illustrate the historical foundations of the organizations, campus climate, social issues and the current state of Greek Life at MTSU.

The research that will be explored involves the 40-plus years in which social Greek-lettered groups have been present on campus. Since there is little written history, it has been hard for students and alumni to connect. As we approach the centennial celebration of MTSU, it is important to investigate Greek-letter organizations and the significant contributions the groups provide. The bulk of the information here was gathered from archives at the Al Gore Research Center, Walker library, MTSU Midlander Yearbooks, Sidelines articles and the Tennessean.

The First Groups

The social Greek-letter fraternity system at MTSU began in fall of 1961. The first fraternity was Phi Epsilon, now known as Kappa Alpha Order. Originally, the organization was an off-campus fraternity and the only social fraternity until the spring of 1966 when Sigma Tau Omega was established. As a result of a study by a committee of faculty, administration, students, fraternities were recog-
nized as campus organizations in the fall of 1966.

Members of the committee were Dr. Edward Howard, chairman, MTSU Language Dept.; Dean Robert MacLean, dean of students; Dean Martha Hampton, dean of women; Dean Harry Wagoner, dean of men; Dr. June Anderson, MTSU physical science dept.; Dr. Marcia Zwier, Psychology dept.; Douglass Bennett, Speaker of the ASB Senate; Patrick O’Neal, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Jim Free, president of the ASB; and Earl Hinton with the MTSU Music Dept. During fall 1966 semester, there were three new fraternities formed: Sigma Delta Zeta, Lambda Psi, and Chi Alpha Pi along with five sororities; Alpha Gamma Phi, Delta Phi Gamma, Delta Pi Delta, Kappa Tau Delta, and Phi Theta Psi. However, during these semesters the 10 organizations were put on probationary status and were not recognized as national organizations until fall 1968.

The present name and the national affiliation which the fraternities and sororities represent are as follows: Phi Epsilon going Kappa Alpha Colony; Sigma Tau Omega, Kappa Sigma; Lambda Psi, Sigma Alpha Epsilon; Sigma Delta Zeta going Sigma Nu Colony. Sororities include: Kappa Tau Delta turned into Alpha Delta Pi Colony; Delta Pi Delta went to Chi Omega Colony; Phi Theta Psi; Kappa Delta; Delta Phi Gamma, and Alpha Gamma Phi.

Greek Councils

Greek councils serve chapters as governing bodies and may represent a local branch of the national affiliation between groups and umbrella organizations. At Middle Tennessee, councils coordinate events that support the Pillars of Greek Life, stress unity among chapters, and work to promote membership growth. Councils have been present since the first 10 social-Greek lettered organizations were on the campus. Each sorority and fraternity on campus is represented by a designated council.

The Inter-Fraternity Council (IFC) was created because of the need for a coordination and a governing body for the fraternities. The IFC consists of the president and a representative from each fraternity. The IFC has its own officers who cannot vote and serve only the functions of administrators of the body. The president may vote in case of a tie. The body is responsible for all fraternity action. When necessary, the council can punish a fraternity by fine or probation. Additionally, the IFC coordinates rush. The IFC sponsors a rush orientation program wherein each fraternity has a representative and speaker of rush orientation. It is the responsibility of the IFC that all rushees qualify for rush, according to the requirements set up by the administration. The requirements are that all freshman rushees must have a 2.3 quality point ratio in at least 15 hours, not including summer school. Anyone who has 30 or more semester hours and has a quality point ratio of 2.0 is eligible for rush.

Until the mid-1970s, sororities at Middle Tennessee were represented by the Inter-Sorority Council. The chief objective of the Inter-Sorority Council (ISC) was to maintain a feeling of unity among sorority women. Its membership comprised the president and two representatives from each of the five sororities. The ISC promoted cooperation among the members of the sororities and regulated all rushing procedures.

By 1977, the Inter-Sorority Council merged with the National Panhellenic Council. The new council promoted the values of each sorority and served as an advocate for its member groups in collaboration with those members, the campus and community. The Panhellenic Council at MTSU is composed of two delegates from each sorority, an Executive Board consisting of a President, Vice-President of Internal Affairs, Secretary, Treasurer, Vice-President of Recruitment, Assistant Vice-President of Recruitment Director, Rho Sigma Coordinator, Assistant Rho Sigma Coordinator, and three elected offices of Programming Director, Scholarship Director, and a Public Relations Director.

The black Greek-letter sororities (Delta Sigma Theta, Alpha Kappa Alpha, Zeta Phi Beta) were only affiliated members of the Panhellenic Council on campus. The National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) represents the historically black Greek-lettered organizations. Before the NPHC was introduced to MTSU in 1999, the groups were affiliated with the Inter-Fraternity Council and Panhellenic Council. In 1991, the United Greek Council was formed to represent the eight organizations on campus (Alpha Phi Alpha, Alpha Kappa Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, Omega Psi Phi, Delta Sigma Theta, Phi Beta Sigma, Zeta Phi Beta, Sigma Gamma Rho). The National Pan-Hellenic Council, (NPHC) is currently composed of nine International Greek-letter sororities and fraternities: Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Iota Phi Theta Fraternity, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity and Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. NPHC promotes interaction through forums, meetings and other mediums for the exchange of information, and engages in cooperative programming and initiatives through various activities and functions.
Campus Climate
Report on Fraternities Issued

The Committee on Fraternities reported its findings to President Quill E. Cope on August 5, 1966. The committee consisted of Dr. Ed Howard, Chairman; Dean A. Chester Burns, Dean Martha Hampton, Dr. June Anderson, Mr. Wade Gilbert, Dr. Roscoe Strickland, Miss Pat Graham, Mr. Bill Bonner, and Mr. Larry Blick. It was issued that, by a unanimous vote, the committee recommended that Middle Tennessee State University adopt a policy by which social fraternities and sororities be recognized as a part of the student organization program, with the proviso that the question, together with all regulatory provisions, be subject to review after a probationary period of three years. It was also felt that the introduction to this system would not have an appreciably adverse effect on academic performance. On the contrary, it was thought that some group members might develop a sense of responsibility for providing a measure of encouragement and assistance to less talented members. The study revealed that approximately one-fifth of the students would join a fraternity or sorority if the opportunity were made available to them. Approximately one-third of the faculty who responded to the questionnaire stated that they would be willing to serve as advisors.

Sentiments of Greeks

During the late 60s and early 70s, many students had negative views of Greek-lettered groups. On January 6, 1966, at the Dramatics Auditorium, the first ASB event was the scene of a student debate on the topic of “Should MTSU have Fraternities and Sororities?” The open forum debate was attended by approximately 200 students as well as Dean Robert McLean, Chester Burns, James Cranford and President Cope. The debate panel, moderated by Harold Smith, had Janet Brown and Paul Womack on the affirmative side and Bobby Freeman and Dick Call on the negative. Many issues were discussed with the crux of the debate hinging around whether MTSU was ready for Greek life. The affirmative side emphasized diversity of opportunity. The negative took the stand that the diversity of MTSU clubs fraternities and sororities encouraged loyalty to themselves and not to the school as a whole.

On February 22, 1966, the university newspaper, Sidelines, published an article entitled, “Are Fraternities and Sororities Really Needed.” The article was released before the first groups were recognized on campus and basically questioned the contributions, if any, that fraternity and sorority life bring to campus. The article stated that the university has numerous of societies, clubs, and organizations on campus working together for common goals and fellowship which is fostered by fraternities. The article pointed out that loyalty, comradeship, fun, and achievement in doing something worthwhile can all evolve from active club participation. The author stated that “I am not against fraternities and sororities, but I fail to see that MTSU students need or sincerely want them.”

In February 1970, the Speech Department sponsored the first of a series of Campus Forums. The initial forum debated the proposition “Resolved: That the fraternity and sorority systems have outlived their usefulness.” At this forum, the panel compared Greeks to the Klu Klux Klan and the John Birch Society. Another debater, Wayne Hudgings, said, “Greeks often feel, in the opinion of most independents, that they are an elite group on a pedestal.” He also raised the issue of racism, saying the Greek system excluded blacks and other minorities from membership.

Contributions of Greek Life at MTSU

Yet, these groups were very active in campus life. The Miss MTSU pageant, which began as an event sponsored by a non-Greek organization, Circle K, became a university event sponsored by Sigma Alpha Epsilon in 1977. In the early stages of “Greek Life” on the campus, the organizations were actively engaged in St. Jude Week which was dedicated to awareness of and raising funds for St. Jude Hospital; All-Sing; intramural sports; the Student Government Association; and Step Show, which was first sponsored by Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.

Before 1995, there was no one position in the administration that had sole responsibility over the Greek system at MTSU. But there was a real need for someone to coordinate the activities of the fraternities and sororities on campus. In February 1995, the University appointed Victor Felts as Director of Greek Affairs. Felts was quoted as saying, “They really needed someone in this position. The Greek system here has the potential to be very strong, but before there just wasn’t one person who could focus directly on the Greeks.” In addition, to his many duties as Director of Greek Life, Felts conducted educational workshops for different chapters on topics like gender relations, multicultural relations and alcohol awareness.

Greek Row “Housing Problem”

In 1969, when asked about the prospective fraternity row, assistant to the president Henry Wagner, stated that “This [housing] is the solution to all of our problems within
the fraternity system.” As for the financing, Wagner stated, this would be up to the individual fraternity. He said that some fraternities may prefer to finance their house through their own sources but state support may be solicited for those fraternities desiring it. The land will be leased for 35 years. “A fraternity row will aid relationships within the university as well as among the fraternities,” stated Wagner. “There is no doubt about the merit it will have.” Robert Lalance, Dean of Men, agreed. Bill Wedekind, IFC President said, “This is good for the system as a whole as well as good for each individual fraternity. Since the system started, everyone has been thinking of new houses because it is an important part of fraternity life at larger schools. I cannot see that it will have anything but a positive effect on the system as a whole.”

In the fall of 2000, Greek Row was added to the campus of MTSU. It had been a 30-year project, enduring on-again, off-again discussions. However, the project reached fruition when ground was broken for eight fraternity houses. Former president James E. Walker said, “This is just the beginning. Our competition is switching from Memphis to Knoxville, This will be the first Greek Row in the Tennessee Board of Regents system, and only the second in the state. MTSU, recognized as a growing university that is moving forward has moved up another level. The construction of Greek Row is expected to benefit the campus and student body.”

“It [ Greek Row] will add diversity to campus,” said Robert LaLance Jr., vice president for Student Affairs. “Once we have hundreds of fraternity men residing on campus, there are going to be a lot more activities planned for the weekends,” added Vic Felts, director of Greek Life.

The Office of Greek Affairs at Middle Tennessee State University, now advises 29 fraternities and sororities on campus, governed by the Interfraternity Council (IFC), the Multicultural Greek Council (MGC), the National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC), and the Panhellenic Council (PHC). The office provides services to these organizations in four areas: The development of holistic educational programming designed to bridge the gap between in-the-classroom learning and the learning that takes place through involvement in a fraternity or sorority. The development of effective organizational leadership, recruitment and risk management policies, including the management of Greek Row. The facilitation of effective communication between MTSU Greek organizations, the four Greek governing councils, faculty, staff, alumni, and regional and national Greek organization representatives.

Through the years, fraternities and sororities have thrived because of their ability to unite students to support a common purpose. For half of the campus’s existence, the fraternity and sorority system known as Greek Life has had a significant impact on Middle Tennessee State University and its evolution. The history of the Greek community not only plays a significant part with members of fraternities and sororities but an essential role in the fabric of campus and student life at the university.

References


Appendix: The Actual Groups

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## Groups

| ISC (National Panhellenic Council) |
Amerikanische Sakrale Musik Und Spirituals

Carole Presley

Dina Cancryn
Vocal Performance

Carole is attended the American Institute of Musical Studies (AIMS) in Graz, Austria, where she studied the mechanics and finesse of opera, acting, and classical singing. She performed in front of a live audience accompanied by an orchestra.
AMERIKANISCHE SAKRALE MUSIK UND SPIRITUALS
Münzgrabenkirche Graz
Sonntag, 24. Juli 2011
20.00 Uhr

Musikalische: Dr. Alfonse Anderson
Am Klavier: Jeremy Peterman

Henry Smith, Ensemble: Walk Together Children

Christopher Ruck, Ensemble: Steal Away

Amanda Mura, Sopran: Nobody Knows The Trouble I’ve Seen

Kurleen Norwickas, Sopran: Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child

Jonathan Mancheni, Tenor: I Gotta Lie Down

Marcus Simmons, Bariton: I Wanna Be Ready

Ashley Renée Watkins, Sopran: Wade In The Water

Belinda Jackley, Mezzosopran
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<td>Melissa Tegeler, Mezzosopran</td>
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<td>My Soul's Been Anchored In The Lord</td>
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<td>My Good Lord Done Been Here</td>
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<td>Ricardo King</td>
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Moses Hogan

Brandon Williams, Countertenor

Were You There

Hall Johnson

O What A Beautiful City

Carole Presley, Soprano

Bernard Dewagter

Let My People Go

Brian Myer, Leiter

Small Ensemble

Moses Hogan

Brandon Williams, Countertenor

Great Day

Ensemble

André Previn

Do You Know Him

Erica Simmons, Soprano

Jacqueline Hairston

This Little Light of Mine

Cordelia Anderson, Soprano

Hall Johnson

Ride On King Jesus

Ashley Renée Watkins, Soprano

Margaret Bonds

He’s Got The Whole World In His Hand

Brandon Williams, Countertenor

Andraé Crouch

Soon And Very Soon

Ensemble
Amerikanische Sakrale Musik Und Spiriturals

Erica Simmons

Dina Cancryn
Vocal Performance

Erica is attended the American Institute of Musical Studies (AIMS) in Graz, Austria, where she studied the mechanics and finesse of opera, acting, and classical singing. She performed in front of a live audience accompanied by an orchestra.
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Henry Smith          Walk Together Children
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J. Rosamond Johnson  Nobody Knows The Trouble I’ve Seen
                      Kurleen Norwickas, Sopran

H.T Burleigh         Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child
                      Jonathan Mancheni, Tenor

Hall Johnson          I Gotta Lie Down
                      Marcus Simmons, Bariton

William Dawson       I Wanna Be Ready
                      Ashley Renée Watkins, Sopran Solistin
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Andráe Crouch               Soon And Very Soon
               **Ensemble**
African American Students’ Participation in STEM Majors: Factoring out Failure, Striving for Success

Paige Stubbs

Dr. Michaele Chappell
Department of Mathematical Sciences

Over the years, African-American students have been identified in the education arena as an underrepresented group in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) disciplines. Researchers and advocates have sought reasons why so few African-American students make up the STEM graduate population. Many findings suggest overwhelming disparities are attributed largely to economic factors and academic preparation. However, a need remains to understand how to increase the graduation rate for African Americans in STEM disciplines. Explored in this review are different factors that contribute to the successes and challenges of African American students in STEM disciplines. Focus is given to specific factors such as: parental involvement, socioeconomic status, neighborhood context, human and material resources, academic preparation, and student self-motivation. This study aims to identify whether or not these factors actually contribute to the success or deficiency of African American students in STEM disciplines. Findings from this study will help advance opportunities for African-American students and the STEM fields overall.

Introduction

Our world is progressing rapidly and we rely on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) in so many different ways. These disciplines are the foundation of architecture, business, economics and many other careers that are critical to sustaining standards of living. African-American students are severely under-represented in STEM college majors and career fields. Some researchers attribute this to American cultural factors that portray African-American students as lacking interest and ability in mathematics (Powell, 1990), while other researchers identify educational background and school environment as direct and indirect factors that influence African-American students’ choices in pursuing STEM fields. Walker (2006) suggests that parental involvement and socioeconomic status help to direct African-American students’ choices away from STEM majors. Along with Walker’s report, other factors include lack of human and material resources, teacher quality and expectations, and neighborhood context to explain why so few African-American college students go on to select majors and careers in mathematics and science.

Numerous research studies have examined the challenges of African-American students, while few highlight their academic success. Focusing on failure can negatively impact African-American students, and cause them to lack confidence, changing the way they perceive themselves. The cultural expectation for one’s group to perform poorly in mathematics and science is an example of a social-psychological phenomenon referred to as “learned helplessness.” It is accepted in our society that mathematics is difficult, so much so that it has become a cultural belief that either one has mathematics skills or does not. This belief has been embedded into the thought process of other groups as well. According to Ladson-Billings (1997), mathematics functions as a feared and revered subject in our culture. This fear hinders students’ range of career options.

However, it has also been indicated that African-American students’ lack of participation in STEM disciplines has little to do with their disinterest in these particular subjects. African-American students are just as likely if not more likely to be interested in STEM fields as their Caucasian and Asian counterparts; although, these same students do not translate this interest into a similar representation of college graduates in these fields. It appears as though something happens later in the students’ high school or college academic career that hinders them from being successful or causes a detour in their decision to pursue a degree in a STEM major.

The purpose of this review is to identify the significance of the previously mentioned factors which contribute to the challenges and successes of African-American students in STEM disciplines.
Parental Involvement

Parents have been shown to have the most impact on students’ long-term academic plans (Walker, 2006). From the time that child is born to adulthood, it is evident that the parental figure has a profound effect on the child’s development. It may be a common belief that the relationship between child and parent is a key component in a child’s prosperity. Parental involvement not only consists of parents attending conferences and open houses, but it also involves time spent at home working with the child, helping him/her develop different learning skills, and expounding on the things that are taught in school. Parents demonstrate the value and importance that they associate with schooling and academics when they participate in their child’s education, causing students to perform better and change their beliefs about school into more positive ones. The type of educational environment that parents provide for their child has a direct influence on the child. Instruction is made effective in that the cognitive functioning in the classroom is compatible with cognitive functioning in the home (Stewart, 2006).

A research study done in 1998 by Hrabowski, Maton, and Grief found that African-American male students who enjoyed high levels of academic achievement continued to receive support from their parents while they attended college, implying that parenting behaviors exhibited during the precollege years evidently impacted the students during their college years (Herndon & Moore, 2002). These researchers compared the different levels of parental involvement, ranging from positive involvement to negative involvement. Another scholar pointed out the failure to recognize the positive role that African-American families play in the development of their children can lead to stereotypes and false perceptions of African-American families in the media and literature (Stewart, 2006). It is obvious that positive “involvement” produces positive “development.” Many people assume that any parental involvement is better than no parental involvement, but as stated by Herndon & Moore (2002), “parents can be negatively involved.” Negatively involved parents are active participants in their child’s academic development, but are more concerned with forcing their aspirations and goals upon the child rather than providing support.

Another negative aspect associated with African-American parents is authoritative parenting. Psychologists suggest that African-American children are a product of authoritative parenting, which may lead to their lower academic achievement (Culp, Hubbs-Tait, Culp, & Starost, 2001). Authoritative parenting is characterized by highly controlling, punitive, harsh and intrusive behaviors and low warmth and responsiveness directed towards the child which is linked to negative child outcomes, including problems in self-regulation of behavior and emotions (Culp, Hubbs-Tait, Culp, & Starost, 2001). In contrast, other research indicated that authoritative parenting was where parents set clear and well-defined rules and closely supervised their children’s activities while allowing a certain degree of autonomy for self-discovery, which fostered academic achievement in their children (Rankin & Quane, 2002). Positive learning environments exist in African-American homes and the relationship between a parental figure and a child is significant to that child’s level of achievement (Stewart, 2006).

Socioeconomic Status / Neighborhood Context

Socioeconomic status is associated with educational access and quality. Research indicates that when compared with students in the highest socioeconomic status quintile (SES), students in the lowest SES quintile attend high schools that are less likely to offer any mathematics above Algebra II (Adelman, 2006). With access to the proper educational resources, superior mathematics teachers, and a demanding mathematics and science curriculum, student achievement then greatly improves (Tsui, 2007). Low SES is associated with lack of material and human resources, but positive learning environments can still be created in homes by involved parents. While some researchers found that family income produces no significant effect on achievement (Stewart, 2006), others suggest it certainly does (Rankin & Quane, 2002). According to Mercy and Steelman (1982), “persons reared in socioeconomically advantaged families surpass their disadvantaged counterparts on ability tests” (p.532), while Slaughter and Epps (1987) found that in certain studies of African-American youth, SES had no direct correlation with academic achievement.

The neighborhood that a child grows up in can affect college aspirations. Some neighborhoods have low poverty and unemployment levels, quality housing, access to good schools, low crime, low population turnover, and they offer an abundance of resources and services (Stewart, Stewart, & Simons, 2007). Some African-American students grow up in neighborhoods that are conducive to high crime rates, poverty, joblessness, residential instability, and lack of resources (Stewart, Stewart, & Simons, 2007). These particular factors can, of course, be detrimental to the future of a child. Neighborhoods characterized by crime and poverty rarely have good schools.

Working and middle-class families continue to depop-
ulate inner-city urban neighborhoods as jobs continue to become scarce. As the presence of these types of neighbors disappears, adolescents lose role models (Stewart, Stewart, & Simons, 2007). Some children in these neighborhoods measure their ability to succeed by assessing the success of those around them, because the people in the neighborhood are people that the children relate to and see every day. Adolescents who reside in neighborhoods composed of adults with higher socioeconomic status are believed to achieve better grades and higher educational attainment, and are less likely to drop out of school. A few years ago, a study conducted by Northeastern University in Boston reported that male high school dropouts were 47 times more likely than college graduates to be jailed. Having a high school diploma does not necessarily guarantee success in life, but lack of it promotes failure. All types of violence may occur in a neighborhood, including gang violence. According to Ladson-Billings (1997), the total number of African-American male inmates between the ages of 18 and 25 exceeded the total African-American male college population. Behaviors such as delinquency, sexual activity, and child bearing can all be associated with neighborhood context, and are less prevalent among youth who reside in more advantaged neighborhoods (Rankin & Quane, 2002). Distractions such as these can prevent students from performing at their highest level in school.

Human and Material Resources

School funding, resources, and students’ school peers, are important predictors of students’ academic outcomes (Borman & Overman, 2004). Human and material resources are two very important factors that contribute to both the success and failure of African-American students. Human resources can be identified as educated parental figures, mentors, teachers, other family members and neighbors with whom the child is directly associated. Time, income, human capital and psychological capital resources also fall into this umbrella of resources. Material resources include technology provided in the classroom, as well as books. Students rely on these particular resources to achieve a goal, and that goal is to attain an education.

Researchers indicate the importance of parents being well educated. Their children have significantly higher achievement than students whose parents were less educated (Stewart, 2006). If a family does not have the necessary means to provide their child with a quality education, it will be a challenge for that child to do as well as more fortunate peers. This is relevant to the classroom as well. In 1993, the National Center for Education Statistics reported that the group of students with lower mathematics achievement was disproportionately African-American, indicating that the students whose teachers reported having limited material resources had lower mathematics achievement than those who had a sufficient amount of material resources. Oakes (1990) states that opportunities for African-American students to continue in the pre-college “science pipeline” are limited based on the unequal allocation of funding and educational resources provided to schools for people of color.

Some of the most successful intervention strategies are mentoring, tutoring, and summer bridge programs. These programs are great aids in student learning. Mentoring programs for minority students resulted in higher grade point averages, lower attrition, increased ability, and well-defined academic goals (Santos & Reigadas, 2002; Schwitzer & Thomas, 1998; Thile & Matt, 1995). One example is the comprehensive intervention Meyerhoff Program located at the University of Maryland in Baltimore County. It has become one of the nation’s leading producers of African-American students going on to graduate and professional study and careers in mathematics, science, and engineering. Hrabowski and Maton (1995) found that when controlling for key background variables, Meyerhoff students achieved both a higher mean overall grade point average (3.5 vs. 2.8) and a higher mean science grade point average (3.4 vs. 2.4).

Teacher Quality and Expectations

Teachers are not always held in high regard in the U.S., and it is evident in teacher salaries. This is a gross devaluation of the knowledge and skills required, especially in a subject like mathematics which may be quite difficult for students to understand (Schoenfeld, 2002).

Schools with high concentrations of African-American students tend to have fewer teachers judged to be highly qualified in mathematics; therefore, African-American students are more likely to be clustered in low-ability mathematics classes (Oakes et al., 1990). Darling-Hammonds & Sykes (2003) suggest that teacher quality and instructional practices are related because teachers who are highly qualified have strong pedagogical knowledge and strong mathematical knowledge. White school populations differ from minority school populations in that low-income populations with a large number of minority students have fewer qualified teachers (Darling-Hammonds & Sykes, 2003). According to Wirt, Choy, Rooney, Provasnik, Sen & Tobin (2004), approximately 33 percent of high school mathematics students in highly populated minority schools...
and 30 percent of high school mathematics students in schools where the poverty is high are taught by teachers without a teaching license or a major in mathematics. Approximately 7 percent of high school mathematics students in these schools are taught by teachers without a teaching license or a major in mathematics (Wirt et al., 2004). These are devastating statistics compared with the figures in wealthy schools.

Students of color often feel that their teachers lack interest in them as academic scholars (Jones, Yonezawa, Balesteroes, Mehan, 2002). The expectations of teachers are very important because some teachers are the only positive role models that some students have. Teachers’ expectations can be established in different ways, and they tend to form different expectations of students as a function of race, gender and social class (Baron, Tom, & Cooper, 1985; Secada, 1992). These expectations can affect students’ achievement in mathematics, or any subject for that matter. In some cases, because students are of a particular race or ethnicity, teachers presume that they cannot be expected to perform at high levels in mathematics, and they fail to present these students with challenging, intellectually rigorous mathematics curriculum (Ladson-Billings, 1997).

Discipline in schools associated with low-poverty often seems to overshadow academics. African-American students are overrepresented in school discipline systems, while their white counterparts are enrolled in advanced courses (Ferguson, 2001; Gregory & Mosley, 2004). As stated by Ladson-Billings (1997), teachers and administrators sometimes become so consumed with the notion that African-American children must be managed that they forget that they need to be taught. Teachers who have certain beliefs about specific student groups’ lack of potential for success in mathematics will find it hard to change these beliefs. It is sometimes necessary to address the possibility that racism may be the root of some schools administrators’ and teachers’ beliefs.

All students, regardless of their race, ethnicity, class, gender, or language proficiency can learn to use mathematics. (Allexsaht-Snider & Hart, 2001). Children typically spend eight-hour days in school, the majority of their wake time. African-American students are categorized as low achievers in mathematics, and students who are considered low achievers are more likely to be disciplined in school (Leone, Mayer, Malmgren, & Meisel, 2002). This presents a problem, one that may ultimately hinder a student’s ability to learn.

Schools that offer gifted and advanced programs are setting their students up for success. In order for students to be prepared for college, advanced placement courses and college preparatory courses such as algebra, geometry, biology, and chemistry must be offered to ensure students’ success. All students do not necessarily enter college with strong academic preparation and good study habits, and this can hurt them in the long run. Research indicates that African-American students in education today often experience a low-level, watered-down curriculum, negative perceptions about their ability, and low expectations regarding their achievement (Brown, 2000; Russell and Atwater, in press).

Algebra and geometry are the keys to performance on standardized tests and degrees in math and science. African-American students are known to take fewer algebra and geometry courses than white students (Powell, 1990). According to research by Brown (2000), African-American students who participated in higher level or advanced science and mathematics courses during high school felt more prepared academically to pursue biology degrees at a predominately white institution. Some African-American students may not have the opportunity to be exposed to an enriched curriculum, and some even hold beliefs that science and mathematics are “white male” subjects. Students who fail to acquire these particular courses, also described as “critical filters,” are practically eliminated from a number of science careers (Anderson, 1990).

African-American students do not participate in science and engineering disciplines due to their lack of academic preparation on the pre-college level (Johnson & Kristonis, 2006). As opposed to advanced math classrooms, remedial math classrooms contain disproportionate numbers of black students (Johnson, 1984; Croom, 1984). Students begin making decisions about whether or not they want to pursue degrees in mathematics and science as early as middle school. Doors of opportunity are either opened or closed based on the courses that a student has the opportunity to take.

**Student Self-Motivation**

Students’ beliefs about their academic capabilities play an essential role in their motivation to achieve. African-American students may be more attracted to fields outside of math and science, but it may also be true that these same students do not have the confidence that they are able to be successful in these disciplines. Learned helplessness, defined as the cultural expectation for one’s group to perform poorly in mathematics and science may be a major contribution (Powell, 1990). Math and science are both challenging subjects and when people fail at them too many times, their motivation to pursue the subject will diminish. One
of the effects of learned helplessness is negative expectations regarding future performance in a subject. According to Powell (1990), low mathematics ability is symptomatic of the learned helplessness phenomenon which debilitates large numbers of African-Americans. Another reason African-American-students may not do well in STEM disciplines is because of a fear of these particular disciplines. “We fear it because we believe that it is too hard and we revere it because we believe that it signals advanced thinking reserved only for intelligentsia” (Ladson-Billings, 1997, pg. 698).

Future Research

A representative sample of African-American college students at Middle Tennessee State University (MTSU) in STEM and non-STEM fields will be surveyed, with the purpose of identifying factors that determine academic major for these African-American students. Interviews will be conducted with selected participants in STEM disciplines which will reveal their perspectives on the reasons that they selected STEM majors, and which factors led to their persistence.

The purpose of this research is to identify whether or not the previously identified factors actually contribute to the success or deficiency of African-American students in STEM disciplines at Middle Tennessee State University. Results from this study aim to: contribute to the advancement of opportunities for African-American students, dispel myths about African-Americans that directly impact students academically, establish strategies to increase graduation rates of more qualified math and science teachers, and advance the STEM fields overall.

The proposed research questions are as follows:

• What factors contribute to the persistence of African-American students towards STEM careers?
• What factors hinder the success of African-American students in STEM majors?
• What actions can occur to increase the participation of African American students in STEM related majors?

Conclusion

STEM majors are a key to success in today’s world, and it is important that African-American students contribute to that success. In future research, some of the factors that help determine the answer will be addressed.
can males. New York: Oxford University Press.
Personal Scriptures: Questions of Interpretation in Scriptural Traditions

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Throughout the history of the Abrahamic faiths there has been a tension over the guardianship of the scriptural traditions within each faith. This tension has been characterized by deep debate between traditionalists who prefer the most literal interpretations to be found in the text of scripture, and a more liberal or rationalist view which seeks to find esoteric meanings and is content to reinterpret scripture to fit the context of the times. A close examination of the philosophical and cognitive issues at play in the reading of texts reveals that a personal and experiential interpretation of scriptures can not be avoided. When we read holy texts we always do so in a way conditioned by our culture, our beliefs, and our lives. Because of the back and forth relationship that language has with thought, and the metaphorical construct which unconsciously informs most of our beliefs, it is unavoidable that all readings of scripture are personal readings. This means that the difference between the two sides of the debate is not one of method, but of self-awareness. The productive way forward in issues of scripture then is not to avoid our prejudices, but rather to be aware of how they affect our thought process and channel our understandings in ways that are productive for society.

Questions of religious tradition and their viability in the modern era have taken a center role on the global stage, once more emerging to the forefront of public awareness. Islamic terms such as Shari’a are hotly debated in state and federal legislatures around America. In Israel religious conservatives in the Knesset and military are a powerful political factor in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and fundamentalist Christian theology has revived as a public and potent influence on American politics. In a post-9-11 world, the differences between the Abrahamic religions, and the vast diversity of belief found within each one, has taken on an importance in the public sphere that seems unprecedented since before the Enlightenment.

In modern times, a rise of fundamentalism has led to an increase in sectarian violence and the use of religious rhetoric in order to justify extreme, and sometimes violent stances. The position of such traditionalists is normally characterized by a longing to return to older ways of doing things and strengthened by a claim to hold the “true” teachings of their religion. Such thinking rejects the notion of interpreting scriptural writings in a more pluralistic way, and many such groups reject the idea of innovating new meanings in scripture at all. Historically these movements have been resistant to change within the structure of the religion and have been staunchly opposed to any compromise on the purity of the message.

Religious belief tends to fall into a wide spectrum of possible positions, including branches of the Protestant church such as Unitarian philosophy, members of the Neo-Mutazilite movement within Islam, and modern Reform Jewish rabbis who seek to embrace an inclusive message of scripture. These groups actively encourage the reinterpretation of scripture to make it more amenable to co-existence with those who believe differently, to make scripture more “practical” in a modern world.

The questions that we have sought to answer in our present work are simply these: What do modern philosophy of linguistics and the study of consciousness, tell us about the issue? Is it even possible to read scripture, or any text, without inserting your cultural and personal attitudes and experiences into it? If not, what are the implications for the future of religious thought? It is our conclusion that strong arguments can be made that inserting personal interpretation into a scriptural reading is a nearly unavoidable philosophical phenomenon, and that the key difference between the opposing viewpoints in this debate is that those who prefer more fundamentalist or traditionalist readings of the scriptures lack self-awareness of this self-insertion.

It is sometimes assumed that this question of open interpretation of scripture is a modern question, but in fact the debate has gone on for nearly as long as the existence of the scriptures themselves. The very creation of a division in society between laity and priest can be seen as an
answer to the question of who has the authority to interpret scripture or by what guidelines such interpretation can happen. The competing traditionalist and pluralistic paradigms have appeared since nearly the beginning of each of the Abrahamic faiths, and the works that we examine are by no means an exhaustive list of source material. We chose these examples specifically to show strains of thought which influenced modern criticism of scripture and continue to be foundational to this day, for the purpose of demonstrating that open reinterpretation of scripture is not a new product of a skeptical modern era. Rather, it goes back at least as far as the ancient roots that the traditionalists claim for themselves.

We will also examine cognitive and linguistic issues in reading any textual source. We look at the functions and influences of language and culture within the thought process, as well as examine the latest attempts to form a structural explanation for conceptual blending and the use of metaphor. We will look at theories concerning the way meaning is created in a reading and writing system. There are certain dominant cultural features in Western society which have greatly influenced the way we think about language and words, the concept of words corresponding to a certain meaning and then the communicator choosing words, using language as a conduit, to transmit those meanings. The question of language has always been a tricky one for philosophers to tackle, and can be said to have dominated discussion in both Continental and Anglo-American philosophical traditions of the 20th century. Research in the field is showing that there are other valid, and perhaps more accurate and useful, ways to think about language (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). The results offer a clearer picture of how objective we can truly be in terms of reading any text.

This view has obvious implications for the religious believers who look to tradition to inform the way they interact with others and live their daily lives. One of the first among possible responses to our conclusions is to question what happens, if we are correct about all interpretations of scripture being skewed by personal culture and experience, to the structure of the religion itself. Does this mean that we have to accept all possible interpretations of scripture as valid, no matter how absurd or destructive they may seem? There is an understandable desire to have standards of some sort, some way of arriving at a common meaning for the scriptures. The conclusions we have reached do not weaken the possibility of reaching mutual understanding, in fact they strengthen it. We must deal with that question and with other implications the conclusion of our argument creates. We will talk about what standards still exist for reaching mutual understanding, and will discuss how a self-awareness of the process by which these paradigms are inserted upon a text actually strengthen one in avoiding error and finding productive ways to apply religious texts to their modern situations.

**Defining the Argument**

Judaism, Christianity, and Islam comprise the three major religions of the world, and two of the top three scriptural religions globally, with Judaism falling to fourth behind the varied Hindu faith traditions, which themselves are arguably not a textual tradition. Together these religions comprise an approximate 55% percent of the world’s population (World Factbook, 2011), arguably making their holy texts some of the most influential books of all time. It is no surprise that, after the Classical era of Aristotle and Plato, many of the best known philosophers who have moved the realm of human knowledge and thought forward up to the modern era were either theologians seeking to explain the revelation of scripture, or skeptics and atheists seeking to refute such positions. Whether in support or opposition, the scriptural traditions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam have been weighty focal points of Western thought.

The important first step is to define our usage of terms. In what we are calling a traditionalist approach the important thing about any reading of scripture is the connection that it gives one to the past. Varying degrees of extremity may regulate the degree of literalness applied to interpretation, but it is taken for granted that God or the prophets had specific meanings in mind for the text which are still binding on the modern reader. It is believed that there is one truth revealed by the scriptures, and that this truth is discoverable by becoming as knowledgeable as possible about the original context, authors, and language. The key differentiating factor here is that even when alternative or metaphorical meanings are available, there is still a correct meaning to be discovered. The beauty of scripture for the traditionalist is that it allows us, in the modern era, access directly to the revelation and meaning of the prophets and apostles. This is the reasoning that leads so many reform movements to make the claim they are returning things “back” to the true path, correcting what they see as mistakes or misunderstandings in the tradition. For the traditionalist, an unbroken core of beliefs from the time of the religion’s founding onward is the treasure and concern of scripture.

This is contrasted for us by what we will term the pluralistic approach to scriptural interpretation. For believers who take this approach to their faith, even divine revelation must not be in discord with the dictates of reason. These
theists do believe in God and in the scriptures but the sense of this belief is very different from the traditionalist. In the pluralistic approach, divine revelation is always consistent with the results of demonstrative proof and rational thought. Al-Ghazali, to give an illustrative example from the Islamic tradition, went so far as to claim that divine revelation was the very source of syllogistic logic and methods of reasoning, that the rational sciences were imputed from God to mankind (Griffel 2009). Any time that it appears scripture diverges from this standard then an alternative meaning must be applied to the scripture which will reconcile the differences. The key salient differentiating factor here is that while pluralists may believe that their particular interpretation of the text begins with the most correct premises and clearest inferences, they admit it is only one among many possible interpretations which may hold validity. Revelation may or may not be considered by the adherent to be superior to rationality, but rationality always serves as a check or balance on what is deemed an acceptable understanding of revelation.

We must be careful here to distinguish this application of reason to scripture and a modern historical criticism of scriptural texts which treats them much the same as any other kind of literature, the sort of scholarly academic thought about the context, history, or source-criticism of scripture. The pluralistic believer is still a believer, for whom the scriptures have a valid and meaningful spiritual truth which stretches beyond the boundaries of empiricism and scientific method. This somewhat ephemeral version of truth is what philosophers have usually called wisdom, or understanding of the good life. But the beauty of scripture for the pluralist is that this truth consists of simple principles for moral virtue that can easily be deduced without complicated theological knowledge. In fact, complicated theological questions about cosmology or the nature of God may even be impediments. Theologians of this stripe tend to encourage focusing questions on moral worth, and to discourage “idle speculation” about issues of doctrinal debate. For them the importance of scripture is that it provides us with an answer to questions of what type of person is good. But it is only in this general sense of types and deducible principles that scripture places obligation or burden on the believer. On matters of specific doctrine or cosmology, acceptance of any particular view is ultimately up to each individual believer, a multiplicity of different interpretive views may all be rational.

It is important here also to explain a point of subtlety in our distinction between the two schools of thought. The New Testament, Torah, and the Qur’an all contain passages which are obviously metaphorical or symbolic, or at least which seem to depict things which initially defy sense. Even ardent traditionalists will often capitulate on the matter of these passages by an admission that they are open to several possible interpretations. Thus the dividing line between the two camps is not a binary toggle of traditionalist or pluralist. It is instead a question of how one handles interpretations that the individual has not seen or anticipated, a question of whether a multiplicity of interpretations is acceptable or to be fought against. For our purposes the important feature of rationalist thought is not that it admit passages of scripture that are open to interpretation, but a belief that all, even seemingly straightforward passages, may either have multiple valid interpretations, or may no longer be applicable to a certain time or place.

**Historical Conflict**

This question of how we are to understand the scriptures is not new to the believer of any of the religions. In each case a relatively short amount of time passed between the founding of the religion and when questions of authenticity and tradition began to be asked. Contrary to the popular folk theory of many traditionalists, what they decry as fast and loose handling of the scripture is not a new phenomenon, and in some cases was even a respected practice of the early faithful. Even when the message of a text is taken to be consistent, methods of transmission and relation to a particular culture is no small task.

In Judaism, the first of the three Abrahamic religions to be codified into a definite structure and culture, the process began very early on. For Jews, the Torah represents a realm of debate where different rabbinic groups tease out or emphasize different aspects of the scripture. They find more than just a single message within the text, and the oral tradition of interpretation and commentary is often considered of equal or even greater importance than what is actually written in the scriptures (Neusner, 2006). In Christianity, the situation was very much the same. Even in the Gospels, considered as canon by the widest number of Christians across the world, evidence is clear that the early apostolic figures were by no means uniform in the way they connected the work of Jesus to the Old Testament which had come before. Though scholars debate the depth and length of the conflicts between Paul and Peter, passages in Acts 15 and Galatians 2 make it clear that there were at least some issues where apostles disagreed on what the fundamental requirements of the faith were (Deffinbaugh, 2009). For the first few centuries of Christianity there was no standard canon of scripture because there was no standard form of Christianity. Instead
there were many groups who wrestled with the deep theological questions raised by their new faith, groups such as the Gnostics, Essenes, Nazarenes, Maronites, and a plethora of other sects (Armstrong, 2002).

Islam also was not immune to these sorts of conflicting interpretations. To the layperson of the Muslim faith the common belief is that, in accordance with the words of Muhammed, the religion of Islam was completed and perfected as a system by the end of the prophet’s life. But just as in the early Christian faith before the emergence of the Catholic church, in reality there were several centuries of self-definition yet to come for the Muslim community. The prophet left behind the Qur’an and his sayings and traditions, but the meanings of them would change quite radically over the years. In fact the essential conflict between the Sunni and Shi’a branches of Islam began practically as soon as Muhammed’s body was in the ground, the political dispute over the leadership of the fledgling Muslim community was in reality a dispute over what prophethood meant and what qualities it conferred. The Qur’an was in fact never collected during Muhammed’s lifetime. In fact it was variations and discrepancies in the text creeping in because of regional dialect differences and word choices that caused Uthman many years later to collect and authorize a single universally binding copy of the text, setting fire to all other versions of the Qur’an that could be found (Aslan, 2006).

These conflicts would be carried on by many other thinkers in each tradition down through the Middle Ages and on into modern times. It is outside the scope of the current paper to address fully the details of the historical transitions in thoughts among rationalist believers, though we may lean on the works of some later in the paper to provide clarity or example. It is adequate to our purposes here to remind or demonstrate that from the very earliest foundations of each faith, there were often considerable disagreements about the proper interpretation. Paul and Peter disagreed over the place of Gentiles in Christendom. The various Orthodox branches broke away entirely after different bishops councils, and the Reformation marked a time of fundamental dispute over the authority to interpret tradition. This left lingering questions even today over what should be considered the canon (Neusner, 2006). Maimonides was denounced to the Inquisition by his fellow rabbis in the 12th century (Telushkin, 1991) and Baruch Spinoza was excommunicated from European Judaism in the 17th century, in both cases for their strong focus on the rational foundations and limitations of Jewish Law. And in Islam’s long history of esoteric movements, political unrest and theological divisions among the sects led to such diverse events as the assassinations of Ali’s family which split the Sunni and Shi’a and later to the developments of Al-Ghazali, who very much narrowed the category of people that could rightfully be considered unbelievers (Griffel, 2009).

How Do Texts Receive Their Meaning?

Given that the question of how properly to interpret the holy texts has been a matter of debate for centuries, we turn to cognitive science and theory along with philosophical theories of hermeneutics to see if answers are available. What have developments in studying language and the human mind revealed in the last few decades that is relevant to the question of how we can determine the meaning of texts? A brief survey of the available literature reveals that there is a shocking amount of complexity involved in even the simplest task of reading or conversing.

There has been a resurgent interest in studying metaphor, conceptual blending, and analogy not merely as tricks of language, but as integral to the way we experience the world around us. Linguist Giles Fauconnier and cognitive scientist Mark Turner in The Way We Think (2002) summarize the problem amply by discussing a frequently encountered and seemingly very simple object, the common cup of coffee. The color, shape, smell, texture, weight of the cup in the hand, locating the cup spatially are all sensory apprehensions are processed differently, and there is no single site of the brain that brings them all together. There is a staggeringly complex process taking place at the unconscious level which blends all of these things into something that presents a unity of form and allows us to pick the singular object of the cup of coffee out of the world. Increasingly, neuroscience is beginning to confirm that we do not see the world the way that it is, but have evolved to see the world in ways that are useful to us. This extends even to the physical act of seeing, optical illusions having served as a long-standing proof that meaning is created for what we see by the brain, not by what we actually perceive (Lotto 2009).

The unconsciousness of this process is an important point to reinforce. Since these background effects happen with the speed of firing neurons, and on a completely unconscious level, we very rarely ask ourselves the question as to how we understand the meaning of a word or object in space. We presume that the form or some other inherent property of the objects or words themselves present their meaning to us. In reality, the way we categorize and conceive of meanings is based on interactional and experiential qualities. When we speak of the meaning of a word or a sentence, there must be a real person, or at least a hypotheti-
ical person, receiving the meaning. When we talk about the meaning of a text we are always talking about the meaning to this reader, be they a real one or a hypothetical one (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

The dominance of objectivism in the West has created a traditional view of language that states expressions have certain properties and that words have fixed or at best semi-fluid relationships towards the ideas which they embody. Traditional linguistic examination has focused on the form of language. Some linguists, like Noam Chomsky, have claimed that linguistics is only a branch of psychology, drawing a distinction between language that exists purely within our thoughts and the externalized language that we speak or write. Under these views language is not dependent on how people understand it. Understanding a concept or idea is a different process from framing that concept or idea in terms of language, or reading the language and arriving at the idea the author means to convey. Under this objectivist model of linguistics, language is purely a matter of form.

We typically do not even notice this common assumption among ourselves about language because it serves our daily purposes so well that we typically do not reflect on it. Most often context or differences in experience are so similar that they either do not matter or will change the meanings of words very little. We accept and take for granted that words, sentences, and ideas have meanings that are independent of how they are communicated, that they exist on their own somehow. It is only when we encounter someone whose life experiences are very different from our own, or encounter sentences far outside of their contexts, that we are pulled up short and discover that meanings can differ drastically.

But examinations of the systematic and experiential qualities of metaphor show some limitations to this traditional idea. As more study is done into conceptual blending and the way the human brain can bring disparate parts into a single unified whole, it seems that the matter is much more complex than the view just outlined allows for. As only one possible example of a linguistic structure that has previously been taken to be purely a matter of form, metaphors have a very clear structural consistency and coherency within any given culture, and coherency across cultures in metaphors that seem to have physical experience as a basis. This evidence seems to indicate that metaphors are not merely a linguistic trick, but a matter of the way we perceive the world around us. This mostly unconscious process has far-reaching implications for the idea of taking any texts, but especially scripture, literally or directly. If true, these findings mean that cultural assumptions and values are not a surface layer of thinking which we may choose not to apply to our reading. The goal of removing personal bias or attitudes towards the texts we read is not in fact an achievable one. Quite the opposite, all of our experiences and understandings of the world are composed by a mix of cultural and individual attitudes and values, they are inherently present. Giles Fauconnier (2002) puts it thusly:

We construe the physical, mental, and social worlds we live in by virtue of the integrations we achieve through biology and culture. There is no other way for us to apprehend the world. The blending is not something we do in addition to living in the world; it is our means of living in the world (p 390).

This is quite easy to demonstrate with several examples from everyday English language. As mentioned earlier, it is whenever the commonality of context and experience are different that we get to peek behind the curtain and see the process involved. One of the most striking examples that immediately displays our point is the spatial orientation of the Hausa in Africa. Imagine that within your field of sight relatively close to you is a soccer ball, and that a bit further away from you in a direct line is a large boulder. If placed in such a situation and asked to describe what they see, the common Westerner would say that the soccer ball is in front of the boulder. But there is no particular reason this has to be so, and a native Hausa speaker would describe the boulder as in front of the soccer ball.

We are oriented culturally to think of objects in our field of vision as coming towards us, the Hausa are oriented culturally to think of things in terms of moving away and out into the world. When the difference is presented to us we can immediately see that neither the soccer ball nor the boulder actually has a front or back. The entire concept of front and back is not a property that is inherent in any typical object, it is a property we assign to objects based on the way we interact with them. In reality, we could choose any side of the ball to be the “front.”

There are more common examples of the context- and experience-dependent nature of language. When we say something like “the beach is safe” such a straightforward statement might mean the beach is not in danger of being damaged by environmental disaster or it may mean the beach is a place free from potential harm for children. A
phrase such as the “the shovel is safe” provides an even broader example. It may mean that the shovel is not heavy or sharp enough to hurt a child playing with it, or it may mean that the shovel is sturdy enough the child will not break it in their play. Thus we see how one seemingly simple phrase can have alternative meanings which are not only different, but completely reverse the roles of the situation concerning what is the danger and what is the victim.

Implications for Scripture

There are of course much more detailed explanations and multiple examples of these concepts in the sources located in our bibliography. Our interest lies in applying these theories to the idea of interpreting scripture and seeing what the implications may be. The first and most directly applicable inference is that, despite attempts and wishes otherwise, completely setting aside personal and cultural attitudes when reading a text is not only a difficult task, but cognitively impossible.

And yet just that attempt has long been the presumptive method of preference for the majority of theologians and students of scripture. The German theologian Schleiermacher in the 18th century is one of the clearest examples of this method, laying out very carefully the idea that true meaning and significance cannot be divorced from their origins in the world. By his arguments, we can only understand literature when we reconstruct all the original circumstances of it, investigate the original situation, and re-establish what the author “meant.” In Islam as well, there are entire chains of Qu’ranic sciences dedicated to understanding the historical contexts and mundane surrounding details of each revelation to place them in the proper relation to one another. Even a strong rationalist-minded thinker such as Spinoza was lured into this when he wrote that the only method of examining scripture was to know its history, infer the intentions of the author, and accept nothing as authoritative that could not be discovered in the clear light of the historical context (Spinoza 2004).

The problem with this sort of standard account of how the scriptures should be studied, is that it ignores our own historicity. If you were to compare literature from the 1960s dealing with a historical event with literature written today dealing with that same event, the evolution of understanding becomes quite clear. People in different time periods are moved by different questions, different attitudes, and different interests. This is a well-known problem in surveys and analyzing them statistically, where exacting and extraordinary care must be taken to ask only certain questions and only in certain ways, because the very words you choose will conjure different responses and maybe skew the results, meaning that the people who craft scientific polls or surveys must take great care to avoid doing so. The same thing happens when we examine anything historically. If we are to believe that the words of scripture are only valuable in context, then this leads us to search for the context of the whole book. That then leads us to search for the context of the author’s life, and then of their community, and of their world, and then that world in the context of what was before it and after it. We are led to discover then that this sort of contextual search is a process with an end goal which is impossible, for as long as we continue to exist there is new context to be added to the equation — the sum of historical study must necessarily include how we are ourselves are influenced by that history. Ancient philosophers, and many of the Asian traditions, have understood this problem quite well. Ultimately to understand the context of any given work would require us to understand the entire cosmos. The part is not separate from the whole. This seems to indicate the impossibility of the requested understanding of the authorial context and intent. At the very least it raises question about just how much context is needed for understanding and to what extent our brains unconsciously supply contexts which are unknown to us but assumed by us.

This is precisely what Hans-Georg Gadamer speaks about in Truth and Method when he says, “In fact history does not belong to us, we belong to it” (p. 278). Our first awareness of texts is not rationally and methodically arrived at through examination, but is always through connections to family, country, society, and our physical environment. These connections seem quite self-evident to us. It is most generally admitted that some of the information is not available to us. Many original documents are lost, stories become apocryphal, and history is a murkier undertaking the further back in time we wish to go. But even if we could have every possible detail of the lives of the men who wrote scripture and the context in which it was revealed, what is thus reconstructed is not the original. In fact it can never be. This is an explanation for why the common person does not read old classical literature in a way that makes it seem deeply applicable and fresh within their lives. Once we fix the meaning of texts and decide that we have all the information about them and can confidently give a full account of all their possible meaning, the texts live on only in a dead state, a derivative cultural existence which lacks the life given to a work by the multiple ways it presses itself on our consciousness (Gadamer 2006). We see again that these sort of attitudes and assumptions about a text, historical era, or culture, are not the kind of thing
we may set aside in our experience, but rather they are an intrinsic part of our experiences themselves.

Is All Lost?

The objectivist model which dominates traditionalist thought, the model wherein there is a singular meaning that is inherent and unique to the words of revelation that is waiting to be discovered, can be an extremely comforting view of the world. If we believe in this model, then we can believe in clear-cut expectations and a resolution to any conflict about what we should do.

The traditionalist may argue that the alternative is chaos. There are (or certainly appear to be, even on close investigation along the lines we have discussed) real things which exist independently of us, and knowledge of these things is important to our physical and mental health. Fairness and impartiality should be pursued in all cases where it is possible. The complaint goes that if we admit that our very experiences of the world are necessarily personal and subjective in key conceptual ways, then we can never say anything about anything. As Yeats says in his Second Coming, “Things fall apart; the center cannot hold.” In this sort of subjectivist landscape, how can we assign any value to a particular interpretation or meaning? Has not extensive thought already disproven such moral relativity to the world?

This view sets up what we believe is a false duality between subjectivism and objectivism. While the truths we do have are subjective, our attitudes along with cultural and historical conditioning being an inseparable part of how we view the world, are grounded in and constantly tested by our experiences. In the daily interactions we have with both other human beings and our natural physical environments, we discover knowledge of the world around us.

Some claims or arguments about the meaning or implication of a text will be more clearly reasoned or supported than others. The knowledge of context, authorial intent, and language will still be important to the study of scripture. We are not relinquishing the ability to judge certain interpretations as superior or more closely matching the spirit of the text.

This is a fine balancing act, a continual process rather than a method with an end goal in mind. To strive for a “correct” interpretation of a work in a way which claims absolute truth and prohibits other interpretations is an attempt at taking it easy on ourselves by just following an outlined model. It does not do justice to the true nature and experience of allowing revelation to impose itself upon us in its own way. But likewise, we also would not accept that each text is merely the basis for endless ad-lib interpretation without respect to themes. This is closely related to the arguments of Aristotle and other classic philosophers about making judgments, and a foundation of law in our country. If you merely follow a rule, then there is no judgment involved. Making a judgment means to understand the issue, the situation at hand, and yourself. It is a practice that necessarily involves uncertainty.

This is most clearly illustrated in something like theater. Each production of a particular play will have its own interpretation, the actors will read their characters differently, the lines may have a differing emphasis between productions, there may be new twists to the theme such as a new time period or location. And yet despite the endless variations, indeed each individual performance is different and unique, each production is still recognizable as the work to which it is true.

In other words, we arrive at a skeptical position as regards our knowledge of absolute truths. In the sense of pure objectivity it seems that this is beyond our cognitive reach. But that does not mean that we have no basis at all for making claims. We arrive at a point somewhere in between subjectivism and objectivism. Our understanding emerges from interaction with our environment and with others, and from the negotiation of reading and experiencing the text itself. Truth depends on this understanding which arises from our functioning in the world, but this understanding is achieved only through our own conceptually structuring our experiences within our minds, differing according to the concepts and attitudes we have available to us.

It seems then, given what we are learning in modern cognitive science and linguistics, that the position of those who advocate for a closed interpretative schema in scripture is severely weakened. There is no inherent meaning within language waiting to be discovered, and it is impossible both to discover the entire context of scripture and to ever fully set aside our own conditioned attitudes and values. The productive way forward is still to be decided. What this impossibility to finding a single “correct” interpretation of scripture should mean in practical terms of interacting with other faiths and sects will be difficult to determine. Our hope is that it will open the door for theological discussions that will abandon the long-held quest to be the “right” religion, and instead focus discussion on how the beliefs of each of the three Abrahamic faiths, however different they may be, might be interpreted and understood solely in the light of promoting pluralism, understanding, and the celebration of the human spirit.

References


A Discourse on the Clashing of Gender Performance Across Various Eastern and Western Cultures: A Literature Review

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This review examines the meaning of gender as defined by western (European and North American) and eastern (insular Southeast Asian) constructs with emphasis on religion. A historical account of the western dichotomous construct of gender will be presented along with an account of the Southeast Asian construct of gender pluralism practiced by Austronesian speakers of the region. I will highlight transgender performance in Southeast Asia, the evolution of its practice overtime, and the future standing of non-dichotomous performance across both regions.

I. Introduction

FOR MANY SOCIETIES, gender expectations associated with what it means to be masculine, feminine, or “other” are often correlated to our sex which is something that is biologically assigned to us from birth. However, gender is actually something that is socially constructed and thus not innate or predefined (Kimmel, 2011). According to Schnarch (1992), gender is understood to be constructed through one’s culture. Furthermore, sex and gender are used as mediums in society whereby certain physical and cultural markers such as anatomy and behavior are assigned to create gender attributes. These attributes, in turn, create distinctions (Schnarch, 1992). For some societies, these distinctions become dichotomous and for others a more pluralistic construct is created.

II. Gender Is a Social Construct

West & Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is a product of individuals’ interactions with one another and thus is a social construction that is “displayed.” According to Kimmel (2011), this construction is displayed in a wide variety of ways as ethnographic studies suggest. One such way is exemplified through the famed anthropologist Margaret Mead in her studies of Pacific Islanders. She found that various cultures prescribed gender differently and that one’s gender was taught and instilled through a social model that dictated the appropriate gender performance to which one was assigned.

Examples of diverse gender constructs can be found among the indigenous tribes of the Americas as well as among people of ancient Europe. In some Native American tribes, the Berdache performed the duties, wore the attire, and had the mannerisms associated with the opposite sex. In this sense, they were transgender performers. In these societies, their performance was not only deemed normal but was also highly esteemed for their ties to sacred mythology. They were considered to have spiritual power as mediators between the ancestral spirit and physical realms (Schnarch, 1992). In the Old World, “the egalitarian anthropologies, which have coexisted throughout the entire Christian tradition” believed that “Adam was androgynous and split only during the original sin into the dichotomous male and female genders” (Ruether, 1993, 100-101). Eventually, the dichotomous construct would solidify in the Abrahamic religions. This construct, in turn, would spread throughout the European and Middle Eastern regions of the western world and become mainstream.

III. Europe & North America: Dichotomous Western Construct

Ruether (1993) argues that the male-dominated monotheistic approach to religion was born from societies that were initially nomadic. Due to the lack of need for women’s work in agriculture and the nomadic propensity for belief in an exclusively male sky deity, the formative religions in nomadic societies were antagonistic towards their agricultural-based neighbors. Over time as nomadic peoples became dominant and their religion favored a singular male God, women began to further diminish in status and
gradually became auxiliary beings, especially in relation to the institutions of marriage and family. The result is the depiction of a patriarchal social structure heralded throughout the Old Testament where males ruled over families (Ruether, 1993). In another instance, Kimmel (2011) references 19th and 20th century historians who believed that archaic cultures and religions leaned more towards egalitarian and even matriarchal constructs and that the shift to male hegemony was a result of “sky gods” bringing “earth goddesses” into submission.

In any case, the introduction of monotheistic religions meant that male hegemony gradually began to supplant most of the pre-existing egalitarian and feminine-based religious heads and deities. In the Judeo-Christian belief system, it is a male creator who commended with Abraham. (Of course, Abraham has since become known as the Patriarch of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.) This God of Abraham also possesses certain “male” qualities such as being domineering, fraternal, and all powerful. These qualities not only assist men in identifying with the one they worship, but also fortifies perceptions that women are weak or lesser beings as their attributes are perceived the opposite of men (Kimmel, 2011). According to Ruether (1993), women in early Christian development were subordinated beings as early as the Biblical Genesis when Eve was tricked into eating the forbidden fruit by Satan. In this regard, Eve was viewed as responsible for her partner Adam’s downfall as well. Although women were not banished from participating in Christianity, they were considered more fallible than men and thus incapable of representing God’s image (Ruether, 1993).

West & Zimmerman (1987) argue that the western dichotomous genders founded in these religious traditions are obligated and compelled to follow heterosexual ideologies. Patriarchy and heterosexuality often shape the performance of gender in western society. The male’s source of power and prestige is checked in western society by formal and informal sanctions. Men are to uphold their dominance through acting and displaying the qualities expected of them. In western society, heterosexuality has coincided with masculine gender. Homosexuality and effeminism within men have been traditionally seen as taboo (West, & Zimmerman, 1987).

In western society, gendered divisions have brought upon a culture that is grounded on male dominance and female subordination. Today, this hierarchical structure is reinforced by the media and social mores. Socially constructed cues cement notions and ideals of male hegemony (Kirk, & Okazawa-Rey, 1998). In western society, the dichotomous gender construct also created divisions between males and females with males holding superior rank above females (Kimmel, 2011).

IV. Southeast Asian Gender Construct: Pluralism

Pre-colonial Southeast Asia was a region where gender was drastically different from the western dichotomous construct and may be described as gender pluralism. Femininity and transgenderism existed and even flourished as a legitimate and normative lifestyle prior to the age of western imperialism and its influence within the region. The pluralistic gender construct of Southeast Asia and more precisely the islands that constitute the present day Philippine, Indonesian, and Malaysian nations did not comprise a single homogeneous culture, but they did share a related affinity within the Austronesian phylum. For example, according to anthropologist Anthony Reid, the Austronesian people have an inherent religion that highly regarded the blending of male and female attributes as an integral process towards bridging the earth and spirit realms (Bellwood, Fox, & Darell, 1995, 338). Peletz affirms Reid’s argument by saying that “some of the underlying commonalities may be attributed to the Austronesian ancestry shared by many inhabitants of the area.” These attributes included a strong social structure that followed a pluralistic approach to “gender and sexuality” (Peletz, 2006, 311). Contrary to the West, religious process was performed predominately by women or transgender men of various societies within present day Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippine islands.

Before the influence of western cultures and religions, island Southeast Asia viewed gender through its own unique pluralistic lens. Societies tended to lean toward the egalitarian. Women held an important position in the religious sphere. They were afforded greater liberties, especially with regard to their “erotic and sexual” natures. Modesty and chastity were not considered social imperatives among women (Peletz, 2006, 312). Brewer (1991) further highlights women’s value in Southeast Asian society by describing their “bilateral kinship systems” in which women were able to prevail within the commercial activities of their societies and control the purse strings as well. This, in turn, enabled them to perform as leaders both socially and religiously. In fact, women were held in such high esteem within the religious realm that men often had to evoke feminine behavior and dress in order to perform religious ceremonies (Peletz, 2006). Similarly, Blackwood (2005) interprets this process as “gender transgression.” Women were not only accepted in their respective cultural setting but also integral and highly esteemed for they alone possessed a unique capacity to heal and maintain commu-
nity cohesion because of their melding of genders (Blackwood, 2005, 852).

Southeast Asian priestesses were known by various names. In Malaysia, the Kadazan people of Sabah call them Bobohizan. Unlike the Philippine Babaylan priestess that will be discussed later, they continue to exist in contemporary times as they were spared the zealous attempts at conversion by colonial powers. In Malaysia, the Bobohizan holds special significance within their communities. For example, the community seeks the priestess to help them with spiritual pursuits and to assist in communicating with their spiritual ancestors and those departed from them. In addition, that the Bobohizan is described as a title reserved solely for women. As a Bobohizan, these women perform a myriad of duties within their community ranging from spiritual guides to royal advisors, folk healers, transmitters of culture, and stewards of womanhood. Their lineage is passed on through matrilineal descent (Lim, 2009).

The priestess is a caretaker of the community and the food staples as well. They are protectors of the farmlands and appease the agricultural deities. Another aspect of their role is to provide protection to those seeking safe passage through mountains as well as providing healing and rejuvenation to one’s spirit. The Bobohizan is integral to the superstitions and beliefs of the people. Their position in society is grounded in mystique, and their sacred acts are concealed through certain oral incantations and priestly literature that only they know (Lim, 2009).

In the Philippines, the prominence of womanhood within the spiritual realm was paramount. Spanish colonists observed women’s power and prestige even in their first encounters with the native inhabitants. The earliest account was provided through the Spanish scribe Antonio Pigafetta who accompanied Ferdinand Magellan during his circumnavigation of the globe in 1521. In one instance, he describes in great detail the ritual preparatory process involving food offerings. He states that women, particularly the elders, were instrumental in performing rituals. These women took the blood of consecrated pigs and marked and blessed their husbands’ foreheads along with the rest of the community. The process was necessary—otherwise the pig would have become inedible (Brewer, 2004). In later accounts, the Babaylan or priestesses were said to undergo trance-like states where they were believed to become possessed by spirits. This process enabled them to determine the fate of those who were sick (Magos 1992). Brewer (2004) argues that women in the Philippines were so instrumental as religious heads that male priests had to act feminine via transgender display. This act “reinforced the normative situation of female as shaman, and femininity as the vehicle to the spirit world.”

Indonesia presents another twist to “ritual transvestism” through the priestly Bissu class. Contrary to the western dichotomous construct of gender, these “transgendered ritual specialists,” as Peletz (2006) describes, are highly regarded within society. Their performance is not only normative but also integral and sanctioned amongst the people (Kennedy, 1993). The Bissu are men that perform religious rites by melding male and female genders. They accomplish this by donning both the masculine and feminine clothing and articles. Like the priestesses, they perform healing rituals and officiate in communion between earth and spirit worlds on behalf of the people. Their performance is somewhat different from the transgendered Philippine practitioners as they do not seem to be using femininity to attain the woman’s uniquely gifted spiritual prowess. They are actually fusing together the genders as a means to transform themselves into a vessel that is more attuned to the supernatural state of the spirits. Furthermore, the Bissu evoke ritual gendered objects and articles in the ceremonial process (Kennedy, 1993). In this regard, they are embodying the pluralistic lifestyles that hallmark Austronesian religious philosophy is defined by Peletz (2006) as “sensibilities and dispositions regarding bodily practice, clothing, desires, as well as social roles, sexual relationships, and ways of being that bear on or are otherwise linked with the local conceptions of femininity, masculinity, and androgynous” (Peletz, 2006, 310).

The Philippines also have transgender ritual specialists, known by various terms throughout the archipelago such as Bayog, Bayoc, and Asog. Brewer (2004) utilizes the vast array of primary sources compiled by 16th century Spanish explorers and colonists to describe religious practices. Some of these documents are the “Manila manuscript c1590” and “Chrino’s Relacion, 1604.” Later documents were created by Catholic missionaries. The Jesuit Alicina wrote “Historia de las isles e indios de Bisayas” in 1668 and the Dominican “Bolinao manuscript was composed sometime between 1679 and 1685” (Brewer, 2004, 127-128). These manuscripts depicted the lifestyles of the natives through a subjective western lens during a time of religious conversion and thus, many interpretations of native socio-religious rites and customs were clearly skewed and viewed negatively. Therefore, Brewer’s analysis of transgender ritual specialists does not represent a definitive historical account of how this transgender ritual practice was incorporated and viewed within Philippine societies. Also, these documents varied in their interpretation of socio-religious transgender practice (Brewer, 2004).

One clear consensus however, is the transgendered
male’s penchant towards effeminate behavior which was repeatedly highlighted especially during religious ceremony. In the Manila manuscript, the transgendered performer was adept in being feminine through apparel and body display such as through the wearing of long hair. Later accounts also depicted the transgender person’s performance of women’s work such as clothes making and harvesting which suggests a long term lifestyle. However, the Bolinao document deemed the transgender practice to merely be a temporal display during religious rites (Brewer, 2004).

V. Waning of Transgender Ritual Performers

Brewer’s interpretation of transgender performance within the Philippines leads her to believe that transgendered men’s acts of donning feminine attire and performing women’s work was their means of accessing the unique spiritual and priestly realm which was tied uniquely to womanhood (Brewer, 2004). Reid points out that the woman’s prestige within the religious domain conflicted with the Spanish missionaries’ dichotomous construct of gender and ideologies of feminine subservience. As a result, the Spanish quickly began the process of restructuring Austronesian values by demonizing and stigmatizing their pluralistic practices (Bellwood, Fox, & Darell, 1995).

The Spanish were resolved to Christianize and reconstruct gender in conformity to the dichotomous western gaze. Women’s leadership within religious rites became inappropriate and contrary to the Spaniard’s masculine-oriented mores. Thus, the priestesses became associated with satanic practices as a means to disrupt the Austronesian pluralistic construct (Peletz, 2006). This reconstruction was accomplished in various ways. One method the Spanish took was to redefine the identities of women priestesses by pejorative renaming. The once prestigious Babaylan was now being identified and labeled as “mala mujer” [evil woman] or “mujer endiabolada” [devilish women]. Furthermore, they were associated with evil sorcery as opposed to their previous associations to community cohesiveness and spiritual mediation (Brewer, 2004, 94). This process is similar to the renaming of priestesses that occurred in the West during the early formation of patriarchal homogeny. According to Kirk & Okazawa-Rey (1998), words such as “crone, witch, and bitch” initially held connotations of wisdom, healing, and attributes of untamed autonomy and power. With the cementing of patriarchal and masculine attributes within western culture, these terms for womanhood became transfigured into negative markers.

Another method the Spanish took was to redress the native inhabitants into more conventional western-gendered dress codes. Early 19th century drawings of Manila male and female natives are depicted here under the Spanish colonial era.

(Domingo, Damian, Artist, Una India que va a Misa an Chiquita [Watercolor drawing on paper], Manila, Philippines, Ayala Museum.) (Ongpin, 1983)
woman priestess. Female prestige waned due to the reimagining of their performances as demonic practices. Brewer suggests that the Spanish Catholic friars were more favorable towards the male transgender specialists’ ritual performance due to their biological sex as men. Eventually in the 20th century, the male Babaylan of Negros Island would be the only ritual pagan priests (Brewer, 2004).

While women’s roles in the religious realm could not flourish under westernization, Muslim missionaries and Dutch colonizers were more likely to sustain the Austronesian gender construct (Bellwood, Fox, & Darell, 1995). According to Blackwood (2005), Islam entered Southeast Asia during the late 13th century and conversion to the faith and adherence to its doctrine and socio-religious customs was a fluid process where both Islamic and Austronesian constructs each influenced society (Blackwood, 2005). Initially, adoption of Islam was widespread in Indonesia. Conversion profoundly displaced Austronesian customs; however, as time progressed the endemic Austronesian constructs of gender performance and display began to intertwine if not overturn the dichotomous western constructs of Islam. This may be due to the lack of enforcement by centralized religious clergy.

The movement toward western constructs is exemplified in the shifting of dress codes for women. Pre-western dress allowed women to be bare-chested, and it was not uncommon for men to wear their hair long. Islamic custom ended this. Some regions such as Makassar conformed to the western and dichotomous dress codes to the point that some 50 years after Islamic conversion, women could be seen fully covered much like women who wear the burqa today. Yet in the late 17th century, a return to Austronesian dress reasserted itself, especially in the highly urbanized merchant cities (Bellwood, Fox, & Darell, 1995). This is not to say that the Islamic missionaries and the Dutch colonizers, who would come later, did not completely abstain from the cultural affairs of the native inhabitants. In fact, the western dichotomous constructs increasingly became the new norm in various Indonesian societies, and like the Philippines, pluralism would become ingrained as deviant performance (Blackwood, 2005). These shifts between Austronesian and Islamic constructs were due to changes in socio-economic conditions, and the economic climate during parts of the 16th, 17th, and early and late 20th centuries which encouraged Islamic fundamentalism.

The fluctuation between indigenous and Islamic gender constructs is even more multifaceted for the transgender ritual priest. While women were prone to lose prestige, mid-twentieth century transgender ritual performers did not. Individuals such as the Bissu continued to serve socio-
VI. Contemporary Performance

In the West, Betsy Lucal (2008), a female, attempts to defy the dichotomous gender construct of femininity by dressing in masculine apparel and performing outside the conventional gender constructs of her society. Asserting her sex as female while performing masculine roles is an attempt to “break down gender norms” (Lucal, 2008, 794-795).

Today, men are no longer heirs to the public sphere nor are women confined to the domestic sphere. It is now common to see men taking on more household responsibilities previously deemed women’s work, and there is a steady growth of women in the work force. Our appearance and dress is also beginning to challenge gendered prescriptions. Men can be seen wearing traditionally female-oriented colors and tight-fitting apparel as much as women can be seen wearing articles attributed to men. This blurring of the gender lines is also contributing and encouraging us to step away from the dichotomous structure as we reconstruct gender in the present day. These shifts validate the notion that gender is indeed fluid, evolving, and culturally oriented (Kimmel 2011).

Because of contemporary western inclinations towards more liberal gender norms, contemporary transgenderism is becoming more accepted in Southeast Asian societies. While Lucal, alone, is not integral to this shift, individuals like her in the United States do impact the world stage, especially third world nations in Southeast Asia. In turn, tolerance and liberal mindsets are trickling down to Southeast Asian nations as well. Yet, Kennedy (1993) argues that this contemporary view of transgenderism is quite unlike that of ancient times. The priestly transgender Bissu is unlike the contemporary western transgender model. It is a performance that is void of spiritual components or sacred ceremony. The contemporary transgender performance, especially in urbanized regions, is quite secular in nature. Clothing and extravagance are highlighted for purely aesthetic reasons and not for spiritual mediation or communication. The sacred gendered clothing of the Bissu ritual performer is not present.

Blackwood (2005) notes that in contemporary times, globalization and the advancement of technology have allowed information and new constructs of gender in the West to spread on a global scale. In Indonesia this has led to a predominance of various forms of “gender identities” and transgender performers in the last two decades. Yet, while there is an increase in what can be described as various transgender and sexual identities within Indonesia, they are still dichotomous.

Similar to West & Zimmerman, Johnson (1998) argues that gender is an ongoing process that is recreated over time through such mediums as the cultural context. In the southern Philippines, the Tausug, who are a predominately Muslim ethnic group, have begun to restructure their understanding of transgender and gay performance by taking from western stories and “gossip” that idealizes gay and transgender performance abroad. Through interaction with westerners, fanciful stories of gay and transgender lifestyle are romanticized and are in turn, indoctrinated into local precepts of such identities. America is often viewed by the locals as a land of couture and aesthetics. The consensus is that America is now a land where “true love” exists for the effeminate homosexual-performer and the “masculine male” (Johnson, 1998, 698).

VII. Conclusion and Relevance

Over the course of European and Islamic colonial and religious expansion, the pluralistic gender construct in Southeast Asia waned and the western dichotomous construct became dominant. Austronesian religious mores and customs were attacked and vilified both through a negative re-imaging and by social and religious indoctrination toward a more western model. While some pluralistic gender practices were completely eradicated in the colonial era, some islands were able to preserve their unique Austronesian constructs, although they are in danger of disappearing today as well. In contemporary times, it is interesting...
that in the West, the dichotomous gender is becoming more blurred with new gender identities gaining prominence and acceptance today. Subsequently, these changes have, in recent decades, lessened the stigma of transgenderism on a global scale. Unfortunately, the previous religious transgender performance has been re-imaged to more secular performances in Southeast Asia. Future research can investigate the path this new performance of transgenderism will take and the place religion has in this “doing of gender” both in western and eastern cultures.

**Bibliography**


Institutional Process and Herbet Hoover’s Food Conservation Campaign

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As the United States entered World War I in 1917, Herbert Hoover was appointed the difficult task of controlling production, distribution, and the consumption of food in order to ensure that civilians and soldiers would not go hungry. The implementation of food policy achieved by Hoover was the product of an unprecedented strategic public relations campaign. With his food conservation Hoover strove to create a voluntary movement to keep thousands from starving. Through this campaign one can see the turmoil that had risen in the United States over voluntary efforts. How can government involvement be reconciled with voluntary coercion? What does this public relations campaign say about policy implementation and voluntary efforts?

Herbert Hoover stands as one of the most misunderstood presidents in the history of the United States. With a legacy tainted by the Great Depression, few historians have managed to capture a clear picture of the man’s character or the illustrious career behind it. The works of George Nash, Kendrick Clements, Craig Lloyd, and Joan Hoff Wilson provide a concise historiographical reevaluation of Hoover. Each author writes on the subject of Hoover to bring the reader to a better understanding of the parallels between his personality and administrative style. Through their works these authors portray Hoover’s incredibly successful career that began and chiefly revolved around volunteerism and humanitarian aid. They point to his drive and efficiency, and reference his unique set of progressive ideals that he used to help the United States transition into a 20th century industrialized society. Most importantly, these historians shed light on Hoover’s complex personality that led to several gaps between his interpretations and reality, which they argue eventually affected, his ability to deal with the Great Depression. Ultimately, the works reviewed focus on a man brought up with Quaker principles, turned public servant, who used ideals of volunteerism to mobilize the American people and helped transition the United States into an industrial society.

To quickly summarize the literature reviewed, in Aggressive Introvert, Craig Lloyd delves into Herbert Hoover’s frequently referenced public relations skills. Lloyd, along with the authors above, commits himself to serving the reader with a better understanding of this introvert. In the book he discusses the curious ability of a man well known for his reserved manner to form the “club of public opinion.” Joan Hoff Wilson’s Forgotten Progressive delves most deeply into Hoover’s character. She analyzes his background and clearly outlines Hoover’s progressive ideas including his thoughts on volunteerism and what she terms “collective individualism.” Out of all the author’s mentioned above she is the most critical of Hoover, never missing an opportunity to point out his flaws. George Nash’s volumes on The Life of Herbert Hoover provide a wealth of knowledge concerning Hoover’s time as a humanitarian and member of Woodrow Wilson’s War Cabinet. Nash highlights his best administrative accomplishments, but also sheds light on many of the personality flaws that plagued Hoover throughout his career. Finally, Kendrick Clements’ work follows Nash’s as the fourth volume in the series—The Life of Herbert Hoover: Imperfect Visionary. In this work, Clements focuses on Hoover’s time as secretary of Commerce leading up to his presidency. Clements takes a cue from Nash to point out aspects of Hoover’s administrative style, but also outlines the pitfalls. Each of these authors also spend time evaluating the success of Hoover’s programs.

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sion and turmoil, the United States, under Wilson’s power, stayed neutral. Over the next few years, Wilson pressured the European powers to reach a solution that would result in everlasting peace. However, to ensure a place at the peace table, Wilson decided to join the war effort on the side of the British and French. Throughout the rest of the war, Wilson clung to ideas of peace. He constructed the League of Nations, and with it hoped to form a world community that would no longer rely on wars to resolve global conflict.

Wilson’s ideas revolutionized the subject of international relations. For the first time in the history of the United States, a leader sought justice for human rights’ violations across the globe. While Wilson conceived these big-picture ideologies for a new world order, someone was needed to implement them on the ground level. World War I brought about tremendous challenges within the field of human rights. With a war of this magnitude, even providing food for civilians became a difficult and nearly impossible task. Humanitarian aid became a necessity for the war effort, and it was Herbert Hoover who combined the efficiency of brilliant administrative skills and the influence of public relations to achieve solutions to some of the war’s greatest problems. His war experiences catapulted him into a career of public service in America, where he applied the same principles to help the United States transition out of the postwar era.

Craig Lloyd’s Aggressive Introvert does a wonderful job at starting the discussion on the historical reevaluation of Herbert Hoover. At first glance, Lloyd’s work appears to be a simple analysis of Hoover’s use of public relations, but with a closer look one discovers Lloyd’s commitment to providing the reader with a better understanding of Hoover. Lloyd discusses the typical image of Hoover within a historical setting, and sheds light on why Hoover’s accomplishments and vision have been so often forgotten or misunderstood. The main argument of the work focuses on the relationship of Hoover’s personality to his administrative style and how it was acted out through his use of public relations. Ultimately, Lloyd provides a firm foundation for a serious dialogue on Hoover that the other authors in this review build on.

As Lloyd explains in his first chapter, typical descriptions of Hoover include adjectives such as reticent, diffident, shy, and impersonal. Hoover was a very private man, and though wealthy, never led an outwardly lavish lifestyle. Lloyd argues that Hoover gained this adulthood description because of his Quaker upbringing and his time as an orphan. As he explains, his Quaker religion taught him about temperance within a cooperative community, while being an orphan made him close himself off from the outside world. Lloyd uses these examples to make his greater argument. According to Lloyd these factors act in direct correlation to Hoover’s administrative style. Hoover was adept at delegating responsibility and mobilizing the press through massive cooperative efforts, but he valued privacy and therefore remained a hidden catalyst behind great work.

Finally, Lloyd helps explain some reasons for Hoover’s forgotten accomplishments and visionary ideas. Mainly, Lloyd cites the seriousness of the times. As he explains, the severity of the Great Depression and Hoover’s mishandling of it led to a widely discredited presidency, which the Roosevelt administration did more to publicize than contain. The popularity and enthusiasm over the New Deal also overshadowed many of Hoover’s previous ideas. Ultimately, Lloyd uncovers a stirring discussion on Hoover, which the other authors in this review expand on.

In Herbert Hoover: Forgotten Progressive, Joan Hoff Wilson discusses the forgotten accomplishments and progressivism of Hoover. Building on Lloyd’s discussion, she provides a detailed description of his life, and points out many characteristics and influences that led Hoover to work in the ways that he did. Wilson makes direct connections between Hoover’s personal ideologies, social philosophies, and the faults that as she claims reached a “tragic peak” during his presidency. Ultimately, Wilson uncovers the ideological make up of Hoover, while speaking to the critical transition the United States faced at the time.

As with many great figures throughout history, childhood influences come to play a major role in the outcome of adult ideologies. Wilson gives a very helpful description of Hoover’s complex childhood, and delves deeper into Lloyd’s points on Hoover’s influences. She highlights these complexities in order to draw direct lines for the reader from Hoover’s childhood influences to his adult ideas on volunteerism.

From a young age, Hoover learned the principles of self-reliance and over the years developed a hardened shell of ambition that covered a vulnerable and reticent personality. By nine, Hoover had lost both of his parents. As Wilson points out, it is difficult to determine what effect this had on his personality, but she argues that it could explain his reputation as a loner and his overall impersonal manner.

2 Craig Lloyd, Aggressive Introvert (Ohio State University Press: Columbus, 1972) 6.
3 Ibid., 36.
4 Ibid., 103.
6 Ibid., 4.
Aside from being an orphan, Hoover was also influenced by the Quaker community. It is important that Wilson highlights this particular childhood influence because many of Hoover’s future ideologies were wrapped up in Quaker principles. In an autobiography, Hoover’s brother pointed out that the Hoover children lived in “dread of waste,” which helped them develop “habits of thrift, temperance, and tenacity.” Displaying Hoover’s appreciation, Wilson also quotes a poignant passage from Hoover’s memoirs.

The Friends have always held strongly to education, thrift, and individual enterprise. In consequence of plain living and hard work, poverty has never been their lot. So far as I know, no member has ever been in jail or public relief. This is largely because they take care of each other.\(^7\)

As Wilson states, the ideals gained from this “voluntary community cooperation” remained the most profound legacy of Hoover’s Quaker upbringing. Hoover idealized the rugged individualism achieved through his rural community. Inwardly he bore many Quaker characteristics such as “extraordinary energy, self-discipline, moderation, ruthless righteousness, and social responsibility.”\(^8\) As Wilson explains, he wished to instill American society with these principles and was convinced that only through cooperative individualism could the United States successfully transition into the 20\(^{th}\) century as a modern and technological nation.

Hoover attempted from the start of World War I to spread his message of volunteerism. Hoover wanted citizens of United States to feel involved because he believed that active participation occurring from the ground up was the most effective means to increase efficiency and allow for greater freedom.

As Wilson discusses, Hoover returned from his wartime experiences “more sophisticated and intellectually mature.”\(^9\) He had tested the effectiveness of publicity and volunteerism in his humanitarian efforts, and reached the conclusion that in order to bring the United States into a fully realized industrialized society it was necessary for him to market the fundamental nature of American politics and economics—or rather Quaker principles of a voluntary cooperative community—in order to spread his ideas on American social philosophy.\(^10\) In 1922, Hoover brought his ideologies together in a work titled *American Individualism*. Of all the authors reviewed Wilson provides the most concise definition of “American Individualism:”

> It depended upon a recognition of the divine in each human being, the stimulation of economic initiative through self-interest blended with a sense of service, government guidance and advice implemented through voluntary cooperation, and the leadership of those rare individuals who could promote the widespread application of their discoveries.\(^11\)

As Wilson continues, Hoover took his life’s work and influences and attempted to consolidate them into a tangible American system. After returning to United States from a long absence, Hoover discovered the dying movement of progressivism. As Wilson argues, Hoover’s philosophies embodied many of the aspects that concerned progressives such as an aversion to growing bureaucracies, individual selfishness, and social responsibility.\(^12\) His ideas on cooperative individualism, though idealistic, were forward thinking and embodied characteristics that he considered necessary for the United States’ transition which Wilson characterizes as a transition from a “semi-industrialized society to a fully rationalized twentieth-century one.”\(^13\) Hoover did not wish to undo principles of capitalism, only make it more civilized by promoting a cooperative relationship between business and labor. The thing he wished to avoid most was the wave of communism and socialism that had risen in Eastern Europe. Though he stressed cooperation he still believed in the importance of the individual. Hoover’s ultimate goal of American Individualism stressed the cooperation of American citizens in a voluntary effort to govern themselves.

Wilson highlights these factors of social philosophy to stress the importance of Hoover’s background, but also to point out faults that led to Hoover’s mishandling of the Great Depression. As mentioned before, Hoover’s Quaker upbringing helped him form his philosophies on cooperative individualism, and his wartime humanitarian ventures helped him refine these ideologies.\(^14\) But Wilson points to the vague terminology in American Individualism, which she claims led to confusion on what Hoover was actually trying to accomplish. His ideas on a decentralized government run by average citizens answering the call of duty in a voluntary effort to take control of themselves never came to fruition.\(^15\)

Wilson again points to Hoover’s childhood. As she explains, Hoover became self-reliant at a young age and was

\(^7\) Ibid., 6.
\(^8\) Ibid., 6.
\(^9\) Ibid., 27.
\(^10\) Ibid., 50.
\(^11\) Ibid., 55.
\(^12\) Ibid., 56.
\(^13\) Ibid., 48.
\(^14\) Ibid., 59.
\(^15\) Ibid., 72.
\(^16\) Ibid., 70.
instilled with the principles of volunteerism. Due to an impersonal manner and an inability to directly connect with the American people he never got his message across to the public. Moreover, he did not understand why. As Wilson argues, in promoting volunteerism and associationalism the public sector could lose control of private interests, causing citizens to rely more heavily on the federal government.17 This was obviously contradictory to Hoover’s ideas, and he never reconciled these realities. As Wilson explains, when the Great Depression hit, Hoover expected people to work for themselves in a voluntary effort to make their situation better, which came to the great dismay of the American public.18

Nash’s volumes are perhaps the most definitive and complete explanations of Hoover’s entire career. With three volumes following Hoover’s time as an engineer, humanitarian, and member of Wilson’s war cabinet, Nash follows the complexities and accomplishments of a man who was responsible “for saving more lives than any other person in history.”19 For the purposes of this literature review, the primary focus is on volumes two and three—Herbert Hoover: The Humanitarian and Master of Emergencies. Both of these works help clarify and give specific examples for the arguments made by both Wilson and Lloyd.

In Herbert Hoover: The Humanitarian, George Nash provides a thorough examination of Hoover’s activities from 1914 to 1917. This concerns Hoover’s creation and participation in the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Creation of the commission and the long journey that it entailed remains important for several reasons. As Nash argues, today the world has grown to expect aid from the United States in providing basic amenities such as food and water, but also to restore and revitalize suffering economies.20 As Nash explains, Hoover started a tradition of American humanitarian aid that is now taken for granted. In his works, Nash helps further the discussion on Hoover’s growing ideas on voluntarism, points to key factors in his administrative style, and analyzes the faults that would eventually haunt him.

To set up Hoover’s introduction into the humanitarian effort, Nash explains the dire situation that many Americans found themselves in at the start of World War I. Thousands of Americans fled Europe in early August of 1914 only to find themselves stranded in London with no money and no way home to the States. Fred I. Kent, vice president of the Bankers Trust Company of New York, who was in London at the start of the war, called a meeting of fellow bankers and diplomats to devise a plan to help deal with the crisis at hand. Members voted to establish the American Citizen’s Committee, which would help sort through issues with money, transportation, and logistics such as lost luggage and unpaid debts.21

Thousands more American tourists poured into Britain everyday bewildered and lost. Other prominent Americans started to act. In London’s financial district Robert Skinner, American consul general and personal friend of Hoover, was dealing with a similar crisis as Kent. Skinner quickly requested Hoover’s services, who at the time lived only a block from the office. The proceeding events started Hoover’s career as a humanitarian, allowing Nash to delve further into his administrative character.22

As Nash explains, when Hoover came to the rescue at the start of the war he did it in true Hoover fashion. He immediately brought together a volunteer commission made up of engineers, diplomats, and bankers also willing to provide their services to help fellow Americans return home. Since many banks were closed, Hoover set up an exchange service and loaned much of his own money to help fellow Americans return home.

On more than one occasion Hoover clashed with Kent’s tourist committee. He complained about their “recklessness” in dealing out money and sought greater collaboration between the two action groups.23 When all was said and done he downplayed the importance of Kent’s fellow action committee, displaying what Nash terms as a possessive nature towards his creations.24 In Forgotten Progressive, Wilson examines these flaws more closely. As Wilson explains, Hoover’s capacity for self-delusion can be documented clearly within his career. One scenario that both Nash and Wilson lay out in their works, concerns Hoover’s initial participation in providing American aid. As discussed above, American Counsel General Robert Skinner asked Hoover to help with aiding Americans at the start of the war, but Hoover later claimed in his memoirs that he had volunteered.25

As Nash explains, Hoover’s Quaker upbringing could never allow him to admit that he had never volunteered.26 Wilson articulates this point in her work, claiming that Hoover’s self-delusions could have stemmed from

17 Ibid., 73.
18 Ibid., 214.
20 Ibid., x.
21 Ibid., 4.
22 Ibid., 6.
23 Ibid., 8.
24 Ibid., 13.
25 Wilson, Forgotten Progressive, 44.
an “emotionally and materially” insecure childhood, the Quaker’s spiritual significance of failing at one’s own calling, or from a sense of guilt obtained because of his swift professional ascension.\(^{25}\) What she does underline as a significant point was Hoover’s inability to admit failure and the exaggeration of his successes. As she states, this “tendency Hoover had of ignoring, dismissing, whitewashing, or even falsely claiming success” reached a terrible point when the Great Depression hit during his presidency.\(^{26}\)

As Wilson’s states, the level of success achieved with this humanitarian relief was unparalleled, but Hoover found a way to top it with the Commission for Relief in Belgium. The Germans ravaged the Belgian countryside. Factories closed, communication cut off, and food scarce, the Belgian people found themselves in the middle of a crisis. The Secretary of American Legation Hugh Gibson described this grim situation and caught the attention of prominent American businessmen in Brussels who then created the Comite Central to deal with the problems. One mining engineer, Milliard Shaler, acted quickly, gathering up a credit of $100,000 with instructions from the committee to purchase as many foodstuffs as possible to transport to Belgium. At this point, Nash describes a misunderstanding that, as he puts it, shaped “the outcome of the relief mission and, indeed, the course of world history.”\(^{29}\)

The British personnel handling the shipment of these goods suggested that the American ambassador in London, Walter Hines Page, act as the co-signer of the goods and send them to the American minister in Brussels. By following this procedure the food might avoid German capture. As Nash points out, the nature of this arrangement was unprecedented—"that a neutral government, far from the scene of battle, oversee the provision of foodstuffs to the capitol of a belligerent country under enemy occupation."\(^{30}\)

At this point, Nash illustrates Hoover’s growing concerns over Belgium and positions him clearly as the rising humanitarian. Nash quotes Hoover, stating that much of Europe had the capacity to take care of their own, but not Belgium where there had been “the most innocent sufferer and the most acutely tried” (Nash 20). Through the creation of CRB, Nash helps the reader see Hoover’s journey in clarifying his ideas on volunteerism and cooperation. With Belgium Hoover found a new humanitarian task that pushed the United States further into the fray of war. Nash sets forth on a path that explains precisely the administrative workings of Herbert Hoover with the CRB. Nash focuses on Hoover’s public relations mobilization, efficiency, and force. From the beginning, Hoover attempted to consolidate all the relief efforts for Belgium under one umbrella that was eventually given the name of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. As one colleague noted at the time, the efforts were a “testimony to his efficiency.”\(^{31}\) However, his greatest skill in leveraging public opinion had yet to be tested.

In the framework of a historical reevaluation of Hoover, Craig Lloyd’s work again comes into play. As mentioned above, Lloyd focuses on Hoover’s often-referenced publicity skills. Lloyd introduces the reader to Hoover’s public relations career with his effort to sell the Panama-Pacific Exposition to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal. Full international participation was sought. With a wealth of press contacts built during his engineering days, Hoover felt that he could leverage public opinion in England and add authenticity to the event. The British Liberal Government never recognized the exposition, but Hoover gained more useful press contacts and honed administrative skills. He learned the use of a well-placed editorial, and how to mobilize public opinion in order to place pressure on public officials.\(^{32}\) Lloyd highlights this because public relations became a key factor in Hoover’s administrative methods during the CRB, the Food Administration, and his time as Secretary of Commerce.

Ultimately, Walter Hines Page, the United States ambassador to London, refused to cosign cargo to Belgium unless given expressed permission from the United States government. Hoover knew that the government would cause a great delay, and he reacted in typical fashion: “[H]e exploded with a salvo in the press.”\(^{33}\) He mobilized this network of press connections, and with their help flooded London and the United States with editorials on the terrible plight of the Belgian people thereby gaining charitable support from thousands and putting pressure on governmental officials, forcing them to act. As Nash explains, “the chief of the accelerating relief mission was not a man to be constrained by bureaucratic inertia.”\(^{34}\) It is important that Nash highlights this because this is the moment that Hoover realized that it was possible to mobilize a massive voluntary movement from the ground up. This gave growth to the social philosophy that he would attempt to instill in American society.

At this point, Hoover’s momentum could not be constrained, and anyone that got in his way suffered the con-

\(^{27}\) Wilson, *Forgotten Progressive*, 15.

\(^{28}\) Ibid., 15.

\(^{29}\) Ibid., 19.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 19.

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 21.

\(^{32}\) Lloyd, *Aggressive Introvert*, 32.

\(^{33}\) Nash, *The Humanitarian*, 32.

\(^{34}\) Ibid., 29.
sequences. When Hoover met with top members of Comite Central, he tried to take control of the entire project. He used coercion to persuade Comite Central leaders to funnel their ideas and resources through the CRB—all for the cause of efficiency. This is yet another example that Nash gives to portray what he calls a “possessive obsession” with his own creations.35

Hoover wished to consolidate any rising relief efforts under the heading of the CRB. He claimed that it was the most efficient means of providing Belgium with relief, but it is quite clear from Nash’s examples that Hoover liked to do things his way. On more than one occasion, Hoover attempted to remove other relief efforts. The Rockefeller Commission tried to take on their own relief effort in Poland. Hoover tried to persuade them to filter their resources into the CRB, but they would not comply. In this instance, Hoover made it clear that he did not support the Rockefeller effort because of its ineffectiveness, and eventually the commission fell apart. Soon after, Poland appealed to Hoover, and he gladly volunteered his services.36 Hoover claimed later that “duty” had called him to accept the relief effort in Europe. As Nash argues, this self-image mirrored “a man available for service—but out of duty never desire,” citing Hoover’s Quaker upbringing as an ever-present factor in his character, ideologies, and administrative style.37

Ultimately, through fierce consolidation and acute organizational skills, Hoover and the CRB had handled $200 million in charitable donations without a hint of scandal, and transported 2.5 million tons of foodstuffs through war-torn Europe to millions of starving citizens.38 In the end, Hoover commended the Belgium people that had “worked in a stirring and patriotic effort to protect and defend their country all in a voluntary effort.” Nash underlines the “unique, unprecedented character of the mission.”39 At the end of Nash’s work, the reader begins to understand what will make up the basis for Hoover’s progressive ideology—volunteerism.

In The Life of Herbert Hoover: Master of Emergencies, Nash focuses on Hoover’s contribution to the American war effort. As Nash states in the introduction, a better way to understand Hoover is to view him “in action—in battle, as it were—as he sought to do what he most liked to do in life: build institutions and accomplish things.”40 In this book, Nash continues to characterize Hoover by his administrative creativity along with skillful networking and publicity skills, but Nash accentuates his flaws and the negative relationships he cultivated.

As Nash outlines in the introduction, Hoover’s wartime service holds significance for many reasons. In this total war, everything mattered, even food. Hoover required American citizens to mobilize into a massive volunteer movement in order to save Europe from mass starvation. As Nash explains, he tried to convince them that conservation would provide a better postwar society—an idea that mirrored his future philosophies. By articulating these points, Nash builds on Wilson’s ideas of Hoover’s wartime philosophical growth. This was the time of the “emerging colossus” of America and it took unprecedented measures to deal with the consequences of war.

In the past, Hoover’s network of colleagues in the press and the mining business helped him accomplish many things from mobilizing public support to cutting diplomatic and governmental corners. While establishing his mining career, Hoover had been away from the United States for many years and needed to construct a new network. After watching him in action, President Woodrow Wilson was convinced that Hoover would make a perfect addition to his war cabinet. Both men shared an “aversion to bureaucracy and statism” and believed that success in the war required an unprecedented state-directed mobilization of the American economy.41 Hoover’s goal was “to see [his] own people solve their own problem.”42 As Nash puts it, voluntarism was the linchpin, but Hoover knew he would need a vast amount of power to awaken the people. These powers needed to include the ability to control food prices, stocks, and, if needed, an ability to manipulate supply and demand.

With a renewed focus on voluntarism, Hoover convinced President Wilson to grant him these powers through the Lever Act, but first it had to pass through Congress.43 To put works into motion, Nash shows again Hoover’s mobilization of the press. Hoover first turned to friends from an intricate network that he relied on most—“the Commission for Relief in Belgium, the mining engineering profession, and Stanford University, his alma mater.”44 One of Hoover’s most important recruits was Ben S. Allen—a Stanford alumnus employed by the Associated Press in London. Allen had helped Hoover publicize the CRB’s efforts for nearly three years.

Knowing that publicity would play a key role in his ef-

35 Ibid., 221.
36 Ibid., 185.
37 Ibid., 33.
38 Ibid., 362.
39 Ibid., 363.
41 Ibid., 25.
42 Ibid., 25.
43 Ibid., 27.
44 Ibid., 28.
forts as food administrator and passing the Lever Act, Hoover asked Allen to accompany him back to the States as his press secretary. Others such as Vernon Kellogg, and longtime intimate Edgar Rickard came from the CRB to help Hoover with the Food Administration. As Nash explains, more friends came from California, who were “willing to drop everything and enlist at once in Hoover’s crusade.”

One Curtis H. Lindley—a distinguished San Francisco mining attorney—journeyed to Washington at Hoover’s biding. He wanted Lindley to “sit around and advise” for just a couple months, but this long-time friend of Hoover came on board as chief counselor for the Food Administration and stayed until bad health required him to resign. Lloyd again connects Hoover’s personality to his administrative style and public relations skills. As he explains, Hoover favored working through the press and many subordinates, while he ran things in the background.

After a long battle to pass the Lever Act, Hoover intended to stretch it as far as it would go. The bill denied citizens the right to hoard grain products or sell them for unreasonable prices, and allowed the government to buy an unlimited amount of foodstuffs. The bill did not allow Hoover to set prices or directly control prices. Hoover needed to win voluntary support, so he continued to spin his support for the farmers. He knew that ultimately farmers must take drastic price cuts, but he always portrayed his “price protection” as a way to save farmers from even lower prices. Inspired by his own upbringing, Hoover appealed to their sense of duty to help a greater world community. Nash lays out all of these examples, delving further into Hoover’s administrative style and growing social awareness.

As Nash explains, Hoover attempted as with the CRB to pull all the wheat providers—manufacturers and farmers—under his sway in order to avoid waste and improve efficiency. The Lever Act did not provide him with any direct power over small business owners or farmers, but as Nash explains it had yet to be seen if the law could constrain him. After much debate, Hoover managed to fix the price at which the government would purchase wheat, but nothing prevented farmers from selling to other buyers at a higher price, so Hoover compelled them with further incentives to follow his wishes. He strove to “universalize” the government’s price to achieve what Nash claims was an ultimate goal of steadying and reducing the cost of bread.

With innovative thinking, Hoover ultimately reached out to the middleman. He invited all flour millers in the United States to enter into “voluntary” agreements with the Food Administration, which would give him the power he needed to control prices. If flour millers agreed to purchase wheat at the government’s price, the Food Administration was prepared to make up for any losses of unsold wheat or wheat sold below the government’s “fair price”—the fixed price of $2.00 a barrel. In purchasing wheat, the Food Administration also required that mills comply with all government regulations. The most vital of these regulations stated that mills could not “buy wheat from anyone at more than the government’s ‘fair price’” and must “refer all orders for export flour to the Food Administration.”

As Nash illustrates, Hoover continued to publicize himself and the Food Administration as the “farmer’s savoir.” Hoover spoke of “patriotic co-operation” and declared that “stabilizing” the wheat price was “an imperative war service.” Try as he might to reach an agreement with millers, the master of public opinion began to lose the battle. As Nash explains, farmers attacked him for fixing wheat at an unreasonable price, and millers were not as easily obliged to comply with his standards as previously thought. Farmers vigorously opposed Hoover’s “fair price.” Hoover privately blamed farmers for “being greedy,” but in public he continued to posture himself as their savoir and claimed that if not for his policies farmers would have lost a tremendous amount of money.

For all intents and purposes, Hoover did manage to set a standard of rules for wheat and flour trade, and eventually for several other essentials. As Hoover stated, “The thing that gains the confidence of the people is the thing that is represented to them.” With his conservation campaign, Hoover attempted to present the American people with an opportunity to voluntarily curtail their eating habits in the name of patriotic duty.

As Wilson explains, Hoover realized during his wartime experiences that “only propaganda could educate the American public to the ideals of democracy.” Hoover again mobilized the press to spread his message. “Meatless Mondays,” “Wheatless Wednesdays,” and “Victory Bread” were just a few of the hallmark conservation slogans that Hoover pounded into the American public. In the end, Hoover gave much of the credit to the American people, stating that nothing would have been possible without their voluntary efforts. As both Wilson and Craig point out, during

46 Lloyd, Aggressive Introvert, 36.
47 Nash, Master of Emergencies, 85.
48 Ibid., 90.
49 Ibid., 94.
50 Ibid., 98.
51 Ibid., 93.
52 Ibid., 99.
53 Ibid., 100.
54 Wilson, Forgotten Progressive, 61.
wartime Hoover began to fine-tune his ideologies on the role of government and his philosophies on volunteerism.\textsuperscript{55} As they frame it, the conservation campaign was in a sense an experiment for Hoover.

It is significant that Nash focuses on the conservation campaign because this was a critical step in Hoover’s realization of the social philosophy outlined in American Individualism. However, as Wilson stresses, Hoover’s self-delusions on the effectiveness of the conservation campaign rendered him incapable of seeing the reality of cooperative individualism. Nash examines the statistical evidence to further Wilson’s point.

Hoover did, against all odds, provide food relief to both Europe and the United States in the last year of the war. As Nash explains, from 1917 to 1918 the United States exported more than $1.4 billion worth of food to Europe. This included Europe’s request for 75 million bushels of wheat, which Hoover proudly proclaimed was met with 85 million bushels of wheat. Hoover claimed that this beat exportation sums from many years back.\textsuperscript{56} However, Nash speculates on the reality of these statistics. As he explains, export of wheat was down 32 percent from the year before Hoover’s Food Administration.

For all of Hoover’s food propaganda, the consumption of wheat actually went up during the winter of 1917-1918.\textsuperscript{57} Nash further cites economists who claimed that Hoover’s food policies contradicted food conservation. While imploring Americans to consume less, his price policies acted as an incentive for Americans to buy more. When he capped the prices of wheat, flour, and bread, while other items were allowed to fluctuate, consumers became more likely to buy the capped items.\textsuperscript{58} Again, as underlined by Wilson and Nash’s speculations, Hoover’s self-delusions and statistical calculations led to an exaggeration of results—a flaw that could only hurt him in the end.

In The Life of Herbert Hoover: Imperfect Visionary, Kendrick Clements focuses on Hoover’s time as Secretary of Commerce. He gives clear examples of Hoover’s attempt to implement the philosophies of American Individualism, and shows the faults and self-delusions that led him to the Great Depression. In the introduction, he discusses Hoover’s concern for the postwar political economy, his attempt to stabilize American society through economic self-government, and cites his failure to reconcile a strong leadership style with his belief in limited government and volunteerism. Like Nash, Clements offers specific examples to the points brought out by Wilson and Lloyd.

As Clements explains, Hoover knew exactly what he wanted to achieve when he became Secretary of Commerce. He wanted the department to promote a better relationship between trade and commerce within the United States, and focus on the promotion of foreign commerce.\textsuperscript{59} With these goals in mind, Hoover set about restructuring the department. This allowed him to reform aspects of radio broadcasting, railroads, electrical systems, housing, and the relationship between labor, business, and government. Clements discusses this to exemplify Hoover’s vision. Inspired by his personal philosophies, his goals on cooperative individualism were geared toward transitioning the United States into a rationalized industrial society.\textsuperscript{60} By improving commerce and trade, Hoover thought he could provide an environment for the creation of jobs, sell a postwar surplus of American goods overseas, and get the United States out of a recession.

Clements focuses on Hoover’s major goals for the Department of Commerce to come to conclusions on his overall effectiveness. A prime example in his work focuses on Hoover’s Unemployment Conference. Hoover brought together a group of experts at this conference to try to create solutions to the great unemployment problem in the early 1920s. As in times past, Hoover stressed voluntary cooperation, this time between business and labor.\textsuperscript{61} Taking a cue from Wilson, Clements focuses on Hoover’s social philosophy of American Individualism. Two of the most innovative ideas that came out of the conference included the implementation of a national program to support local initiatives for unemployment relief and a broad system of information sharing on unemployment.\textsuperscript{62}

Teams from the Department of Commerce traveled the country gathering data and supporting local initiatives to combat unemployment, but as Clements points out the results were futile. Data between cities was inconsistent and confusing, and as many critics pointed out, most cities that were worst off had not experienced any significant improvement. Hoover and his staff thought that the recession was a fleeting inconvenience that could be solved by volunteerism and cooperative individualism. Many in the press did not agree with the conference’s approach. The New York Journal of Commerce claimed that unemployment was national and needed to be dealt with on a national level.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{55} Lloyd, Aggressive Introvert, 102.
\textsuperscript{56} Nash, Master of Emergencies, 250.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 252.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 253.
Hoover never reconciled the complexity of the role of government versus individual self-governing. This is where Clements’ title, Imperfect Visionary, rings true. Clements does not deny Hoover’s vision. As he states, Hoover was forward thinking and his ideas on volunteerism at the local level were inspiring. As Clements points out, however, Hoover’s inability to recognize that volunteerism could not always save the day prevented him from seeing the reality of a growing problem.⁶⁴

Statistical reports showed that out of 3.5 million unemployed only 1.5 million found jobs through the committee’s efforts. Clements argues that Hoover probably never knew about these reports, and assumed that the program had worked when the recession ended.⁶⁵ This point ties back to Wilson’s view of Hoover. These authors agree that Hoover’s self-delusions and misrepresentation of success hindered him from seeing the bigger picture.

Hoover’s entire career was made up of voluntary movements and cooperative individualism; therefore he did not favor the dominant role of government, but as these authors realize, the unprecedented situation of the Great Depression required national attention. Lloyd’s ideas also help bring together a clearer picture here. As he argues, there was a strong correlation between Hoover’s personality and administrative style.⁶⁶ From the background, Hoover mobilized others in campaigns to act for themselves and each other—a blend of his private impersonal manner with the cooperative comity of the Quakers. Clements argues that this administrative approach masked a “benevolent paternalism,” but states clearly that Hoover held a steadfast belief in the individual.⁶⁷ As Clements characterizes Hoover, he watched over his fellow Americans convinced that they were just as in tune with social responsibility as he. When times were rough, he ultimately expected them to work from the ground up to solve their own problems.⁶⁸ Clements views these details as the main factors leading up to Hoover’s tragic presidency.

Clements frames Hoover as a visionary, but an imperfect one. Using the Unemployment Conference as an example, Clements cites the economic sophistication that Hoover created during his time as Secretary of Commerce. With subsequent conferences, economic experts built on Hoover’s ideas and did much to improve the understanding of the economy and how it could be managed.⁶⁹ Clements’ argument still focuses on Hoover’s staunch belief in the ideas of American Individualism. As he explains, Hoover realized that people could be dishonest and selfish, but still believed that they were “fundamentally rational and capable of unselfish behavior.”⁷⁰ As noted by other authors in this review, his undying belief in limited government and the people’s ability to govern themselves hindered Hoover’s perception of reality during the Great Depression. Ultimately, Clements uncovers the best and worst aspects of a time that Hoover considered his most productive, and brings the historiographical reevaluation of Hoover closer to a better understanding of the most direct factors that influenced his presidency.

The historical reevaluation offered by these four authors has helped to broaden the scholarship on Herbert Hoover. The authors conduct a complete overhaul of Hoover’s life, while doing away with the typical image of the conservative and altogether misguided president. By viewing his entire career and analyzing both his personality and administrative style, these authors capture a historically credible picture of Herbert Hoover. They highlight his faults, but realize that the influence of his message was profound. Hoover left lasting marks on humanitarian aid, the Department of Commerce, and the United States. He furthered the understanding of economics, and through these authors has inspired a dialogue that questions the relationship of personality and administrative style, social philosophies versus reality, and role of government in a potentially decentralized grassroots society.

Through the explanations and arguments of Lloyd, Wilson, Nash, and Clements, one comes to deeper questions about Hoover. Obviously, administrative style in correlation with Hoover’s personality is referenced several times throughout these works. It is curious how much this relationship affected Hoover’s ability to work effectively. Had he been able to connect with the average citizen during the Great Depression instead of standing in the background pushing and expecting people to fix things for themselves, problems might have been resolved during his presidency. If he had the freedom to maneuver as he had in the days of the CRB and the Food Administration, perhaps he could have more affectively mobilized the American people.

Ultimately, the greatest point brought out by this literature deals with Hoover’s inability to realize the “proper” role of government and instill his message into American society. Especially in today’s political climate, one could ask how leaders reconcile the complications of a grassroots society with the necessity of federal government. Hoover believed in the individual and voluntary cooperation, but failed to make citizens understand his proposed American

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⁶⁴ Ibid., 428.
⁶⁵ Ibid., 147.
⁶⁶ Lloyd, Aggressive Introvert, 137.
⁶⁷ Clements, Imperfect Visionary, 431.
⁶⁸ Ibid., 432.
⁶⁹ Ibid., 147.
⁷⁰ Ibid., 429.
society. If citizens were crying for help, why did he not reach out to them? Did he really believe that the only way to combat the Great Depression was through volunteerism? Roosevelt came in and completely overhauled the role of government, but looking to the present day situation people want less government. Through Hoover and his role in the Great Depression perhaps historians can eventually grapple with the role of government, leadership style, and how public opinion affects the two.

**Bibliography**


Press Building, Artifacts, and Human Potential: A Creative Project

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This unusual project has three distinct parts. The first is the design and construction of a full-size etching press. Obtaining a press is expensive. Takach Press Corporation sells a floor model etching press for $11,940. The press that was designed and built for this project is fully functional and of comparable size but costs nearly $9000 less. The second part of this project is research and experimentation with an alternative printmaking process called waterless lithography. Compared to relief, intaglio, and traditional lithograph, this process is extremely new. The method of waterless lithography used in this project was invented roughly fifteen years ago and is still undergoing development. The third phase of this project is the creation of a series of waterless lithographic prints. These new works explore the concepts and connections between musical artifacts and the modern human condition.

Part 1: The Press

The basic design for a standard etching press consists of a flat tabletop that rolls back and forth between two cylinders, one of which can be raised and lowered to apply pressure to the surface of a printing plate. To obtain satisfactory results, the application of pressure to the plate must be evenly distributed. An etching press is the most versatile type of press because it can be used with a variety of printmaking processes essential to achieve successful and consistent results. The bulk of this research project consists of the design and construction of an etching press. Due to its complex design and the powerful tools required for fabrication, I enlisted a local machinist from Spectra Machine in Nashville to assist me with the project.

Methodology

To begin, I researched the structural designs of current etching press models and assessed which of their features were useful and which were not. As a result of this research, the press created for this project has two important differences from the presses that I researched: elimination of the press bed “stops” and overall mobility. Most standard etching presses use aluminum safety stops to keep the press bed from rolling off of its table. The small stops can become a safety issue because they are susceptible to breakage and need to be checked and replaced routinely. I decided that it would be safer to make it physically impossible for the press bed to leave the table. This was accomplished by altering the press design to extend its frame and include a steel bumper. The bumpers are a safer alternative and will never need replacing.

The second change was purely functional. Presses are extremely heavy and cumbersome. Faced with the imminent challenge of moving this machine from the machine shop to my home, I decided that making the press as light as possible was a priority. Therefore, nearly the entire press consists of parts that are bolted together. This is different from the conventional press, which is entirely welded, and this change allows for easier maintenance and transport.

Fabrication of the Etching Press

The actual creation of the new etching press design required several stages of planning, troubleshooting and precise measurement. Once the blueprints were made, the production phase at Spectra Machine workshop was ready to begin. It was very important to me to have a hands-on involvement throughout the entire process of fabrication. This required that I learn to use a number of power tools, metalworking machines, and welding techniques. The press consists of steel parts: beams, drums, and bearings. All of these parts were fabricated in the metal workshop. The steps of the construction process are outlined below. Please refer to the diagram as a visual aid. The frame (A) was first welded together. The legs (B) were then cut out of steel beams and bolted onto the frame. The bearings that support the press bed (C) were cut and turned on a lathe.
The holes for the bolts were drilled into the legs and frame on a milling machine.

(a metal-working tool used to turn parts to perfect center) and then attached to the frame. The steel drums (a.k.a cylinders/rollers) were also made using a lathe. Steel pipes were inserted through the drums and reinforced with circular pieces of steel that are welded to both ends of the drums (D). These hollow drums attach to bearing blocks (E) with threaded rods to allow the top drum to be raised and lowered to apply pressure. The bearing blocks and drums were then attached to the press. The bearing blocks were also constructed “by hand.” they consist of several steel parts that are bolted together. Then handles and a hand crank (F) were added, allowing the user to move the press bed back and forth between the drums. The shape of the frame renders “stops” for the press bed unnecessary because the press bed cannot roll out of the frame (A). The press bed (G) consists of a level piece of wood, topped with masonite and plexiglass, then reinforced by thin plates of steel on the sides and bottom to protect the wood and prevent it from warping.
The rollers before they are attached.

The bearing blocks.

The press before the top roller is attached and before steel plates are added.

The completed press.
Results

This portion of the project was absolutely successful, and yielded a fully functioning press capable of producing professional quality prints. The design introduced two structural changes: removable parts and a non-traditional stopping process. These changes make this machine safe, easy to transport, and easy to maintain.

Part II: Exploration with Waterless Lithography

Introduction

Lithography is more versatile than many other printmaking processes. It allows the artist to draw more freely with a variety of tools and incorporate shading and value gradients into the work. The resulting print looks like a drawing. Waterless lithography is an experimental form of traditional lithography that was initially developed by artists Nik Semenoff, Ross Zirkle, and Jeff Sippel. It involves the use of a water-soluble medium as a resist to silicon on an aluminum plate. This differs from traditional lithography, which requires the use of a heavy limestone block, and uses a separate series of chemical processes. This process is appealing because it is portable. Traditional lithography requires an extremely heavy and expensive limestone, whereas waterless lithographs are made using a lightweight and relatively inexpensive aluminum plate. My work on this portion of the project was to research and teach myself the process. One of my goals for the summer was to find a new successful drawing medium for this process. A portion of my research was spent creating test plates with alternative media, using several different brands of pens, pencils, markers, and paints.

How to Make a Waterless Lithograph

The following is a summary of the process that was pioneered by Nik Semenoff. As mentioned above, waterless lithography involves using a water-soluble drawing medium as a resist to a silicon ground coating on an aluminum plate. The first step is for the artist to draw an image on the plate with a water-soluble media. The most effective media for this process is the Staedler Omnichrom Pencil. After the drawing is finished, the plate is ready to be processed. Mineral spirits are used to soften the silicon into a homogenous mixture that is similar to the consistency of honey. This mixture is then spread onto the plate in a very thin layer and buffed down until no streaks are visible. The silicon is then heat-set using a heat gun or a hot plate. After the silicon has cured, the drawing must be washed out with water and acetone, leaving a ghost image of the original drawing behind on the plate. At this stage, the plate can be printed with a rubber-based ink.
Running the plate through the press for completed print.

### Part III: Prints

#### Introduction

Due to the large amount of time invested in the etching press fabrication, this portion of the research project is still in its exploratory stages and will be continued in my 2012 research. The prints themselves reflect an evolution of content, namely issues that fall under the umbrella of self-concept and personal identity. A large portion of my research was spent in search of an overarching concept through which to express these ideas. Additionally, I hoped to find a visual vocabulary through which to discuss issues surrounding the modern human condition. In order to understand the evolution of this portion of my research it is important to begin with the events that preceded and largely influenced this project. Prior to the project the question of personal identity and human potential was beginning to arise in my work. The prints incorporate the female figure and explore the concept of identity in terms of the relationship of an individual to her environment. The concept of identity as well as the dynamism of the female figure were intriguing to me and became the foundation for this project.

#### Influences

Alphonse Mucha was a poster artist working out of Paris during the Art Nouveau Movement (1890–1910). His work exhibited a distinct fluid style and had a large influence on European arts in this time.\(^2\) My work was influenced by the interesting decorative elements in Mucha’s work, as well as an overwhelming sense of life that radiates from the subjects in his imagery. I studied the quality of line in his portraits in an effort to gain a better sense of animation in my own drawing. Though my skills were improving, I was still dissatisfied by working solely with portraiture. I still felt the need to find another element that would link these portraits to the modern world and speak to the contemporary emerging adult.

A second profound influence came from a visit to the National Music Museum in Vermillion, South Dakota. The museum houses a bizarre collection of historical and culturally significant musical instruments. I began thinking about artifacts, and how they transform when housed in museum settings. They are objects that we use to teach us relevant truths about our history and ourselves. These instruments seem to take on a life and character of their own, every piece unique to its maker and personal experience. They become specimens that the viewer can appreciate visually but never touch, use, or hear. The lack of interaction felt like a cruel thing to do to a musical instrument, because its potential in making music lies in its physical interaction with a person. The museum emanated beauty and sadness, housing a collection of charismatic instruments that were made to create sounds, sitting in a silent room. The tension from the lack of sound and musical expression became tangible. This thought resonated with my thoughts on the modern human condition.

The series of prints began with portraits of instruments. The focus of the portraits was the individuality, character, and personification of the subject. The work has a basic theme of “unrealized potential” in an attempt to convey some of the issues and parallels between these instruments and my college-aged peers.

The initial prints were visually incomplete, lacking rhythm and unity. I incorporated the human figure once more and sought a combination of elements that could communicate my concept and function aesthetically.

The most successful result of my explorations is a portrait of a woman with a guitar. As a recent college graduate that has yet to find a job, her situation illustrates unrealized potential that I am trying to express in this series. The culture in which we live is facing a series of dramatic socioeconomic changes. The youth culture is heavily impacted by unemployment and lack of opportunities for college graduates. I sense that contemporary emerging adults are suffering feelings of inadequacy and doubt, especially in terms of education and long-term financial goals. The portraits of my peers function as metaphors for these feelings and attempt to illustrate the current mood of the contemporary emerging adult.
emerging adult. Having an education that looks nice on paper and not being able to use it is synonymous to being a musical instrument that is trapped in a silent room.


Conclusion

This project included the construction of a fully functioning press capable of producing professional prints, as well as the creation of a set of prints. The press design incorporated two structural changes: removable parts, and a non-traditional stopping process. Due to the large amount of time invested in making the press, the series of prints are still in the exploratory stages and will be continued in my 2012 research. The prints themselves reflect an evolution of content, namely issues that fall under the umbrella of self-concept and personal identity. Future prints will continue the overarching concept of generational identity and they will employ a visual vocabulary in which to illustrate issues surrounding the modern human condition.

References

The Relationship of Sleep Habits to Physical Performance

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Past research on physical activity and performance suggests that sleep habits can affect multiple behavioral and cognitive domains. In this study, 15 research participants provided two weeks of data using daily sleep and physical activity logs. Analyses examined the relationship between quality and quantity of sleep and frequency and perceptions of same-day physical activity. Results indicated that participants who slept longer felt significantly more refreshed upon awakening and were significantly more satisfied with their subsequent daily physical activity performances. Based on these results, we discuss the implications for optimizing physical activity and performance through the management of sleep habits.

Quantity and quality of sleep are common problems among Americans. Sleep is physically and psychologically restorative and essential for healing and recovery from illness. The adverse health effects of poor sleep are understood and have short- and long-term sequelae including poor cognition, susceptibility to infection, cancer, and cardiovascular disease (Elliott, McKinley, & Cistulli, 2011). Poor sleep quality is also significantly associated with poor self-perceived health, unsatisfactory work habits, and low job satisfaction (Braeckman, Verpraet, Van Risseghem, Pevernagie, & De Bacquer, 2011).

Research suggests that sleep habits can affect multiple behavioral and cognitive domains. For example, troubled sleep is considered both a predictive sign and symptom of many illnesses and is associated with substantial decrements in quality of life (Lund, Reider, Whiting, & Prichard, 2009). Apart from affecting alertness, attention, memory, and executive control, lack of sleep may also be considered a risk factor for developing depression (Tsuno, Besset, & Ritchie, 2005). Recent clinical findings indicate that treatment of depressive symptoms may reduce sleep disruption in a number of neurodegenerative conditions, especially Alzheimer’s and Parkinson’s disease (Aziz, Anguelova, Marinus, Lammers, & Roos, 2010).

Physical activity performance is also a highly researched topic. For example, researchers have examined the relationship of physical activity to eating habits. The relationships among obesity, physical activity, and unhealthy eating are well documented (Morrill & Chinn, 2004). Other researchers have explored specific factors to determine the relationship with healthy eating and activity choices, but gaps remain regarding the potential of other factors to explain these behaviors (Pearson & Turner, 2007). In addition, studies have considered the effects of physical activity on members of such populations as asthmatics and cancer survivors.

Research on sleep quality, fatigue, and physical activity following a cancer diagnosis suggests a relationship with quality of life (Humpel & Iverson, 2010). Many studies show that regular physical activity is associated with a broad range of healthy outcomes. For example, one study of a sample of community-based older adults with arthritis examined the short- and long-term effects of an eight-week, low-to-moderate-intensity physical activity program on improvements in sleep and health-related quality of life. The findings of that study provided some evidence to suggest that a low-to-moderate-intensity physical activity program is effective in improving some aspects of sleep quality in older adults (Freburger & Callahan, 2010).

Other studies have indicated that daily physical exercise improves the quality and efficiency of sleep in the general population (Monk et al., 2000; Youngerstedt, O’Connor, & Dishman, 1997). In one study, the objective was to analyze the effect of water exercise, weight training, and aerobic exercise on total sleep time in individuals performing regular physical activity. Participants practicing water exercise went to bed earlier and slept more than individuals performing strength training and aerobic exercise (Alencar et al., 2006).

A recent study (Schmid et al., 2009) observed physical activity of a group of male participants following two
days of regular or restricted sleep. The data showed that short-term sleep loss reduced daytime overall spontaneous physical activity and shifted the intensity of physical activity toward lower levels. Although intuition and everyday experience may label this finding as obvious, the reduction of physical activity and the shift toward less intense activities as measured by wrist accelerometry is a novel and highly interesting result. The wrist accelerometry results showed that quantity of sleep is associated with reductions in physical activity. However, Schmid et al. did not assess the quality of sleep among their participants.

In summary, although studies have examined the effects of physical activity on subsequent sleep, few studies have assessed how sleep might be related to subsequent physical activity and performance. The purpose of the present study is to determine if the quantity and quality of sleep is related to the frequency and perceptions of a person’s performance during daily physical activity. We predict that days with higher rather than lower quantity and quality of sleep will be associated with more frequent and more positively evaluated subsequent physical activity.

Method

Participants. Fifteen (7 female, 8 male) African-American adults were recruited via convenience sampling to participate in the study. The age range was 19-57 years (M = 40.53, SD = 14.90). Three participants were students, and 12 were either self-employed or worked for wages. Participants ranged from having at least some college experience (n = 5) to having an advanced graduate degree (n = 5). Individuals who did not participate in regular physical activity, were suffering from major medical ailments, or had been diagnosed with sleep disorders were excluded from the study.

Materials. For a two-week period (13 days), participants completed a daily sleep log upon waking and a physical activity rating form immediately or soon after they had engaged in a planned physical activity. The sleep log was a five-item measure with four open-ended items assessing time going to sleep and time waking for good, number of awakening episodes during the night, and total amount of time slept. In addition, participants rated their general feeling upon final awakening, based on a three-point scale (1 = fatigued, 2 = somewhat refreshed, 3 = refreshed).

The physical activity rating form required participants to identify and rate any planned activity (e.g., exercising, playing, walking) that lasted at least 10 minutes. Participants reported the duration of the physical activity and its intensity. They rated intensity using a three-point scale (1 = very intense [i.e., similar to how they would feel if they were running], 2 = intense [falling between the other two categories], and 3 = very intense [i.e., similar to how they would feel if they were running]). Participants then used a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) to rate statements pertaining to feeling energetic, anxious, and stressed, that they were satisfied with their performance, and that performance occurred when normally do scheduled.

At the beginning of the study, participants also completed the Pittsburgh Sleep Quality Index (PSQI) (Buysse, Reynolds, Monk, Berman, & Kupfer, 1989) as a baseline for quality of sleep. The PSQI consists of 19 self-rated questions and five questions rated by the bed partner or roommate. The latter five questions are used for clinical information only and are not tabulated in the scoring of the PSQI. The 19 self-rated questions assess a wide variety of factors relating to sleep quality, including estimates of sleep duration and latency, and frequency and severity of specific sleep-related problems. The PSQI questions are grouped into seven component scores, each weighed equally on a 0-3 scale. The component scores are then summed to yield a global PSQI score, which has a range of 0-21; higher scores indicate worse sleep quality. The seven components of the PSQI are standardized versions of areas routinely assessed in clinical interviews of patients with sleep/wake complaints. These components are subjective sleep quality, sleep latency, sleep duration, habitual sleep efficiency, sleep disturbances, use of sleep medications, and daytime dysfunction. The component scores of the PSQI have an overall reliability coefficient of .83, indicating a high degree of internal consistency.

Participants also completed a brief demographics sheet at the start of the study. On this sheet, participants indicated their age, sex, race, employment status (i.e., employed for wages, self employed, out of work for more than one year, out of work for less than one year, homemaker, student, retired, unable to work), and highest grade or year of school completed (i.e., never attended school or only attended kindergarten, Grades 1 through 8, Grades 9 through Grade 12 or GED, College 1 year to 3 years, College 4 years, Graduate School).

Procedure. At the start of the study, participants met individually with the researcher. She instructed participants on how and when to complete the measures and distributed the first seven-day packet of materials. This packet consisted of the demographics form, the PSQI, the daily sleep logs, and the physical activity rating forms. The researcher collected data from the first week during the seventh day of the study. At that time, participants received
Discussion

The initial results of this study are encouraging. Our hypothesis that the nature of sleep would be positively related to subsequent physical activity performance received some support. Although the results were generally consistent with expectations, the small sample size is clearly a limitation of the study. We intend to collect additional data from college students during the coming semester and expect that these data will provide stronger support for our hypothesis.

Previous research has indicated that daily physical exercise improves the quality and efficiency of sleep in the general population (Youngerstedt et al., 1997). Controlled studies suggest that impaired sleep negatively impacts the frequency of subsequent physical activity (Schmid et al., 2009). We have found evidence that positive sleep experiences are associated with more positive physical performance. Taken together, these results suggest that the relationship between sleep and physical performance is likely to be complex and multi-directional.

It is possible that the relationships we found simply reflect a “halo” effect, where waking more refreshed leads to the quality or quantity of sleep.
people to “remember” or “interpret” their physical activity performances more favorably, even though they may in fact not differ in quality. From previous research we know that poor sleep quality has effects on cognitive functions. Compelling evidence has accumulated that links sleep to learning, optimizing the consolidation of newly acquired information in memory and allowing optimal cerebral functional recovery (Ortega et al., 2010). If people awake with feelings of fatigue, it is conceivable that they are more likely to perceive their daily activities from a negative standpoint. Alternatively, if people awake refreshed, they may experience the day with more positive feelings and evaluate their daily physical activities more favorably. Separating perceptions of sleep from actual quality of sleep, as well as obtaining objective ratings of physical activity (such as by using a wrist accelerometer) might allow researchers to determine the role of these perceptual or cognitive factors.

With correlational research such as this, there is always the possibility that a third variable might contribute to the observed relationship. For example, one’s level of job satisfaction might be related to participants’ sleep and physical activity. Research shows that poor sleep quality is significantly associated with unrealistic or unpredictable work schedules and with low job satisfaction (Braeckman et al., 2011). Therefore, poor sleep and physical performance could be affected by one’s work experiences. We also have data pertaining to the participants’ more general sleep habits. Examining whether scores on the PSQI are related to the sleep ratings reported by the participants, and whether their general sleep habits are related to their physical performance, is another way that we can examine the present data.

The results suggest that both the quality and the quantity of one’s sleep are related to one’s physical activities. If the relationship between sleep and physical performance is a robust one, then future research will need to examine whether good sleep enhances physical performance, positive physical performance leads to subsequent good sleep, or whether both processes occur. Future studies could examine different groups of participants. For example, researchers could target participants who report poor sleeping habits and poor physical activity. A daily exercise program could be implemented for these participants and the cumulative effects it has on their sleep and subsequent physical performance could be recorded. Alternatively, researchers could study participants who have healthy sleeping habits and routinely engage in physical activity. These participants could report their feelings about their workout on days when they do not rest as well or when their sleep was shorter than normal or disrupted.

In summary, we have found preliminary evidence that both the quality and the quantity of one’s sleep are positively related to one’s physical activities. Our results suggest that optimizing physical activity and performance is possible through the management of sleep habits.

References


