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MTSU’s McNair Program is completing its eighth year of funding and is celebrating the publication of its fifth volume of the McNair Research Review. The students who have participated in the McNair Program have accomplished many educational goals, received several awards and recognitions, and have been admitted to graduate schools across the nation. The second, four-year cycle of funding for the program ends September 30, 2007, so this is a good time to share a summary of the program’s record.

MTSU’s McNair Program has served a total of 94 students, including 26 currently participating in the program. The Program boasts a graduation rate of 84% having 57 Scholars completing a baccalaureate degree. Eighteen former McNair Scholars have completed master’s degrees and one has completed a professional degree. Eleven students are continuing their journey toward a doctorate. Some entered a doctoral program straight from their baccalaureate degree, some are in a masters-to-doctorate program, and others have completed a master’s degree and are now enrolled in a doctoral program. By the time this journal is published, four more students will have graduated with their bachelor’s degree and will be contemplating graduate school.

This is the second year of the journal’s “new look” and it, too, is worthy of praise. Volumes I-IV contained 48 articles. Volume V has 20 articles. All five colleges and 25 of the university’s 35 departments have been represented in Volumes I-V. The professional look of the journal is credited to Steve Saunders, the program’s Coordinator, with the assistance of Cindy Howell, the program’s Secretary and Administrative Assistant. The McNair Program has many friends on campus who contribute to the program’s success. In this volume a special “thank you” is extended to the journal sponsors listed on page 2. Their monetary support helped to pay for its publication.

The contents of this volume reflect the time, hard work, and accomplishments of the students and their faculty mentors. I congratulate the students for a job well done and thank the dedicated faculty mentors who supervised and guided the high-quality research and creative projects reported in this journal.

The Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program is funded by the U.S. Department of Education. To be eligible for the program, a student must meet the following criteria:

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The McNair Program is saying “good-bye” to Dr. Mary Enderson, Academic Coordinator, with the publication of this volume. Dr. Enderson has been with the program since January 2004 and has been a source of inspiration to many McNair Scholars. She has been a good friend and colleague to everyone on the staff and has been an exemplary role model with her work ethic and commitment to the success of the students and program. Mary, we will miss you and wish you success as you return full-time to the Department of Mathematical Sciences. Come visit us sometime!

For the university community, I extend a special “thank you” to the U.S. Department of Education for its continued support of MTSU’s McNair Program. Partial support of the program is also provided by the Division of Academic Affairs led by Provost Kaylene Gebert. I appreciate her vote of confidence in me and her continued support of the program.

Sincerely,
L. Diane Miller
Director, MTSU McNair Program
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The Promise of Microfinance in Developing Africa

Muorcol M. Acut

Dr. E. Anthon Eff
Department of Economics and Finance

Introduction

As Harvard economist Jeffery Sachs (2005: 1) puts it, “More than eight million people around the world die each year because they are too poor to stay alive.” For the last 60 years, policymakers, donors and practitioners around the globe have been trying to combat poverty using many tools. Up until the 1990s, the most pervasive approach consisted of “top-down” policies, in which a government and business elite made decisions regarding massive expenditures on large investment projects. Unfortunately, these top-down policies were not effective in alleviating poverty. In fact, some observers indicated that some of these tools such as government assistance to the poor made the situation of poverty even worse. For instance, when the “Green Revolution” was launched by third world central governments in the 1960s and 1970s, as a way of modernizing and increasing agricultural productivity, peasant farmers were often compelled to sell their land to large landowners. Although productivity increased to a certain extent, the increased income ended up in the hands of a few elites and excluded the poor (Woller and Woodworth, 2001).

Policymakers have learned from these mistakes. After seeing the ineffectiveness of top-down strategies, many innovative development tools emerged to rescue the poor from poverty. These new development programs are designed to benefit the poor directly. Microfinance is one of these innovative development tools. As practiced today, microfinance involves loans of small amounts of money — usually between $10.00 and $100.00 — to people too poor to qualify for bank loans. The borrowers use these funds to establish very small-scale businesses, and are able to generate enough income to pay back the loans and continue the business.

In what follows, we examine the historical roots and current practice of microfinance to better understand its effects on poverty reduction. We then attempt to tally the advantages and disadvantages of microfinance as a poverty-reduction tool. Finally, we explore the potential role of microfinance in the poorest area of the world: Sub-Saharan Africa.

Brief History of Microfinance

Microfinance is not an entirely new concept, and has much in common with practices developed by mutual aid societies, some as long ago as the medieval guilds. A rotating credit fund, for example, is formed by the members of such a society, who each week contribute a small sum. A member can withdraw a large amount from the fund on a special occasion, typically a funeral. These early mechanisms for providing funds to the poor are organized by the poor themselves.

One of the earliest instances of wealthy persons attempting to enhance the access of the poor to loans occurred in the early 18th century, in Ireland. Jonathan Swift, the satirist, began offering small loans to farmers and artisans, with no collateral but with cosignatories, to be repaid weekly. In requiring cosigners, Swift shrewdly recognized that a borrower’s neighbors were the best judge of his creditworthiness, and was able to identify the most deserving of the poor and avoid depleting his capital (Hollis and Sweetman, 1997: 3). Swift attracted imitators among other wealthy and well-intentioned men, creating a practice that was widespread by 1822, when famine-relief funds collected in London were assigned to what might well be the earliest microfinance institution: the Reproductive Loan Fund Institution (RLFI), established to offer small loans to agricultural laborers, dealers, and very poor farmers (Hollis and Sweetman, 1998).

RLFI loans were restricted to less than 10 pounds, repayable over 20 weeks, and the interest rate was
about 12 percent. More independent loan funds were formed and regulated to provide loans to the poor. By the 1840s, these funds provided loans to more than 20 percent of all Irish households annually. Most of the money was provided by individual donors, rather than by government. Irish loan funds survived for more than 75 years, which indicates substantial success (Hollis and Sweetman, 1998).

In Germany, microfinance institutions were based on two networks: member-owned financial institutions and community-based financial institutions. These institutions were called People’s Banks, Credit Unions, and Savings and Credit Cooperatives. People’s Banks were established in urban areas to serve craftsmen and small entrepreneurs, while Savings and Credit Cooperatives were established in rural areas, eventually growing to more than 14,500 rural cooperatives covering 1.4 million members. Members of Credit Cooperatives who had borrowing privileges also had unlimited liability for the cooperative’s deposits, which allowed the cooperatives to raise money at reasonable cost. Furthermore, borrowers were asked to provide two cosigners as a guarantee for collateral. Historically, microfinance in Germany can be divided into three stages: informal beginnings with slow growth; regulation as special financial institutions during a period of rapid expansion, both domestically and internationally; and consolidation under the banking law, which turned them into universal banks (Seibel, 2005: 3).

Italy’s Cooperatives resembled the Irish Loan Funds or the German Credit Cooperatives. The first Italian Cooperative was established in 1883, and by 1916 there were 2,100 of them with about 115,000 members. All of these cooperative financial institutions were in small towns and villages, and many later developed into savings institutions. Advocates of these cooperatives maintained that “they brought relief, comfort, independence and education to the poor of Italy” (Wolff, 1910: 331). During the Fascist period of the 1920s, many cooperatives were forced to merge with urban cooperative and mutual aid societies (Hollis and Sweetman, 1998). In Italy, as in Germany and Ireland, microfinance evolved from informal beginnings to become a part of the commercial and private banking sector (Seibel, 2005).

The early development of microfinance institutions occurred not only in Europe, but also in rural Latin America and Indonesia, where there developed during the late 1800s and early 1900s a variety of institutions with the common objective of serving the poor. The primary difference between early European microfinance institutions and those elsewhere was that the latter were not owned by the poor themselves, as they had been in Europe, but by government agencies or private organizations. Some argue that these institutions eventually became inefficient due to government micromanaging (Globalenvision, 2003).

Between the 1950s and 1970s, governments and some private organizations created credit-based financial services for poor farmers in a number of developing nations. These financial institutions were government-subsidized, aiming to raise productivity and income for poor farmers. Most of these subsidized agricultural credit programs were not successful due to frequent governmental interventions and poor repayment rates. Furthermore, funds did not always reach the poor but often ended up in the hands of better-off farmers who supported the ruling party (Globalenvision, 2003).

In the mid-1970s and the early 1980s, a new suite of programs called “microcredit” emerged in Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Latin America. These innovative programs were led by Grameen Bank of Bangladesh which was founded by Dr. Mohammed Yunus, who won the Nobel Peace prize for his work in 2006. Microcredit programs provide loans for income-generating activities, targeting very poor borrowers who do not have sufficient collateral for traditional banks. During the 1990s, microcredit attracted many advocates, who saw it as a “global movement to reach 100 million of the world’s poorest families, especially women of those families, with credit for self-employment and other financial business services, by the year 2005” (Microcredit Summit: Declaration and Plan of Action, 1997).

In the early 1990s, as the suite of tools and programs for microcredit expanded, a new term — “microfinance” — emerged, referring to the provision of broad financial services to the poor, services which include not only credit but also savings, insurance, and money transfers. Particularly instrumental in this transition was CGAP (Consultancy Group to Assist the Poorest), affiliated with the World Bank, which provided resources and expertise to help professionalize microfinance (Seibel, 2005). Microfinance is itself divided into two types: the financial system approach, practiced by profit-making commercial lenders, and the poverty-lending approach, practiced by charities. The financial system approach emphasizes large-scale outreach to the economically active poor, both to borrowers who can repay microloans from household and enterprise income, and to savers. The poverty-lending approach, on the other hand, concentrates on reducing poverty through credit, often provided together with other services such as literacy and skills training.
History shows that microfinance originated in informal efforts to provide financial services to the poor. Direct subsidies and other government interventions have played only a minor role, since most microfinance institutions have generated funds from the savings of their members. Over time, microfinance institutions have become increasingly sophisticated, offering a wider variety of financial services, but retaining their focus on serving the poor.

**Advantages and Disadvantages of Microfinance**

Microlending is a way of bridging the gap between the informal and formal financial markets. It is also a way to involve more people (the 30 percent of the world’s population who live in poverty) in the global economy (Steel, et al, 1997). About 90 percent of the developing world, and nearly all of its poor, must still rely on informal access to credit, primarily because they lack assets for use as collateral for loans from traditional banks (Robinson, 2001: 9). However, microfinance serves as an alternative to fill this gap, enabling more people to be involved in the global economy.

Compared to traditional charitable giving, microfinance has two impressive advantages. First, funds are dispersed and then returned so that they are available for further rounds of loans, allowing a charitable organization to preserve its capital and help many more people. A second advantage is that the recipient is given the means to improve her own life, rather than becoming dependent on charitable handouts. In contrast to the once-popular, top-down approach of creating large investment projects, microfinance is much more likely to encourage sustainable development. The benefits of a large investment project often end as soon as the project spending ends, but a properly managed microfinance fund is never depleted. The provision of credit provides a reward for hard work and entrepreneurship among the poor, and helps create an environment in which the poor can rise by their own efforts. In addition, persons living in poverty are conscious of opportunities that are too small-scale to attract the attention of a bureaucrat managing a large project; but taken together, these many small opportunities are likely to increase output much more effectively than any single mega-project (Robinson, 2001). Furthermore, microlending programs help build self-confidence in their clients. By paying back the loan, borrowers feel confident that they can provide for themselves and for their families rather than depending on others. Microfinance programs have been especially successful in enabling women to engage in economically productive activities. Even though the loans are given for productive activities, it is nevertheless true that they help to smooth consumption, so that household consumption is less volatile (Morduch, 1998; Pitt, 2000).

In spite of its advantages, microfinance is not a complete solution for poverty reduction. Perhaps the most serious deficiency is that it does not help the poorest of the poor who cannot use borrowed funds productively. In addition, the overhead costs of obtaining information on creditworthiness and monitoring repayment are high relative to the size of each loan, and collateral is not available, so that interest rates often must be set rather high. The practices employed to keep these overhead costs low are essentially those first developed by Jonathan Swift: require cosignatories, who will usually have good information about the creditworthiness of their neighbors, and set a weekly repayment schedule, so that a defaulting borrower is immediately identified.

In many countries, the state tightly regulates the financial sector, and formal microfinance institutions will have onerous regulatory costs, or perhaps will not be permitted to operate at all. To reach its full potential, microfinance must attract local savings and private capital, and this level of sophistication requires a relatively liberal regulatory environment. Microfinance is most effective when packaged with other services such as technical or business training, so that borrowers can make the most of their opportunities.

**Potential Role of Microfinance in Sub-Saharan Africa**

Africa is the least developed continent with the highest rate of poverty in the world. This section describes the state of poverty, the need for financial services and the potential role of microfinance in reducing poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. For many decades, rich nations have been following a policy of pouring capital aid to assist Sub-Saharan Africa, but little, if any, of this aid trickled down to the poor. Aid in its usual government-to-government form does little to promote long-term economic growth but does induce growth in government bureaucracy, primarily benefiting the wealthy political elite (Boone 1995: 5). Compared to other developing regions, poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa has increased substantially over the
past few decades. For instance, the percentage of the population living in households with income less than $1 a day in South Asia dropped from 41 percent in 1990 to 31 percent in 2001 while it increased in Sub-Saharan Africa from 44 percent in 1990 to 46 percent in 2001 (World Bank, 2006).

Figure 1: Percent of Population Living in Poverty, 1990-2001

Poverty in Africa is complex with multiple dimensions such as insecurity, lack of access to basic services, high rate of illiteracy, physical and social isolation, malnutrition, powerlessness, and vulnerability to violence and disease. All these dimensions require different developmental strategies to combat them. As Besley and Burgess say, “finding ways to increase economic growth is important to reducing poverty. Other drivers of growth at the local level … should remain one of the main research frontiers within development economics over the next decade or so” (Besley and Burgess, 2003: 9). The majority of the people in Sub-Saharan Africa reside in rural areas. Therefore, it is important to design and implement development programs that benefit them directly in the hinterland. Providing financial services for the poor of Africa is one of the steps toward poverty reduction (Bolnick, 1992).

In Africa, as in other parts of the third world, most economic activities are based on self-employment rather than working for others. Economic activity consisting of small-scale self-employment is usually called the “informal sector.” It is the economy of small-shop owners, small artisans, scrap collectors, and street vendors. Akin Mabogunje, an economist at the Development Policy Center, a think tank in the southern Nigerian city of Ibadan notes that “in major Nigerian cities, something like 53 percent of the economically active population is in the informal sector and 80 percent is in smaller towns” (The Washington Post, July 7, 1998: A5).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the informal financial market is the main source of finance for the informal sector. As Bolnick (1992) shows, common forms of informal finance include loans from employers, landlords, friends, and relatives at zero or near-zero nominal interest rates. In a survey conducted in Malawi in 1986, a sample of more than 1,300 non-agricultural, small- and medium-size enterprises were found to be predominantly self-financed. The survey concluded that nearly 70 percent of the entrepreneurs identified lack of finance as the single major constraint facing their businesses. Ayittey (2005: 155) also notes that “private commercial loans, as a share of Africa’s total external debt, dropped from 36 percent in the 1980s to about 20 percent in the 1990s, reflecting a decline in private commercial lending interest in Africa.” Traditional financial institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa are few (averages of five to six commercial banks in each country) and insufficient to meet the demand of the whole population in general and the poor population in particular. Hence, it is essential to find ways of meeting the demand for finance, such as experimenting with microfinance institutions.
Informal microfinance has existed in Africa for decades, most notably in the form of Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), called *merry-go-rounds* in Kenya, *chiperegani* in Malawi and *susu* in Ghana (Morduch and Aghion, 2005: 59). Nevertheless, Sub-Saharan Africa has had little experience with modern microfinance. A recent study estimates that “the share of Africa in total microfinance client numbers may be between 3 percent and 6 percent, far smaller in proportion to its population than either Latin America or Asia” (Mosley and Rock, 2004).

Although Africa joined the race late compared to other developing countries, its microfinance programs are among the most productive and fastest-growing in the world. The latest studies show that 57 percent of modern microfinance institutions in Africa were created in the past 11 years, and 45 percent were established in the past seven years (Lafourcade, Isern, Mwangi, and Brown, 2005). Within this short period, access to services for both borrowers and savers has grown rapidly. The impact of microfinance on reducing poverty is difficult to measure due to the short time frame but anecdotal evidence suggests potential promise. For instance, a poor farmer from Kenya with a family of nine children took a $370 loan from a microfinance program in 1991 to expand production. By 1994, he was earning $125 a week and had saved $800 in a commercial bank (Robinson, 2001). Another example, from Guinea, concerns a woman who used micro-loans to expand her cloth-dying business and was able to send her children to a private school (USAID/PRIDE/Finance).

Microfinance faces enormous challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa. These challenges range from deficiencies in the legal environment, to corruption and poor governance, to civil wars and political instability. Property rights are one of the major problems facing the informal sector in Africa. Most African legal systems provide few protections for property rights, and seldom enforce the laws that do exist. This weakness increases the risk of doing business and makes transfer of property difficult. It is important for African authorities to regulate, improve property rights, and to be receptive to small enterprises. The problem of property rights is especially severe for the informal sector, wherein activities often flout the law by not obtaining required permits, or not paying taxes. Reforms of the kind suggested by Hernando de Soto (1989) to relax regulations so as to draw the informal sector within the umbrella of legal activity, would do much to increase the creditworthiness of small-scale producers in Africa.

As George Soros observed, “the main cause of misery and poverty in the world is bad government” (The Wall Street Journal, March 14, 2002: B 1). Corruption is a problem in many African countries, as is government incompetence. Weak and corrupt governments tend to discourage innovation and increase the risk of establishing business, especially microbusiness. African governments need to provide security for their citizens, and justice systems that allow for the enforcement of contracts. They need to be responsive, stable, honest, and accountable for their actions. They need to work effectively for the betterment of the poorest of their citizens. The prevalence of corruption and incompetence works against all of these functions of government. Civil wars and political instability have also had a calamitous effect on economic growth in Africa. Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest incidence of civil wars in the world (Ali, Mwabu, and Gesami, 2002). Peace is a necessary prerequisite for the kind of small-scale investment-based development fostered by microfinance. Political instability creates a hostile environment which, of course, discourages investment.

**Summary and Conclusions**

Historical review suggests that microfinance has functioned as an economic development tool for poverty reduction in both developing and developed countries for at least several hundred years. There are many successful examples of microfinance institutions developing from informal beginnings, without government subsidy or control. Microfinance has proven to be profitable enough to attract commercial lenders, though interest rates are generally high to compensate for the high ratio of overhead costs to loan value, and to compensate for the generally high risks of lending without collateral.

In contrast to the practices of top-down development polices, or to traditional charitable giving, microfinance programs are more effective in reducing poverty. A properly managed microfinance fund is not depleted, and will in fact grow, allowing benefits to reach greater numbers of persons each year. Recipients are rewarded for hard work and entrepreneurship, so that a culture of dependency is avoided. Economic growth founded on aggregate growth of many small businesses is likely to be much more sustaina-
ble than growth based on large investment projects, relying on foreign technology and capital.

Although, overall, microfinance has been an effective tool for alleviating poverty, it cannot reach the poorest persons, who lack the energy and ability to found a business. While it can help in establishing private enterprises, it is not a substitute for public goods such as universal access to potable water, health care, or education. It can only function well in an environment where regulations are liberal, property rights are secure, and government officials are competent and honest. Thus, microfinance cannot be the sole instrument for alleviating poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. The dimensions of poverty in Africa are varied and complex, encompassing widespread violence, weak property rights, political corruption, poor health, and illiteracy. As a result, combinations of many tools are required to combat poverty. The success of microfinance in Africa requires that the population first begin to feel secure, that justice systems can be counted on to enforce contracts impartially, and that the population be healthy enough to expend energy on growing small businesses.

Microfinance programs have great potential in Africa. The fact that most people find employment in the informal sector signals that the demand for financial services cannot be satisfied by the formal financial system. For microfinance to work, though, African nations must make efforts to increase security and liberalize regulations. Improved economic policies in Sub-Saharan Africa will enhance economic growth and will enable microfinance to function well. “The freer people are to direct their efforts to where they are most productive, the greater the wealth created” (Economic Freedom, 2006). The potential impact of microfinance in reducing poverty in Africa depends on providing a healthy business environment.

References


Personal Privacy: Analysis of Internet Risks

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Introduction

Since hackers and crackers have been able to manipulate the individual personal computer, attacks have become so numerous that security software companies must now update their software two to three times a week. The increasing volume of threats is only known to IT security professionals and individuals who take the time to research the threats and possible attacks to their own personal privacy. The question here is what are the factors to keeping private information private? These factors may determine the success or failure of intrusion and/or invasion on personal computers. This paper will test whether there is a significant relationship between opinions and habits versus intrusion, invasion, and loss of personal information.

Literature Review and Hypothesis Development

As the threat of electronic invasion of privacy has grown so has the literature on data security, e-commerce, and online activities [1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16]. An early study by R.A. Clarke discusses policies for data privacy for companies that store client information [5]. Another study by N.J. Colnan uses survey data to investigate consumer attitudes toward secondary use of personal information for direct marketing [7]. Lee Strickland and Laura Hunt argue that privacy is “one of the most important ethical issues of the information age” [19]. Milberg et al. assess privacy concerns and practices on the basis of surveys and focus groups, testing propositions involving personal privacy perceptions in other countries [16]. These studies, all conducted in the 1990s, were the foundation for more current research on privacy.

Initially, according to Dinev and Hart, corporate perceptions of the World Wide Web were optimistic [8], but as the internet grew so did the interest of people who wanted to compromise its integrity. As attacks became more frequent, optimistic corporate attitudes changed to a more tempered concern for security. Strickland and Hunt conducted a survey of individuals and found a significant lack of understanding, a significant level of distrust even in the context of homeland security applications, and a very significant consensus for government regulation [20]. Silverhart reports that both insurers and consumers have concerns about security and privacy [18]. Finally, research by Dinev and Hart has focused on the determinants of online transactions such as internet literacy, internet privacy, and social awareness [8]. The research in each one of these areas of focus covered a range of topics in perception, mostly from a corporate perspective, which may be more sophisticated than that of the average consumer. Therefore:

H1: Personal perceptions of the internet have no affect on daily internet activity.

The knowledge of threats is an important factor in reducing the loss of personal privacy. People who are aware of the threats on the internet know how to protect themselves but the average user is not well informed about these risks. The lack of education or awareness determines the vulnerability of the individual personal computer but this lack of awareness is not the result of a lack of research. Many studies have examined malware, worms, viruses, spam, spyware, adware, and other malicious codes. Some articles focus on future threats such as backdoor trojans, keylogger trojans, bot trojans and worms, and phishing and pharming [17]. Much of this research has been conducted within the insurance industry because of the enormous volume of personal information insurers have on their clients [13]. Another area of study, exemplified by Greenwald, examines the tradeoff between strict security and ease of use of a website [10]. The two may not, in fact, be compatible.

Many viruses now are targeted at the individual computer within a corporation, and while it is the company’s job to know about upcoming threats, the average user is not educated on the subject and often assumes that corporate protection is sufficient. (Computer security exists in many forms today through vari-
ous security companies which offer all types of packages: suites, doubles that combine, say, anti-virus/anti-spyware, or single package anti-virus programs. There is also a large amount of freeware security which is available for download.) Moreover, research has given little attention to risk measurement and the implications this has on computer maintenance.

Recent studies focus on the privacy policies of the 50 largest U.S. companies, personal privacy and privacy issues between government, industry, and the individual. The FBI reports that 87% of 2,000 companies surveyed claim to have had some type of security attack. Twenty percent of that number had been hit with 20 or more attacks [6]. Computer security has long been a concern regarding trackers such as cookies that are attached to websites. Cookies can and do record clickstream information about the user’s Web browsing habits [2]. Several recent high-profile breaches in data security have focused the attention on what marketers are doing to protect consumers and companies from fraud and identity theft [4]. To defend against many of the threats, most consumers (four of five) have an anti-virus protection, but three out of five computers still are infected, according to NCSA and America Online [3]. Research on gender differences suggests that men are more likely to become victims of online threats [15].

From the foregoing, it is clear that considerable research has been published, but, unfortunately, it seldom reaches the ordinary user. We do not know why or how people protect their computers. Yet, it would seem that knowledge of how personal privacy can be invaded and/or prevented would have a positive effect on security measures, improving computer security. Therefore:

H2: Knowledge of threats has a positive effect on computer security habits.

The internet is a vital tool of business, communication, education, commerce, and more. It is an avenue to conduct business, socialize, and learn. It attracts many people online, and their view of the internet may or may not affect online use. Threats to identity from new and unknown malware seriously compromise client machines and networks [12], and fears of privacy invasion are stifling the development and expansion of the internet as an engine of economic growth [9]. The use of the internet and knowledge of the threats may directly correlate or have an adverse mutual affect. Likely, the knowledge of threats may stop people from participating in common internet activities because they view the activity as risky. On the other hand, individuals with little education about the risks of the internet would likely be more willing to participate in risky activities because they are not aware of the repercussions. Therefore:

H3: Perceptions and knowledge of threats have a negative effect on internet use.

Research Methodology

To test the three hypotheses, a survey was developed, consisting of four parts: Perception of the Internet, Knowledge of Threats, Personal Security, and Internet Use. The sections employ the following measures: perceptions of the internet are based on a five-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), knowledge of threats also ranges from 1 (no risk) to 5 (extreme risk), personal security consists of multiple choice questions, and internet ranges from 1 (rarely/never) to 5 (frequently). Respondents were also asked for their age, college major and class rank.

The questionnaire, approved by the Institutional Review Board, was administered to upper-division Jennings A. Jones College of Business students. Data were input into an Excel spreadsheet and then grouped according to activity for better assessment. The groups consisted of basic online, interactive online, media online, personal information, intrusion, and invasion. These groups were imported into SPSS to determine if there were significant relationships. Also, personal security was averaged with each group to determine relationships. Sample size was 64, with 62 of the surveys being useable. The average age of respondents was 27 years. Major areas of study were Business Administration (28%), Management (17%), Marketing (16%), Computer Information Systems (13%), Finance (13%), Accounting, Concrete Management, Office Management, Economics, Mass Communication, and Entrepreneurship were 2-3% each. By class rank, 93.5% of respondents were seniors and 6.5% were juniors.

Results

Regression analysis of the data (Figure 1) shows that perceptions for basic online usage has a significant effect on frequency of use (p-value = .069). Perceptions of Media Online negatively impact frequency of use for basic online (p-value=.078). Perceptions for intrusion have a significant relationship to frequen-
cy of use of media online (p-value=.077). Perceptions of invasion have a negative relationship to frequency of use of media online (p-value=.067). Perceptions of interactive are significantly related to frequency of use of interactive and personal information given (p-value=.000, p-value=.008, respectively). Perception of personal information determines frequency of use of personal information given (p-value=.002).

Figure 1. Summary of results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Basic Online Usage</th>
<th>Media Online Usage</th>
<th>Interactive Usage</th>
<th>Personal Information Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Interactive Safety</td>
<td>.153 (.260)</td>
<td>.160 (.240)</td>
<td>.516 b (.000)</td>
<td>.326 b (.008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Basic Online Safety</td>
<td>.272 a (.069)</td>
<td>-.080 (.588)</td>
<td>-.183 (.179)</td>
<td>-.006 (.962)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Media Online Safety</td>
<td>-.259 a (.078)</td>
<td>.170 (.246)</td>
<td>.061 (.647)</td>
<td>-.128 (.322)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Personal Information Safety</td>
<td>.088 (.500)</td>
<td>-.002 (.990)</td>
<td>-.028 (.813)</td>
<td>.382 b (.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Intrusion Safety</td>
<td>.078 (.619)</td>
<td>.281 a (.077)</td>
<td>-.079 (.581)</td>
<td>-.018 (.899)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Invasion Safety</td>
<td>-.178 (.263)</td>
<td>-.296 a (.067)</td>
<td>.035 (.808)</td>
<td>.103 (.467)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:  
Standard Coefficients are given with p-values in parentheses  
Bold Values indicate significant relationships  
a p < .10  
b p < .05

Hypothesis 1 has little support. Considering basic online, media online, interactive online and personal information given out online, perceptions do, in fact, influence internet activity. Hypothesis 2 is supported in that knowledge of threats has a positive effect on security habits. But hypothesis 3 is not confirmed. Perceptions and knowledge of threats do not reduce internet usage.

Discussion

Basic online activities consist of email, browsing and downloading attachments. The more comfortable people are using basic functions of the internet, the more willing they are to participate. If a user sends and receives emails regularly, familiarity will incline them to feel comfortable participating in the activity. Media online activities include downloading music, movies, pictures, and using P2P networks. Interestingly, the safer people feel about media online activities, the less they use basic activities – the avid internet user participates in many facets of the internet, and the more sophisticated uses of the internet outweigh the basic ones. Also, the safer people feel about basic online activities, the less they are to use media online activities. Nevertheless, the average user who communicates online feels secure about more in-depth involvement.

The greater the risk users perceive in such intrusions as viruses, worms, trojan viruses and spyware, the more frequently they use media online. This is counter-intuitive on the surface but may simply imply that these users are more likely to protect themselves because of the high risk involved with using media online. When users regularly downloads movies, they are likely to know the risks involved, which makes
them more inclined to protect themselves from possible intrusions. The greater the perceived risk of invasions such as adware, phishing and spam, the less likely users are to participate in media online. If a user avidly checks for spyware and reports spam, they are not likely to open themselves up for an invasion of privacy by participating in media activities. Also, the more likely they are to engage in media online activities, the less risk they feel about invasion. If a user downloads pictures from the internet they are not really concerned about invasion because it is rarely involved with media activities.

Interactive activities consist of taking classes, shopping, banking and paying bills. The safer people believe interactive activities are, the more willing they are to participate and give personal information (a requirement for interactive activities). The internet has become an avenue of convenience and so many users are willing to share personal information online for that convenience. The safer people feel about giving personal information, the more they do so.

Personal Security was averaged with the survey groups because they were multiple choice questions. Invasion and intrusion had a direct relationship with personal security updates and scans. If a user was worried about intrusion or invasion then the significance of security updates and scans were affected in a positive way. Perceptions of safety faintly affected personal security. If a user feels a certain way about activities on the internet it does not affect their security practices just their online activity.

The study has limitations. The survey was administered only to business students, for example, and a more in-depth study of personal privacy based on interviews would determine more fully the habits of personal privacy. It is a beginning, however.

Works Cited

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L’objet, c’est moi:
Proust, Cubism and the Analysis of the Object

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Elle [peinture à huile] nous incite à presenter selon un rythme complexe, dans un espace restreint, une véritable fusion d’objets. – Gleizes et Metzinger, Du ‘cubisme’ 1913 (44)

Or la recreation par la memoire d’impressions qu’il fallait ensuite approfondir, eclai-
 rer, transformer en equivalents d’intelligence, n’était-elle pas une des conditions, presque l’essence meme de l’oeuvre d’art telle que je l’avais conque tout a l’heure dans
la bibliothèque?” – Marcel Proust, le Temps retrouve (349)

One of the major concerns of the early twentieth-century modernist movement was the notion that the world had been destroyed and broken into discontinuous fragments, influencing the individual into the belief of being no longer unified. The causes were numerous, with reasons and explanations tracing back to the mid-nineteenth century (such as the Industrial Revolution, advances in technology, and the new global stage for colonialism and war). Whereas many simply accepted this new viewpoint of the world as falling to pieces, others decided to explore this idea and explain it. One such person was twentieth-century French philosopher Henri Bergson. In his work Creative Evolution (1911), he explains, “Sensations, feelings, volitions, ideas – such are the changes into which my existence is divided and which color it in turn. I change, then, without ceasing” (3). Bergson understands that he does not exist necessarily as a unified whole in one sense, but that his entire self is a composite of past moments, changing perceptions and ideas, and emotions based on the present.

A similar idea was explored in the work of Marcel Proust, the early twentieth-century French novelist, in his voluminous A la recherche du temps perdu, which is translated into English as either In Search of Lost Time or Remembrance of Things Past. (In this work, the entire oeuvre and its individual volumes will be referenced with their original French titles.) Proust’s narrator analyzes each moment and memory of his life, searching in vain to create integration in order to produce art, in this case a novel. The examination was not unique to just the French literary communities. The Cubists, a small group of painters working in and around Paris during the same years as Proust, also sought to explore the world through a revolution of portraying their subjects and themes. Neil Cox argues that the Cubists “explored the world according to consciousness, providing a visual analogy for the contemporary ground-breaking literary developments now considered archetypes of the modern, notably Marcel Proust’s Swann’s Way [Du côté de chez Swann] ….” (24). It is notable to see how these two genres of art, that of literature and of visual art, explore similar ideas and concerns in France during the years before World War I, and arrive at similar conclusions. In A la recherche du temps perdu, Proust shares ideas as seen in the writings and paintings of the Cubists which purport that, although the self and the world are fragmented, a subjective unity can be achieved through the analysis of objects and their levels and facets of meaning.

“… When all the observations I had succeeded in making about the guests during the party were linked together, the pattern of the lines I had traced took the form of a collection of psychological laws in which the actual purport of the remarks of each guest occupied but a very small space” (Proust, Temps 886). In Marcel Proust’s work A la recherche du temps perdu, the narrator concerns himself with studying the world and his life through a minute analysis of his memories and the aspects of himself that are and have been affected by these moments; this belief also extends to the rest of society. Whereas he notes that his accumulation of all his observations of people are in fact just a small part of one’s entire being, he also
believes that he himself has created a kind of portrait that someone else studying the same person might not create. It is more an interest with the idea that the self is not fused consistently than a belief that each person creates a subjective portrait of others around him. Unification of the self can be achieved, but as the narrator details in the *Recherche*, it is a long, drawn-out process, and not everyone can achieve it. The narrator explains, “… my personality of today may be compared to an abandoned quarry, which supposes everything it contains to be uniform and monotonous, but from which memory, selecting here and there can, like some Greek sculptor, extract innumerable different statues” (*Temps* 1013). Thus, the self has the possibility of unification, but the narrator himself acknowledges the difficulty of the task, thanks to the role of memory and how one chooses to compartmentalize past moments. Samuel Beckett, in his seminal study of Proust, acknowledges, “the individual is a succession of individuals” (8).

Throughout the *Recherche*, the narrator studies various aspects of himself and various people, places, and things that have greatly influenced him, and attempts to cull meanings from them. A human is not simply the same self as created at birth or during the aging process. Advances in psychology during this time as well, certainly in the studies of Sigmund Freud, concede that human personality and intelligence grow and change throughout one’s lifetime based on experience and learning. No one remains stagnant or unchanging, thus allowing the individual to become renewed or to develop a new aspect of the personality. For Proust, this discovery allowed him to develop his ideas about the self becoming a succession of past selves, as well as acknowledging that each moment in his life is an opportunity to learn and discover, in order to develop the self until it becomes a completely new object. One can see a parallel between the “discovery” of new aspects of the self with the narrator’s analysis of the *aubepines*, [hawthorns], and how he continually returns to study them, to inhale their intoxicating scent, and which upon each visit, discovers a newness that he had not seen previously (*Swann* 106-7). Much as he discovers a new beauty within the *aubepines* upon each visit, the narrator as well discovers a new beauty or new truth about himself with each analysis.

Combray, the narrator’s great-aunt Léonie’s summer home, becomes a key locale in the narrator’s analysis of the various facets of his personality and his eventual quest for unity. This provincial French town is also where important events occur in his youth that direct him down the later path towards authorship and his aesthetic beliefs about art, literature, and society. Much of these early revelations occur because of the two roads leading from the house, the Méséglise way (also known as Swann’s way) and the Guermantes way. To the narrator, each of these disparate roads represents their own sets of qualifications and importance. Analyzing the total significance of each is a subject for its own individual study, but it is important to note that it is the accumulation of events and ideas presented along each path that help to create a unified personality in the narrator, even as the two distinct paths also stand as two major conflicting sets of values: “So the ‘Méséglise way’ and the ‘Guermantes way’ remain for me linked with many of the little incidents of that one of all the diverse lives along whose parallel lines we are moved, which is the most abundant in sudden reverses of fortune, the richest in episodes; I mean the life of the mind” (*Swann* 141). It is only when the narrator accepts that he has been influenced by the many occurrences along these two paths that he can start on the arduous journey of seeking unity. Both côtés are major influences and are equally important in the life of the narrator, albeit in varying ways and degrees, depending on the later instance or person.

For example, it is along Swann’s way that the narrator first glimpses Gilberte, daughter of Swann and Odette. Gilberte becomes the narrator’s first experience with love, albeit from a distance, based solely on her name and as a continuation of his fascination with Swann (*Swann* 180-9). It is on the Guermantes way that the narrator sees M Legrandin, a local poet and minor society figure. Legrandin briefly befriends the young narrator, and as he is the first writer the narrator encounters, he becomes an influence as the narrator decides later to become a writer himself (*Swann* 91-97). Georges Poulet argues, “this unification is obtained, not by a simplification, but, on the contrary, by a multiplication of the aspects offered by opposed objects” (80). It is clear at this point, at least from Poulet’s point of view, that the two côtés are an essential part of the process of synthesis needed to create a unified self in light of its inherent divisiveness;

![Fig. 1: Les Demoiselles d’Avignon](image)
certainly one of the key aspects of the two côtés is the stark contrast between them, at least symbolically. To the narrator, each way represents a set of values that he prizes, neither one more than the other, so it is only through the combination of these disparate value sets that he continues on the path of self-unification.

Here it also begins to become clearer just how Proust’s Recherche shares a similar philosophy with the Cubists. Upon the debut of the first Cubist works, typically dated around 1908 with Picasso’s Les Demoiselles d’Avignon (Figure 1), the viewing public and critics were astonished by this new way of “seeing” in painting. Yes, the canvases depict specific subject matter and themes, but the subjects themselves, as well as their layers of meaning, were not always clear. The figures appear to be fabricated out of overlapping planes, plus the generally accepted idea of single point perspective (developed in large part during the Renaissance) seemed to have been rejected by the Cubists. One face might have two or three contrasting perspectives, and the vanishing point for each object is not the same, whereas in a “successful” painting, all objects lead to the same point. Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, two major Cubists who wrote one of the first important manifests of the movement, Du ‘cubisme,’ explains that “notre personnalité entière [our whole personality]” is unified through painting (50). The idea of the “fractured self” was often explored in Cubist painting, as seen in the development of a technique known as papier collé, or collage, the application of mixed media onto a painting. Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque are often credited with the invention of this method, seen in Figure 2.

More than simply a charcoal sketch of a guitar seen through the various facets typical of a Cubist work, one also notices the patch of wood veneer applied to the center-right portion of the paper, overlapping parts of the sketch, until one then notices that part of the sketch is then re-applied over the wood veneer. This piece of faux wood on the page seems to imply the synthesis of the object in question (the guitar) by referencing the material of its making (the wood), much like the literary device of metonymy, wherein a part of an object represents the whole of the unit. Neil Cox believed that the papier collé technique was a kind of mimic of the Proustian idea of the “fractured self”: “Now, the papiers collés seem to say, people are made up of fragments of borrowed phrases, advertisements, and worldwide events” (298). A person cannot exist simply as who he thinks he is as a unified being, but more as a composite of memories, objects, and all subsets of Time.

One of the major struggles that occur in the life of Proust’s narrator in the Recherche is the process by which he remembers incidents, people, and certainly, the specific objects that help him recall those moments. Much like when one hears a certain song on the radio, or sees a treasured book from childhood on a shelf, the object in and of itself becomes a kind of portal for memory recollection. Oftentimes, it is an unexpected event, which as Proust’s narrator would argue, is exactly when the memory is the most pure, when it is an “involuntary” memory, or one that is not consciously dredged from the depths of the mind. This is a key idea in the role of memory, fragmented much in the same way as the self is fragmented. When one attempts to recall a certain moment, certain parts of it are usually remembered, but usually not in its entirety, such as is the case with the narrator and the stairs leading to his bedroom at Combray. He imagines it as the pathway to anguish, as he must climb them at bedtime instead of spending time with his mother; yet he realizes, at times, that he can recall only certain aspects of it, instead of the staircase in context with the rest of the house: “… seen always at the same evening hour, isolated from all its possible surroundings, detached and solitary against its shadowy background, the bare minimum of scenery necessary … to the drama of my undressing, as though all Combray had consisted of but two floors joined by a slender staircase, and as though there had been no time there but seven o’clock” (Swann 33). Thus, when the narrator tries to recall this moment, he only knows certain parts. However, when a memory is extracted involuntarily, he seems to know the greatest depths of it.

In one of the first major instances of this occurrence in Du côté de chez Swann, the narrator recalls a moment from his childhood of dipping a petite madeleine in a cup of lime-blossom tea. The “trigger” for this memory stems from the same series of actions as an adult, but when he tries to reenact the trigger, he fails at recalling the same sensations. “It is plain that the object of my quest, the truth, lies not in the cup...
but in myself” (34). He searches for the truth, as he has labeled it, through the object itself (the teacup), but he realizes that it is an unknown part of himself that has created the association between the plaisir délicieux [pleasing sensation] and the action of dipping the madeleine into the teacup. The object is not the receptacle for the truth, simply a mode in which he can discover truth. John A. Hogan calls it “the subjective sensations” of this moment that the narrator is seeking to dissect, analyze, and synthesize (189). Certainly, the response that the narrator has with the madeleines and the tea is not the same as anyone else’s because his specific string of memories associated with it are unique to him, even if his aunt (who had originally given him the treat) were to try to recall the same instance. All memory is subjective, even when the object being studied for its triggers, is objective in origin.

Guillaume Apollinaire, one of the first champions and critics of the Cubist movement as well as a celebrated poet, also felt that through studying an object, its objective reality would be transcended by its levels of significance based on subjective understanding: “The artist who wished to achieve the complete representation of an object … would be obliged by the need to disclose all the facets of the geometric surface to render it in such a way that, even if one took the trouble to understand the resultant image, one would find it far different from the object itself, that is, from its objective reality” (Art 268-9). The painters themselves noted the impossibility and improbability of achieving the original objectivity of the object-in-question. In Picasso’s 1912 painting The Aficionado, he portrays a bullfighting fan more through a series of objects than through typical portraiture. The figure itself is barely discernable, because of the Cubist multi-planar technique, but the viewer is still able to understand the multiple references to the articles of bullfighting: the newspaper “Le Torero,” the French town Nîmes, and weapons used by matadors in killing the bull (Figure 3).

Thus, it is not simply the interpretation of the figure as the symbol, but of the Cubist idea that the object has no objective reality, implying that there is little in the world that does not have a subjective basis of understanding. Proust’s narrator continually analyzes the truth of objects and his own personal layers of meaning throughout the Recherche. In the final volume, Le Temps retrouvé, he states, “It is only a clumsy and erroneous form of perception which places everything in the object, when really everything is in the mind” (1032). One now sees another way in which the philosophies of purpose to Proust’s narrator and the Cubists are tightly interwoven, this idea of a multiple perspective. To the narrator (and to Proust), a multifaceted approach to himself and to the object was the only way to plumb the depths of meaning. When he analyzes a moment, it seems that he first stands directly in front of it, then takes a few steps backwards and walks toward it from another angle, then walks away for a moment (or several hundred pages) and comes back at a different angle. Many of the same memories are recalled on a multitude of occasions, whether it is the church at Combray, Saint-Hilaire (Swann 45-50 and Temps 997), or even the petites madeleines (Swann 34-6). It is as if the narrator’s mind is an unorganized card catalogue of memories, and as he rifles through them, he stumbles back upon the same moments repeatedly, and with each revisit, he discovers a new facet of significance. Joshua Landy believes as well in this nonlinear approach to memory storage: “its essence is either nonexistent or unavailable, the only accessible essence – accessible, at least, outside of aesthetic contemplation – being that of his own mind’s index of refraction” (52; my emphasis). The reality of his situation, of noticing the various positions available to the narrator are essential (to him) in his greater understanding of his mind and how the rest of the world works. He senses early in his life that he is unlike many others in his approach to detail and the synthesis of moments and objects that reside in his personal universe.

One such key moment of this comprehension is when, as a young child, the narrator travels with Doctor Perceped from Combray to the neighboring village of Martinville-le-Sec. They cross the countryside, and as they arrive, the narrator observes the church spires in the distance. He observes the simple changes that occur when their carriage turns the corners of the road, but is subconsciously aware of something greater: “In ascertaining and noting the shape of their spires, the changes of aspect, the sunny warmth of their surfaces, I felt that I was not penetrating to the full depth of my impression, that something more lay behind that mobility, that luminosity, something which they seemed at once to contain and to conceal” (Swann 138). To other men, these turns were simply a typical aspect of a road; according to the narrator, because
he traveled on a path that was out of habit, he saw the objects (the spires) from different angles, from a new perspective. Thus, he discovered the newness that comes from a transformation of view. The new perspective that he gains during his voyage is not simply a crossing from one side to the other; moreover, the narrator is astonished by this simple act of movement. Joshua Landy argues that the spires of Martinville are an important aspect of the Recherche because the narrator discovers perspective, another part of his self that utilizes the fragmentation in the process of self-unification (58). Because the narrator discovers that he can simply look at the same object from a new and different angle, whether that is a church spire, a cup of tea, or even a photograph of a famous building, it seems to him that he is gazing upon a completely different object.

This idea is often seen in Cubist works, in their paintings and writings. Georges Poulet compares Proust’s spires of Martinville to a Cézanne painting in his work Proustian Space, “where all the lines and masses take on one meaning” (77). Whereas Cézanne was not a member of the Cubist movement, he is often cited as the major precursor, and an important influence on Picasso and Braque; thus it is not a great stretch to argue that the spires of Martinville are also akin to a Cubist painting itself. Like the Cubist belief that the painting studied an object from all sides at once, creating unity on the flat surface of canvas, Proust’s narrator studies all sides of the spires to create a unified comprehension of them. Robert Delaunay painted a series of the Eiffel Tower during the years of 1910-1913, studying it from different angles, different combinations of colors and lighting, and different backgrounds. Perhaps he was seeking the ultimate truth of the Tower, the major symbol of French modernism.

In 1911, he painted a version that is the clearest example of this idea of the multiple perspective; it depicts the Eiffel Tower with a background that seems to be collapsing (Figure 4). The buildings, because of their planar depiction, appear broken and ready to fall on the Tower; the Tower itself seems to be on the verge of toppling itself, but then the viewer realizes that the structure has multiple simultaneous perspectival points. The base is painted as if seen from a bird’s-eye-view, whereas the middle section and top are seen from the front and from the sides, even as the viewer is looking at it from the front.

Not only is the world itself on the verge of collapse, but Delaunay calls into question the idea of Time, by condensing the minutes it would take a person to walk around the Eiffel Tower and see it from above into the moments it takes to study a painting. Jacques Rivière believes that perspective demonstrates not only a certain moment of time, but one of space as well; it also indicates the position of objects in regards to the specific viewer at a specific moment (Apollinaire Peintres 210).

The question of time, or as Proust’s narrator often refers to it, Time, is a great preoccupation in the Recherche and in the Cubists’ work. For the narrator, Time is the monster under the bed, the shadow chasing him in dreams. He feels like he has to run from it, or Time will destroy him before he is prepared. As the objects and temporal moments studied throughout the Recherche, Time is just another aspect of existence that is fleeting and subjective. Nothing, it seems, can keep the hounds of Time from hunting the narrator as he recalls the past. Yet, to the narrator, Time will always be in the present, as the past is preserved by its recollection within the present; thus, the selves in the past are always co-existent with the self of the present, much as is explained in the concept of the multiple selves. As a result of this existence of numerous selves, Time itself does not exist linearly, but as a circumventing fragmentation:

Not that there was anything new in the idea that we occupy a place in Time which is perpetually being augmented. Everyone feels this, and the universality of the idea could not but rejoice me, since it was the truth, the truth dimly apprehended by each one of us, that I was to attempt to elucidate. And not only does everyone have this feeling that we occupy a place in Time, but this “place” is something that is the simplest among us habitually measures in an approximative fashion, as he might measure with his eye the place which we occupy in space.

(Temps 1138)
Time is also the place in which the object has the ability to transcend its last remaining borders of objectivity. Since one can remember new memories with each object upon each regard, the object then becomes a mode in which Time has no true meaning. John Hogan argues, “The essence of all aesthetic experience lies in relating the object before us to its equivalent in the past within us” (194). One of the key methods for this preservation of the object, and in turn the self and Time’s wrath, is through art.

To the Cubists, art was the only place where the unification of the object, the dimensions, and the artist could co-exist. Guillaume Apollinaire explains the placement of Time or the “Fourth Dimension [quatrième dimension],” as the only place where the object can become neutral enough to be seen as art (Peintres 61). It is only what the viewer and the artist each bring to the painting that bridges the gap between a neutral object in the present to what each person sees in that object through their pasts, or as Gleizes and Metzinger wrote in 1913, “it is the representation of the interior reality which is the only point of view in art” (81). This transcendence of Time was one of the ways that multiple perspectives worked so well. Otherwise, the viewer would be more confused as to the reason that the subject of Metzinger’s Le Goûter (Figure 5) has a face seen in two distinct profiles.

The left side of her face is painted as if seen from the side, whereas her right side is depicted in frontal view. The teacup from which she is drinking (or perhaps dipping a morsel of madeleine?) is also depicted from two distinct perspectives. Neither one cohesive perspective nor Time elapsed matter in a Cubist work. Thus, everything in the world is a subjective matter. Johnathan Shlain argues for the idea that Time is an important element of a Cubist work, and it is because of the multiple-perspective and the depiction of objects that Time itself becomes nonlinear: “…this excruciatingly difficult mental exercise demands that the thinker image that all the points in space along the path of observations occupy the same location simultaneously. Whenever space contracts, time, its complement, dilates. The now of our prosaic experience is but a blink of an eye” (188). Certainly trying to understand a Cubist painting can at times be a difficult task, but so often what the viewer herself brings to the work is more significant than locating where the actual subject of the painting rests among the monochromatic planes.

It seems that all of life itself is akin to a Cubist work, as noted by the narrator in Proust’s A la recherche du temps perdu: “How often have all these people reappeared before me in the course of their lives, the diverse circumstances of which seemed to present the same individuals always, but in forms for purposes that were shifting and varied” (Temps 1080). Each moment, each person known in life serves a kind of purpose and holds a kind of meaning to each, but it is also important to realize and accept that their individual meanings are often less significant than the overall pattern created during life. Whether that instance is a memory from the past or an object lying on the table, one must realize that the importance lies in its subjective meaning or meanings. For Proust’s narrator, with each revisit to a memory, an object, or a person, he is able to cull new significance, if he is able to regard it from a new perspective. Then he will be able to apply it in a new manner, allowing him to glue that piece to the puzzle of his life. It is interesting to note, however, that the blue piece he thinks is a section of sky might be a piece of water to another person. The method in which the narrator creates his self-unification is not how another would proceed.

One could argue that the ideas that the narrator has about living his life are taken straight from Cubist paintings, as his perceptions aptly mimic the ideas of Picasso, Braque, Delaunay, and other painters, as well as the theories provided and explained by Apollinaire and Gleizes and Metzinger in their studies. As both œuvres were being fashioned around the same time, it becomes less a question of who created what, but more a notation of the similarities between them. How two disparate artists (or groups of artists) were able to see the same landscape from two different windows is astounding. Perhaps one subconsciously borrowed from the other, or perhaps each was blessed with the same gift of insight and epiphany about the world. Nevertheless, the viewer and the reader realize that as a result of Proust’s A la recherche du temps perdu and the Cubist movement, the world and the self are seen as fragmented, but it is through placing objects in art that one is able to achieve unity, and this is what is most important.
Works Cited


The Effects of State and Federal Environmental Policies on Poor Communities and Communities of Color: The Case of Tennessee

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Introduction

The environmental justice (EJ) movement began in 1982 in Warren County, North Carolina, when residents determined that their primarily non-white community was a victim of environmental discrimination. Their community was targeted to house a toxic landfill composed of 60,000 tons of PCB-laden soil. The Ward Transfer Company had illegally dumped the soil, as 30,000 gallons of waste transformer oil, along a highway spanning 14 counties in North Carolina. The citizens of Warren County came together to right this wrong and began the environmental justice movement.

The activism of the citizens of Warren County encouraged research that looked at whether there was a correlation between the pollution-producing facilities and the race and income status of the neighborhoods and communities where they were located. This led to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, where leaders from across the nation and the world endorsed principles and plans of action that could combat environmental discrimination. As a result of these efforts, and due to pressures from environmental justice activists, President Bill Clinton issued Executive Order 12898 in 1994 to address environmental discrimination in low-income communities and communities of color. 1

Although this form of discrimination is not new in American society, traditional environmental organizations, politicians, and environmental policymakers largely ignored it. In reference to the code of ethics used by planning professionals, Beatley et.al. note that, “Due to the gap between the code’s requirements for fairness and priority and practice, the African American community has been served poorly by planners in the areas of housing, economic development, and environmental protection.”2 Historically, environmental policies and industrial pollution standards were in place that had the effect of placing disproportionate amounts of pollution in poor communities and communities of color. Recently, Tennessee has been the focus of environmental discrimination claims by citizens of Dickson County as well as residents of Memphis, Tennessee.

This research looks at environmental justice in Tennessee. The major argument guiding this paper is that residents in Tennessee are at risk of living near polluters if they are in low-income, working class, and minority communities and neighborhoods. One example can be found in the predominately African American community on Eno Road, located within Dickson County, with a population that is only 4.5 percent black. Community members have been fighting against a landfill that has contaminated the well water of several residents. Samples taken from the residence of the Holt family – a family that has lived on the land since the 1940s – indicate that Trichloroethylene or TCE is present in their well at five times the acceptable level set by the EPA. TCE is known to cause damage to the central nervous system and liver in humans. (It is also known as one of many chemicals which cause depletion of stratospheric ozone.)3 The Holt family suffers many health problems that could possibly be linked to the pollution seeping into their drinking water. The problem has worsened considerably as levels of TCE in the Holt’s family well reached 29 times the acceptable level set by EPA. It was only then that the family was told it was no longer safe to drink the water.4 Environmental justice activists in Dickson County are concerned that city planners knew the risk that families surrounding the city landfill faced. They are concerned that city planners made the decision to allow citizens to continue drinking contaminated water despite reports of high levels of contamination.
In Memphis – a city that is over 50 percent black and has eight of the state’s top 100 polluters – there is a political struggle to stop the high levels of pollution stemming from the release of toxic chemicals. Memphis has the highest concentration of polluters in Tennessee. The Crump neighborhood of the city is located within three miles of eight facilities that release toxins into the air. Similar to the fight that African Americans face in Louisiana’s Cancer Alley, a predominately minority area that hosts more than 50 industrial facilities, and 40 within a 10-mile radius, citizens in Memphis are trying to discontinue the use of their communities as dumping grounds for the industrial sector. Residents in this area suffer from asthma and other lung diseases as a result of being “boxed in” by industrial polluters. With help from the Sierra Club, they have created a series of projects in order to raise awareness about environmental justice concerns in their area.

For this paper the research questions are: First, to what extent do environmental justice activists affect environmental policy in Tennessee? And second, to what extent do environmental policy decisions affect poor communities and communities of color in Tennessee? In order to determine the role that EJ activists play in environmental policy creation, I first describe the role of the public in creating effective environmental legislation in the past. Next, I discuss the emergence of the EJ movement. To answer the second question I briefly identify criteria used by industries in their facility citing process. Finally, I examine the effects of environmental policy decisions in Tennessee by mapping the state’s top 100 polluters according to the Toxic Release Inventory issued by the Environmental Protection Agency. I correlate the location of the facility with the race and income levels of its surrounding residential population.

The Impact of Public Activism on Environmental Policy

Successful current and past environmental policy has relied heavily on the activism of the public. Charles O. Jones suggests that environmental policies are influenced by the amount of public awareness and willingness to act on the issue. However, before the public became interested in the issue, environmental policy remained far from the minds of much of Congress. He states:

Even as late as 1967, a news account observed that national air pollution-control efforts seem caught in a smog of political expediency thickened by public indifference. In Washington, reports are that the President’s air pollution-control bill faces emasculation, if not demise.¹⁶

Until strong public interaction on environmental policy’s behalf, it received attention only in a congressional subcommittee in the Public Health Service and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. However, it became apparent that a separate agency would be needed to fully address environmental policy creation and implementation.¹ In fact, many agencies were established by environmental laws during the late 1960s and early 1970s in a time of continued public demonstrations.

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) marked the beginning of a decade of strong environmental policy creation. Passed in 1969, NEPA forced state and federal environmental agencies to reexamine existing programs to ensure that each was working at its maximum ability. It also created the Council on Environmental Quality. This council consists of three members who serve in the executive office of the president and provide information on environmental matters. It also develops the annual environmental quality report. According to the White House, the CEQ “oversees federal agency implementation of the environmental impact assessment process; and acts as a referee when agencies disagree over the adequacy of such assessments.”¹⁸ In addition to NEPA, the Clean Air Act (1970), the Clean Water Act (1972), the Comprehensive Environmental Response Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA or Superfund, 1980), the Endangered Species Act (1973), and the Federal Insecticide Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA, 1972) were implemented during this period of public environmental awareness.⁹ Today, the public’s interest has waned regarding environmental concerns. Instead it is focused on war and other political issues, thus making the form of environmental activism used in the 1960s and 1970s difficult to carry out in today’s political climate. David N. Pellow states, “Bridging the society-nature divide is problematic and politically charged. When one moves beyond the society-nature divide one enters a terrain where social problems become more complex.”¹⁰ Although the public does not usually connect the environment with their everyday life, when they do make this connection, they are able to create coalitions designed to
address environmental justice issues. In order to address the problems created by environmental planning in Tennessee, a strong coalition between minorities and working class citizens could influence policy makers to eliminate or reduce the threat that polluters create to residents in the state.

**History of the Environmental Justice Movement**

Environmental discrimination is often described as the intentional or unintentional targeting of communities based on income and race for the locating of toxic, hazardous, and other locally unwanted uses.\(^\text{11}\) As mentioned earlier, the environmental justice movement began in Warren County, North Carolina, in 1982. Citizens raised concerns about the state’s decision to locate highly contaminated soil in a football field-size dump in their area. The North Carolina Department of Environment and Natural Resources has referred to the dump as follows: “The site is located in the Shocco Township of the county. The population is approximately 1,300. Sixty-nine percent of the township residents are nonwhite and 20 percent of the residents have incomes below the federal poverty level.”\(^\text{12}\) The high percentage of minorities and low-income residents within the area are the characteristics that led citizens of Warren County to believe that they were victims of environmental discrimination.

The EJ movement was created to address environmental discrimination in poor communities and communities of color. In 1987, the United Church of Christ issued the report, “Toxic Waste and Race in the United States.” The report was the first of its kind to directly correlate race with the placement of toxic waste facilities, and it inspired activists of color to organize.

The first EJ summit was held in 1991. According to Bullard, the 1991 First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit was the most important single event in the movement’s history. The summit broadened the environmental justice movement beyond its early anti-toxin focus to include issues of public health, worker safety, land use, transportation, housing, resource allocation, and community empowerment. The meeting also demonstrated that it is possible to build a multi-racial grassroots movement around environmental and economic justice.\(^\text{13}\) This summit gave activists the ability to develop strategies to make environmental justice a national concern. These strategies were outlined in the “Principles of Environmental Justice.” The success of the summit can also be recognized through the creation of Executive Order 12898, which forces agencies to create an environmental impact report specifically studying poor communities and communities of color. After 12898, EJ activists went on to become successful in a series of cases involving the discriminating potential citing and/or location of environmentally hazardous facilities in poor or colored communities.

The continual development of discriminatory environmental policies poses a constant challenge for activists. Although the environmental justice movement has been successful in some areas, it overall influence may have weakened. A report co-sponsored by the Center for Policy Alternatives, the NAACP and the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice reports that,

> Between 1980 and 1993, the concentration of people of color living in areas with hazardous waste facilities increased from 25 percent to almost 31 percent of the population living around the facilities, according to Toxic Wastes and Race Revisited. The largest increase is the jump in the percent of people of color living near hazardous waste landfills, which rose from 22 percent in 1980 to 35.6 percent in 1993.\(^\text{14}\)

Despite the creation of agencies to address environmental justice, presidential administrations have found ways to circumvent environmental mandates, primarily through reducing agency funding, increasing acceptable pollution levels, and ignoring executive orders issued by previous presidents.

The flexibility of environmental policy within each presidential administration is a detriment to creating long-lasting and effective environmental policy. The 2000 presidential election made Executive Order 12898 obsolete because the new president had the option of implementing or ignoring an order issued by the previous president. President George W. Bush does not prioritize environmental policies that first study the impact on poor and communities of color; instead, the current administration bases policies on cost effectiveness. Beatley, Collin, and Harris refer to this practice as “utilitarianism,” and note that it “has become institutionalized in environmental planning and policy to a significant extent through the heavy reliance on the technique of benefit cost analysis.”\(^\text{15}\) Cost-effective though such environmental
policy may be, it often makes poor and communities of color the unwilling recipients of our nation’s environmental hazards.

**Industrial Pollution in Tennessee**

Industrial planning today consists of calculating a set of variables that routinely place polluting facilities in poor areas. These areas may be located in a poor state, or in a low-income area of a state. In calculating the cost of the location of a plant, industrialists first base their decisions on non-governmental factors such as access to markets, labor and energy cost. “However, state and local policies may affect the marginal cost of production for firms at a given location.” Production costs include the environmental costs that may be created by the local government where the plant will be located. States may impose the cost of environmental cleanup on either the private sector or the public. To attract new business, the state may lower or eliminate taxes paid by an industrial polluter, reducing its costs. This action, however, eventually forces local governments to acquire the lost revenue from its citizens.

This prerogative of the states has led to several inequities in pollution distribution. One of the concerns of environmental justice activists is that the desires of industries are being placed higher than the needs of the citizens located in the surrounding communities. This is a result of states’ reliance on corporations for bringing jobs to their area.

Buttressed by empirical examinations of state hazardous-waste regulation (Williams and Matheny 1984; Davis Lester 1987), catastrophe models posit that the distribution of pollution-abatement costs is a function of a state’s economic dependency on pollution-generating producers and its fiscal capacity to “socialize” the costs of regulation rather than impose these costs on producers who are free to shift production to competing states.17

Pollution-abatement costs are generated by an industry or government in an effort to reduce pollution.18 Krieg says, “Tax structures may reflect a community’s dependence on maintaining commercial and industrial sources of monies and have tremendous impacts on how businesses, industrial businesses in particular, view a community’s potential for investment.”19 When governments choose to place the pollution abatement cost on their citizens, they are usually able to maintain high environmental standards while still maintaining their attractiveness to new industries. However, states such as Tennessee, which cannot afford to place these costs on their citizens risk the health and economic well-being of their communities. If such states place pollution-abatement costs on industry, they usually appear less attractive to new businesses. The only choice then is to implement less stringent environmental standards.

Classification of attainment and non-attainment areas has a large impact on determining the placement of a facility inside any given state. Non-attainment areas are “areas of the country where air pollution levels persistently exceed the national ambient air quality standards.”20 Attainment areas are those areas that persistently meet the national ambient air quality standards. Of course, it is usually more cost effective for a company to meet the standards of non-attainment zones, and these are the areas where poor communities are located. For example, Timothy Maher of the University of Indianapolis describes the environmental policy of Indiana as:

A part of an unwritten public policy concerning toxics seems to have been that you dump it in someone else’s back yard – but not just anyone’s backyard. Toxic waste facilities have been regularly located in areas populated by African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, or Asian Americans.21

This is due to the permitting process developed by cities over decades, which are reflective of the time period in which they were created. Although in many places it is not clear whether minorities or industries inhabited an area first, it is clear that when many of these policies were implemented, racism was the social norm.
Methodology

In order to determine the extent that the environmental justice movement applies to Tennessee, I conducted an empirical study to first determine the concerns of environmental justice activists across the nation and compared them to the concerns of environmental justice activists within the state. Next, I mapped the top 100 polluters in Tennessee, according to the toxic release inventory issued by the EPA, in order to correlate the location of each polluting facility with the race and income level of its surrounding residents. I then conducted a series of cross tabulations between race, income, and location of facility to determine statistically significant relationships between these variables.

The demographic characteristics (race, median household income) of the residents surrounding each polluter derive from the 2000 Census. I analyzed this information by using unit hazard coincidence. This method selects a predetermined geographic unit such as a census tract, county, or, in this case, ZIP code in order to identify which of the units contain or host the hazard. Comparisons were then made of the demographic characteristics between the host and non-host areas. Because several environmental studies employ this method when correlating the relationship of polluting facilities with race and income, the decision was made to use it here as well. On the other hand, drilling down to the level of ZIP codes provides a more precise look at the demographics of the community in which a hazard is located, so a departure was made from the use of county level data common in traditional environmental justice research.

Results

Environmental justice in Tennessee is largely unstudied. Although Shelby and Dickson counties in Tennessee have been noted in several national studies, little research has been conducted on the state as a whole. Environmental justice, as a movement, seeks to eliminate the disproportionate amount of pollution in minority, poor, and working class communities. Is this a problem in Tennessee? By analyzing the data, I found that in Tennessee there is a strong correlation between race and income level with the citing of polluting facilities. I also found that environmental policy and environmental decisions in Tennessee often negatively impact communities with median household incomes of less than $40,000 a year as well as minority communities. One hundred percent of the areas with a minority population greater than 50 percent host a polluting facility compared to 89.2 percent of areas with more than 50 percent Caucasian. This is significant considering that the racial characteristics of residents in Tennessee are 80.7 percent Caucasian and only 16.8 percent African American. Residents with median household incomes below $40,000 have a higher risk of living near a polluting facility regardless of race. If a strong coalition between poor communities, communities of color and working class communities is forged there is a possibility that the way the state values industry over the health of its citizens would change. The poor planning of decision makers, whether intentional or unintentional, has left poor and minority communities in Tennessee victims of environmental discrimination.

Although this study was able to show a relationship between the location of a polluter and its surrounding community, it was not able to report on the full extent in which these communities are affected. The current study provides the groundwork for follow-up research. Data from the ZIP code level gives citizens and policy makers an understanding of the danger minority, poor, and working poor communities face. However, a more specific methodology is needed to accurately pinpoint the area directly surrounding the hazard or locally unwanted land use. Unit hazard analysis by precinct level as well as several distance-based methods give a more specific look at the area directly surrounding the hazard. These methods include but are not limited to the 50 percent areal containment and centroid containment methods, the boundary intersection method, and the areal apportionment method.

The use of the Toxic Release Inventory further limits my research because the possibility for errors in pollution amounts recorded is high. This is because companies report the amount of pollution released from their facility to the EPA. Although these limitations exist I was able to correlate the demographic characteristics of citizens within the same ZIP code area as the polluter. This study provides more detail than county-wide analyses but should nonetheless be considered preliminary.

The results of this study indicate that environmental justice is a subject that Tennesseans should be concerned about. Members of poor, working poor, and minority communities in Tennessee are disproportionately impacted by the state’s current environmental policies. EJ activists have successfully documented
environmental discrimination cases in the past; however, they had only been able to correlate the demographic characteristics of county data with that of the polluter. Yet the emergence of new methodology has given environmental justice activists a tool to examine areas directly surrounding a hazardous waste site. The relationship between pollution citing and the community, already well-documented, will likely become more so in the future. Research on environmental justice has grown in our nation as a whole, yet the poor planning of environmental policy makers, whether intentional or unintentional, continues to leave poor and minority communities in Tennessee victims of environmental discrimination.

Notes

1 See Beatley, Timothy; Robert Collin; and William Harris. “Environmental Racism: A Challenge to Community Development.” *Journal of Black Studies* 25.3 (January 1995): 354-376. Also see Executive Order 12898.

2 Ibid.: 357.


7 Ibid.: 450-52.


9 The dates of these acts were found through the Environmental Protection Agency’s website at www.epa.gov/epahome/lawregs.htm 7/26/2005.


17 Ibid.: 565.


20 Definition of attainment and non-attainment areas may be assessed on the Environmental Protection Agency website at www.epa.gov/oar/oaaqs/greenbk 7/25/2005.


23 Maher, Timothy. “Communities as Victims: Social Impact of Toxic Pollution.” *Proceedings of the Indi-


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Lithic Analysis from Features 4 and 16 of the Castalian Springs Site

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The Castalian Springs mound site is located in Sumner County, Tennessee, near Bledsoe Creek in the unincorporated town of Castalian Springs, about six miles east of Gallatin, on Tennessee State Highway 25. The land on which the main part of the site is located was acquired by the state in 2005 after the death of the owner Leon Shoulders, a well-respected county resident and philanthropist. The Castalian Springs Site is an important mound center of the Mississippi Period in Middle Tennessee. The site was first recorded by Ralph E.W. Earl who “explored” the site in 1820 to acquire objects for display at the Nashville Museum that he had recently established. The most recent excavations at Castalian Springs were conducted by William Edward Myer around the turn of the last century. Myer worked at the site during three field seasons in 1891, 1893, and in 1916-17 for a total of three months (Smith 2006b). These investigations produced maps, records, and artifacts that show the prehistoric town to have possessed complex structure. However there is a lack of published work on this important Mississippian village due to Myer’s untimely death in 1924, leaving a vacuum in the understanding of the early Mississippian at this site in the Cumberland Valley.

During the summers of 2005 and 2006, archaeological field investigations were conducted at Castalian Springs by Dr. Kevin Smith of Middle Tennessee State University to explore the extent of the site and provide a better understanding of when the site was occupied. The 2005 excavations explored a portion of the site that was probably the area around the outside of the town, and the excavations yielded artifacts of Mississippian age and a couple of midden features (refuse-filled pits). The 2006 field season was much more extensive in area and recorded many more features. These two field seasons are the first of several more planned at this mound center that will provide a more exact time-frame for the occupation of the site (Smith 2006b). During the 2006 excavation, twenty-five 2x2-meter excavation units were opened as well as five 2x1-meter units. The work was focused in three main areas of the site, revealing two large midden features and a large square structure. Flaked lithic content originating in the two middens (Features 4 and 16) will be the focus of this paper. Study of flaked lithic remains provides valuable information about the prehistoric economy at the site. That is, information on the type of tools, the method for producing tools and source of the material can point to clues about the type of activity that occurred in this area of Castalian Springs.

Background

Castalian Springs is one of several major Mississippian Period sites that thrived in the mid-Cumberland region of Tennessee between about A.D. 1000 and 1600. Mississippian societies had a complex political structure and a distinct increase in material culture compared to the previous settlements in the area. The Mississippian societies were politically organized as chiefdoms, and their towns were spiritual and political centers with a stratified organization, leaders in inherited positions, and religious associations. The more affluent members lived in the center of the town while the more common people lived on the periphery and in smaller farmsteads (Bense 1994). Some towns, like Castalian Springs, had wooden palisade walls around the perimeter to provide protection in times of conflict with other groups. At Castalian Springs, the palisade enclosed an area of at least sixteen acres, including the town and mound complex (Smith 2006a:6-7).

Earthen mound construction appears at Mississippian sites across the Southeastern United States. The larger towns had flat-top mound structures and burial mounds that demonstrate the dedicated labor of
some of the population to create the large earth works for a central family of importance. Both platform mounds and burial mounds have been found at Castalian Springs. The five mounds within the palisade at the site include a “large platform mound with conical addition” (Smith 2006a:6-7), another large platform mound and two smaller platform mounds adjacent to the plaza, and a large burial mound at the eastern edge of the plaza (Smith 2006a:7). Also, two platform mounds are located outside the town wall close to the salt springs to the south and southeast, described by Myer (Smith 2006b:7). Further evidence of strong social and political ties at this site is apparent in the large public buildings with wall-trench construction. This wall construction was evident in a large structure that had walls which overlapped and appeared to have been rebuilt several times before the abandonment of the site.

Corn agriculture was an important factor that allowed Mississippian societies to become complex and increase in population. Material culture in the form of complex ceramic vessels, etched shell pendants or gorgets, and even decorative stone objects that were for ceremonial rather than practical use are representative of societies that have a surplus of food which allows for specialization (Bense 1994). Shell gorgets found at Castalian Springs during Myer’s excavations are often used as an example of the quality of art that was created by these people as well as “contributing to the chronology of shell gorgets” (Smith 2006b: electronic document).

Method of Lithic Manufacture

This research examines the flaked stone artifacts recovered from two features at the Castalian Springs site. Flaked stone artifacts are “those cultural items created by the removal of flakes rather than by grinding or polishing,” and are commonly found at Mississippian sites (Yohe 2002:37). The first step in manufacturing flaked stone tools is to acquire a type of rock that is suitable for direct contact flaking. The rock used in flaked lithic manufacture must possess a relatively small internal grain size or thoroughly cemented matrix, be non-elastic so it breaks easily, and have isotropic qualities to uniformly fracture in all directions (Odell 2003). The best types of rocks for this purpose are obsidian and chert. The former is volcanic glass which is usually a dark-hued transparent rock, but natural formations of this type of rock are not found in the Southeastern United States. Chert has many different designations such as chalcedony or flint, but all these refer to what is basically a crypto-silicate rock with a crystalline structure. The crypto-silicate chert behaves like glass when met with a directed force and it fractures conchoidally. A conchooidal fracture represents a portion of what is known to structural geologists as a Hertzian Cone of Force. When glass or crystalline stone is fractured by a directed force the “resulting breakage will be cone-like in shape” (Yohe 2002:37). The flake is removed from the core with a raised cone and concentric circles radiating from a bulb of percussion, and leaving a flake scar on the core that was struck.

At Mississippian sites locally available materials are typically used for flaked lithic production, with specialty materials imported through trade networks. The pattern at most Mississippian sites is that they have flaked tools made from chert or flint originating in various areas within the southeastern United States. But usually local chert types are used for expedient tool making augmented by other types that were traded from areas that had certain desirable qualities for specific tool types. Most of the lithic artifacts at Castalian Springs were made of local Ft. Payne chert which originates from rock outcrops in the area. Some artifacts from the site are made of Dover chert which is a type that originates from west Tennessee. Dover chert is often believed to have been traded for because most Mississippian sites studied in this area have only finished tools and maintenance flakes of this type of chert resource, which indicates that tools were brought in as finished forms rather than as raw materials.

Lithic manufacture is referred to as reduction sequence. A person who works chert into lithic tools is called a flintknapper. The process begins when the flintknapper acquires a nodule of chert by mining it from local sources or through trade with other regions. The nodule of chert usually has a weathered exterior called the cortex. Next, to create a stone tool, flakes are struck off of the nodule using either a hammerstone or antler baton in the direct percussion technique or by using a billet applied to the nodule then struck in the indirect percussion technique (Odell 2003). As the flintknapper begins to shape the nodule by removing flakes it becomes a core. Each time the core is struck the flakes removed will have distinct characteristics that are invaluable to researchers who categorize the lithic debris from an assemblage.
Method of Classification

The present research is the first modern-era analysis of lithic assemblages at the Castalian Springs site. The methodology for this research is based on lithic analysis conducted at the Rutherford-Kiser site, another mid-Cumberland Mississippian mound and village site (Moore and Smith 2001). Rutherford-Kiser is a Mississippian mound village dated to A.D. 1281, which put it within the Thruston phase of Middle Cumberland Mississippian chronology (Moore and Smith 2001:17). Excavations were conducted during 1993 and 1995 due to the development of the land that contained the southern half of the site. The work at this site was mainly to remove the burial features so the developer would be in compliance with the state cemetery laws, but the excavators were allowed to record and collect other aspects of the endangered site. The lithic section of the Rutherford-Kiser field report provides the basic classifications that were used to categorize the lithic artifacts from Feature 4 and Feature 16 of the site.

In the first steps of lithic reduction, cortex is removed from the core. The first type of flake to be removed is the primary flake which has cortex on the entire outside (dorsal) side of the flake and a bulb of percussion on the bottom (ventral) side. The next step removes a secondary flake, which has less than 90% cortex on the dorsal side and a bulb of percussion on the ventral side. Finally, blank flakes, have no cortex except occasionally on the striking platform. Blank flakes can be created during the initial creation of artifacts as well as during the maintenance of tools. Bifacially worked chert and projectile points, meaning arrow and dart points, are the end result of this process. The flakes that result as byproducts of lithic manufacture are valuable for determining which stage or type of lithic manufacture was occurring at the time of deposition. The primary and secondary flakes are easily identifiable as early stages of production, while the blank flakes represent later stages of lithic production.

Artifacts used for this study all were excavated from either Feature 4 or Feature 16 of the Castalian Springs Site during the 2006 field season. Feature 16 is the smaller of the two, measuring 20 centimeters deep in the center and 180 centimeters in diameter from east to west. The feature contained large amounts of artifacts including ground stone objects, ceramic vessel sherds, and chipped lithic debris that are typical of Mississippian sites. Feature 4 is six meters in diameter and about 30 centimeters deep. The feature had a large volume of limestone slabs, animal bone, and ceramic vessel sherds throughout each level. The pits yielded a total of 408 artifacts: 209 lithic artifacts recovered from Feature 16 and 199 lithics from Feature 4, including fragmented tools and projectile points, but mostly debris from tool manufacture and maintenance. Besides the chipped flakes, the lithic assemblage from Feature 16 includes three cores, four bifaces, and three unidentifiable point fragments. In addition to chipped flakes, Feature 4 also contained eight cores, four bifaces, and one point that was identifiable as a Madison point with the tip broken off. The length of this projectile point was 9.7 millimeters minus the tip; it had a width of 15.68 millimeters and a thickness of 3.75 millimeters.

The main types of material for lithic artifacts at the Castalian Springs site were Ft. Payne and St. Louis chert which originate locally. Ft. Payne chert was identified at the Rutherford-Kiser site by the smooth water-worn cortex from streambeds and opaque and variable color that can be a mixture of blue, gray, and brown. St. Louis chert is blue gray and has an opaque appearance as well. Another type of chert present in small amounts at Castalian Springs is Dover chert, which was probably imported from what is now Stewart County, Tennessee. The Dover artifact content from Features 4 and 16 possibly includes three rejuvenation flakes from a smooth-surfaced stone tool and accounts for 15 of the total number of flakes from the two features. Dover flakes comprise 2.9 percent of the lithic content of these two features. This amount is comparable to Rutherford-Kiser’s 3.4 percent of total Dover artifacts, which included 76 waste and 76 rejuvenation flakes from the entire site (Moore and Smith 2001).

Comparison of Features 4 and 16

There were a total of 155 chipped flakes recovered from Feature 16, including 13 primary flakes, 31 secondary flakes and 111 blank flakes. When percentages of primary, secondary, and blank flakes were compared (Figure 1), it is clear that blank flakes significantly outnumber primary and secondary flakes in this feature. Feature 4 contained 199 chipped flakes, including 10 primary flakes, 15 secondary flakes and 174 blank flakes. Again, comparison of percentages of each flake category (Figure 1) indicates that blank flakes significantly outnumber primary and secondary flakes.
The Shannon-Wiener Diversity Index was used to compare the primary, secondary, and blank flakes from the two features. This index shows the amount of diversity found within a sample on a scale ranging from zero to one. Scores closer to zero represent lower diversity, while scores closer to one represent greater diversity within the sample. The diversity index of Feature 16 is 0.15, and the index of Feature 4 is 0.18. While the overall diversity of lithic materials is low for both features, when the primary, secondary and blank flakes are compared, a difference of primary and secondary flakes can be seen. Nonetheless, the most common type of artifact in both features is blank flakes, which comprised over 50% of the total assemblage from each of the two features.

Blank flakes are produced during the final stage of processing, and their quantity demonstrates that the majority of lithic reduction at Castalian Springs was the end stage of production and maintenance of stone tools. However, when the flakes from initial stages of production were compared separately from the rest of the assemblage, Features 4 and 16 show some difference in content. When the features are looked at side by side (Figure 1), the amount of flakes in each of the features is slightly different. Feature 16 has greater quantities of both primary and secondary flakes than Feature 4. Because primary and secondary flakes are representative of the early stages of lithic manufacturing, this indicates that more early stage lithic production was occurring in the households which deposited their trash in Feature 16 than the households which deposited trash in Feature 4. This might suggest that the residents of the Feature 16 households were more engaged in making their own tools, while the residents of the Feature 16 households might have acquired finished or nearly-finished tools, which only required final shaping and sharpening or resharpening as they became worn.

Conclusion

The assemblage at the Castalian Springs Site reflects household differences in use and acquisition of lithic artifacts acquired at different stages of manufacture. While most of the lithic debris at the site was produced by everyday sharpening and maintenance of tools, some households appear to have done more early-stage manufacturing. This indicates that some people at the site were engaged in production while others had acquired more processed chert for use. Perhaps the people who acquired more complete flaked stone tools had higher affluence and social status than those who were making their own tools from scratch. This is consistent with what we know of Mississippian society, which was generally highly stratified so each social group had different access to goods.

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Morphology, Matière, and Marie: Folk Tale Structure in Marie de France’s Lais

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In the introduction to their English translation of Marie de France’s Lais, Robert Hanning and Joan Ferrante laud Marie as, “Perhaps the greatest woman author of the Middle Ages and certainly the creator of the finest medieval short fiction before Boccaccio and Chaucer.”1 In these opening lines, Hanning and Ferrante hit upon two major aspects of Marie’s Lais: their obvious status as a “major achievement,” and the difficulty of knowing to what body of literature these works of “short fiction,” “short romances,” and “tales” belong.

Marie’s mastery can be seen clearly in the Lais, and research has illuminated many aspects of that mastery. Scholarship has established the connection between the Lais and ancient writers such as Ovid,2 the influence of Celtic myth,3 and similarities to other twelfth-century courtly literature, such as the romances of Chrétien de Troyes.4 Equitan passes into the realm of fabliau.5 The different lays include different kinds of material, such as those listed above, yet a common thread runs among them. How can one approach this mélange of varied material that pinpoints the unifying factors while allowing for the diversity in matière, theme, and story?

One way is to view the lays in terms of their structure. Judith Rice Rothschild and others have written on the structure of the Lais, particularly comparing the structure of individual lays to that of others. An instructive way of classifying and analyzing the underlying structure of the lay is through the application of Vladimir Propp’s critical theory, as presented in The Morphology of the Folk Tale. In discussing the incredible diversity of folk tales in general, Propp states that, “classification is one of the first and most important steps of study.”6 He examines how countless variations in themes, personages, cultural references, and narrative approaches have obscured the many suggested classifications of folk tale. Propp’s work, then, provides a convincing paradigm for the folk tale, or more accurately, the wonder tale, the folk tale that contains some sort of magical happening or extraordinary event. For the sake of simplicity, this paper will refer to such stories as folk tales. Propp, by examining a large corpus of folk material, argues that such tales are unified by the functions of their dramatis personae and the sequence in which those characters carry out those functions. He identifies thirty-one main functions, many containing sub-categories. All these functions are not found in every tale and, depending on the storyteller’s preoccupations, may not be presented in Propp’s order, yet they will appear in order according to the story’s actual chronology; for example, a seeker will set out to search before being led to the object of search, regardless of the narrative order within the particular tale. In the folk tale, these functions are found with astonishing regularity and uniformity, regardless of which characters perform them or how they may manifest themselves within a particular tale.

The application of this paradigm to Marie’s Lais yields rich results. The lays use the same underlying principles that Propp finds in hundreds of other folk tales. Marie is clearly using not only folk motifs and stories, but is working with the functional structures that form the basis of Propp’s classification of folk tale literature. This paper proposes that in light of Propp’s research, Marie’s Lais be included in the canon of the folk tale and that they moreover must be considered as possibly the most innovative and skilled uses of that form.

Marie’s use of varied material may seem to beg a more sophisticated classification, something that seems to reflect more accurately the depth and breadth of her work, especially since her influences are so varied. For instance, in Lanval, the title character’s experience with Arthur’s queen mirrors that of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife in Genesis.7 Logan Whalen, Glynn Burgess, and others have examined Marie’s apparent familiarity with classical literature.8 Her knowledge of Arthurian material can be seen in both Lan-
However, although folk material does not often contain learned allusions to antiquity, such as the Bible or Ovid, which Marie’s work evinces, the folk tale certainly does contain allusions to the practices, mythologies, and social environment of the culture that produces it. In the same way, the Lais simply show Marie’s broad education, courtly audience, and life at the cultural crossroads of Norman, Anglo-Saxon, and Celtic culture. Twelfth-century courtly literature like Marie’s is often concerned with that most famous of courts: Arthur’s. Marie’s knowledge of the Classics shows up in her Fables, so scholars such as Douglas Kelly are on safe ground in finding other links to classical works. Furthermore, the many references to Christian ideas of love in the Lais would be themselves sufficient to establish her familiarity with the Bible. Yet these aspects adorn the stories; they do not make them. Few, if any, links to classical, Biblical, or contemporaneous works and the actual stories, the plots, of the lays have been found.

The lay of Bisclavret may seem at first to be an obvious exception. Bisclavret, a good and honest knight, has a secret: for a few days each week, he transforms into a wolf and carouses in the forest. His wife, afraid of this dual nature, makes a pact with a former lover, giving herself to him and plotting to keep her husband trapped as a wolf forever. Bisclavret, however, helps to expose the pair and they confess before the king. The two are banished and Bisclavret is returned both to human form and his former place at court. At the outset of the lay, Marie discusses the sordid history of the werewolf saying, “Garvalf, ceo est beste savage;/ Tant cum il est en cele rale;/ Hummes devure, grant mal fait.” [A werewolf is a savage beast;/ while his fury is on him/ he eats men, does much harm] (lines 9-11). She then goes about writing a lay that completely reverses the motif. Bisclavret’s lycanthropy is a curse which he endures, yet Marie never says that he is savage or that he harms innocents. While a wolf, he becomes attached to the king who considers him “A grant mervelle l’ot tenu/ E mut le tient a grant chierté” [He considered the beast a great wonder/ and held him very dear] (lines 168-169). Although Marie is working against the traditional werewolf motif, it still belongs, in some sense, to the body of werewolf material. Moreover, the story follows closely Propp’s functions of the folk tale, which will be discussed in greater detail below. Despite her subversion of the werewolf motif, this lay is still very much a folk tale and Marie has chosen to follow the structure, if not the traditional interpretation, of this type of story.

The argument could be made that the Lais should themselves be considered folk literature, and that Marie is simply using that type of material as a source, but then we must deal with the thorny question of authorial intent. The pertinent question here is not what Marie’s personal feeling toward the folk tale was (though I think it is clear she respected and appreciated such material), but whether or not she is writing material that should be considered alongside it. Marie uses the devices of folk tale that are found in the most pedestrian of manuscripts. We should not say, then, that Marie’s Lais are not a form of folk tale, but rather that they are an extraordinary and masterful example of it, which take full advantage of the opportunity to explore both abstract, mythological meanings and those with deliberate application to her specific context.

Now for the application of this theory to specific lays. First is Guigemar, not only since it traditionally appears as the first of the lays, but also because it serves as an excellent example. In Guigemar, one finds Propp’s functions at work not once, but twice. In this way, the lay follows the tendency of Marie to explore dualities or pairs. Here it is seen in two separate but intertwined story arcs, that of Guigemar and his love.

In Guigemar, a praiseworthy knight has but one defect: he shows no concern for or interest in romantic love. While out hunting a white stag or hart, he strikes it with an arrow which ricochets and wounds him, appropriately, in the thigh. The stag tells Guigemar of his defect, and curses him, saying that he will never find peace until he has suffered for love. Guigemar sets out in search of healing and is taken by a mysterious unmanned boat to a place he has never seen. He falls in love with a lady who is imprisoned by her jealous husband. The two are discovered and Guigemar is forced to leave. The lady escapes her husband and goes in search of him, but she is taken prisoner by yet another man. Finally, Guigemar and the lady are reunited and he kills the lady’s new jailor when he chooses to fight rather than allow Guigemar and the lady to be together.

By placing Propp’s functions side-by-side with the text of Guigemar, as shown in Chart 1, one sees that, with the removal of just a few functions, both the knight and the lady follow the path of the hero as outlined by Propp. They become aware of a lack, decide on counteraction, and seek the remedy for it. Both pass a test that leads to the fulfillment of that lack and finally both are married, putting the finishing
touch to both arcs in the same scene. Guigemar may use the entire thirty-one functions, whereas the lady uses only the majority of them, but the faithfulness of Marie in mirroring the two stories is astonishing. The lady is neither a passive princess in a tower, nor does she overshadow the noble knight she comes to love, but is rather a partner with him in their ultimate conjoining. Although the lady does need rescuing in the end, in a lay entitled *Guigemar* we must expect that the hero will behave as one.

**Chart 1**

Analysis of Marie de France’s *Guigemar* Using Propp’s Functions of the Tale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Propp’s Function</th>
<th>Guigemar</th>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>The Lady</th>
<th>Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A member of a family leaves home (the hero is introduced);</td>
<td>Guigemar leaves his hosts, goes on his hunting trip.</td>
<td>76-84</td>
<td>She goes out with her servant to see the boat.</td>
<td>276-278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An interdiction is addressed to the hero (’don’t go there’, ’go to this place’);</td>
<td>He is asked repeatedly for his love, should love someone.</td>
<td>57-63</td>
<td>Implied: her husband has essentially imprisoned her to keep her from loving another man.</td>
<td>209-245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The interdiction is violated (villain enters the tale);</td>
<td>He will give it to no one, he is flawed as regards romantic love.</td>
<td>64-66</td>
<td>She allows Guigemar to become her lover.</td>
<td>527-529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance</td>
<td>Implied (in this case, the Hart is the agent of harm).</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>The couple is spied upon.</td>
<td>577-580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The villain gains information about the victim;</td>
<td>Implied by the aptness of the curse that the hart is aware of Guigemar’s flaw.</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>The husband learns of their love.</td>
<td>584-586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The villain attempts to deceive the victim to take possession of victim or victim's belongings (trickery; villain disguised, tries to win confidence of victim);</td>
<td>The hart has antlers, though female, has the power of speech, has the power to curse Guigemar, and knows (apparently magically) of his flaw, though it only appears as a stag.</td>
<td>90-122</td>
<td>By force, rather than deception, seeks to deprive the lady of her lover.</td>
<td>591-592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim taken in by deception, unwittingly helping the enemy;</td>
<td>By shooting what appears to be a common hart, Guigemar enables the revelation of his flaw and the pronouncement of the curse.</td>
<td>94-95</td>
<td>Guigemar tells the husband of the ship, his wound, etc. This puts him “entirely in the other’s power” (Hanning and Ferrante).</td>
<td>605-610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villain causes harm/injury to family member (by abduction, theft of magical agent, spoiling crops, plunders in other forms, causes alternatively, a member of family lacks something or desires something (magical potion etc));</td>
<td>Guigemar is both cursed and wounded by the stag after his arrow rebounds.</td>
<td>197-123</td>
<td>The lady is forced to return to her solitary life.</td>
<td>655-666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misfortune or lack is made known, (hero is dispatched, hears call for help etc/ alternative is that victimised hero sent away, freed from imprisonment);</td>
<td>Implied – the reader knows that Guigemar, because of his failure to be concerned with love, has been cursed by the hart in regards to love.</td>
<td>109-122</td>
<td>The lady despairs of life without her love.</td>
<td>668-670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeker agrees to, or decides upon counter-action;</td>
<td>He goes in search of healing.</td>
<td>125-127</td>
<td>She decides to kill herself.</td>
<td>671-673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero leaves home;</td>
<td>He departs from the rest of the hunting party, he wanders far away.</td>
<td>141-144</td>
<td>She escapes from the tower and goes to the sea shore.</td>
<td>673-677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero is tested, interrogated, attacked etc, preparing the way for his/her receiving magical agent or helper (donor);</td>
<td>G. boards the ship, despite its mysterious appearance and his expectation that it will be guarded.</td>
<td>155-168</td>
<td>She continues to suffer from her loss of Guigemar, making her way to the harbor.</td>
<td>673-677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero reacts to actions of future donor (withstands/ fails the test, frees captive, reconciles disputants, performs service, uses adversary's powers against them);</td>
<td>Boards the ship and lies down.</td>
<td>187-189</td>
<td>She successfully escapes her husband and boards the ship, able to think only of its connection to Guigemar.</td>
<td>678-684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero acquires use of a magical agent (directly transferred, located, purchased, prepared, spontaneously appears, eaten/drank, help offered by other characters);</td>
<td>The mysterious ship takes to the sea.</td>
<td>190-195</td>
<td>She is unable to rise to throw herself overboard and the boat takes her to Guigemar’s land.</td>
<td>685-689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero is transferred, delivered or led to whereabouts of an object of the search;</td>
<td>He is taken across the sea to a strange place.</td>
<td>196-208</td>
<td>She arrives in Brittany.</td>
<td>681-690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero and villain join in direct combat;</td>
<td>Guigemar is pitted against the jealous husband, though he is absent.</td>
<td>209-214</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero is branded (wounded/markd, receives ring or scarf);</td>
<td>He receives the knot in his shirt.</td>
<td>558-566</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villain is defeated (killed in combat, defeated in contest, killed while asleep, banished);</td>
<td>Lady receives his girdle, symbolizing her affirmation of love for him.</td>
<td>569-575</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial misfortune or lack is resolved (object of search distributed, spell broken, slain person revived, captive freed);</td>
<td>Guigemar has found love, has a concern for romantic love.</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned previously, the lay of *Bisclavret* is also an excellent example of both Marie’s use of folk tale conventions and her creativity with them. Here we see that in the first few lines Marie tells us not only that we are dealing with folk material, but the werewolf motif specifically. However, in the very next set of lines she begins contrasting Bisclavret with the conception of werewolf as terrifying and savage monstrosity recounted above.

En Bretaine maneit un ber;
Merveille l’ai oí loër:
Beaus chevaliers e bons esteit
E noblement se cunteneit.
De sun seinur esteit privez
E de tuz ses veisins amez.

[In Brittany there lived a nobleman/ whom I’ve heard marvelously praised;/ a fine, handsome knight/ who behaved nobly./ He was close to his lord/ and}
loved by all his neighbors.] (lines 15-20)

The rest of the lay serves to reinforce Marie’s ideas about the misunderstanding and needless fear that Bisclavret is subject to. Though Marie sets up her lay with a standard conception of the werewolf only in order to knock it down, she does not fail to follow the conventional structure of the folk tale here, as in Guigemar. As can be seen again on Chart 2, Propp’s functions apply here also.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Propp’s Function</th>
<th>Bisclavret</th>
<th>Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A member of a family leaves home (the hero is introduced);</td>
<td>Bisclavret is away on his hunting trip</td>
<td>25-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An interdiction is addressed to the hero ('don't go there', 'go to this place');</td>
<td>Implied: B. must keep his dual nature a secret</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The interdiction is violated (villain enters the tale);</td>
<td>The wife suspects him for being away.</td>
<td>24-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance</td>
<td>She plies him with questions.</td>
<td>32-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The villain gains information about the victim;</td>
<td>She learns of his condition.</td>
<td>63-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The villain attempts to deceive the victim to take possession of victim or victim's belongings (trickery; villain disguised, tries to win confidence of victim);</td>
<td>She manipulates him/uses his love for her against him to try to find out about where his clothes are.</td>
<td>80-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim taken in by deception, unwittingly helping the enemy;</td>
<td>He tells her where his clothes are.</td>
<td>89-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villain causes harm/injury to family member (by abduction, theft of magical agent, spoiling crops, plunders in other forms, causes Alternatively, a member of family lacks something or desires something (magical potion etc);</td>
<td>She conspires with the lover to take them.</td>
<td>120-126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misfortune or lack is made known, (hero is dispatched, hears call for help etc/ alternative is that victimized hero sent away, freed from imprisonment);</td>
<td>Implied: Bisclavret discovers he cannot return to human form.</td>
<td>125-132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeker agrees to, or decides upon counteraction;</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero leaves home;</td>
<td>Implied: He takes refuge in the forest.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero is tested, interrogated, attacked etc, preparing the way for his/her receiving magical agent or helper (donor);</td>
<td>The hounds of the king pursue him.</td>
<td>139-144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hero reacts to actions of future donor (withstands/fails the test, frees captive, reconciles disputants, performs service, uses adversary's powers against them);</td>
<td>He goes to the king and acts in the fashion of supplication.</td>
<td>145-148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To conclude, I would like to touch on the broader implications of considering Marie’s use of folk tale structure in her Lais. This analysis allows us to see that she is using the folk tale in the way she uses the beast fable in her Fables. She is re-writing and recasting traditional material, amplifying a certain aspect
of it here, and minimizing another there. Sometimes she deals with more abstract meaning in her lays, raising the work to the level of myth, at others she creates connections to her specific cultural context. Yet all the time she is working within the conventions of the folk tale.

This choice, to use folk material as her matière, shows that Marie, an enormously gifted writer, does not shun such material as low and unfit for her educated and sophisticated audience. Rather, she shows the possibilities of such a form: the ability to affirm the value of traditional stories and themes even while reconsidering their application to the current context, and the desire to recapture a sense of awe by exploring the connection between myth and everyday life. Marie’s Lais still delight, fascinate, and stimulate today, illustrating what can be achieved when a gifted writer turns her attention to folk material.

Notes

5. Fabliaux are generally short narratives, humorous and popular in tone, which end in a moral.
7. Genesis 39 relates how Joseph came into the service of Potiphar, one of Pharaoh’s officials. Potiphar’s wife attempts to seduce him on numerous occasions, but Joseph refuses her out of respect for his master. On the final occasion, she grabs at Joseph’s coat, entreating him to sleep with her. Joseph flees, leaving his cloak in her hand. Potiphar’s wife accuses Joseph of trying to sleep with her, saying that he let fall his cloak as he fled. Potiphar has Joseph thrown into prison. In *Lanval*, Arthur’s queen woos the title character, but he rejects her. Filled with wrath, she accuses him of trying to seduce her and, when she refuses him, of grievously insulting her. Arthur, like Potiphar, acts on his wife’s false accusation and Lanval is put on trial, to be banished from court if he is found guilty.

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Community Building in Cyberspace: 
Social Interaction and the Presentation of Self

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Introduction

American culture has experienced an influx of technological innovations that have transformed the nature of communication and information retrieval through the Internet. This shift to the postmodern Internet Age has transformed traditional community solidarity as people develop online communities without social and geographical space limitations. Online communities provide a new medium for social interaction, decreasing the need for traditional physical interaction and thereby creating a new form of virtual solidarity (Hornsby 2001). A traditional community is a group of persons who share a cultural background or common economic and political roots that tie them together in time and space (Williams and MacLean 2005). In contrast, internet communities create a virtual reality of inclusiveness encompassing international, national, and local areas that easily transcend geographic proximity. The emergence of cyber communities offers a new area of research for exploring the nature of community building and the social construction and presentation of self through virtual interaction. In this research three questions are explored: How does cyber interaction compare with traditional social interaction? Why do some people choose cyber interaction over face-to-face contact? Does the online presentation of self represent the techniques of impression management described by Goffman (1959)?

Interaction Rituals and the Online Presentation of Self

Cyberspace serves as a platform for communication and the presentation of self wherein communities are created via online interaction. Erving Goffman extended the classical theories of Emile Durkheim ([1893] 2005) which emphasize the importance of ritual behavior in building communities. Both theorists recognize that through interaction rituals individuals become better integrated and regulated in society. Extending the macro-oriented theories of his predecessor, Goffman’s work focuses on micro-level social interaction and the day-to-day rituals that make community and the presentation of self possible. In his book, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), Goffman developed a dramaturgical theory of impression management in which he likens everyday rituals of interaction to performing in a play on a stage. Ordinary social life requires that people as actors master performances in constructing a presentation of self to others. Daily performances of the self are enacted “front stage” when others are watching a performance. As with a play, daily performances are supported by a “backstage” where actors are able to exit their front-stage performances, let down their masks, express their frank opinions, and be untidy. Goffman presents a fluid notion of the self, arguing that there is no true core self independent of interaction. In order for the self to be constructed, an audience is required and actors must present themselves to others in an effort to manage and to manipulate how they are perceived.

Also building on Durkheimian theory, Anne Hornsby (2001) coined the phrase “cyborg solidarity” to describe postmodern social organization. Cyborg solidarity is a type of social organization that combines and blurs the boundaries between humans and machines, and where machines take on human qualities in the collective consciousness of users. Hornsby states that cyborg organization stems from,

… technological advances … contributing to the consolidation of the new International Division of Labor and … to changes in the collective consciousness. Brand new ways of thinking and feeling about the relationship between humans and machines are ap-
pearing, all of which illustrate the use of online interaction and how important the role
of the Internet is in developing this new type of society (Hornsby 2001:109).

The notion of cyborg solidarity provides an apt description of how current societal trends and technol-
ogy enhance ritualistic behavior on the Internet. The information superhighway paves the way for individ-
uals to create, recreate, and alter their presentations of self. In cyber interaction it may be easier to “save
face” when a performance is not going well, or at least, it may be easier to exit the stage altogether with
little embarrassment when one can hide behind an alias and a computer screen. We can expect, however,
that in cyberspace (as in physical space) the majority of individuals do not have the inclination to misrep-
resent themselves in daily interaction. Indeed, Goffman notes that people are not always aware of their
efforts to manipulate their presentation of self during everyday life interactions. “At one extreme, one
finds that the performer can be fully taken in by his own act; he can be sincerely convinced that the im-
pression of reality which he stages is the real reality” (Goffman 1959:18). Goffman’s theory raises ques-
tions about the extent to which the anonymity of computer interactions encourage the deliberate manipu-
lation of self presentation, for example, through profiles created or pseudonyms and identities adopted.
When building online profiles, or during online interaction, people are able to selectively disclose and to
falsify information about themselves in ways that may not be possible in face-to-face interactions. People
can pretend to be of a gender, age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, class, ability, or professional status of
their choosing. An illusion is created by the user where an “… individual’s own belief in the impression
of reality that he attempts to engender in those among whom he finds himself” can be easily constructed
or altered (Goffman 1959:18).

Goffman’s term “role distancing” can also explain how people manage their front-stage and backstage
performances when interacting online. In role distancing, people “dissociate themselves from, rather than
wholeheartedly embrace, the role” that they are uncomfortable or dissatisfied with (Kivosto and Pittman
2001:327). A person confined to a wheelchair, for example, may describe his or her life without the limi-
tations or prejudices that full disclosure of a disability might impose. The backstage is essentially the
computer monitor that protects the individual from “losing face,” allowing a person to distance him/
herself from certain roles. Through a computer alias a person is able to portray the front-stage persona
constantly. Of course, in non-computer-mediated interaction, people also selectively disclose aspects of
their past. For example, if possible, an ex-convict may keep a history of crime in the backstage area only.
Similarly in other ways, such as through Internet gatherings, there is the possibility that a person can be
embarrassed by other users posting controversial comments about his/her personal profile. This type of
interaction, known as “flaming,” is not unlike some face-to-face rituals typically used when cutting re-
marks are made about a person in the presence of others. “When an individual enters the presence of oth-
ers, they commonly seek to acquire information about him or to bring into play information about him
already possessed. They will be interested in his general socio-economic status, his conception of self, his
attitude toward them, his competence, his trustworthiness, etc.” (Goffman 1959:1). In online interaction
such information is easily obtained from individual profiles although, as in face-to-face interaction, credi-
bility may be questioned. “Linguistic messages can be ‘about’ anything in the world, the sender and the
subject matter having no necessary connection, coinciding only when autobiographical statements are
being made” (Goffman 1963:13). In effect, during online communication, people have the ability to con-
nect on either false or true premises. Nonetheless, genuine connections are made (even if under false
premises) when one offers personal information, and whenever that information is received and recipro-
cated. The community-building aspect of online communication then allows for a manipulation of who
and what we are, and how we present ourselves. Just what motivates people’s interests in exchanging
information through this medium and the extent to which online participants use techniques of impression
management has yet to be explored.

Method

An opened-ended survey (Arksey and Knight 1999) was posted online on the website MySpace.com in
the summer of 2005. Twenty responses were received over a three-week period. The survey included
questions to gather demographic information from respondents. Other questions dealt with the amount of
time respondents spent in virtual interaction, what motivated participation in online communities, whether
cyber interaction was preferred to face-to-face interaction, and whether respondents reported honestly in the construction of online personal profiles. Major themes identified in the narrative responses to the questions were related to two categories: 1) motivations for participating in Internet interactions, and 2) presentations of self. Direct quotes are used to illustrate and support the major themes identified. The participants in the research were primarily white (14), with one Hispanic, one African American, and four of other ethnicities. Respondents ranged in age from 21 to 35 years, with the majority between 21 and 25.

Findings

Most respondents reported that they spend one to five hours a day on the Internet. Even respondents who prefer face-to-face interactions stated that they, nonetheless, dedicate time to online interactions. The most common motivation for using online communication was that the Internet provides a convenient method for accessing information about people in order to make selective contacts and friendships through cyberspace. Additionally noted is the importance of the Internet for “keeping in the know.” Information was shared with friends and other contacts about what is going on in people’s lives and in community activities. Both of these forms of interaction illustrate that online communication promotes social cohesion and community-building among users. However, in keeping with ritualistic behaviors described by Goffman, use of time was clearly monitored. Some interactions were limited to providing mere polite attention. For example, Bill, a 33-year-old male from Tennessee stated, “… If it is someone I do not want to talk to, I will limit the time to 20 minutes or less.”

Other reasons given for participating in online communities include: curiosity, convenience, following the lead of friends, staving off loneliness, seeking romance or sexual expression, and communicating with people (locally, nationally, or internationally). According to Micah, a 29-year-old female from California, “I prefer to meet new people online because online communities allow you to screen certain types of people. E-mail allows for gradual ice-breaking and finding commonalities.” She continued to explain how she has made different types of contacts, whether for business or finding old classmates, and she stated that online interaction “enriches [her] daily experience.” J, a 30-year-old male from Miami, Florida, described the comfort he finds in pursuing relationships. He is clearly aware that he is presenting himself in a particular way to create a desired impression.

This sort of poetic masquerade of self … offers a possibility of connecting in a way that doesn’t happen in normal … person-to-person interaction. There is a kind of ability to communicate with a person that is easier that happens through the Internet. Because you are typically isolated in a room alone with your computer there is less apprehension; there is less fear involved. … You are able to take more time in presenting yourself. … If you were to … approach somebody in human-to-human interaction and sit there stumbling with your words, as many of us do when we feel insecure, your first impression would come off a lot different.

J described further the greater freedom from inhibitions during interactions when other people are not physically present:

So it gives a certain ability to refine your presentation. It allows you to present yourself with as little insecurity as possible because you essentially can do or say anything without the social repercussions, the judgments you would get from other people. In some ways it is easier to not deal with their reaction to you, it is easier to blow off inharmonious interaction.

When asked whether interaction on the Internet is more meaningful than, or as satisfying as, face-to-face interaction and if it offers the same sense of community, respondents gave answers that ranged from preferring Internet interaction exclusively to preferring face-to-face interaction. Most indicated that they do not receive the same sense of community online as they do with direct human contact. Nevertheless, these individuals became members of online groups within the MySpace Network but they typically created blogs on their profile pages that are open to “friends only,” groups inclusive of selected online users. J
described his perception of online social interaction and community:

It still wouldn’t make me feel personally more connected to society in the context of community because community to me involves the word communion, becoming one and extending beyond one’s sense of individuality into a larger extension beyond the limit of one’s identity into a communal identity. Online interaction is only a reflection of one’s own sense of self. … Online interaction does not provide for me a sense of community, or union or solidarity. It simply provides a sense of networking in which many individuals get a sense of other individuals.

Most respondents combined both online and offline interaction in pursuing relationships. Other themes emerged that identified differences in online and face-to-face communications. Participants noted that computer-mediated communication lacks tone inflection, body language, and the ability to pick up subliminal messages that occur in face-to-face contact. In the absence of these silent forms of communication, computer users have developed a symbolic language in the way of “emoticons” to signal emotions such as laughter, anger, and sadness.

When asked whether they report about themselves honestly, most respondents indicated that they do. Typically, however, respondents went on to note that they sometimes subtly manipulate information, distort their representations of self, or limit how much personal information they divulge. For instance, Rah Meat, a 25-year-old female from Missouri, stated, “I tend to post a truthful profile; maybe a bit exaggerated. I don’t want to lie about things in case I do end up meeting a new friend.” In contrast, Loretta a 24-year-old female from Tennessee, said, “What’s fun about being exactly who I am when I have the luxury of creating alter egos and making people wonder?” Maude a 25-year-old female from Tennessee, said, “I report truthfully [about half of the time], for instance, I list myself as married. I do this because I find the existing categories limiting.” Several participants described the structured options given for setting up personal profiles as “superficial.” Bathle, a 29-year-old male from California, noted, “For me, I find that the categories of ethnicity and religion are too limiting. To me these are complex issues.” For Arpeggio, a 26-year-old male from Tennessee, “When selecting a gender, if one is transgendered and does not fall into the male or female category, the choice must be made to continue with the profile that does not quite encapsulate the individual.” Others, like J, readily acknowledged that information given out was selective.

The responses illustrate the fact that manipulation of profiles is almost unavoidable, especially when building an online identity. It is often not possible to create an accurate portrayal of oneself when given pre-specified and limited options. A person creating a profile does not have the option of leaving a profile category blank. Clearly some individuals would rather not divulge their relationship status and may knowingly choose erroneous answers. Another influence in creating distorted profiles is a growing awareness that stalkers use Internet profiles and online communications to locate victims. Beyond these types of constraints, however, consistent with impression management techniques described by Goffman, users clearly described how they manipulated their presentations of self through selective disclosure.

Regardless of the many limitations and constraints in creating online identities, however, online social interactions clearly offer these individuals the opportunity to create a space where they can appeal to other users. Many participants emphasized that most of their online contacts were already friends before interacting with them via MySpace.com. Another sub-theme that emerged was that it is somewhat stigmatizing to admit that you met someone online. Participants indicated that it was more acceptable in urban areas than rural areas to meet people through Internet communities. Finally, younger participants seemed less aware than older ones that online interaction represents a new form of daily ritual; they seem to take this type of interaction for granted. Older respondents were more likely to note that instead of asking for your telephone number people are now asking for your e-mail address. Older respondents also noted that communication was enhanced and made more convenient by computers.
**Discussion**

The virtual community provides an arena wherein the presentation of self is easily manipulated at the user’s discretion, whether consciously or unconsciously, since face-to-face interaction is absent. In cyberspace there are no physical boundaries in the traditional sense of how Goffman describes backstage and front-stage performances. Yet there is a tangible source of entry—the computer—that serves as a gateway to the imagined community. With computer-mediated communication, the mechanisms of presenting the self are altered. With face-to-face contact, one may be held accountable when attempting to alter backstage and front-stage personas. During Internet interaction, on the other hand, presentations of self are much easier to manipulate. Online performers are able to create a front-stage self, and are able to use Goffman’s techniques of impression management more directly, and deliberately, than when interacting face-to-face.

Classic theories of the self and social organization can be applied in the postmodern era and to a concept of virtual communities where there is an absence of conventional communication among people. Computer-mediated communication has become integrated into the everyday rituals of life, and with the introduction of multiple user domains people have the opportunity to build communities online. In this research, online interaction was found to augment face-to-face interaction and the Internet was found to provide new tools for community building. The online community did not replace physical space but became a convenient way of maintaining contact with friends and occasionally meeting new contacts. Staying off loneliness, satisfying curiosity, staying in the know, and conveniently obtaining information about people were all motivators for joining the online community. However, online interaction for the majority of respondents was not a satisfactory replacement for face-to-face interaction. In considering, “the presentation of self,” respondents generally stated that they reported honestly, although many of the same respondents provided instances in which they withheld certain information or deliberately reported falsely. However, blatant misrepresentations were used to the harm of no one.

**Conclusion**

Online communities will likely continue to enhance rather than replace traditional forms of interactions and relationships. It is clear from this research, however, that new forms of consciousness are emerging in relation to computer-mediated communication, particularly among the young. Virtual reality takes a local space and transforms it to a global place. Traditional social interaction is geographically limited; whereas the entire concept of cyberspace and virtual interaction is limitless, giving online communities multiple avenues for creating and building a sense of cohesion or “cyborg solidarity.”

**References**


Healthcare Access and Choices of Migrant Farm Workers in Appalachia

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Introduction

This research examines the ethnomedical culture and social constraints to the healthcare of Mexican migrant farm workers in rural North Carolina and how this community encounters Western biomedical healthcare. The central questions driving this research are: 1) what healthcare choices are being made by this community; 2) why are these choices being made; and 3) can the biomedical and ethnomedical models for this community work in tandem? Data gathering of qualitative information was collected while traveling for two weeks in the summer of 2005 with outreach healthcare practitioners delivering treatment through a mobile medical clinic to migrant farmworkers and their families in North Carolina. The research will show that, although folk medical treatments are recognized and used by many of these migrants as viable treatment options, the lives of the people in this community revolve around issues such as access to and availability of driver’s licenses, daycare facilities, safe and affordable housing, and adequate biomedical dental care and healthcare.

Background

Migrant agricultural workers have a history of planting and harvesting in the United States since the mid-1800s (Clement 2003: 1). Today, estimates of migrant and seasonal farm workers in the United States range from 2 to 5 million people (Ahn, Moore, and Parker 2004; Holden, George, and Smith 2001; Quandt, Pressier, and Acury 2002). Quandt et al. report that 81 percent are born outside the United States and, of these, 95 percent are from Mexico (2002: 2). Historically, African slaves first provided the labor force for southeastern farms. After the abolition of slavery they became sharecroppers and tenant farmers joined by poor whites (Rothenberg 2000: 34; Shipler 2004: 113). It was not until the late 1950s that Latino farm workers steadily grew in numbers in the southeast, a result of the “imported colonialism” of the Bracero Program (Ngai 2004: 139, 166). By the 1990s, Latinos accounted for eight out of every 10 farm workers (Rothenberg 2000: 44). In North Carolina, farm laborer demographics have changed to an almost completely Latino workforce (Quandt et al. 2002: 3). Imaz (2003: 73) points out that many of the transnational Mexicans come from states such as Michoacán, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Guanajuato, Puebla, and Jalisco and many are indigenous peoples (2003: 73).

In North Carolina, many farm workers follow the crops along the eastern migrant stream traveling and working in many states from Florida to Maine while others zigzag across the country looking for the best jobs possible (Rothenberg 2000: 10). However, many travel back and forth from specific U.S. locations to Mexico as H2-A workers. According to Quandt et al. (2002: 3), these Mexican workers are contracted through the federal H2-A visa program by growers who prove to have a labor shortage and account for approximately 12,000 workers each year in North Carolina. Developed in 1952, under the Immigration and Nationality Act, the H2-A visa program allows the hiring of foreign-born workers to fill farm labor positions without the safeguard regulations mandated by the 1983 Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act (Ahn et al. 2004: 2). North Carolina has more H2-A workers than any other state in the nation (Brooke 2005: 15). However, close to 70 percent of Latino farm laborers have illegal status in the southeastern United States (Rothenberg 2000: 182).
Without fail, farm work is considered one of the top three most dangerous jobs in the United States (Rothenberg 2000: 7; National Center for Farmworker Health 2005). This occupation consists of repetitive labor and protracted work days in fields that often lack access to drinking water or sanitation. Eighty-five percent of our nation’s produce is hand-picked, and keeping farm worker wages below poverty level is estimated to save consumers about $50 annually (Ahn et al. 2004: 2). Rothenberg (2002: 1, 6) points out that the average annual salary of farm workers, working in a $40 billion-a-year fruit and vegetable industry, is $7,500, and as low as $3,500 a year for those working the eastern stream. Along with poverty wages, substandard housing that often includes inflated rental fees is a common experience for these mobile people. Of the three streams followed by agricultural workers, the eastern migrant stream is most prevalent in its rate of substandard housing, where 44 percent of all units are found to be moderately or severely sub-standard (Holden et al. 2001). The National Center for Farmworker Health (NCFH) (2005) finds that farm worker housing has deficient sanitation and operating appliances, displays acute structural problems, and is filled beyond capacity. Furthermore, farm workers “are unable to store food safely, prepare a warm meal, or even shower after a long day of working in the fields” (NCFH 2005). Bade (2005: 216) reports that many owners choose not to rent to West coast agricultural workers because of their constant moving, while Rothenberg (2000: 114) finds workers on the eastern stream to be charged “exorbitant weekly rates” for “old trailers and crumbling shacks.” Bade (216) also notes the hazardous living situations that agricultural workers often find themselves in “exist not by choice but because of lack of choice.” Ahn et al. (2004: 2) point out that families of agricultural workers have little access to federal programs such as Medicaid, Food Stamps, and the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) program. They find access to social services by this population limited to 13, 10, and 10 percent, respectively (2004:2).

On the journey to the United States, many migrants bring with them a wealth of traditional medical knowledge. How medical choices are made by these populations is currently debated. McElroy and Townsend (2004: 114) point out that all cultures use certain beliefs, facts, functions and abilities for the purposeful development of medicine and healthcare. Furthermore, they describe “ethnomedicine as the health maintenance system of any society, operating in ‘a matrix of values, traditions, beliefs, and patterns of ecological adaptation’ and that cosmopolitan or Western medicine is “‘the dominant ethnomedical system of North America and much of Europe’” (114). For the purposes of this research, cosmopolitan medicine, Western medicine, and biomedicine are interchangeable. Chavez (1984: 31) explains earlier anthropologists’ findings (which cite healthcare choices made by Mexican Americans as being based solely on enduring concepts of folk illnesses and folk healers) as important to consider but no longer a key reason for the limited use of cosmopolitan medical care by these populations. His research supports a burgeoning agreement that the behaviors of this population are shaped more often by socioeconomic issues than cultural attitudes (31). However, culturally specific illnesses are often noted to be appropriately treated by traditional home remedies or healers because many Western medical practitioners do not understand these illnesses (Chavez 1984: 33). Many researchers conclude that to ensure the most positive outcomes for patients, modification of health education and medical practice to include cultural notions and meanings of disease cures and causations is key (Trotter 1991: 122; Baer and Bustillo 1993: 93).

Etkin finds that “definitions of efficacy and the expectations of treatment overlap, sometimes remarkably. Even the germ theory of etiology, which is often heralded as a uniquely biomedical concept, finds parallels in many other medical systems” (1988: 25, 26). In a study of tuberculosis within the Tzeltal Indian community of Highland Chiapas, Mexico, Menegoni (1996: 396, 398) notes that “patients’ beliefs and attitudes are not fixed, but change in response to health personnel input and messages.”

Folk illnesses often determined to require home remedies or traditional healers include common maladies such as mal ojo (evil eye), caída de mollera (fallen fontanel), empacho (food sticking to intestinal walls), and susto (fright sickness). Trotter (1991: 115) identifies these sicknesses as representative of “an interesting causal and treatment spectrum, ranging from illnesses that are supernaturally caused and cured, to those naturally caused and cured, with combinations in between.” Bade (2005: 234) notes that many of these ethnospecific conditions stem from causes such as the evil eye, breaches of social etiquette, angered spirits, the supernatural, and the deceased. Her research also points out the importance, in Mixtec Mexican migrant communities, of protection from intense feelings (especially with children) such as envy, irritation, frustration, and fright (234, 235). A long tradition of indigenous practices, mingled with humoral medicine brought over with the Spanish conquerors in the 15th century (which emphasizes the
importance of balance within the body), as well as Western notions of medicine are all deeply connected within various Mexican cultures (Bade 2005: 234; Dewalt 1977: 6).

Bearing in mind that many agricultural workers from Mexico do not identify themselves as indigenous, one must consider that these beliefs and practices do not always apply. Other considerations when examining folk knowledge include variables such as region, age, education, and socioeconomic class (DeWalt 1977: 11; Young 1978: 94; Chavez 1984: 32). When considering healthcare choices, Chavez notes that there are some anthropologists who take “a more middle-of-the-road approach,” believing that both socioeconomic barriers and traditional medical knowledge play important roles in the healthcare choices of many Mexican American communities (1984: 31). Other factors include problems with communication, legal status, number of clinics and practitioners available in an area, lack of health insurance, and poverty wages (Chavez 1984; Rothenberg 2000; Shipler 2004; Bade 2005). Another barrier to access and utilization of healthcare cited is a lack of transportation. In one study of migrant farm workers in North Carolina, Shipler (2004: 101) notes that “few migrants have their own cars, most are trapped in remote locations, dependent on contractors to take them periodically to a grocery store or a Laundromat in town.” Obtaining a driver’s license is also a difficult task for many migrant farmworkers in North Carolina where it is necessary to prove the state of an individual’s residence (an arduous task for those who migrate), as well as produce a Social Security card or Individual Taxpayer card (Shipler 2004: 117).

Institutional racism in the United States plays a key role in the lives of many farm workers. Vigil (2002: 98) points out that many Mexican immigrants are excluded from much of U.S. society due to the stereotyping of peoples from Mexico as substandard whose integration is viewed as “makeshift and uneven.” Haney Lopez (2002: 54-57) notes that the social construction of race has been used throughout our nation’s history to exploit peoples of Mexico and that desires for conquest, expansionism, and cheap labor continue to drive current perceptions of Mexican immigration. He exposes the fluid and ethnocentric definitions within U.S. discourses over time of the Mexican male vacillating between “indolent, slothful, cruel, and cowardly” to a “naturally industrious and faithful” peon (2002: 57).

Research

In order to gather information on the medical systems and practices used by North Carolina migrant farm workers, I spent two weeks as a participant observer with a migrant farm worker outreach clinic that delivers healthcare, health education, and other resources to workers in five counties. Through an anthropology professor I was able to contact the nurse/director of this particular outreach clinic to acquire access, consent, and cooperation in the community, an important first step in fieldwork (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte 1999: 80). My entrance into the field began on July 18, 2005 when, after driving with my husband and children for six hours to our temporary rental home, I met both the outreach nurse, Louise, and the outreach health educator, Thelma, at a church parking lot. These two women were loading medical supplies, food, toiletries, and car seats into their cars. They make up the full-time staff of the mobile outreach clinic which is also served by a medical doctor who volunteers two nights a week during the migrant season. I did not make the best first impression as I showed up dressed, Thelma later joked, like I was ready for a safari. I assumed that because it was a mobile outreach clinic for migrant farm workers we would be spending our days in the fields, so workpants, boots, and long-sleeve shirts would surely be necessary. This was not the case. The outreach clinic (a van fully loaded with exam table, shower, toilet, meds, sink, refrigerator, and microwave) travels to the temporary homes of the workers after they return from the fields. To better fit in, I later changed to more comfortable and appropriate jeans, sandals, and t-shirts. However, for the first day I would have to suffer the heat of the sun and the self-consciousness of being conspicuously dressed.

Along with visiting a local health department on my first day in the field I also traveled to my first migrant camp. This camp was a trailer park not too far from town but well-hidden on a back road that had a lot of trees and vegetation growing around it. Because I was excluded from entering the household where Louise and Thelma were visiting a female patient, I looked around to observe the outside setting. I was feeling very nervous and self-conscious. I had no idea what to do with myself so I began to count things and record everything I saw.

1 Pseudonyms are used to protect confidentiality. The outreach nurse (“Louise”) and the outreach health educator (“Thelma”) chose their pseudonyms. The pseudonym “Juan” was chosen by the author.
There were three males and one toddler outside the trailers and I wondered if, because it was 2:10 p.m., most of the inhabitants were in the agricultural fields working. The trailer park had 18 trailers on cinder blocks, four with what appeared to be Direct TV-type satellite dishes. A row of Christmas lights was hanging from one trailer and all trailers were substantially rusted with broken or missing windows and screens. Most of the trailers had ripped and exposed insulation hanging from under the trailers and there was no sign of heating or air conditioning units on any of the trailers. Electrical lines and plumbing pipes appeared to be hooked up to some of the trailers but not all. A door was missing from one trailer and appeared to be uninhabited as did many others. From some of the windows the trailers appeared to be completely empty of furnishings of any kind. Several cars, two trucks and a van were parked along the partially paved and mud road that served the trailer park. A dumpster for refuse was visible as well as a muddy mattress laying in the grass and a hen house made of wooden boards and chicken-wire. Fifteen hens were visible – 10 in cages and five roaming free.

When we left the trailer park we pulled to the end of the road to turn around and sitting on the right, close to the last trailer, were three concrete cylinders coming up from the ground. These cylinders were open on the top with pieces of old carpet covering the openings and about two feet from the ground were openings of about 12 inches across. I asked, “What kind of pet houses are those?” and Louise said, “It’s not pet houses, it’s sewage access.” I couldn’t help picturing the toddler I saw walking around outside falling in to one of the openings and wondered how many parents in this camp had the same concerns.

Traveling each day in the mobile clinic with Thelma and Louise afforded me precious time to ask questions, and Louise quickly became my key consultant, sharing information she had observed and experienced during her years as nurse to the migrant farm worker populations in this region. She told me that this clinic is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt clinic. Although 501(c)(3)s are generally described as charitable organizations, Louise stated to me over and over again “we are not a charity.” She also informed me that the clinic receives $300 annually for all supplies, office and medical, and that:

We have to beg and borrow everything we need. Our patients have the human right to healthcare and it’s my job to see that they get it. We model our clinic after Doctors Without Borders. We believe that everyone has the right to healthcare and we provide completely free services and medications. Our patients are not being paid a living wage and have substandard housing. They are being exploited because of their ethnicity and their illegal status. Poverty and environment are their biggest health threats. Poverty is the key social determinant of public health status, and we believe that anyone working in public health should be addressing poverty and environmental issues.

By the second day of my fieldwork I realized that to build rapport with the clinic staff and migrant communities I was studying, I would have to quickly get over any shyness. Although I had intended to conduct semi-structured interviews, it was essential to first learn how to negotiate my new surroundings and engage “in direct learning through physical and social involvement” (Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte 1999: 72). A key element of fitting into this particular field setting was participation and reciprocity. Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte (74) note that “all ethnographers should understand the importance of reciprocity in building relationships.” Sharing any information that I had on ethnomedical practices with clinic staff; researching information on resources available to farm workers; packing and delivering boxes of supplies and food; playing with children in the farm worker communities; measuring and weighing patients, as well as walking them to and from the mobile clinic, were all ways in which I found myself “framing … [my] … identity” in this community (Schensul, Schensul, and LeCompte 1999: 72).

During my field stay I had the opportunity to repeatedly observe medical care being delivered to many of the clinic’s patients. In men, hypertension, diabetes, pterygium, and contact dermatitis were common; while in women and children, anemia seemed constantly present. Louise pointed out that “about 70 percent of ¼ [the clinic’s] patients who are women and children have anemia” and when each patient I observed was diagnosed with anemia or low-end hemoglobin, vitamin supplements with iron were immediately given to the patients or parents by Thelma, the health educator, and instructions on correct dosages were explained in Spanish. I observed several women and girls diagnosed and treated with urinary tract infections and Louise pointed out that:
[the] female patients have UTIs over and over again. We see women who live together and work in the same fields together and have to treat them repeatedly. These women usually have no access to sanitation in the fields and have to hold their urine until they return home. We tell them to pee in the fields, pee on the tomatoes if they have to. They hold it because they do not want to urinate in front of the men, they want privacy.

Dental problems were constantly brought up by adults and parents. Clement states:

Poor dental health is the single most prevalent health problem in children of migrant farm workers. In young children, by age 2 years up to 38% have dental caries in their primary dentition, by age 4 the percentage rises to 55%, and by age 6 to 75%. Older children (>5 years) show incredibly high rates of caries – up to 98% of these children may have dental caries .... Access to dental care for these children is often very difficult [2005: 36].

One mother and father opened their children’s mouths to show me how dental caries had rotted through their teeth. Their 6-year-old son did not have an upper gum line left and ran around the home pulling a plastic bag back and forth between gums. Louise explained:

So many of the children and adults we see have dental problems. They have little or no access to dental healthcare. Our clinic provides dental health care from Thelma. She explains dental hygiene to the children and the families and provides printed, as well as verbal information, toothbrushes, toothpaste, and floss. We try to have a free dental clinic in a centrally located migrant camp each year to provide cleanings and services to both adults and children.

A dental clinic was scheduled for August 13 and all parents I observed were very happy when told of the upcoming event. Along with dental health education, Thelma covered various health issues with the farm workers such as eye, foot, pesticide, and snake bite healthcare and safety. All issues were verbally discussed in Spanish and Spanish literature was distributed on each topic. Along with this information, various kits were distributed while discussing each topic, including first aid kits and eye and foot care supplies. Often, families explained to me that this mobile clinic was the only accessible healthcare that they encounter while migrating throughout the year.

Another prevalent health concern for many of the migrant farmworkers is repetitive injury. Louise stated “we see a lot of musculoskeletal problems and repetitive injuries in our patients. By the time they are in their forties they usually can’t pick anymore.” One woman whose home I visited on two occasions had diabetes, hypertension, and severe repetitive injuries. She was the only adult patient who received Medicaid out of the estimated 600-1,000 patients served by the clinic annually. Louise and Thelma both knew this woman and her family of five quite well as they had returned again and again following the East coast migrant stream each year. On the first visit to the family’s home Louise and Thelma spent time writing a list of the woman’s many prescriptions brought with her from Florida. I am not exactly sure how many bottles there were. I stopped counting at 13. Louise was concerned that many of these medications were unnecessary and the woman had complained that they were hurting her stomach. The trailer of this family was exceptional compared to other housing I had observed in the field. It was brand new and had several working appliances with a small pre-fabricated fireplace in the living room. It was the first season this family had spent in this housing and they were happily surprised. The seasons before they had lived in the type of substandard housing I was seeing so much of.

On my next visit to this home the woman offered us chicken with chiles in homemade corn tortillas and in my hurry to devour the delicious-smelling food, I quickly tossed my gum into a black trash bag on the floor. I was mortified to see that the bag was not holding trash, as I had assumed, but beautiful red chiles. I tried to inconspicuously dig through the bag and find the gum while Louise and the woman chatted. The woman and Louise kept glancing over at me. I told Louise in English what I had done and she said “well, you better find it.” The woman finally asked me if I wanted some chiles. I tried to explain to her what
happened but could not find the words in Spanish because I was so embarrassed. Louise told her what happened and as I pulled my gum out of the bag I apologized profusely. Later, outside of the home and waiting at the door of the mobile clinic while the doctor examined the teenage children, the mother was obviously upset. Louise told me “[The mom] is crying because her son just dropped out of community college. He is determined to go to college but because she can’t work now they can’t afford to live and need the kids to help.” This son had previously graduated high school the year before and Louise said it had been a celebrated event since most migrant farm workers’ children do not finish high school.

Another home I visited several times housed one 18-year-old woman along with another woman in her thirties and her husband and their four children. The family had just arrived for the tomato season, and Louise and Thelma were taking medical histories on each child and the two women. The husband was not at home. We also delivered several resources such as dried and canned foods, diapers, bottled water, and PowerAde-type drinks. One of the women immediately made a bottle for the toddler with this drink for lack of an alternative. Louise later told me that the patients she sees have little access to any federal programs such as Food Stamps. The one program available to about 60 percent of the children, who are born in the United States is Women, Infants, and Children (WIC). She said, “We have a wonderful woman who goes to the migrant camps and signs up families on the spot and brings their vouchers and even the food [allotted by WIC] because the workers are in the fields during WIC office hours and can’t take off to sign up.” The WIC program provides vouchers for supplemental food to pregnant women, infants and children to age five which includes a monthly allotment of “specific quantities and brands of milk, cereal, beans, eggs, cheese juice and formula” (Bade 2005:223).

In this particular trailer the family had no furniture or mattresses and the trailer they were living in was old and rusted, with broken windows, a wooden porch with very large holes in it, no electricity, and a refrigerator and stove that did not work even after the electricity was turned on several days later. The rent was $500 a month. The family was able to get electricity after about a week. Not by the landlord, who was informed by the tenants that electricity was necessary to operate the nebulizer used for their toddler’s asthma, but by hooking up to a neighbor’s line. I later observed that Louise had to change an antibiotic prescription for a child living here that did not require refrigeration because the family was not able to keep it cold. This housing is representative of most of the housing I observed with the exception of some of the homes having a mattress or two and a working refrigerator and/or stove. Louise said there is no minimum housing standard and that “a minimum housing standard would not just benefit the farm workers but anyone who rents, especially the working poor. If people are willing to live this way then it is not seen as a problem. With a minimum standard, things like stoves and refrigerators would be covered. Basic things that we take for granted.”

Later, Louise told me of an incident when she requested that the landlord of one trailer park address the problems of holes in the floors, rats and roaches, and broken windows. She said, “His response was ‘we don’t beautify,’ and we had to dismantle an old refrigerator in the yard because he would not come and get it.” In some trailer parks we realized that migrant workers were being charged between $300 and $500 for virtually identical trailers in the same complex. Most of the trailers that I visited housed between five and 11 people. Most had three to four adults along with children, and the men and women were attempting to work as much as possible. As a result, the topic of childcare came up frequently for these parents. Finding childcare that was available and accessible for their children was a huge obstacle. It was difficult to find affordable childcare that was also open during the working hours of farm workers. When I later discussed this with Louise she said that she “went to the local daycares and begged and begged them to write a grant for a Head Start program but they wouldn’t do it.”

One struggle that I regularly encountered in conversations with the farm workers in this location was the problem of getting driver’s licenses. One man said in English, “I lost my license on the way from Florida to here and they won’t let me have one because my Social Security card is laminated. I was born here [in the U.S.]. [The local DMV] told me I could apply for a lost license but it would take three months. We won’t be here in three months.” Louise told me that many of the families rely on the contratistas (contractors/crew leaders) and others for transportation and that families are often “transported in trucks with doors closed and people crammed into the beds of these large trucks.” She also informed me that she had been called out to a wreck where a farm worker was killed while traveling back from work. Both Bade (2005: 225) and Rothenberg (2000: 113) confirm that the reliance of farm workers on this type of transportation can be especially dangerous.
On my second visit to this trailer park, three women, 10 children, and one man were all examined in the mobile unit. There were many men present but they were hesitant about being seen by the doctor or nurse. This was a theme I noticed throughout the two weeks with the clinic. Most of the men and the teenage boys did not want to be examined in the mobile unit with the Anglo male physician. While the children and women were being examined, I stood at the van door to observe and act as a barricade to a few of the children who wanted to climb in and out of the van. Two white boys on bikes rode up several times and laughed and made fun of the children and other patients as they exited the mobile clinic. I was amazed to see that while I was fuming and not containing my frustration with these kids the migrant children and adults did not seem to notice them at all. They easily ignored the remarks and laughter.

On another visit to this trailer park, we brought along a man with a video camera who was making a documentary. To my surprise the family of the home we visited had agreed to let the children as well as the women be filmed. Within about three minutes of the taping a tall shirtless white man carrying a beer came over to where I was standing and yelled in my face while pointing at me. He said, “I don’t know what ya’ll are doing here but I’m the caretaker, so get your camera and your van and get the hell off this property.” Louise quickly came over and stepped between the man and me and asked, “Can I help you?” He repeated to her the same thing he said to me. Louise said, “No, we’re not leaving.” To which the man replied, “You wanna bet?” and she said, “Sure, would you like to call the sheriff?” and he said, “Yeah, I will.” Louise said, “O.K.” The man stomped away and went back to his trailer and we did not hear from him again. None of the migrant families seemed ruffled or frustrated and neither did Louise. Later she told me:

You have to deal with it that way. I have had growers say the same things to me when I used to deliver healthcare to the fields. I have been threatened but our lawyer handles these problems for me. These workers have a right to healthcare. Your nurse or doctor doesn’t have to ask your landlord permission to treat you so why should it be any different for my patients?

After several days of being in the field I met a Puerto Rican man who appeared to be in his late forties or early fifties who I will refer to as Juan. This man had been brought to the mobile clinic in a trailer park for Louise and the doctor to examine because he had third-degree burns on his face, neck and one shoulder. Juan told us that a few days before he had been burning trash for a grower who demanded he pour gasoline on the fire to make it burn quicker. When Juan did this the fire exploded in his face. Juan was sent to a regional burn center in another state by the grower where he spent two days but said he did not receive much care and was sent home with no medications. Juan told the doctor and nurse that he had high blood pressure and diabetes but had no medication for these illnesses. His lower lip was severely swollen and infected from the burns and he said the pain was very bad the first few days but that he was getting used to it. Juan found out we had given some chicken and other meats to the families, along with other foods including fresh vegetables that the workers, I was told, could not afford. He asked me if we had any more but we were out. He said that he could sneak and cook it on a little spit at the fruit stand on the farm where he worked. The fruit stand sold hot dogs and hamburgers along with produce to the locals. Juan, Thelma and I chatted for awhile. Since he could speak some English and I could speak some Spanish we had a good time talking with one another. Juan made a joke that because his face was now white from the burns people would treat him better. He said that he would be staying in North Carolina for 68 more days and then migrate back to Louisiana where he worked in the fields during the winter months. Louise promised him that she would bring him meat the next day when she visited him with his new prescriptions for his various illnesses. Louise took Juan home in her car while we continued the clinic and health-ed at the trailer park. She returned visibly upset and told us that Juan lived in a small shack with a rolled up mattress in the corner and a water hose outside for washing and drinking. That was it. He had to walk out to the fields to use the port-o-john. Louise said, “The grower yelled at me to get off the land when I walked [Juan] into his house.” The next day Louise returned to Juan’s and delivered chicken and his medications. However, when Louise returned to follow up with Juan on the following day, he was gone. Louise told me:

I asked the woman working at the fruit stand where he was and she said, ‘I don’t know,
I think he went back to Puerto Rico.’ I went into his shack and the grower came in. He gave me three different stories of where [Juan] had gone. First he said he just took his suitcase and left, then he said he took him to the bus to go back to Puerto Rico, later he said that [Juan] went to see his mom. He told us his mom died two years ago. I’ve had problems with this grower before. I believe he suspected I would turn him in to OSHA. I feel that’s why he made [Juan] leave.

Later Louise told me “[Juan] did not want us to report this to OSHA. [The doctor and I] talked about it and we are obligated to report [it]. It’s almost like you have to sacrifice one patient before any change occurs. It gives you nightmares and I hate it. It’s a horrible, horrible situation to be in.”

On August 13, 2005 I returned to the field, along with a fellow anthropology student, to participate in and observe the free dental clinic promised to the farm workers during my initial field stay. The clinic was to last for two days to provide services to farm workers and their families. The mobile clinic I had previously traveled with had brought in a dentist to perform the needed services. On the first day we attempted to set up a tent to shelter waiting patients from the heat and sun as well as store juices and snacks for the patients. However, torrential rain kept us from successfully doing so and the clinic had to be postponed until the next day. Along with the tent, the next morning another canopy was set up across the street from one of the main trailer parks that housed farm workers to use as a space for the dentist to work. While many patients were seen, no dental cleanings were administered to any migrant farm workers or their children. Although Louise, Thelma and I had promised these dental cleanings to the workers and their families, the dentist who volunteered the services for the clinic did not bring a hygienist to perform these services. The dentist did pull teeth and fill cavities. However, he did not examine many of the younger children’s teeth due to, as I understood it, his belief that this would be too involved a task to take on. It is important to note that only very minimal services are available to this particular population. Braces, crowns, bridges, oral surgeries, and the like were not in any way attainable. Leon (2000: 10) states, “Clinical quality must not be based on what … dentists feel is appropriate, but on appropriate and acceptable state and federal guidelines. Clinical circumstances must not dictate medical practice.”

While at the dental clinic a man from one of the families I had been acquainted with on my previous visit asked me how many people were working at the clinic. This was a family I chatted with quite a bit. They were always very patient with me as I tried to communicate in my limited Spanish, were always willing to help me, and made me feel very welcome. This young couple has an adorable daughter who is close to three years old. After telling the man how many were working in the clinic he disappeared and later reappeared with bags of Burger King meals for all of the clinic workers and volunteers. Along with this, a woman earlier mentioned brought the delicious chicken with chiles in corn tortillas to us. I hastily went around to several of the people volunteering, working, and waiting on their mates to finish working, and told each of them of the food and to please eat. Although Louise, Thelma, the other anthropology student, I, and two others ate heartily, much of the food went to waste. I ate all of my food except for a few French fries that I saved for a boy of 11 who I knew from my previous visit. He had told me earlier that he was hungry so I took the fries to him at his trailer. He had had a tooth pulled earlier and I felt bad for him. Without stopping to think I gave him my fries. When I later approached his family truck to relay a message to his parents from Louise I had the feeling that something was very wrong and that the parents were angry. They would not look in my direction and only nodded slightly that they understood the message. As I walked away I tried to think of what I had done to offend them but I did resign myself to the fact that one of my last experiences in this field setting was a terrible faux pas that would have hurt my pride tremendously had the tables been turned.

In my short field stay I did observe one case of a folk practice – a baby wearing a gold-type bracelet with painted eyes and several other pieces of jewelry. The mother said it was for protection from fiebres (fevers) and mal (evil). There were also several examples of ethnomedical practices reported to me by the nurse, Louise, which included: pregnant women wearing safety pins on the bottom of their shirts over their lower abdomen, perhaps, I speculated, to deflect mal (evil) from their unborn children; red string bracelets tied to babies wrists for fevers; an egg passed over an asthmatic child by a grandmother; cat
toenails used in home remedies for musculoskeletal injuries; and copal (a gum resin from various types of trees) burned in a room after death, and tied in a bag and pinned to the pillow of a suicidal man in a hospital. When I asked Louise how she felt about these medical practices she said, “If both [these treatments] and the meds are considered then this will probably have the best outcome.” She gave the example that when the clinic experiences a child with a red string bracelet tied to the wrist for fever, the clinic provides a thermometer and Tylenol. Louise said, “We then explain to the mother the appropriate dosage of Tylenol and how to take the temperature of the child under the arm and say, ‘Here’s another thing that will help, too,’ instead of ‘That’s not going to keep your baby from getting a fever.’”

Another practice Louise had observed was that these migrant families did not usually celebrate their children’s birthdays until they were three. She explained that “the three-year-old birthdays are a big deal; there are no real parties before that. That’s when they get their identity, that’s when they know they will survive.” This reminded me of other less industrialized nations where this practice is tied not just to tradition but also to the severe poverty experienced by many families whose babies die. Scheper-Hughes (1992: 275) notes that parents living these realities “may understand a baby’s life as a provisional and undependable thing—a candle whose flame is as likely to flicker and go out as to burn brightly and continuously.”

Conclusions

I initially entered this field site thinking that ethnomedical practices would be an important topic to research for this community. Ethnomedical practices and concepts have little to do with the list of concrete issues affecting healthcare in this migrating community. Some of the issues having great influence on health outcomes for this migrating population include the lack of access to driver’s licenses, daycare facilities for their children, affordable and safe housing, and adequate biomedical dental care and healthcare. Most everyone that I encountered was willing to use the healthcare available through the mobile clinic. However, I did notice that many of the men were at first reluctant. Louise told me that one reason the men are reluctant is that some growers and contratistas warn that speaking to her at all will cost them their jobs. When I spoke with her about this later, she said, “That’s why it is so important for anyone working with this population to be persistent and keep going back to the same camp. It builds trust. We eventually end up seeing almost all of the men in the camps. But, it takes a lot of time and a lot of return visits.”

With only two weeks in the field I did not have time to build the necessary rapport and trust needed to ask these migrant workers questions about their healthcare knowledge and practices. Instead I relied on my own observations and information gleaned from the staff of the mobile clinic. It is clear to me that improving my Spanish skills and spending more time in the field are both necessary for me to ask the right questions and build upon this preliminary study.

It is my conclusion that, while this group faces enormous poverty, exploitation, and social inequalities daily, they engage in resourceful maneuvering. One such example is the use of folk medical knowledge in the absence of adequate cosmopolitan medical care. While Mexican migrant farm workers have often been portrayed simply as exploited victims, my time in the field allowed me to observe human beings who are active agents striving to negotiate and rearrange their social positions within the parameters of their families, jobs, and communities.

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Gigposters, the Music Scene and American Cultural Stereotypes

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The story of gigposters may be divided into five basic categories: the ‘boxer style’ period of the 1950s, associated with the Hatch Show Print shop; the Psychedelic Era on the West Coast during the 1960s; the Austin, Texas, movement from the late 1960s to the present; the 1980s Punk Xerox era; and the modern era from the 1990s to the present day, when posters returned to screenprinting as a post-punk reaction to Xerox fliers. Though the genre is documented by surviving posters and the continuation of poster-making by artists, academically, there is little information about the genre. This paper is an attempt to briefly summarize the development of the genre through the eyes of a musician, third wave feminist, and appreciator of gigposters. If art is the ordering of experience, gigposters have ordered a culture of music in a way that reflects music and the values of popular American music within society. I will examine the role of women within the making of gigposters and the posters themselves in relation to music.

What Is a Gigposter?

Let us begin with the simple question “What is a gigposter?” The essential goal of a gigposter is to advertise a live music event at a local venue. According to the website RockPosterCollector.com, the first posters were in a “boxer” style, which incorporated “simple block lettering with unadorned photographs of the performers.” This style remained dominant until late 1965. The following are examples, with one including an actual photograph of the artist who was the object of the poster.

![Figure 1](image1.png) ![Figure 2](image2.png)

This format left little wiggle room for the objectification of women, as all artists were objectified, and the attraction of the event was their performance. Perhaps the longest running and most historically documented press began with the Hatch family in Wisconsin. After relocating to Nashville, the sons of William H. Hatch, Charles and Herbert, having learned the art of letterpress printmaking, took over the family business in 1879. Little did C.R. and H.H. Hatch know, at 27 and 25 years old, that they would become legendary and respected into the present day. Not only did Hatch represent music, but also Southern culture. “Whether circus, minstrel show, vaudeville act or carnival, if you wanted to fill seats, Hatch got the job done. … Hatch’s home from 1925 to 1992 was right behind the Ryman Auditorium, the ‘Mother Church’ of country music. … Hatch captured the glory of other musical genres, doing work for the great African American jazz and blues entertainers of the day such as Cab Calloway, Bessie Smith, Duke Ellington and Louis Armstrong” (countrymusichalloffame.com). From the beginning, early gigposters both represented American popular culture and rebelled against it with the creation of posters for African-American musicians in a racially-charged American south. This rebellion continues today as gigposters
reflect, criticize, and comment on popular culture, the music industry, and the values of both.

Just as the Hatch Showprint witnessed some challenging times as music changed and offset printing surpassed the letterpress technique, art would still find its way into the music scene. With the ending of mid-1950s pop and the simple “boxer” style gigposter, came 1960s rock & roll and the Psychedelic Era. “Girl Groups” created a basis for women in music but women were still creating music about pain and pleasing men. These groups fizzled and made way for the counterculture movement of drugs, sex and a general rebellion of mainstream culture. This rebellion first began in the 1960s and later resurfaced in the 1980s with the Punk movement. Music and art often go hand in hand; in this case, too, they are interdependent. The look of a poster may reflect the band’s music, look, lyrical style, instrumental sound, or the atmosphere of the venue/event. There are no better examples of the reflection of an event than the posters of the Psychedelic Era, which picked up where the “boxer” style left off in a new and progressive way.

**The Psychedelic Era and 1960s West Coast America**

This part of gigposter history begins in San Francisco, during the 1960s. Screenprinting, as an art medium, was popularized by artists like Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein before and during the 1960s. Paul D. Grushkin, poster enthusiast and expert, explains in his popular book, *The Art of Modern Rock*, “Warhol probably did more to establish screenprinting as a fine art medium in the mind of the public than any other artist in history.” (Grushkin 2004, 109) As screenprinting became a more respected medium, artists began to use it for its relative accessibility, quick process, and cost-effectiveness. The beginning of modern gigposters as an open reflection of a subculture was first exemplified in America in the posters created for two venues in the San Francisco Bay area: The Fillmore Auditorium and The Avalon Ballroom. In their prime, both were locations in which the counterculture movement thrived. Chet Helms, a veteran poster artist, has stated that:

> Posters and handbills are a particularly democratic form of advertising and social expression. Posted in public places, they are available to virtually everyone at little or no cost. The parallels between the belle époque poster and the psychedelic poster are obvious, but the 1960’s posters were also rooted in the American free speech tradition of political and social pamphleteering… (Helms in Sperry 1996).

Politically, America was pulsing with everyday people speaking out for change in response to the Civil Rights movement, the Vietnam War, and the use of mind-expanding drugs. How were these ideas reflected in the art of gigposters? Here are two examples.

![Figure 3](image3.png) ![Figure 4](image4.png)

The psychedelic posters became cutting edge because of their incorporation of new graphic techniques and juxtaposing colors that traditionally were never adjoined. Borrowing from the Impressionists and the more methodical color studies of Josef Albers, the suggestion of line or form was created by printing two opposite colors side by side. Because the eye is not equipped to perceive red and blue simultaneously, vibrant red-green, red-blue combinations stimulated the shimmering world of the psychedelic experience (Helms in Sperry 1996).
On the website, www.rockpostercollector.com, Denis King, a well-known gigposter collector, comments on the artistic aspect of gigposters during the Psychedelic Era, “They were daring and highly experimental in their use of color and in their use of lettering which was considered illegible to all but the initiated.” The author goes even further to touch on the politics of art during this time when he explains, “They [gigposters] were the first commercial art to totally subjugate the advertising content of the poster to the overall focus of the artist’s statement. This had an irrepressible effect on the future of advertising in general and the poster in particular. Their role was to change the concept of what a poster could and couldn’t be.” Returning to the political aspect of American society during this time, Chet Helms suggests:

The values of this emerging culture were conveyed through verbal and visual double entendre, sexual innuendo, drug innuendo, and sometimes by merely placing two images near each other on the page and allowing the viewer to draw his own conclusions. In this way the unspoken was spoken, forbidden topics were discussed, suppressed feelings held in common were acknowledged” (Helms in Sperry 1996).

As a budding scholar, poster enthusiast, activist, and occasional screenprinter, I would like to ask the question: If these posters allowed unsaid feelings to be acknowledged, were they providing a medium to discuss women’s equality, sexuality, or feminism in general? My assertion after looking at many posters from this era is “no.” The first support for this statement comes from past research and an inquiry to the Smithsonian American Art Museum, which resulted in the discovery of one piece to the puzzle of this research: Women were screenprinting during this time, but were not widely known or recognized because many of them worked under pen names or in collectives. Though this can be said about men as well throughout the history of gigposters, especially later in the Austin, Texas, scene, I find it rather easy to find hundreds of male artists’ names in a basic Internet search rather than female names in relation to gigposters. Kathleen Adrian, of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, explains this result by stating:

Many early women screenprinters were associated with larger feminist groups … and were not known by individual names. Even when a commercial artist is well known for her work, if the artist has not sold at auction and/or if the artist has not exhibited widely, information can be difficult to track (Adrian 2005).

While posters and handbills typically are seen as a democratic form of advertising, I disagree with this characterization in relation to gigposters because of the lack of recognition women have received. If the psychedelic era was so-called “free and progressive,” why were women still being objectified on gigposters created by men, or women under a pen name? The following figures are examples of posters created during this time.

![Figure 5](image1.png)  ![Figure 6](image2.png)

While both are bold and interesting to view, one must wonder as many feminist art critics have viewed art in the past, whether we gravitate toward these images because of the aesthetic beauty of the female figure or because of the intrusion of the personal. While the message of the event and names of the performers could easily have been presented without the female figures, these were common uses of the female body during the Psychedelic Era of gigposters. Searching for a male nude might be impossible just
as male nudes have rarely been depicted throughout the history of art.

As mentioned before, the notion of gigposters as a reflection of popular American society creates many questions regarding the “counterculture” movement and the validity of its past perception as an all-inclusive respectful movement. Though the movement may have broken barriers within race and class, gender was still an area that was not strongly influenced until much later. For example, in looking at rock and roll as a vehicle for change, Ralph Gleason wrote in his column for *Rolling Stone* in 1969, that rock music was the “single most potent social force for change for several years now… the change is coming and it is coming through the music.” (Gleason in Reser 2004, 8). Gleason even went so far as to say, in 1970, that rock music was “the glue which has kept this generation from falling apart in the face of incredible adult blindness and ignorance and evilness” (Gleason in Reser 204, 8). This quote seems not to be supported by evidence as many women were objectified in rock songs sung by men during the Psychedelic Era and even today. Not only were women objectified on posters created for shows, they were objectified through lyrics, and excluded from reaching full potential with many being referred to as “chick singers.” If women were not an equal part of the rock music scene, which was supposedly to bring about radical change in America, how would America really change when the perfect vehicle contained its own fallacies? Hillary Reser has explained the development of the term, “cock rock,” by quoting popular music writers, Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie, “Cock rock shows in particular were ‘explicitly about male sexual performance,’ which included, ‘mics and guitars [as] phallic symbols; the music was loud rhythmically insistent, built around techniques of arousal and climax’” (Reser 2004). Her strongest examples of the blatant objectification of women through lyrics of rock and roll come from the lyrics themselves. One example being “Whole Lotta Love” from Led Zeppelin’s Zeppelin II:

You need coolin’, baby, I’m not foolin’
I’m gonna send you back to schoolin’
Way down inside, a-honey, you need it
I’m gonna give you my love
I’m gonna give you every inch of my love
You’ve got to bleed on me, yeah

“These lyrics, in combination with driving guitar and pounding rhythm of the song, have Led Zeppelin, as one writer noted, coming on like ‘thermonuclear gang rape’” (Reser 2004). While gigposters may be graphic, most feature the femme fatale, or a woman standing next to a big hotrod car. There are, however, a fair share of nude women in gigposters from the Psychedelic Era to modern day posters. So, one must ask, what were women singing about? The two best examples to represent women during the this era are identified by Reser as Janis Joplin and Grace Slick. Though enjoying high visibility within rock, in general, women “were relegated to the role of singer and rarely played instruments … Playing an instrument and playing it well was, after all, fundamentally about mastery and domination, about harnessing the raw and surging power of this new art form” (Reser 2004). Women were singing about pain inflicted upon them by men, which was reflected in lyrics “that proclaimed that ‘women’s pain [was] here to stay’ that women being born to suffer, always would, that this pain and suffering was in fact the ‘divine order of things,’ that the more women suffered, the more woman they would become, and that there existed no possibility that women ‘could exist for anything except men’” (Reser 2004). With this brief glimpse into rock during the time of the Psychedelic Era, I began to understand that the epic heroes of the counterculture movement were full of fatal flaws. Gigposters were reflecting culture, even the supposedly most “progressive” parts of American culture.

As for women screenprinters during the Psychedelic Era, I have identified only one with the help of D. Faggioli: Catherine Weinstein (1910-2003), who used the pseudonyms Hedda Goldspace and Thunder-bitch. Below are two examples, one of which may have been a parody of male behavior and the objectification of women, with its blatant and grotesque depiction of a male bodily function.
Eventually the Fillmore Auditorium, which closed in 1971, was home to priceless performances of rock legends, influenced art as a respected medium, and in turn increased the respect for gigposters. Along with changing music, gigposters found new homes all over the United States. One major hub, which grew from some members with roots from the Fillmore scene, began in Austin, Texas.

The Austin, Texas, Movement

Just as San Francisco had two main venues supporting live music, so did Austin back in its early days in relation to screenprinted gigposters. The best documentation of the Austin scene comes from a screenprinter himself, Nels Jacobson, a.k.a. Jagmo (jagmo.com). Two venues, which helped create today’s Austin scene, were The Vulcan Gas Company and the Armadillo Headquarters. As Jagmo guides the reader through the history of the Austin scene, one sees a pattern. Few women are mentioned and even the bands for which the gigposters were made are mostly of all-male bands. Jagmo begins:

Opened on October 27, 1967, it was Texas’ original counter culture dance hall and the first major patron of poster art … It was for the Vulcan itself, however, that Austin’s most spectacular early posters were created. Though considerably larger than their San Francisco counterparts, Vulcan posters were rendered in the psychedelic style popularized by Bay area artists like Wes Wilson, Rick Griffin, Alton Kelley, Stanley Mouse, and Victor Moscoso (jagmo.com).

Among the musical artists mentioned in his first part of Austin’s history most, if not all, are all male bands. After the Vulcan closed its doors in 1970, less than a year before the Fillmore East was closed by Bill Graham, another major venue was emerging just across the street. Jagmo explains that the Armadillo Headquarters had an “eclectic booking policy and hippie-idealist ideology [from which] it launched a substantial musical and cultural movement, the most clearly defined manifestation of which was the cosmic cowboy phenomenon” (jagmo.com). Just as gigposters now infiltrate almost any venue and serve to connect anyone who wants to appreciate live music, these early posters were politically reactive in the sense that they were breaking away from the San Francisco look of posters and commenting on socially unique groups of Austin. Jagmo continues:

In illustrating this movement the Armadillo artists created a powerful and singularly appropriate iconography that helped to unite performers, flower children, and rednecks in an on-going common celebration. As with Willie Nelson’s 4th of July picnics, the ‘Dillo facilitated a triumph over deep-seated prejudices and an abolition of previously inviolable aural and visual taboos. More significantly to the Austin poster panorama, however, the Armadillo artists offered artists an
inspirational and nurturing environment, a supportive fraternity, and a mission. It became during the seventies quite possibly the single most important poster patron this side of Haight Asbury” (jagmo.com).

Again, one wonders about the nurturing environment and whether it was only nurturing to male poster artists and if not, where were the women artists? Of the women artists mentioned in this nine-page article, openly named as female are: “the Guacamole Queen,” who is associated with Big Rikki (who funded an underground comic entitled, “Neighborhead,” later named “Austintatious”); Debra Ingram, who collaborated with Rick Turner in a punk collage style; and Monica White, who created the cover art for Willie Nelson’s celebrated Red Headed Stranger LP.

The Involvement of Women

Just as music and gigposters are intertwined so are other art forms such as comic books and visual art in general. Many artists lived in both Austin and San Francisco during this counterculture movement and were the artists who fueled changes from the art of the counterculture movement and created underground movements. Shortly after the Psychedelic Era, women began to form collectives, and the basic ideas of feminism bloomed. In 1969 the first Women’s Studies courses began at Cornell University and the first Women’s Law course was taught at NYU Law School (Sparks 2006). After eight years following the establishment of the President’s Commission on the Status of Women, in 1969 a new group formed seeking to improve the status of women in Chicago. A sister group of the Chicago Women’s Liberation Union, The Chicago Women’s Graphic Collective further popularized screenprinting as an art form which lubricated political action while also creating respected art. Underground art groups sprouted all over America, some defying popular culture and some with opposing goals to each other, all adding to the path that has brought screenprinting and music to where it stands today.

Art Scenes and Their Influence on Gigposters

The Women’s Graphic Collective

The Women’s Graphic Collective “began in the fall of 1970 when a few young Chicagoans banded together in joint despair over their situations as women, as artists, and as women artists.” (Winer 2006). Stationed at 852 Belmont Avenue in one of the homes of the group’s members, the group’s slogan read as follows, “Taking feminist theme through metamorphoses of thought a translation in color and print by process, collective art” (Stacy S 2006). During this time there was a change in activism, which directly affected the operation of the collective. Instead of guerilla tactics directed toward museums to protest the lack of women artists exhibited, organizations were created with the focus on long-term changes within existing institutions (Stacy S 2006). Paralleling radical change within institutions, the Feminist Art Program at the California Institute of the Arts was being directed by Judy Chicago and Miriam Shapiro with the definition of “feminist art” referring to female imagery. “Women’s sexual and erotic art and use of sexual imagery such as circles, domes, egg spheres, biomorphic shapes, identified a work as an example of feminist art” (Stacy S 2006). The collective rejected the idea of a strict definition of feminist art and such a requirement was seen as a contradiction to the goals of the women’s liberation movement (Stacy S 2006). Just as other groups defied set definitions and barriers, the collective was contesting even the feminist structure, theory, and methods that had developed just a few years earlier. Women were now screenprinting posters with a message, as punk flyers were reactions to class-ism, racism, and other issues, this group broke ground for other women screenprinters and artists in creating art with a message. No one woman signed the posters, and it was clear that the process included the input of all members. Women could be artists, encouraging each other in the artistic field as well as the everyday struggle for equality.
The group lasted longer than the Chicago Women’s Liberation Union but disbanded in 1983. The group produced countless silk-screened posters, further popularizing the technique. Though the parallel may not be directly related, the idea of screenprinting collectives has been a long tradition in Austin and San Francisco, and continues today in shops such as: Rip Off Press, Xiphoid Press, Bee Bop Screen Printing, Drowning Creek (of which Judy Gex is a longtime resident artist), Cricket Press, and Seripop.

After the Chicago Women’s Graphic Collective disbanded in 1983, two other groups were created which have roots in screenprinting. One connects us to the Austin, Texas, scene and the other connects us to the continual struggle of women within the art world. These groups are The Guerilla Girls, and WANG, (We Are Not Gentlemen.)

**The Guerilla Girls**

The Guerilla Girls picked up where the Chicago Women’s graphic Collective left off in the criticism of institutions such as the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the Whitney Museum. Taking on code names of dead female artists to help reinforce their presence in history, the Guerrilla Girls make appearances, write letters and articles, and have written several books criticizing the lack of recognition given to women artists in curated shows, directing and producing films, and other art forms.

In 1985, the Museum of Modern Art in New York held an exhibition entitled An International Survey of Painting and Sculpture. This exhibition, claiming to be a cutting edge summary of the most significant contemporary art in the world, was the site of the first demonstration of the Guerilla Girls. Of the 169 artists included, 13 were women (guerrillagirls.com). By wearing gorilla masks these women kept their personal identity and therefore personal careers out of the public eye, while claiming to be the “conscience of the art world.” Using humor to get across their messages, the first actions were mainly in poster format. When asked about the response to their early actions one guerrilla girl stated, “There was skepticism, shock, rage, and lots of talk. It was the Reagan 80’s and everyone was crazed to succeed, nobody wanted to be perceived as a complainer … Women loved us, almost everyone else hated us, and none of them could stop talking about us” (guerrilagirls.com).

The format of a poster has proven to be effective for the group, which has archived more than 60 such works examining sexism and racism in American popular culture. “The posters are our most public communication but we’ve done other things, too, like billboards, bus ads, magazine spreads, protest actions,
letter-writing campaigns. We’re particularly proud of having put up broad sheets in bathrooms of major museums” (guerrillagirls.com). Below are a few examples from the Guerilla Girls herstory.

Figure 13

![Guerilla Girls Poster](image1)

**Figure 13**

**WANG**

Since music and gigposters are interdependent one can look back to the 80’s and 90’s for further explanation of the lack of women’s contribution and recognition within these genres. In gigposters and their connections to art, I have found the history only documented by men. While this documentation is important to the history of the genre itself, it is essentially “his”-story. Though more effort has been made to document women throughout music of the past such as documentaries of Joan Jett, and the Riot Grrl Movement, little has been done for the development of gigposters as a genre so closely related to music. With the available resources which are mostly male, one can see the influence of male art movements to gigposters, especially with Jagmo’s thorough account of the Austin scene and its roots in the San Francisco area. For the mid 1980’s to the 1990’s Ron Donovan and Chuck Sperry are examples in making that connection as well as the political insight which has also fueled poster/gigposter creation. The two gigposter artists go back to the days of Bill Graham, of “Bill Graham Presents,” who booked shows at the Fillmore until he decided to formally close the Fillmore East in 1971. Starting with Donovan, a history is provided at www.posterpop.com. The bio for both artists contains many connections to the art world, pol-
itics, and the music scene’s influence on gigposter art. One example relating to politics and art starts with Donovan:

Donovan’s first footprint on the art world also came in 1985, when he co-founded the We Are Not Gentlemen (WANG), a cadre of infamous art saboteurs, headquartered at the California College of Arts and Crafts. They staged their first poster show in the campus men’s bathroom … WANG members screenprinting full color prints directly onto the bathroom walls. At a lunch time opening, art students and faculty were invited to mingle and admire the prints (much like a normal art opening?) except that the sinks were used for beer coolers and the trash bins were for chips’n’dip (posterpop.com).

Again, the question arises, were women allowed to be members of WANG, and if not, were there any specific women’s groups using screenprinting in such a rebellious way?

At the same time the Guerilla Girls were establishing themselves and using posters as a medium for commentary regarding women in art, Donovan and Sperry were creating posters and t-shirts entitled “Reaganwear,” which boasted such slogans as, ‘I can’t remember,’ ‘I’m Not a President (But I Play One on TV),’ and ‘More Arms, More Hostages.’ Though this was a more blatant use of screenprinting as a medium for political expression, I’m curious as to what women were creating with the same intent. The Guerilla Girls created many posters commenting on social politics and women’s equality within the arts, but none were known to be creating gigposters for bands, or bands with female members. This is the fundamental difference of the two groups. One was focusing on equality within the arts and the other was more concerned with political criticism.

Before moving on to the role of women within musical genres, which employed the creation of gigposters, one must first recognize a petal to the blossom of 1970’s feminism in general. Breaking away from the general attacks on institutions, groups began to form which recognized and believed in ‘women’s essential sameness to each other and fundamental difference from men’ (Echols in Reser 2004). As a result of this change, feminism began to consist of “separatist, feminist institutions and a vibrant women’s art and music scene” (Echols in Reser 2004). The Women’s Liberation Rock Band was insistent on creating an equal role for women on stage. In 1970 the first call for the formation of the band appeared in the June issue of Chicago Women’s Liberation Union News. The creation of this group precedes the beginnings of Patti Smith’s poetry readings with guitarist Lenny Kaye and the formation of the Patti Smith Group, which is said to have fueled many women in creating music as equals. First let us look at the Chicago Women’s Liberation Rock Band, whose gigposters were created by none other than, the Chicago Women’s Graphic Collective.

![Figure 15](image-url)
**Women’s Liberation Rock Band**

The Chicago Women’s Liberation Rock Band was formed in 1970 with the goal of permeating American culture with the ideas of women’s equality. With their first liner notes, “What we all want to do is use the power of rock to transform what the world is like into a vision of what the world could be like; create an atmosphere where women are free enough to struggle to be free, and make a new kind of culture that is an affirmation of ourselves and of all people,” a change was occurring from past radical feminist tactics (cwluherstory.com). Though the group never made a mainstream impact, women who came to shows were atypical of the present rock scene. The group performed theatre, slapstick comedy, rapped with the audience about sexism and feminism, and handed out literature about the Chicago Women’s Liberation Union. By seeking to involve the audience instead of degrade them, the band lay the foundation for the restructuring of a rock show. In addition to overtly feminist lyrics the group had a “womanager” and set up their own equipment before and after performances (Reser 2004). The group disbanded in the spring of 1973, and new women artists came along.

**Women in Music During the Punk Era**

Just two years later, Patti Smith of the Patti Smith Group debuted her first album, Horses, and would soon become a figurehead for women performers. Also, in 1973, Suzi Quatro created her second single, which was aggressively feminist and a big hit, “Can the Can.” Musically, women began to front their own bands and play their instruments with all-male bands. Women creating music with males in bands such as: The Talking Heads, The B-52’s, Blondie, The Pretenders, Pylon, and The Germs, created a future for women musicians to come. Instead of being a “token” female in the band, women were gaining respect as serious musicians. Patti Smith, Joan Jett, The Go-Go’s, and The Runaways set a precedent by creating music that wielded feminist content among social and political commentary. If music was to be a vehicle for change, these women were driving their way to a new school of thought.

![The Runaways](image)

**Figure 16**

Along with the growing presence of women in music, women were also creating new waves in the art world. One photographer, Jenny Lens, when interviewed about the Los Angeles Punk scene during the height of the punk movement, explained the breakthroughs women made during these years with an analogy to another art form, film.

The analogy is that of the movie industry. In both cases, the men in power dismissed punk and the ‘flickers.’ That enabled women to do anything they wanted to do. Perform, write songs, write reviews, create fanzines, manage, photograph, book shows, be fashion plates, lovers, muses but with our own power. We decided what we wanted to do and were treated as equals to the men. We set our own agenda, our own goals. Nothing could hold us back but ourselves (Jenny Lens on alicebag.com).
Women played an equal part in the punk scene in virtually every capacity. “You name it, chicks did it! I don’t think most of us ever even cared whether we were women or not!” (Pleasant Gehman on alice-bag.com). This new role of women was reflected in the lyrics they were writing and the growing presence of female musicians.

Lyrically, the music women were creating either as members of male/female bands, or all-female bands reflected the changing times. One example comes from a song by the Runaways. Women were claiming their sexuality and sometimes ironically mimicking their male predecessors such as in the song, Johnny Guitar:

Go for it Johnny
All night long
Go for it Johnny
That’s where I’m coming from

My fingers roll his body
Making him scream
And I’m lost in a metal dream

Go for it Johnny
All night long
Go for it Johnny
That’s where I’m coming from

Hot hands on his wet neck
I’m a hunter he’s my gun…

The formation of all female groups and feminist lyrics would influence artists in the 80’s and 90’s, which also was a time in which gigposters changed from screenprinted posters to Xeroxed flyers.

The Next Generation of Music and Gigposters

Los Angeles can be identified as one of the portals for Xerox-style gigposters. As the music of the 1980s changed, Punk Rock was born in America (after having engulfed the UK). Along with rebellious music and youth who were frustrated with consumerism, capitalism, race wars, and class wars, gigposters adopted this angst and represented it in an even more accessible medium than screenprinting: copy machines. An essay by artist Mark Vallen explains the Punk Flyer scene of Los Angeles:

Anger, sarcasm, and a dark sense of humor pervaded punk’s aesthetics … and those elements combined with the easy accessibility of Xerox technology made for some explosive messages. Punk took delight in poking a finger in society’s eye, and so the flyers extolling the movement were often morbidly funny, bizarre, Dadaist, highly political and mocking (art-for-a-change.com).

This raw and gritty process of production and reaction to society could explain some of the basis on which early screenprinted posters were created during the modern era, from 1990’s to today. If there were no boundaries for subject matter in the music or the gigposters/flyers, then this leaves objectification of women wide open. Another posting I found in relation to Punk/Hardcore flyers states:

The scenes’s creative types corrupted words and images lifted from books and magazines; or drew outrageous and offensive pictures. No subject was sacred or taboo. Appropriated fragments of advertising mixed with porno, celebrities, mushroom clouds, and cut-out typography, which made for arresting visuals … And it was as much about advertising for an upcoming punk show as it was about being a reactionary and revolutionary (vb.nervousness.org).
Again with taboos and boundaries non-existent, the objectification of women was left wide open and used in the creation of gigposters even within a culture that was rejecting and criticizing mainstream American popular culture.

Sperry explains further, in his article, Temporary Insanity, “Most current rock poster artists started with Xerox or went through a swift romance with it. Xerox posters have their charm; they’re quick to produce and no one gets so precious about them that you feel bad about taping them all over hell and back to promote a show. The style of Xerox, its spontaneity and trashiness met up solidly with the punk music it was about” (Sperry 1996).

Female musicians were highly influenced by the artists of the 70’s and 80’s. One band called Bikini Kill sprouted in the Olympia, Washington, area and is said to have influenced Nirvana and pioneered feminist punk. The band became the spokesperson for “young angry girls wanting to break the gender barriers by playing feminist punk with a DIY attitude and in-your-face lyrics filled with sexual and political meaning. Their lyrics talked about rape, suicide, feminism, sexual harassment and female empowering” (plotki.net). The group also forced slam dancers to mosh away from the front so that women could enjoy the show without harm and female audience members were invited to speak into the microphone to discuss issues of sexual abuse and misconduct (allmusic.com). The group is credited with starting the “riot grrl” movement and cites Joan Jett as an original source of feminist punk. The following excerpted lyrics of “Don’t Need You” from (plyrics.com) indicate the changing attitude of women toward a society that did not provide them with equality.

We don’t need you, we don’t need you
Us whores don’t need you

Does it scare you that we don’t need you?
Does it scare you boy that we don’t need you?
We don’t need you, we don’t need you
Us girls don’t need you

Figure 21

Modern Posters, 1990s to Present Day

Women began to change feminism into a movement in which they owned their sexuality. In the gig-poster scene, posters were beginning to include color and a return to the screenprinting method. After over a decade of Xerox flyers, artists weened themselves from this method slowly, but the question remains: Were women included as creators of gigposters, and were they continually objectified within gigposters?

Though the roots of gigposters are showered with nude women, so are many genres. Many times this is the result of the lack of inclusion of women as equal artists. One can see the change in feminism and the gigposter genre as more women began creating gigposters in the mid 1990’s and early 2000’s. Below are a few examples of posters created by men that overtly objectify women.

Figure 22 Figure 23 Figure 24

A more modern view might see a female nude from the perspective of having no real feminist history, just an appeal for the female figure as a purely aesthetic form. Examples show the female nude as the focus of many posters created by males from the 1990’s to today. The interesting change is that nude females are used now by female artists as well. Are these artists trying to fit in to a genre with a past obsession with female figures? Or are these women commenting on their position and power as women? Below are examples of posters created by females that include the female nude and other themes such as animals, nature, and motherhood.
With some women changing music, other women are encouraged to participate in art. With the Guerrilla Girls on patrol and the past feminist movements documented, American culture is fully aware of the need for equality. The challenge now is not to forget these trodden paths and also not to let them impede upon free expression, which can ultimately define art. With much progress toward an equal place within music and art, the number of women in the genre of gigposters is growing. But few are recognized through the media and able to sustain themselves. With this in mind and the ideas of modern feminism, I posted a brief survey in order to collect the views of men and women gigposter artists. Questions ranged from public perception of the genre as a whole, to the specifics of being a woman within the genre.

**Survey Results**

Mixed feelings were shown when artists were asked, “Do you find it challenging being a female in a male-dominated genre?” Eleanor Grosch said, “I don’t find it challenging, in fact, I find that the novelty works in my favor.” (Eleanor Grosch personal communication). When asked about the dominance of male artists, Laura Stallions made the connection of women gigposter artists and women musicians by saying, “I won’t argue there are more men than women that do it. It’s fairly in line with the rock world. And that makes perfect sense to me. Go to a rock show of any kind and the majority of the crowd is going to be a mass of men with a handful of women throughout. To do gigposters you happen to be the type of person that’s in that crowd” (Laura Stallions personal communication). An artist from Seripop, a male/female team, commented on challenges she has faced being a female poster artist and musician.

Being taken seriously and not having my looks commented on … Since I work in a partnership with my boyfriend I’ve gotten my share of … comments. Mostly on gigposters.com there were a few hardcore misogynists who would be constantly posting that I couldn’t POSSIBLY be doing any of the art/printing or they’d admit I was involved, that my contributions were bringing down the design or that I was bringing down Seripop in general. I’ve also got-
ten similar comments on a local music forum, ‘oh everyone knows Yannick does all the work … blah blah blah.’ But we’ve been around for a while and most of those assumptions have stopped (or at least the public ones.) … It’s like people automatically assume that if a couple works as a team that the man is doing all the brainy creative work. It’s very frustrating but I try not to really think about it all too much (Chloe Lum of Seripop).

Figure 30

When asked how would you change the ratio of female artists to male artists, Sara Turner says "I would love to see more women producing posters and believing that they have a legitimate contribution to the medium. I think a good way to go about this is to do more projects that highlight females in the medium … such as all female exhibits, lectures, workshops, etc. not that I think separating the sexes in this way is always good … but if more girls could see the females already in the genre perhaps they could also see they are welcome (Sara Turner of Cricket Press).

Figure 31  Figure 32

The only male to respond to the survey commented that society has had an effect on the participation of women within the genre.

I don’t know, as I suspect the factors keeping women from participating in the poster world in greater numbers are broader societal issues, rather than anything specific to the poster world. Getting one’s foot in the door (as with any ground-up enterprise) involves lots of pushiness and self-promotion. I think
many women feel social pressure not to be ‘too pushy’… I sure wish there
were more women making posters. I think the trend is in that direction but
some nudging is probably in order (Dan MacAdam of Crosshair).

The Future of Women in Rock and as Gigposter Artists

The Women’s Graphic Collective and The Chicago Women’s Liberation Rock Band were on the fore-
front along with other musicians and artists working in collectives in presenting women as equal musi-
cians, artists, and people. If the current scene of music is improving and the population of women gig-
poster artists needs “nudging,” help is on the way. One example is the Portland Rock & Roll Camp for
girls. The Portland camp sparked the creation of the Southern Girls Rock & Roll Camp in Murfreesboro,
Tennessee. At the Southern Girls Rock & Roll Camp, girls from 10 to 18 years old can learn everything
from running live sound to creating screenprinting gigposters and band t-shirts. These classes are extra
bonuses to the music instruction, guest performers, and panelists, which are presented at camp. The
founder Kelley Anderson, directors Courtney Sharpe, and myself believe that everyone must be part of
the solution, men being a vital part in order to educate other men on the goals of third wave/cultural femi-
nism and general equality of class, race, and gender. With male instructors and female instructors work-
ing together setting an example of collective effort and equal input, students see their positive role models
doing what they love best in harmony. This philosophy is more of a third wave feminist characteristic
with attention to multiculturalism, which is noted by historian Alice Echols.

Historians continue to debate whether cultural feminism improves the situation. Echols says, “This
brand of feminism celebrated female bonding and urged the creation of a female counterculture consisting
of separatist, feminist institutions and a vibrant women’s art and music scene” (Echols in Reser 2004).
With the creation of more feminist groups in the 1990s and today, men have been included as valuable
educators, which can bring about awareness and progress toward equality. With the increase in female
musicians, it is possible that more female gigposter artists will arise, especially when screenprinting is an
option at the Southern Girls Rock & Roll Camp. With 2007 being the camp’s fifth year, screenprinting is
one of the first classes to fill up. Gigposter artists from Grand Palace Silkscreen delight in being instruc-
tors at the Southern Girls Rock & Roll Camp. Grand Palace Silkscreen, having male and female employ-
ee is, adds to the model of equal effort and collective recognition within the arts and the local music scene.
All employees of Grand Palace Silkscreen are musicians or artists outside of creating gigposters.

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A New Rule for Balanced Ternary (BT) Division

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Increasing the clock speed of microprocessors has been the primary method used to improve the performance of computing. Unfortunately, since manufacturing processes will reach a point at which transistors cannot be placed any closer together, clock speed cannot increase indefinitely. Clock speed will be capped by the physical limitations in materials and processes. Once a clock speed limit is reached, other methods must be considered in order to continue increasing computer processor performance, accommodating increasingly complex software programs and computing applications. Balanced Ternary (BT) logic offers a way to increase the performance of microprocessors independently of clock speed.

BT notation uses 0, 1, and -1 (usually designated as ī) to represent data, offering one more state than binary, which only uses 0 and 1. This extra state allows larger numbers to be represented using the same number of digits. The need for a sign bit is eliminated since both positive and negative numbers can be represented in BT notation. In BT, if the leading digit of a number is negative, the number is negative. In binary, however, a sign bit is required to designate a number as either positive or negative. The context in which a binary number is represented must be known in order to know its value. For example (11111111) in binary could be (256) or (-127) depending on whether it is signed or unsigned. BT numbers have only one value which simplifies computation by eliminating the need for a sign bit. BT subtraction is accomplished by inverting the addend and adding. Inversion is accomplished by changing each 1 to ī and each ī to 1. BT subtraction eliminates the need for complementing, thus reducing the number of cycles needed to perform a calculation. Although the potential increase in processor speed through the use of BT notation has not yet been fully explored, the known benefits make BT an attractive alternative to binary.

Previous Research on BT Notation

Donald Knuth in The Art of Computer Programming calls BT a beautiful number system, since it is the only number system that is balanced around zero. In addition, it is a closed system, a system with no value larger than one. Knuth mentions that BT division is the inverse of BT multiplication but does not provide any rules for the operation [1]. In “The Ternary Calculating Machine of Thomas Fowler,” Mark Glusker, David M. Hogan, and Pamela Vass provide an example of BT division, describing the rules for BT division: “Select an appropriate term (sign) for the quotient so that when multiplied, with the inverted divisor … the resulting product when added to the first corresponding terms of the dividend, reduces the first term or terms of the dividend to zero, and so on” [2]. The rules for BT division provided by Glusker, Hogan, and Vass closely resemble the rules for Base 10 division. The primary difference rests in the level of difficulty in determining the digits of the quotient, as BT notation is limited to three choices while Base 10 offers any number between 0 and 9.

Testing the Old Rules

This project began with the goal of determining the rules for the four basic arithmetic functions using BT notation: addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. The rules for the first three operations followed the same rules as the correlating operations in Base 10 arithmetic; thus, the rules were easily verified by performing BT arithmetic problems in which the Base 10 answer was already known. When converting the known Base 10 answer into BT notation, the rules for each of the aforementioned operations produced the expected results repeatedly.

The rules for division, however, did not produce the correct quotient in all cases tested. When 30, (1010) was divided by 6, (1ī0), the result was not 5, (1 ī ī). Instead, the operation failed to reduce the
number of digits in the remainder, producing (11) with a remainder of 1ī0, which is the equivalent of 4 with a remainder of 6 in Base 10, as shown Figure 1.

**Figure 1: BT Division Using Existing Rules**

1. Choose a digit for the quotient.
2. Subtract the product of that digit and the divisor from the dividend.
3. If that results in a leading zero in the partial remainder, you have the correct digit. If not, return to step 1 and choose another digit.
4. Repeat steps 1 - 3 for the next digit.

The operation failed to reduce the number of digits. The rules are incomplete.

It was discovered that by shifting the product of the first digit of the quotient and the divisor one digit to the left before subtracting, the calculation would successfully produce the correct quotient as shown in Figure 2. The relationship of the divisor to the dividend must in some way determine the placement of the first term. A rule to accurately predict the position of the first term was needed. Once the placement is determined, the existing rules work correctly.

**Figure 2: Shift left example with the correct quotient**
A New Rule

Although the relationship between divisor and dividend that determines the correct placement has not been fully explored, a process of trial and error produced a new rule that, when added to the existing rules, produces a correct quotient on all tested BT division problems. The new rule that governs the placement of the first digit of the quotient is as follows. Choose a digit for the quotient that makes the absolute value of the partial remainder less than or equal to 1/3 of the dividend (Figure 3). To apply the rule, follow these steps:

1. Right shift the dividend (which divides the number by 3).
2. Double the number (making it 2/3 of the original).
3. Subtract the divisor from the number in step 2.
4. If the difference is positive, left shift the divisor and repeat step 3.
5. If the remainder is negative, stop! This is the correct placement for the first term.

Figure 3: Steps to Determine Placement

1. Right shift the dividend.
2. Double the dividend.
3. Subtract the divisor.
4. If the remainder is positive, left shift the divisor and repeat step 3.
5. Placement can be determined once you have a negative remainder.

Figure 4 illustrates examples of BT division using the new rules. The first calculation in Figure 4 represents the method used to correct the failed calculation shown in Figure 1. Using the new rule, the divisor is left-shifted two digits to produce a negative difference. The first digit of the quotient is placed directly over the last digit of the first term. The calculation, which in Base 10 would be represented by 30/6=5 is successfully completed. The second calculation, which would be represented in Base 10 as 27/9=3, requires a one digit shifting of the quotient and also calculates successfully. The third example, which requires a two digit left-shift of the quotient, represents the BT equivalent of the Base 10 calculation 96/12=8.
Figure 4: Examples of BT Division Using New Rule

This new rule was tested on more than 50 calculations, which were then compared to Base 10 to verify results. In every case tested, the new rule produced a correct quotient.

Future Research

As discussed earlier, to begin using BT logic rather than binary logic to perform arithmetic operations, the rules for basic arithmetic operations — addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division — had to be tested and verified. Now that the rules for division are complete, logic gates, developed during the last summer research session [3], can be constructed and used to build a BT (ALU) arithmetic logic unit. This ALU can be used to test various algorithms that might offer unique advantages and improvements in microprocessor computation.

References


Has the Press Subverted Its Own First Amendment Rights?

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Introduction

James Madison, writing about the Sedition Act of 1798, stated that “no power whatever over the press was supposed to be delegated [to the government] by the Constitution, as it originally stood, and . . . The amendment was intended as a positive and absolute reservation of it.” Quoting from the Virginia Resolution that condemned the act, Madison went on to say that “the unconstitutional power exercised over the press by the Sedition Act ought, ‘more than any other, to produce universal alarm; because it is leveled against that right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.’”

The infamous law of 1798 died a natural death when it expired in 1801, and Madison’s version of freedom of the press lived to become one of the principal means by which a democratic nation was to maintain itself as such.

Although the First Amendment was adopted in 1791, there was no significant jurisprudence concerning the free press clause until the 20th century. This is largely due to the fact that state regulations of the press were not reviewed by the Supreme Court until well after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which permitted the court to determine that the First Amendment was applicable to states as part of the amendment’s due process guarantee. Many authorities on the history of the free press clause consider New York Times Co. v. Sullivan to be the landmark case which “marked the beginning of a new era of freedom for the press” where the Court established unprecedented rights and protections for the press. In Sullivan and several subsequent cases, the Supreme Court recognized that the press is guaranteed certain freedoms by the First Amendment. The court, in recognizing these freedoms, also discussed the meaning of freedom of the press and its purpose. Freedom of the press is protection from any government interference with the press as it functions in our society. The purpose of the freedom of the press is to promote a healthy democracy through informing the public of news and other relevant information, exposing government wrongdoing and communicating a wide array of ideas and perspectives.

Although the free press clause insures liberty of the press, it is not serving its intended purpose because the press is not performing its intended function in a democratic society. Due to the ubiquitous consolidation and commercialization of the press, a healthy democracy is no longer being facilitated by the freedom of the press. To demonstrate this, I will begin in Part I with a general explanation of the function and purpose of the free press clause. In Part II, I will discuss the legal protections afforded to the press via the free press clause and the cases that elaborated these protections. Finally, in Part III, I will explain some of the reasons for the failure of the press to promote a healthy democracy.

I. The Purpose of the Free Press Clause

A. Protecting the Liberty of the Press

The Supreme Court has interpreted the wording of the First Amendment to prohibit the government from infringing upon the liberty of the press. When the Supreme Court weighs the constitutional validity of a government action or policy restricting the freedom of the press, there are three general characteristics on behalf of the press that the court is trying to protect: (1) its importance to the “marketplace of ideas,” (2) its independence from the government, and (3) its unique values and discretion. These character-
istics represent the roles of the press in American society as they are intended to be protected by the free press clause.

1. Importance to the marketplace of ideas

The often used “marketplace of ideas” metaphor entered First Amendment jurisprudence in a dissenting opinion written by Justice Holmes and is perhaps the metaphor most invoked by the Supreme Court. In *Red Lion Broadcasting Co., Inc. v. FCC*, the court stated that “[i]t is the purpose of the first amendment to preserve an uninhibited marketplace of ideas in which truth ultimately prevails.” The basic premise of the metaphor is that the democratic process and people’s struggle for truth operate under the principles of free-market economics. For instance, the spokesperson of a certain idea or information is the seller, and the listener is the buyer. The idea or information itself is the product, and through competition between the best (or most affordable) ideas and information, the consumer will select. Thus, the Supreme Court views its constitutional duty as protecting the press from any government inhibition of competition within the marketplace of ideas. Any government intrusion into the liberties of the press will be weighed by the Supreme Court against “a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open.”

2. Independence from the government

The free press presumably acts as a check on government power because of its ability to pursue the exposition of government wrongdoing as Madison stated in comments on the Virginia Resolution. The Supreme Court has acknowledged that “the basic assumption of our political system [is] that the press will often serve as an important restraint on government.” This ability to pursue a check on governmental officials comes from the press’s freedom from governmental regulations. While this freedom is not absolute, it does provide the press with significant protection to publish what it pleases without fear of government reproach. As the Court stated in *New York Times v. Sullivan*, “Whether or not a newspaper can survive . . . the pall of fear and timidity imposed upon those who would give voice to public criticism is an atmosphere in which the First Amendment freedoms cannot survive.” However, it is important to note what is characteristic of a free press is not necessarily a motivation, inclination, or duty to act as a government watchdog, but merely a capacity for it. As per *Houchins v. KQED*, “Though not without its lapses, the press has been a mighty catalyst in awakening public interest in government affairs, exposing corruption among public officers and employees and generally informing the citizenry of public events and occurrences.” And in *Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo*, “A responsible press is an undoubtedly desirable goal, but press responsibility is not mandated by the Constitution and like many other virtues it cannot be legislated.”

3. Its unique value and discretion

Though less articulated by the Supreme Court than the previous characteristics, the constitutional protection of the “editorial discretion” implicitly suggests that the press possesses unique values which guide its by and large unfettered discretion, otherwise, “government intrusion into the function of editors” would not be infringing upon the character of a free press. For example, in *Miami Herald Co. v. Tornillo* the Supreme Court identified the core issue of the case as “compelling editors or publishers to publish that which ‘reason’ tells them should not be published.” Seeing that the court ruled such behavior by the government as violating the free press clause, it is obvious that the unique character of the discretion of editors and publishers must be an element of a free press.

An idea of what the guiding values behind editorial discretion might be is provided by a report produced by the Pew Research Center for People and the Press called “Striking the Balance, Audience Interests, Business Pressures and Journalists’ Values.” This report contains the findings of a survey conducted in 1995, then replicated in 1998. The survey includes individuals occupying specific positions within the press. The positions were selected respectively from each medium (e.g., radio, television, newspaper, magazines, etc.). Section I of this report addresses the results of the survey concerning the core values of journalism. The results of the survey (see Figure 1) demonstrate that the vast majority of the members of
the press have values that motivate their work as well as define what those values are. Placed highest among them are the principles of factual accuracy along with fair and balanced reporting. Less unanimous values include the importance of the scoop and reporting in the third person.

**Figure 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Widely Shared Values</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Local</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Getting facts right</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting both sides</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not publishing rumors</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two anonymous sources</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience first obligation</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance from those covered</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business out of newsroom</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaining neutral</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providing interpretation</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting story first</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoiding use of first person</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. Facilitating a Healthy Democracy**

The liberty of the press is protected so diligently because a free press is believed to be indispensable to the success of a democracy. In the words of John Adams, “The liberty of the press is essential to the security of the state,” and a “free press is a condition of a free society.” This necessarily expresses the belief that a free press promotes the success, and therefore health, of a democratic society. Of course, exactly why a free press is essential to a democratic society or how a free press is supposed to promote the success of a democracy remains somewhat unclear from a mere reading the opinions of the Supreme Court, in which it is received as a rational conclusion, but not empirically proven. Different functions of the press are mentioned in various rulings and yet no concise explanation by the Supreme Court exists. However, despite the lack of a succinct and pithy statement of the elements of the purpose of a free press in the Supreme Court, there have been other attempts that have helped to fulfill this need.

Two examples of authorities who, using very different methods determining the function of the free press, come to remarkably similar conclusions.

Doris A. Graber, professor of political science at Columbia University, conducted a survey in 1987 of “American political writings drawn from the pronouncements of its most renown political leaders and from the opinions of Supreme Court justices and First Amendment scholars.” She established that there were five functions of the free press:

First, a free press, reflecting the diversity of opinions throughout the country, provides a forum for discussion of many conflicting ideas. This widely publicized interchange reveals the strengths and weaknesses of various proposals and, ultimately, leads to the adoption of the soundest ideas. Second, a free press furnishes citizens with the information they need to perform the duties of citizenship adequately . . . Third, a free press is the public’s agent in communicating with government officials . . . Fourth, a free press provides an outlet for public expression of unpopular minority views. Fifth, acting as the public’s agent, a free press constitutes the citizens’ eyes and ears to detect and report corruption, abuses of power, and other misconduct by government officials.

An earlier study in 1947 that attempted to clarify the function of the free press in American society was conducted by the Commission on Freedom of the Press and presented in its report “A Free and Responsible Press, A General Report on Mass Communication: Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books.” The Commission on Freedom of the Press was assembled by the University of Chicago to conduct an inquiry into the present state and future prospects of the freedom of the press. During the course of its inquiry the commission heard testimony from 58 experts connected to the press, gathered recorded interviews with over 225 members of the industry, government, and private agencies related to
the press, held 17 two- or three-day meetings and studied 176 documents prepared by its members or the staff. A significant difference between the study of Graber and the Commission on Freedom of the Press is that since most of the jurisprudence of the free press clause did not yet exist in 1947, the Commission, unlike Graber, was not able to consider it. Nonetheless, in its report, the Commission identified five somewhat similar requirements of the press from American society:

Today our society needs, first, a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account of the day’s events in a context which gives them meaning; second, a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism; third, a means of projecting the opinions and attitudes of the groups in the society to one another; fourth, a method of presenting and clarifying the goals and values of the society; and fifth, a way of reaching every member of the society by the currents of information, thought, and feeling which the press supplies.

Clearly, though they are years apart, there are many correlations between the conclusions of the commission and those of Graber. Both identify the functions of a free press to include the role as a forum for discussion/exchange of comment and criticism and to represent a diverse range of opinions and perspectives. An interesting distinction between their results is that the commission did not identify the press as having a watchdog role toward the government that Madison asserted. The commission went to great lengths to emphasize the truthfulness of the press whereas Graber found that the jurisprudence and history of the free press clause placed no such task upon the press. The functions of the press in Graber’s vision seem to be of a more adversarial nature than those identified by the commission that seem to be more concerned with the ethical journalism. Regardless of which view seems most applicable, as we shall see, both studies identified a series of functions of the press that are not being performed by the press.

II. How a Free Press Is Supposed to Act

A. Prohibition of Governmental Interference

Having discussed the intended purpose of the free press clause, the next step is to show how it is supposed to accomplish the goal of a healthy democracy. The Supreme Court has weighed the interests of the First Amendment regarding liberty of the press against governmental interests involving interference with the press in a series of cases, and, by banishing governmental interference, has created an environment where the free press has the “breathing space” it “need[s] . . . to survive.” Therefore, if we are to understand what the free press clause protects, we must understand what government interference is, and we must further understand what constitutes the “press.”

The Supreme Court has found incidents of governmental interference circumstances where there are “intrusions upon speech or assembly, prior restraint or restriction on what the press may publish, [or] express or implied command[s] that the press publish what it prefers to withhold.” There are three forms of interference that have been expressly forbidden by the Supreme Court: taxation, censorship and mandatory right of access by disgruntled citizens.

Taxation. The case of Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co. v. Minnesota Commissioner of Revenue, involved a Minnesota law that singled out the press for special treatment by a “use tax” on the cost of paper and ink products consumed in the production of such a news publication. The tax constituted interference with the press because the tax was imposed only on the ink and paper used by newspaper publishers. The Supreme Court’s opinion, declaring the Minnesota statute unconstitutional under the First Amendment, stated that the “threat [of destruction by targeted taxation] can operate as effectively as a censor to check critical comment by the press, undercutting the basic assumption of our political system that the press will often serve as an important restraint on government.”

Censorship. In the landmark “Pentagon Papers” case in which the Nixon administration initiated proceedings seeking an injunction against both The New York Times and The Washington Post to prevent publishing the Pentagon Papers, an unpublished Pentagon study tracing three decades of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, the Supreme Court, in a per curiam opinion, quoting from precedent, held that “[a]ny system of prior restraints of expression comes to this Court bearing a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity. The Government thus carries a heavy burden of showing justification for the imposi-
tion of such a restraint,” and the government had not met the burden. Concurring, Justice Brennan stated that the “First Amendment tolerates absolutely no prior judicial restraints of the press predicated upon surmise or conjecture that untoward consequences may result.” This decision built on an earlier ruling wherein the court had deemed a statute censoring “obscene, lewd and lascivious newspaper[s], magazine[s], or other periodical[s], or] malicious, scandalous and defamatory newspaper[s], magazine[s] or other periodical[s]” to be a violation of the free press clause in a case involving an aggressive weekly that focused on public corruption and racketeering in Minneapolis. Furthermore, in a concurring opinion in the Pentagon Papers case, Justice Douglas made an important observation about the First Amendment that the “dominant purpose of the First Amendment was to prohibit the widespread government practice of governmental suppression of embarrassing information.” Regarding the argument that national security should trump freedom of the press, concurring in Sullivan, Justice Black stated, “To find that the President has ‘inherent power’ to halt the publication of news by resort to the courts would wipe out the First Amendment and destroy the fundamental liberty and security of the very people the Government hopes to make ‘secure.’”

Right of Access. Similar to the right of the press to be free of the “suppression of information that was found in the Pentagon Papers case,” is the their right to be free of the “right of access” legislation that grants political candidates the right to demand equal news space to counter newspapers attacks on the candidates’ personal character or public record. The Supreme Court found these laws to be in violation of the First Amendment in the case of Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo. In Tornillo, the court determined right of access legislation to represent a governmental “compulsion to print” and, like the government compulsion not to print, to be unconstitutional as it is “an intrusion into the function of editors.” This protection is similar to censorship because “[a] newspaper is more than a passive receptacle or conduit for news, comment and advertisement. The choice of material to go into a newspaper, and the decisions made as to limitations on the size and content of the paper, and treatment of public issues and public officials – whether fair or unfair – constitute the exercise of editorial control and judgment.”

In New York Times v. Sullivan the Supreme Court established as a principle of freedom of the press, the freedom to publish content critical of public officials, regardless of the truth or falsity or the criticism except when false statements are made with “actual malice” or “knowledge that it was false or with reckless disregard of whether it was false or not.” The court’s reasoning, á la Madison, was that punishment for libel might have an effect of “shut[ting] off an important outlet for the promulgation of information and ideas” because a “rule compelling the critic of official conduct to guarantee the truth of all his factual assertions – and to do so on pain of libel judgments virtually unlimited in amount – leads to a comparable ‘self-censorship.’” Thus, according to the Supreme Court, “[i]t is the their right to be free of the ‘right of access’ legislation that is the exercise of editorial control and judgment.”

Until this point this paper has referred to “the press” as one institution receiving equal protection. However, the protections afforded by the free press clause are also enjoyed by the broadcast media, though not to the same extent. The publishing media are newspapers, books, magazines, and other periodicals. The broadcast media are essentially radio and television.

The institutions of journalism operating on the broadcasting spectrum (the entire range of electromagnetic communications frequencies, including those used for radio, radar and television; the radio-frequency spectrum) are not granted the full protection from government interference of the free press clause. The entire body of law supporting this distinction is based on a fundamental principle of “spectrum scarcity.” The doctrine of spectrum scarcity originated in the case Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC where the court stated that “[b]ecause of the scarcity of radio frequencies, the Government is permitted to put restraints on licensees.” The case involved the FCC regulation requiring that discussion of public issues be presented on broadcast stations, and that each side of those issues must be given fair coverage. The broadcasters argued that the resulting “fairness doctrine” regulation was an infringement of their First Amendment rights and beyond the limits of the amendment. Yet, the Supreme Court ruled that the FCC’s authority to regulate the broadcasting spectrum was constitutionally permissible because “broadcast frequencies constituted a scarce [public] resource whose use could be regulated and rationalized only by the government,” and “there is no sanctuary in the First Amendment for unlimited private censorship operating in a medium not open to all.” The court noted in its ruling that “[i]t would be strange indeed if the First Amendment, aimed at protecting and furthering communications, prevented the government from making radio communication possible by requiring licenses to broadcast and by limit-
ing the number of licenses so as not to overcrowd the spectrum.”\textsuperscript{56} Thus, because of the existence of “spectrum scarcity,” the freedoms of the broadcast media can be intruded upon for promotion of First Amendment goals.

Newspapers, magazines, books, and other periodicals receive full protection from the free press clause because they are the traditional formats that the First Amendment specifically intended to protect. The principle difference between the publishing media and the broadcast media is that the latter operates on a publicly owned medium, namely, the airwaves. Since both the presses that print the news and the paper it is printed on belong to the publisher, it is an entirely private enterprise and the government has no standing to infringe its First Amendment rights.\textsuperscript{57}

B. Utilization of Free Press Theory for the Deregulation of the Broadcast Media

Corporations use the First Amendment as a political shield to prevent governmental regulation of their business practices that are actually inconsistent with the goals of the First Amendment. Nonetheless, corporate officers and owners continue to assert that a free press operates in pursuit of democratic goals. Moreover, even in areas where governmental regulation might be permissible under the First Amendment, the corporate media has been successful in maintaining no regulation or achieving deregulation to a large extent. For example, the FCC abandoned the Fairness Doctrine, which was held to be constitutional in Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, in 1985. In its “1985 Fairness Doctrine Report,” the FCC took the position that the doctrine no longer promoted the public interest and that it was an unnecessary infringement upon the journalistic freedoms of the broadcasting media.\textsuperscript{58} Most deregulation is accomplished through persuasive lobbying of the government by an effective appeal to First Amendment.

The type of regulation that corporations are generally seeking to escape are those involving content restrictions and requirements, and, more important, media ownership guidelines. Media ownership guidelines are under attack because of the financial benefits of media conglomeration.\textsuperscript{59} My point is not that the First Amendment constitutionally protects the corporations from regulation, but the principles of its protections of other institutions are being used in argument to rationalize deregulation.

As mentioned, broadcast media is not fully protected from regulation.\textsuperscript{60} Unfortunately, authority that the FCC was given by Congress to regulate the broadcast media for the “public convenience, interest, or necessity,” was very vague, thus debate over the meaning of those words has existed ever since.\textsuperscript{61} In this debate, apologists of the corporate news media invoke the First Amendment in their attempts to convince the FCC to abandon its regulations. Demonstrating this point is an argument made by a premier advocate for deregulation of the broadcast media, Bruce M. Owen.\textsuperscript{62}

The example is Owen’s 2003 presentation to the FCC in support of the agency’s new, more lax media ownership guidelines.\textsuperscript{63} Owen was asked by three major media corporations to speak before the FCC in favor of the guidelines which permitted greater media concentration.\textsuperscript{64} His written statement to the FCC serves as a perfect example of corporations’ use of First Amendment rhetoric to justify deregulation. Owen makes three arguments to justify the deregulation of the broadcast media: 1) FCC regulation of content diversity is an “unnecessary infringement” on the First Amendment; 2) the inferior status of broadcasters based on the scarcity principle is an “unnecessary” burden on the First Amendment; and 3) the goals of free expression and an informed public are best served by competition in the marketplace of ideas, and the best way to ensure this competition is deregulation of the broadcast media.\textsuperscript{65}

The argument that the FCC’s regulation of the broadcast media to promote content diversity is an “unnecessary infringement” on the First Amendment is made on the premise that content diversity (as opposed to outlet diversity) is impractical and not a reasonable goal for the FCC.\textsuperscript{66} Owen states that content diversity is impractical because there is no quantitative measurement of it and because broadcasters are responding to the desires of consumers, who actually influence content diversity.\textsuperscript{67}

Owen insists that the inferior status of broadcasters based on the scarcity principle is an “unnecessary” infringement on the First Amendment rights of broadcasters by arguing that the broadcast spectrum exhibits no more scarcity than the resources relied upon by other media. This argument is made by first noting that economics principally teaches that “anything that has a non-zero free market price is, by definition, scarce.”\textsuperscript{68} In addition, modern advancements have invalidated the technological basis of the broadcast spectrum as being limited.\textsuperscript{69}

Owen explains that “the goals of freedom of expression and an informed public are best served by en-
suring that the media have incentives to respond to consumers’ demand for ideas and by eliminating arti-
ficial or unnecessary barriers to the transmission of new ideas.  
He adds that deregulation of the broad-
cast media serves to accomplish the goal of an informed public because regulation inhibits competition
and reduced competition inhibits the responsiveness of broadcasters to consumers.  
The only regulation
that promotes competition, and vicariously the goals of freedom of expression and an informed public,
Owen argues, is that performed by the Department of Justice in its enforcement of antitrust policies.  
Owen began his “Statement on Media Ownership Rules” by saying his intention was to use “standard
tools of economic analysis” to approach media ownership concentration. He argued that in considering
the ownership regulations for a given market, the FCC should only consider three things: a) which
“sellers” attract the most customers; b) whether there are “enough” sellers to provide effective competi-
tion; and c) whether there are “significant” barriers from entry into the market. This immediately sets
the stage to place an immense burden of necessity upon the government to show why it must interfere
with a given market and what standing it has to do so, and is supported by the First Amendment’s as-
sumption that expression uninhibited by government interference is the most crucial way of promoting
truth. While the “Statement on Media Ownership Rules” is only one of many examples of First Amend-
ment rhetoric being used to justify the deregulation of the news media, it is a particularly demonstrative
one.
Although the FCC agreed with Owen, the agency reversed its decision following an uncommonly
strong public outcry. What is significant about this example is that the FCC, the only governmental
agency with legal authority (albeit following congressional empowerment through legislation) to regulate
the news media on behalf of the public, would pursue a deregulation policy that serves corporate goals
that are at odds with the public good.  

Part III. Failure of the Press to Promote a Healthy Democracy

A. The Trend Toward Corporate Consolidation

Between the years 1983 and 2003, there has been an accelerated merging of media ownership. In 1983,
50 corporations controlled the majority of the media. In 2003, that number had dropped to just five. In
explaining the major trends with the news media in 2006, the Project for Excellence in Journalism ex-
plains the effects of consolidation this way: “As the number of places delivering news proliferates, the
audience for each tends to shrink and the number of journalists in each organization is reduced. At the
national level, those organizations still have to cover the big events. Thus we tend to see more accounts of
the same handful of stories each day.”

In 1996, Congress passed the Telecommunications Act, which greatly deregulated the consolidation of
media corporations for the purposes of “increased competition and to provide consumers more innovative
technologies.” However, as observed by Sarafina Croft in her article, “The Telecommunications Act of
1996 and Its Effect on Diversity,” the resulting consolidation actually served to reduce programming di-
versity available to the American public.

The merging of media outlets is one of the most glaring examples of the effect of the modern corporate
environment upon the press, and one of the most important. Nonetheless, while Congress and the Federal
Communications Commission have the authority to establish ownership limits and regulations for the
broadcast media, this power does not extend to the publishing media or the internet. Political leaders
lack the will to take on corporate lobbying and political pressures of the broadcast industry. Furthermore,
the legal basis to even regulate the broadcast news media is quickly disappearing as technologies
are developing to the point that there will no longer be any “spectrum scarcity.”

B. The Trend of Fewer Companies Entering the Market

The lack of new companies entering into the market of the news media leads to even fewer sources of
news. Entry into the news media industry is nearly impossible for companies who are not massive corpo-
rations because of two practices that none but the largest conglomerates can achieve: synergy and stand-
ardization. Synergy is a term coined by the Chicago Tribune Company in reference to its coordination
between media outlets in advertising for one another. With the different media outlets of a single corpo-
ration cooperating to promote a product or program, a company operating with only a single television station would obviously find it difficult to compete in the industry. The second practice is the standardization of programming over different channels. If a corporation can produce a single program and air it over many stations nationwide, it cuts its operating costs to a level that no local company could possibly match. As Robert McChesney says, “The rise of media conglomerates has made it far easier for a firm to spread its editorial budgets across several different media, so that the same journalist can report for a media firm’s newspaper, website, broadcast TV station, cable TV channel, and radio station.”

C. The Trend Toward Profitability Rather Than Quality of News

The transformation from the notion that the news media’s interest is to inform the public to the idea that its interest is to make a profit is another trend of the modern corporate environment, and has further estranged the First Amendment from its goals. Corporate shareholders and executives have put significant pressure on journalists and editors alike to meet profit demands. Of course, since they can use the First Amendment as a shield against content regulation, corporate managers can eventually prevail in demanding that profits come before hard news that informs a democratic public. It is ironic that it is the First Amendment that protects their right to profits. Subsequently, with the news media more concerned with profit than informing the public, the press no longer fulfills its traditional role à la the First Amendment.

While the trends leading to the current state of the news media originated from the corporatization of the press, which in turn created private news organizations whose shares of ownership are publicly traded on the New York Stock Exchange, it may not be solely responsible for the state of affairs within the news media. Yet, “going public” does provide a strong incentive for decision-makers to look to investors, not readers. “[A]s editors collude ever more willingly with marketers, promotion ‘experts,’ and advertisers, thus ceding a portion of their sacred editorial trust . . . as news executives cut muscle and sinew from budgets to satisfy their corporate overseers’ demands for higher profit margins each year . . . then the broadly felt consequence of those factors and many others, collectively, is a diminished and deracinated journalism of a sort that hasn’t been seen in this country until now and which, if it persists, will be a fatal erosion of the ancient bond between journalists and the public.”

In the mid-eighties Philip Meyer, professor of journalism at UNC Chapel Hill and former employee of the publicly held Knight-Ridder Newspaper, along with Stanley T. Wearden, professor of journalism at Kent State, studied this phenomenon to assess any difference between the goals and values of newspapers whose stocks are not traded publicly and those that are. For their study, Meyer and Wearden looked at four groups: security analysts, publishers, editors, and staff. They asked each group to evaluate the success of newspaper companies using yardsticks later grouped into three general areas: quality, financial, and innovative.

The Meyer-Wearden study showed that security analysts regarded quality of news as a much lower yardstick for measuring a newspaper company’s success than its financial success. Security analysts also regarded quality much lower than all other groups polled. As noted in the study’s conclusion, “Product quality, editorial quality, and managerial quality seem to be the chief concerns of newspaper people, whether the papers are private organizations that do not trade their stocks publicly or those that do. Analysts, on the other hand, were more concerned with financial considerations.”

This study shows the dichotomy between the members of news media institutions, with financial interests on one side and news interest on the other, a dichotomy that the First Amendment does not address.
In this study, Meyer and Wearden concluded that there is no substantial discrepancy between private organizations that do not trade their stock publicly and those that do. However, they stress that their findings should not be construed as a “complete negation of the fear” that increased public trading of new media outlets would result in commercialization of the news. The phenomenon of publicly trading stock is relatively new, and large institutions do not change direction suddenly. Since the Meyer and Wearden study was published in 1984, corporate consolidation has increased dramatically.\footnote{92}

What is also significant in the results is the difference in values and goals between the different members of the newspapers themselves. Namely, that the executives and market analysts, compared to the journalists, have much less consideration for things like the quality or accuracy of news reporting. With more recent studies, the effects of corporatization since the mid-eighties can be assessed. The studies show that editors, publishers and reporters alike are being pressured into constantly cutting costs, increasing circulation, and augmenting the messages of advertisers in order to maintain profitability.\footnote{93}

The Pew study mentioned earlier polled members of the press about how the press is performing its role in American society.\footnote{94} Criticism grew significantly in a mere four years (Figure 2). While not all criticism escalated, some of those criticisms most offensive to the core principles of quality journalism had. The criticism most notable in identifying the root of the decline in quality is that concerning the evolution of press coverage from hard news and facts to entertainment and sensationalism (Figure 3). By focusing on entertainment and gossip, the news becomes at once more palatable to its consumers and cheaper to produce because of the lack of skill and effort necessary to produce such information.\footnote{95} The discrepancy between the opinions of the management and those of the staff are reminiscent of the study conducted 20 years earlier by Meyer and Wearden.

The quest for profit created by the modern corporate environment has led a great many members of the press to become dissatisfied with the news media. What is perhaps the most significant evidence shown by the Pew study is that the number of dissatisfied members of the press is growing.

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The quest for profit created by the modern corporate environment has led a great many members of the press to become dissatisfied with the news media. What is perhaps the most significant evidence shown by the Pew study is that the number of dissatisfied members of the press is growing.
It is from these positions of ownership that changes in the goals of the news media originated. While the aims of profit and success within the industry have always existed to a certain degree, Neil Hickey, in his article “Money Lust: How Pressure for Profit is Perverting Journalism” notes four trends that differentiate the press in the modern corporate environment from the press in the past:

1. More Americans than ever are shareholders in public companies of all kinds and corporate executives, including those at media corporations, are sensitive to the vastly expanded interests of those investors.

2. Top managers in the media own ever-larger piles of stock options – often a heftier source of income than their salaries – and thus have a direct, personal interest in their companies’ profit picture. Higher profits mean a higher stock price and a bigger payoff when they cash in their holdings. Says a TV producer, “The more they can squeeze out of their people, the richer they’ll be in the end.”

3. In an age of rampant consolidations and mergers, clamping down on operating costs and budgets – no matter what the effect on news coverage – can fatten the bottom line and make a company a more attractive takeover target, with the consequent heavy windfall to major shareholders.

4. Bonuses tied to profits tempt both editorial and business-side executives to trim costs, often to the detriment of news processing.

The overthrow of quality interests by profit interests signifies a transformation in the press as it once functioned under the First Amendment. In the case Miami Herald Co. v. Tornillo, the Supreme Court affirmed the free press clause’s protection from any governmental intrusion into the “function of editors.” This protection of editorial independence is a central tenet of freedom of the press. However, as shown by the research of the Pew Research Center and Neil Hickey, there are now nongovernmental actors who are intruding upon the “function of editors” as corporate executives. Given that there is a conflict between the interests of journalists and the corporate executives with authority over them, one can only wonder if the First Amendment is still protecting editorial independence in order to serve the democratic public.

Conclusion

Even the Supreme Court itself has recognized the trends of the modern press in Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo:

Newspapers have become big business and there are far fewer of them to serve a larger literate population. Chains of newspapers, national newspapers, national wire and news
services, and one-newspaper towns, are the dominant features of a press that has become noncompetitive and enormously powerful and influential in its capacity to manipulate popular opinion and change the course of events. . . . The elimination of competing newspapers in most of our large cities, and the concentration of control of media that results from the only newspaper’s being owned by the same interests which own a television station and a radio station, are important components of this trend towards concentration of control of outlets to inform the public.  

When considering the power of the government to interfere with the press, the court held:

However much validity may be found in these arguments, at each point the implementation of a remedy such as an enforceable right of access necessarily calls for some mechanism, either government or consensual. If it is government coercion, this at once brings about a confrontation with the express provisions of the First Amendment developed over the years. . . . A responsible press is an undoubtedly desirable goal, but press responsibility is not mandated by the Constitution and like many other virtues, it cannot be legislated.  

Thus, the Supreme Court has all but agreed with the thesis of this paper. The free press clause grants inviolable rights to the press toward the end that it performs its function in American society, and yet the press is not performing this function of informing the public, acting as a watchdog on behalf of the American people or representing diversity in opinions and perspectives. On the contrary, the press commits fraud by using the First Amendment as its foundational assumption to make a profit at the expense of the public’s need to know what governmental officials are doing.

Endnotes

5By the phrase “insuring a healthy democracy” I mean that the proper performance of the press’s function is necessary for a democracy to operate properly.
6The First Amendment applied only to the federal government, until the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which the Court used over time to apply the federal Bill of Rights to states.
13The choice of material to go into a newspaper, and the decisions made as to limitations on the size and content of the paper, and treatment of public issues and public officials – whether fair or unfair – constitute the exercise of editorial control and judgment.” Ibid. 251; “The clear implication has been that any such a compulsion to publish that which ‘reason’ tells them should not be published is unconstitutional.” Ibid. 249.
14Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.


The function of the press is to explore and investigate events . . . .” *Branzburg v. Hayes* 408 U.S. 665, 722 (1972), (Douglas, J., dissenting); “If it is to perform its constitutional mission, the press must do more than merely print public statements or publish prepared handouts . . . .” Ibid. 729 (Stewart, J., dissenting); “[T]he press serves and was designed to serve as a powerful antidote to any abuses of power by governmental officials and as a constitutionally chosen means for keeping officials elected by the people responsible to all the people whom they were selected to serve.” *Mills v. Alabama* 384 U.S. 214, 219; “[I]n seeking out the news the press . . . acts as an agent of the public at large, each individual member of which cannot obtain for himself the information needed for the intelligent discharge of his political responsibilities.” *Saxbe v. Washington Post Co.* 417 U.S. 843, 850 (1974); “[A]n untrammeled press is a vital source of public information . . . and an informed public is the essence of working democracy.” *Minneapolis Star and Tribune Co. v. Minnesota* 460 U.S. 575, 585 (1983).


Ibid.

Ibid. Graber, 258.

Ibid.


Members of the Commission included Zechariah Chafee, Jr., a professor of law at Harvard University, John M. Clark, a professor of economics at Columbia University, Archibald McLeish, a former Assistant Secretary of State and Pulitzer Prize-winning poet, Beardsley Rum, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank on New York. Robert M. Hutchins, the Chancellor of the University of Chicago, chaired the Commission.

Ibid. v-iv.

Ibid., p. 20-21.

Ibid., p. 21-29.

See, note 24.


Ibid. 585.
A per curiam opinion is that the court does not deem a matter worthy of an opinion of the court.


Content diversity is not a reasonable goal for the Commission. If the Commission were to target media content that would be an unnecessary infringement on the First Amendment rights of broadcasters. It would also be impractical.” Owen, p.4.

“[C]ontent diversity is an impractical policy target because it cannot be defined or measured and because there is no analytical linkage between ownership concentration and even abstract concepts of content diversity. . . It is the tastes and demands of audiences, not the wishes of broadcasters, that determine the extent of content diversity in a competitive marketplace.” Owen, p. 6.

Ibid., p. 5.

Even if there had been spectrum scarcity at the time of Red Lion, technological advancements have long since eliminated that scarcity.” Owen, p. 6.

Ibid., p. 7.
“Just as competition, backstopped by antitrust policy, works to ensure that the interests of the consumer are served in economic markets, competition is the best protection for consumer access to ideas and information.” Owen, p. 7.

If the Commission does undertake to promote the free flow of ideas through competition, it cannot do better at present than to utilize the rigorous analytical framework reflected in the Merger Guidelines.” Owen, p. 7.

[F]ree speech, uninhibited by government interference, is essential in the advance of knowledge and the discovery of truth. . . Freedom of expression is the foundation of democracy.” Horwitz, Theory and Society, 20, no. 1, p. 23.

The Supreme Court ruled that due to scarcity of resources, the FCC may regulate the broadcast media without violating the First Amendment if the regulation is responsive to public convenience, interest, or necessity. Red Lion Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 395 U.S. 367 (1969). It later ruled that similar regulation did not apply to printed media because the government had no standing to interfere with the function of editors. Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo, 418 U.S. 241 (1974).


New (and expanded old) video-based technologies have come to undermine the convincingness of the scarcity justification, and broadcasting’s lesser First Amendment status is now under strong attack. . . In short, any argument that broadcasting is a medium characterized by scarcity seems to have to meet a difficult test. The increased number and receivability of broadcast stations is just one issue to address. Indeed, those who argue that broadcasting, narrowly conceived as over-the-air mass communication, is scarce, must address the plausible argument that over-the-air broadcasting, cable, MDS, satellite master antenna television (SMATV), even VCR’s offer alternatives that, for all intents and purposes are ‘substitutes’,” Robert B. Horwitz, “The First Amendment Meets Some New Technologies: Broadcasting, Common Carriers, and Free Speech in the 1990s,” Theory and Society, 20, no. 1 (Feb 1991), p. 21-72.

Synergy occurs when Baker feeds the same TV story to her 16 stations...when a TV or radio station, or 24-hour cable news channel, or one of the online publications, uses a story from the Tribune newspapers...when Tribune reporters “extend the brand” by appearing in different media...when the Cubs help transform WGN-TV into Chicago’s sports mecca...when the WB Network saves Tribune TV stations $8 million a year in movie expenses...when the Florida papers share sports or legislative coverage...or when Digital City on AOL advertises beachfront real estate from the Sun-Sentinel’s classified ads.” Ken Auletta, “Synergy City,” American Journalism Review 20, no. 4 (1998), 18, McChesney, The Problem of the Media: U.S. Communication Politics in the 21st Century, 183-88.


89 Hickey, at 29.


91 Ibid.


95 “Hard investigations cost more that official source stenography, and they require skilled, experienced journalists. For media companies, it is considerably more lucrative to have inexperienced journalists fill the news hole with easy stories regurgitating the proclamations of the powerful,” McChesney, *The Problem of the Media: U.S. Communication Politics in the 21st Century*, 81.

96 Hickey, 30.

97 “A new era has dawned in American journalism. . . As competition grows ever more ferocious; as the audience continues to drift away from traditional news sources, both print and television; as the public’s confidence in news organizations and news people continues to decline; as mainstream print and TV news outlets purvey more “life-style” stories, trivia, scandal, celebrity gossip, sensational crime, sex in high places, and tabloidism at the expense of serious news in a cynical effort to maximize readership and viewership. . . then the broadly-felt consequence of those factors and many others, collectively, is a diminished and deracinated journalism of a sort that hasn’t been seen in this country until now,” Neil Hickey, “Money Lust: How Pressure for Profit is Perverting Journalism,” 29.

98 See, note 13.


100 Ibid. 247-49.
Increasing International Interest Requires a Quantum Leap in Methodologies for Learning World Languages

Claire Marshall

Dr. Shelley Thomas
Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures

Origins and Background of TPR and TPRS

People have been successfully learning languages other than their own for hundreds of thousands of years. With the advent of globalization, however, a closer look at what constitutes successful language learning in the 21st century is necessary. Statistics cited by authors in fields as varied as brain-based learning, psychology, and language acquisition, consistently show high drop-out rates and low fluency levels of students taking foreign languages in the United States (Asher, Jensen, and McChristian). It is not surprising that a resolution passed last year by the U.S. Senate proclaimed 2005 the Year of Foreign Language Study. This resolution was motivated further by grim statistics showing that only 9.3 percent of Americans speak both their native language and another fluently. The report clearly states that the need to successfully communicate in languages other than our own is "a challenge for which we are unprepared" (Lowenkron and Powell).

Industrialized nations have been teaching foreign languages in more or less the same way for generations: sitting at a desk, filling out worksheets, conjugating verbs, and repeating after the teacher. It is a process that takes the most determined students many years while discouraging the majority from ever reaching a proficient level of fluency. Drop-out rates and small gains in fluency speak volumes about students’ attitudes towards languages and how they are being taught. Total Physical Response (TPR) and its counterpart Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS) directly address these critical problems of fluency and motivation. They may provide the catalyst needed to revolutionize the way languages are taught in the 21st century.

Though it is often spoken of as a fairly recent method of acquisition, TPR was actually developed over 40 years ago. James J. Asher, professor of psychology at San Jose State University, began doing research on language learning in 1960. Asher explains in the 6th edition of his Learning another Language through Actions that TPR was sparked while trying to develop a demonstration of sensory input being converted into information on the first exposure. For example, how can a person “learn” or file something as new, official information after only being exposed to it once? In order to test various possibilities, he enlisted the help of Shirou, a graduate student from Japan, and his secretary, Alice. With Shirou directing them in Japanese, they began playing with commands, repetition, and body movements. After much trial and error, they decided to take a break during which Asher suggested that Shirou give them simple one-word directions that would get them out of their seats. He asked Shirou to give the command, do the action himself, and they would follow without speaking. It worked so well that Shirou began saying the commands without modeling and they were still able to perform without error. Thus TPR was born (1:18-21).

TPR is based on the theory that the learner acquires a second language in the same way that she learns her first language as an infant. As babies, people are exposed to body-language conversations on a daily and hourly basis over a two year period before they even begin forming words, let alone grammatical structures. When they do finally feel comfortable to utter that “baby’s first word,” it is always spontaneous and never forced. Further, before infants get to that point, they often show competent comprehension of their native language. For instance, when a baby is told “Go hug your grandmother,” she will do it, though she may not be able to say what she is doing. As children develop, they learn the grammatical structures of their language through interactions with those around them, whether it be from their parents...
at home or other children on the playground. This often takes the command form such as “Brush your teeth” or “Give me the ball!” TPR relies on this dynamic in order to build vocabulary. Commands that demand gross body movements such as “Stand up” or “Turn around” get students out of their desks where attention spans wane and allow them to have fun while learning.

In *Joyful Fluency: Brain-Compatible Second Language Acquisition*, Lynn Freeman Dhority and Eric Jensen state that movement, like that practiced in TPR, is essential for whole brain learning. They point out how schools are unintentionally organized in such a way that they do not teach to the whole brain. Worksheets that teach to the test require too much time at the desk. Many schools have dropped gym classes, recess, and subjects like art and drama with the misguided logic that this will help students to focus more on math and science. Yet, omitting movement and play cripples the brain’s capacity to learn. Even the arrangement of classrooms and furniture foster a stagnant learning experience. Dhority and Jensen explain why any subject, especially languages, needs to be learned both mentally and physically:

> First, a significant pathway for memory retrieval is through the physical body. This is known as procedural memory. We often recall what something is or what we wanted to do by simply getting up and moving. Second, areas in the brain that activate movement (cerebellum, frontal lobes, basal ganglia, motor cortex, etc.) are also well connected to the pleasure centers in the brain. Motion activates emotion; hence, moving can engage positive feelings and better retrieval. And finally, the peptide molecules which store information are distributed throughout the body. This means that almost any movement or motion can activate feelings and memories. (27)

As Asher continued his experimental classes, he received more government grants in order to create films to show others how well this seemingly simple method of teaching works. An important discovery he made was that the learners were internalizing the new language in *chunks* rather than word-by-word and that the retention was long-term. That is to say, instead of looking at a sheet of paper and attempting to memorize a list of words (chair, table, hand), they were acquiring whole sentences complete with new vocabulary and grammar (sit on the chair, touch the table with your hand, raise your hand slowly). Another amazing discovery was *zero-trial* learning. At one point, Asher asked Shirou to rearrange the vocabulary they had already learned to create new commands that they had not heard yet. For example, if they had learned “Touch the head, touch the table with the pen, touch the head with the pen” in Japanese, Shirou would now perhaps say “Touch the table with the head.” To Asher’s surprise and joy, they were still able to respond correctly, without ever having heard the new command (1:20-21). These commands are referred to as “novel commands” and they are perfect for not only testing what students have learned, but also building a student’s confidence in learning a new language. Often, students will respond with an “Aha!” moment in which they realize how much they have been learning without even trying or being aware of it. Traditional methods that teach the grammar point first and then provide an exercise to practice the grammar point take away the mind’s opportunity to make the discovery on its own. This unconscious learning is sometimes mistaken by traditional teachers as not learning at all. They reason that if students cannot perform metalinguistic tasks like conjugating entire verbs or filling in discrete grammar tests, then they do not know the language. Yet, a natural follow-up to an “Aha” moment in both teen and adult learners is to analyze and ask questions about the new discovery as they compare the new language with their own. These grammatical questions may come at different times for different learners, thus the need to focus on communicative methods that continue to produce fluency until such questions arise.

One myth Asher’s research on movement helped to dispel was that children are superior to adults in language learning. This misunderstanding has its roots in the accelerated rate at which children often learn a new language versus how slowly adults do. If a family moves to a new country with a language that is foreign to them, it is often true that the child will quickly acclimate to the new language while adults may lag behind for years. Why is this? Children are learning on the playground from their peers via the command form involving body movements and modeling, while adults are attempting to learn in non-play settings in which language is completely abstract and intangible. An example would be a child hearing “Catch the ball!” and having the ball fly through the air towards them, and an adult being confronted by a stationary person standing in front of them asking “How are you today?” or worse, asking the same thing
over the phone. Asher wondered if adults had the opportunity to learn in a playful, relaxed setting like kids, would they be able to learn just as well? After conducting several experimental classes with Russian, Asher got results showing that not only can adults learn on par with children, but they actually excel in language learning and surpass children. The only area in which children show consistent superiority is in pronunciation, where puberty seems to be the “biological marker” for being able to pronounce words like a native speaker (1:31-33).

Asher’s well-documented body of research on the effectiveness of TPR is now accepted in a wide range of disciplines. He has written more than one hundred articles which have appeared in such publications as Child Development, The Journal of Humanistic Psychology, Psychological Reports, The Journal of Special Education, The Modern Language Journal, The International Review of Applied Linguistics, The Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, and Psychology Today. Over the past 25 years, Asher has been interviewed by the televised science program NOVA and has been invited to demonstrate TPR at several hundred institutes of learning from elementary schools to universities like Stanford, Texas, New York, Hawaii, Alaska, and Cambridge in England.

Though it still embodies the same basic principles, TPR continues to grow and evolve as educators learn and experiment more. An important outgrowth of TPR resulted from work done by Blaine Ray, a high school Spanish teacher from Bakersfield, California. Ray took TPR a step further by changing the command form to the narrative form and creating small stories. This allowed students to develop a greater proficiency in the language while still enjoying a fun, stress-free environment. Teaching Proficiency through Reading and Storytelling (TPRS), involves students in interactive stories. They are able to take the concrete vocabulary they acquired through basic TPR and use it when it is placed in contextual situations. It is by participating in these stories themselves and reading and writing new ones that students are able to eventually internalize the grammatical structures and abstract vocabulary of the story in the target language.

Unlike TPR, publications on newer methods like TPRS are currently limited to the occasional anecdotal article. James Davidheiser, 2005 President of TFLTA (Tennessee Foreign Language Teachers Association), is one of the few university professors who has had training in TPR and TPRS and actually uses both in his introductory German classes at Sewanee. In his article “The ABC’s of Total Physical Response Storytelling,” he gives a brief history of TPR and TPRS, summarizes some of the published research that supports TPR, and describes what happens in his TPRS classes. Some key people in the field of research to whom he refers are psycho-linguist Stephen Krashen, Valerian Postovsky, researcher at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, Tracey Terrell, one of the developers of the Natural Approach and Alice Omaggio Hadley. Krashen’s research, which concluded that second language (L2) learning comes from comprehensible input, echoed Asher’s own research stating that comprehension necessarily precedes production. Krashen continues to maintain that traditional methods which focus on grammatical correctness instead of meaningful communication raise a learner’s affective filter, resulting in a fear of making mistakes that ultimately prevents learning. Postovsky supports the idea that aural comprehension is preeminent and that premature oral practice only leads to short-term memory, resulting in rapid loss of information. Terrell had similar results while developing “natural” methods which involve comprehensible input, gradual reproduction, and stress-free learning. Omaggio-Hadley sees an evolution from Asher’s “direct method” of TPR to the natural methods developed by Terrell, Winitz, and Postovsky (46-47).

One of the most compelling pieces of research that supported Davidheiser’s experimentation with a novel method like TPRS was produced by his own institute. In a study conducted at the University of the South, an institute that he described as “rated highly selective and among the top 25 liberal arts colleges in the nation” (57) only 26% of the students surveyed were conceptual learners. The other 74% were experiential and creative learners. What amazed Davidheiser was that well over 90% of the faculty who were surveyed turned out to be conceptual learners, and conceptual learners, he noted, were prone to teach traditionally according to their own learning style “without taking account of the various learning styles of the students in their classes” (57). Thanks to the new Center for Teaching, which was created at his university to encourage experimentation in pedagogy, Davidheiser was able to secure grant money for training in TPRS and now gives workshops at professional conferences around the country.

As new methods arise, new conflicts among theorists and teachers arise: explicit versus implicit learning, form versus function, the role of input versus output, free versus controlled production, the grammar based syllabus versus the students’ internal syllabus; these are just a few of the issues circulating in the
literature today noted by Rod Ellis in his *Principles of Instructed Language Learning*. Ellis, known as “The Father of Second Language Acquisition,” provides a conservative yet informed evaluation of the research on both sides of the currently unresolved issues in second language learning. He supports whole brain teaching, noting that research favors implicit teaching [communicative] over explicit [grammar based] to achieve fluency: “Given that it is implicit knowledge that underlies the ability to communicate fluently and confidently in an L2, it is this type of knowledge that should be the ultimate goal of any instructional program[me]” (4).

Despite the compelling research, language programs continue to adhere to traditional formats, as Krashen points out:

Currently, beginning foreign language classes are form-based. After one to two years, the program is typically devoted to reading the classics. Both of these approaches are frustrating. Few beginning foreign language students have an appreciation for grammar, and few intermediates are interested in, or prepared for classical literature (53).

In the meantime teachers and researchers around the world are struggling to address the problem of finding the most efficient means of helping students achieve fluency, yet all too often the polarities between the research and the actual teaching of languages have a negative impact on the most important person in the equation, the student.

**MTSU: Leader in Innovative Language Acquisition**

My initiation into the world of research started when I was awarded an URSCP grant to study TPR and TPRS with Shelley Thomas. As her former French student I enjoyed her style of teaching and knew that she was constantly involved in some sort of research, but I was not familiar with the methods she was using. She began mentoring me by introducing me to the history of the methods and how they compared with what is generally known about the brain through works like Asher’s *Learning another Language through Actions*, Blaine Ray’s *Fluency through TPR Storytelling*, and Eric Jensen’s *Brain-Based Learning*, which are the books required for her graduate course on methodology.

However, it was not until the spring semester of 2005, during a yearly regional workshop on TPR/TPRS held at MTSU, that the information really became personal for me. It was as though the classic cliché had actually happened – I felt like a light bulb had suddenly turned on above my head. The two-day workshop on TPR was led by Berty Segal, a textbook author and a professional consultant from California with more than 25 years experience as a teacher-trainer of ESL (English as a Second Language) and FL (Foreign Language). I had my doubts about spending three consecutive days from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. in one room with 30 city-school administrators and high school teachers, and perhaps the other teachers there had similar discouraging thoughts.

Nevertheless, as soon as Segal did a TPR demonstration in Yiddish, all doubts disappeared. She had the entire room of workshop participants (including myself) standing, sitting, turning, running, and hopping in a mere six minutes of Yiddish instruction, a language to which none of us had ever been exposed. Later on during the workshop, Elizabeth Skelton, another professional ESL/FL consultant from Colorado who works closely with Blaine Ray, demonstrated how to do content teaching. With this method, the teacher teaches whatever subject matter is required, but teaches it in a language other than the native language of the students and ideally makes it completely comprehensible. By using TPRS, Skelton incorporated key phrases from a science lesson into a story and taught us about light energy in German. Thanks to the effectiveness of the method, I still remember a difficult term like *durchsichtig*, which means transparent.

This summer I was able to continue my work with TPR and TPRS through my McNair Scholar’s grant by attending the Summer Language Institute held at MTSU. Thomas created this institute from an MTSU Special Projects Grant in 2003. By participating as both a learner and an observer, I was able to get a first-hand experience of what I was researching. The classes were held for five consecutive days from 8:00 a.m. until 12:30 p.m., and after each class I met with the other instructors to discuss what was working well and what improvements could be made. It was incredible because I knew I was directly contributing
to the evolution of this teaching method by providing the unique perspective of a student/informed observer.

The first class I took was Spanish with Blaine Ray, the creator of TPRS. The most unique aspect of Ray’s method is how he integrates useful vocabulary in bizarre and somewhat quirky stories that evoke humor-related emotions. Brain-based research shows that involving emotions in learning supports long-term retention of the information (Jensen 198-199). The stories often had to do with animals traveling around the world, all with simple problems that are resolved at the end. It is a very effective method which I had previously experienced in my French classes with Thomas. It allows learners to acquire not only vocabulary in context, but also grammar in context. Rather than staring at conjugation tables that seem as foreign and abstract as a math theorem before it is applied to solving a problem, students immediately put their target language to use. The goal of learning a language is to be able to communicate. In traditional language classes, however, this goal is sometimes, lost and forgotten under a tangled pile of grammar rules and spelling errors. If a student begins learning the language by being involved in and communicating through contextual stories, the technicalities of a given language come more easily.

By the end of the five-day course, I was able to pick up Blaine Ray’s Spanish novel Pobre Ana and read it all the way through. It was not really until then that I realized how much language I had actually acquired. Two months later in June, I attended the second session of the Summer Language Institute. I had already been exposed to both Spanish and French at some point, so instead of taking Spanish again, as I had originally planned, I went out on a limb and took Mandarin Chinese instead, a language about which I knew absolutely nothing. The two teachers were Susan Zhang and Linda Li, whom Thomas brought in from the Shanghai American School on the recommendation of Elizabeth Skelton. Skelton had just trained them both in TPR and TPRS two years prior to that.

This was by far the most fun I had with my research all summer. Each day we spent time with basic TPR that had us moving all around the room. We also created and acted out stories through TPRS. By the end of the week, not only could I understand an oral story, but I could read one, tell one, and write my own. The key here is that I had not memorized any set story nor was I simply able to repeat it, but I was able to actually pull from the vocabulary that I had acquired to create my own story with nearly perfect grammar, as far as elementary Chinese goes. It was a small class, consisting of students ranging from ages 12 to 72. It appeared that everyone in the class excelled and had fun doing it. Sophia Wentz, retired faculty member and former Dean of Faculty at St. Andrews-Sewanee School, was worried at first about tackling Mandarin in her seventies. However, after our five days under the instruction of Zhang and Li, she enrolled in a Mandarin class at a university and said, “As I look forward to my university class this fall and look at the textbook, I am further convinced that TPR/TPRS are superior to textbook based learning... instead of feeling intimidated, you feel empowered.”

As for myself, this class enabled me to learn enough Chinese to use it as a teaching demonstration of TPR during my McNair presentation at the end of the summer. Further, I also decided to enroll in a Chinese class for the fall semester at MTSU. It is not a TPR- or TPRS-based class, but the five-day language institute gave me enough background and confidence that I had no reservations about taking a language which I would have never otherwise considered possible for me to learn.

Since its beginning in 2003, the Summer Language Institute has brought in teachers and students from all over the country and world. The languages offered over the years have been Spanish, French, Russian, German, Mandarin, and English for the Hispanic community. Initial results of Blaine Ray’s pilot class showed that people who had had zero Spanish averaged, as a group, right at second year high school Spanish on two nationally standardized tests: The National Spanish Test is administered to secondary schools across the nation and the Brigham Young placement test is housed in the MTSU lab in BDA. Thomas has been invited to present the results at both regional and national conferences, and as a result, MTSU has become a central hub for those either involved with or interested in TPR and TPRS. Although the results were impressive, Thomas has chosen not to publish them because they were not gathered from average high school or college students; they were gathered from a very small pool of highly motivated language teachers or professionals.

Sarah Moran, 2004 president of KWLA (Kentucky World Language Association), attended the MTSU Summer Language Institute in 2003 and scored into 4th semester college Spanish. Although she had never studied Spanish, Sarah is a French teacher who uses TPRS in her classes, so certain pathways in her brain had already been continually fired both in terms of language and methodology. The important step of pre-
learning was a key contributor to her rapid absorption of Spanish. Nevertheless, the implications are still compelling. Students who have studied another language and know how to play the TPRS game are showing similar rapid gains in Thomas’s Honors classes.

Gloria Tapp, another former participant who had had no previous Spanish, is a project manager at Proctor and Gamble in Ohio. She is responsible for Instructional Technology projects all over the world with a focus in Latin America. She said of her experience, “The class was a lot of fun, but it was also extremely beneficial. In only one week, I have learned enough so that I can read and understand an amazing amount of Spanish … I would also like to come back to MTSU again next year to learn more” (“Third Annual Summer Language Institute,” 3). Although more highly motivated than the average student, Gloria is an example of another compelling point; the class resulted in the desire to continue learning the language, an important ingredient for keeping students motivated to continue learning until they reach proficiency.

The second year of the Institute, Thomas had a small pool of beginners orally tested by an O.P.I. (Oral Proficiency Interview), which is the official instrument of measuring oral proficiency for ACTFL (American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages). Participants tested anywhere from the novice low to novice high level, showing an increase of three levels in only five days. While consulting with other language institutes around the country, Thomas made the acquaintance of Helene Rassias, daughter of the famous Dartmouth professor who invented what is now known as the Rassias or Dartmouth Method. This method was eventually adopted by the Peace Corps during the sixties and entered mainstream university methodology classes where Thomas was first exposed to it in the late seventies. Helene Rassias now heads up her father’s work and directs a 10-day language institute at Dartmouth. In a conversation with Thomas, she stated that she had not yet given nationally standardized written tests. She had, however, given occasional O.P.I. tests and that after 10 days, or 80 hours, the students tested showed gains of anywhere from one to three levels. These results did not exceed the results of the MTSU Summer Language Institute and they were gained after more than twice the number of hours.

Thomas’s goals in forming the Language Institute were threefold: to look at the rapport between current brain research and new methods like TPR and TPRS, to provide accelerated language training for language students, and to provide a training ground for teachers who are interested in testing new teaching tools by allowing them to experience the effectiveness of new methods themselves in the classroom. Thomas is in the process of gathering data to contribute to the on-going body of research on brain-based learning in hopes of moving language teachers and researchers towards the most effective teaching methods. They may not turn out to be TPR/TPRS, but any method that involves the senses and makes comprehensible input relevant and contextual in an entertaining way has the ingredients that research points to as brain-compatible. Blaine Ray acknowledges the importance of MTSU’s Summer Language Institute in the introduction of the fourth edition of his book Fluency through TPRStorytelling. In a personal e-mail to Thomas, Ray stated “MTSU will never know how much it has changed teaching in the United States.”

In fact, the current changes have filtered into the community. In March 2006, Thomas was approached by Stacey Borasky who had heard about the results of the Summer Language Institute. Borasky is the executive director of a $17 million grant made up of a consortium of 12 universities whose goal is to restructure and improve the Department of Children’s Social Services. She and Thomas have since formed a partnership to help bring Spanish language training to the 4,000 employees who work for the department. Thomas presented a proposal to the state commissioner for the creation of the new position of “language development specialist.” The position was immediately approved and filled by Brian Roberts, a former graduate student from MTSU’s M.A.T. program who was trained in TPR/TPRS. Roberts works as a type of satellite, giving five-day language sessions around the state similar to those of the Summer Language Institute.

One of the most exciting aspects of this partnership is the amount of data that will be available for analysis. Gathering data from TPRS classes has consistently been a major problem faced by researchers and advocates of TPRS due to the dearth of trained teachers, small pool of appropriate students, and availability of research facilities. Most TPR and TPRS classes are currently being taught by language teachers at the K-12 level. These teachers do not have the time or training to conduct proper research experiments. Language classes at the university level tend to be composed of people who have had previous language training in high school, so the pool of true beginners is extremely small for each language class. There is also the problem of finding any experienced university teachers who are trained in TPR/TPRS from whom data can be gathered. Finally, it is imperative that the amount and quality of input students receive
in a TPR/TPRS class be monitored and tabulated, an impossible task unless the teachers are sticking to a well-planned script and there are faculty in the sciences who can properly analyze data.

Through the new partnership with the DCS, however, there is now a trained teacher with a script and a large pool of students who have had zero exposure to Spanish. As far as faculty interest from the sciences, Will Langston, specialist in the Psychology of Language at MTSU, began conducting experiments with his students and Thomas’s GTAs who are trained in TPR and TPRS in the spring of 2006. After reading Asher’s book on TPR he wrote to Thomas in an email, “using TPR to enhance acquisition of a second language would be consistent with current research on embodied cognition and other research in the field of cognitive psychology.” There will be a considerable amount of data available in the coming years so that new, more extensive studies can be made.

TPR and TPRS have not been restricted to the United States. The two above-mentioned Chinese teachers whom Thomas brought in to teach at the Summer Language Institute use the methods year-round at their Shanghai American School, the largest international school in China. Susan Zhang, the director of the school, has been invited to give TPRS training workshops to Chinese teachers around the Southeast Asia area, including Hong Kong and Malaysia. She produces and has published her own teaching materials for the development of a complete curriculum. The results of her classes will soon become another source of research data.

On the other side of the globe, a non-profit organization called the Isha Foundation in Coimbatore, India heard about the results of the Summer Language Institute and invited Thomas to help them develop their language program. She piloted a language class for children in the nearby Thanakindi tribe in order to test the effectiveness of the new methods and see just how quickly tribal children could learn English. She has been invited to return next May. This is what Anasuya Menon at The Hindu reported on July 25, 2006, after observing the English class at the end of Thomas’s stay:

These students were from tribal villages scattered in the foothills of the Poondi. They did not know English and some of them had not even heard it being spoken before. Yet, they understood their teacher perfectly. Through actions, pictures, songs and short stories, they were initiated in the world of English.

Don Kiraly, author of A Social-Constructivist Approach to Translator Education, is a professor in Germesheim, Germany, at the largest translator training institution in the world. For the past 20 years, he has provided intensive and extensive TPR courses in Hungarian and Latvian to give future language teachers the chance to learn a language in a non-conventional and holistic way. The current exchange program between Germesheim and MTSU enabled Kirsten Neuhoff, a German graduate student who attended MTSU, to get training in TPR and TPRS under Thomas. She is now teaching five-day language institutes in Italian under the supervision of Kiraly. She recently wrote Thomas that the results of the Italian classes were so dramatic, she has been asked to teach introductory German classes at the university, classes which are usually taught exclusively by the professors.

A new TPRS list serve is one indication of how widespread interest is in these two methods on a global level. The list serve was created in 1999 by only a handful of TPR/TPRS users. Teachers from all over the world can now instantly get answers to their questions and share their findings, experiences, and materials. It currently boasts 4,301 members and continues to grow weekly. As more teachers learn these methods textbook companies like Prentice Hall, publisher of Paso a Paso, are responding to requests for a change in traditional textbooks by creating TPR/TPRS supplements. In 2002, the first question about TPRS appeared on the NBPTS, the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, thus opening the door for innovations to enter into mainstream language classrooms.

Conclusion

The world of TPR and TPRS is exciting, a world that is constantly evolving and gaining momentum. The opportunities to continue my work seem endless. In the near future, I will put my research to practice and begin teaching a pilot ESL class to local Spanish-speakers during the spring semester of 2007. I will simultaneously be collecting and analyzing the data coming in from the DCS Spanish classes. People
have been learning languages for years, but as the research shows, it has been a fairly unsuccessful endeavor in the average classroom. As international interest and awareness continues to heighten exponentially, now is the ideal time to make a change for the better in the field of second language acquisition.

Acknowledgements

Infinite thanks to Dr. Shelley Thomas, my mentor, teacher, counselor, advisor, and friend. I could not have chosen a better person to work with, and will never be able to express everything that she has done for me in the past year. To my parents, who have always lovingly supported me, even if they weren’t always sure where I was going. Finally, to the always-encouraging and always-flexible McNair staff.

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McChristian, M.K. PhD, Director of Languages Other Than English for the Richardson School District of Texas, did a study for a government grant that showed attrition rates of 94-100 percent in foreign language classrooms for Spanish, French and German. She sent a copy of the report to Dr. Shelley Thomas in 2002.


Painful Experiences among College Students

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Introduction

This project investigated what painful experiences are common among college students, what interventions are most commonly used to treat their pain, and the potential relationship of culture and ethnicity to painful experiences. A questionnaire was administered, specifically designed to access this information, to a convenience sample consisting of 102 student volunteers currently involved in collegiate studies. Headache was the type of pain most commonly experienced among college students of all cultural backgrounds. To treat their pain, 68% of participants took medication, 42% sought professional help, and prayer was the most commonly used self-care method. Two other findings were that back pain was more common among Caucasians, and menstrual pain was more common among African American students.

College students are a unique population that is often overlooked, though according to a 2004 Census report, there are over 17 million college students in the United States. College students encounter a variety of painful experiences that differ from the general public due to several factors. Their minds are overwhelmed with thoughts concerning sexual health, nutrition, physical activity, and body image. They are continuing to develop self-identity, adapting to a new environment away from home, and learning to survive independently. Of course, all of these things add stress, especially when they have to effectively balance academics and social influences. As expected, most students spend half of their college life feeling tired and run down, and their health habits are far from perfect. This does not mean that college students never seek medical attention; however, when they do, other issues and concerns arise. Cost and time constraints are always major concerns for students. Other concerns include emergency availability, policies regarding parental involvement, and a limit to the number of medical sessions that are allotted to a student. The lack of health care is a widespread problem for low- and middle-income students, impacting health status, academic success, and student retention. This distress is only amplified when the unfortunate student is among the 7-10% percent that is uninsured (Williams et al., 2005). “Young people are in the full exercise of life” (Bigali, 2005). College students are younger, healthier, and more physically active than the general public, according to Westman in a 2002 study. Therefore, any kind of functional decline can make a great impact on a student’s well-being, affecting academics, daily responsibilities, health, socialization, and perception of their quality of life.

According to Jackson (2005), “pain is the archetypal signal for danger,” and this sensation demands attention. Thus, the connotation of the word pain usually suggests that the body has been subject to physical harm. Yet, an individual can also experience pain due to other influences, such as psychological, spiritual, and social disturbances. Launier (1997) advocates that “emotions are of substantial importance to health and well-being,” and prolonged and severe emotional distress can contribute to impairments of the cardiac, respiratory, and immune systems. Life-threatening events can potentially alter the college student’s livelihood as well.

Shwalb (2005) performed a study two months after Hurricane Katrina involving students enrolled at Southeastern Louisiana University. Many students had relocated there from New Orleans area colleges. They were asked a series of questions to determine how the storm had affected them, focusing on injury and damage, financial impact, physical health, psychological effects, sense of optimism, and the impact on education. As expected, the displaced students were harmed more financially, had a more significant reaction to stress, and expressed more pain and anguish. Moreover, both the displaced and regular students had a decrease in general health and half of the entire group reported a decrease in motivation due to this tragic incident.

There are a number of popular methods to alleviate chronic pain and also prevent pain when a threat is
When people feel threatened they tend to catastrophize and become consumed by negativity, which eventually leads to a loss in their ability to cope and tolerate pain (Jackson, 2005). In situations like these coping strategies are vital; yet, the usage and success rate of coping methods vary from person to person. Types of interventions commonly used to treat pain include seeking medical attention and taking medication (either prescription or over-the-counter). However, a potential problem, reported by Nabors (2004), is that many young people are taking medications without thoroughly reading the instructions and implications for use. Therefore, students may not necessarily self-medicate correctly or efficiently. Self-care activities are also readily used to treat pain, such as applying heat or ice, meditation, seeking social support, and prayer. Pargement et al (2002) suggest that religion plays a key role in the search for meaning when a series of unfortunate events occurs and “offers many avenues to achieve a sense of mastery and control.” Non-conventional interventions that have also proved to be effective in alleviating pain are cognitive strategies like mental diversion, re-interpretation of sensations, and mental imagery.

When a college student encounters painful experiences and coping strategies fail, many undesirable outcomes can develop. Studies have shown that 99% of college students feel overwhelmed at times, 63% feel hopeless at times, and 10% have seriously considered suicide. Georgiou et al. (1997) say that it is important to find ways to expose this special population to knowledge about health and coping with pain to potentially prevent stress-related chronic illnesses later in life. People fear pain and try to avoid it in all its many forms (Launier, 1997). Even if the mere threat of pain is present, escape is a priority (Jackson, 2005). It is important to note that in the college population painful experiences can often make a student feel different and subject to scrutiny, and the wish to fit in leads most to adapt to cultural norms. Gleason (1994) attributes alcohol abuse to these factors stating that “alcohol allows us temporary respite from whatever feelings we wish to escape,” and alcohol use may be misconceived as a stress-reducer and a way to wind down. Prescription drug abuse has become prevalent among college students for similar reasons.

College students are a vulnerable population, and this population requires more aggressive screening and preventive techniques that specifically address coping with pain. Wang (2004) suggests that the vitality, social function, and mental health of college students must be maintained to ensure general health promotion and a balancing of role activities. Health professionals should advance these goals and model healthy lifestyle behaviors. An expansion in university health services may facilitate this effort.

There has been a drastic demographic change in classrooms across the country in the last 10 years. The minority presence has greatly increased on many campuses, and there is a possibility that a college student’s racial background can influence the way he/she experiences pain. Hastie (2005) offers the suggestion that pain and pain-reduction influences are acquired early in life based on cultural and environmental influence. A study by Weisse in 2005 suggests that interpersonal communication is influenced by racial similarity and patients in race-accordance with their physicians are more participatory in maintaining good health. Unfortunately, the disproportionate number of white male physicians in practice may cause minority groups to be less comfortable reporting or expressing pain. The literature reflects some differences between the majority Caucasian population and the African American and Hispanic minority populations: the minority groups are less likely to be insured, less likely to seek medical intervention, and more likely to use prayer as a coping mechanism. Also, minority groups experience higher levels of pain and disability, and they tend to avoid painful, invasive procedures (Hastie, 2005).

**Methods**

**Procedure**

The questions that guided this research study were: what painful experiences are common among college students; what interventions are most commonly used by college students; and do types of painful experiences differ between racial and/or cultural groups? A descriptive design was used. An 18-item questionnaire was administered to access the desired information based on the student’s past year of collegiate experience (see Appendix). Topics include: most bothersome painful experience, type of help sought, type of medication used to treat the most bothersome pain, most effective self-care method used, negative effects resulting from the most bothersome pain, suggested improvements to campus-based health offerings, and a demographic section to specify age, gender, race, and academic classification (freshman, sophomore, junior, or senior). This survey was an adaptation of an instrument used in a similar
study; and it was self-administered. After IRB approval, each participant gave informed consent. A choice of chips or candy was offered as an incentive to participate.

Sample

Data were collected from a convenience sample of 102 student volunteers enrolled at a southeastern regional university. Students were recruited at common meeting places for the college population, such as the university cafeteria, collegiate apartment complexes, popular study areas, and athletic team practices. Data were compiled into an Excel spreadsheet and imported into SPSS for analysis.

Results

Of the 102 participants, 56.4% were female and 43.6% were male. The cultural breakdown was as follows: 50% African American, 45% Caucasian, and 5% Other (Hispanic, Asian, and Pacific Islander). Fifty-five percent were seniors, 29% were juniors, 10% were sophomores, and 6% were freshmen. The mean age was 22.6 years.

The most common type of pain among the participants was headache with 47% of the sample selecting it as the most frequent type of pain they had experienced in the past year. Second to headache, was musculoskeletal pain related to athletic activity and exercise, followed by back pain, abdominal pain, PMS, and a combination of other types of pain. Two percent of participants reported emotional pain (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Most Common Types of Pain

To alleviate their most frequent pain, 68% of the subjects took medication, prescribed or over-the-counter. The most common type of medication used for pain relief was ibuprofen (20%), followed by acetaminophen products (14%), and narcotic pain relievers (8%). Forty-two percent sought professional medical help such as visits to a doctor or nurse. Popular self-care methods used in order of frequency were prayer, decreased activity, applying heat or ice, massage, meditation, and seeking social support.

Headache was, by far, the most common type of pain for students of all cultural backgrounds. However, back pain was the most frequently reported by Caucasians and students in the “Other” ethnic category. Menstrual pain was most frequently reported by African American students. The students were also asked to what source they attributed their most frequent pain, and the responses varied. Twenty-six percent attributed their pain to stress, 17% to sports or exercise, 16% to poor eating, 12% to illness, 12% to their
menstrual cycles, 10% to alcohol, 5% to sleep deprivation, and 2% to other causes. Students also reported
the consequences they had encountered as a result of the most common type of pain they had experienced.
More information about the consequences reported is presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Consequences Associated with the Most Frequent Type of Pain Experienced

Implications and Discussion

Nursing interventions could possibly influence the pain experiences found in this study by providing
more frequent and advertised health screenings and services. Health education opportunities can also be
organized to be more informative and appealing to the college population. Collaboration with community
agencies and popular vendors might increase student interest in health promotion, along with annual
events featuring prominent speakers. Additionally, student wellness mentors could be employed in dormi-
tories with the sole responsibility of promoting the mental and physical health of the students.

Additional research questions arise from the findings of this study. Is there a relationship between the
combinations of types of pain college students’ experience? Does a college student’s racial and/or cultural
background influence the usage and effectiveness of medications, professional help, and self-care inter-
ventions? What health-promotion programs are most effective among college students? This study could
also be expanded to incorporate a broader student sample from other universities differing in population,
location, and demographic characteristics.

Although college students tend to be perceived as a very healthy population, they do experience a wide
variety of types of pain. This population also has a wide range of methods for coping with pain, ranging
from seeking professional help, to taking over-the-counter, prescribed, and illegal medications, to self-
care interventions such as prayer. Nurses have an opportunity to make a positive impact on both the expe-
rience and treatment of pain in this population.

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Appendix
(Condensed)

## Painful Experiences Questionnaire

During the past year of your collegiate studies, which of the following types of pain have you experienced?

- (1) Headache
- (2) Toothache
- (3) Other mouth or lip pain
- (4) Heartburn or stomach pain
- (5) Other abdominal pain
- (6) Back ache
- (7) Broken bone
- (8) Pain related to sports or exercise
- (9) Other musculo-skeletal pain
- (10) Chest pain
- (11) Surgery
- (12) Traumatic injury
- (13) Cancer-related pain
- (14) Emotional pain
- (15) Pain related to sexual interaction
- (16) PMS/ Menstrual pain
- (17) Other: ____________________

Which type of pain have you experienced most frequently?

How often does this particular pain occur?

- (1) Daily
- (2) Weekly
- (3) Monthly
- (4) Other: ____________________

Can you identify a possible cause of this pain? Specify. _________

Have you seen a doctor, nurse, or other professional for your most frequent pain or a related problem during your collegiate studies?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

Did you take medication for your most frequent pain?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

Was the medication:

- (1) Prescribed
- (2) Over-the-counter

Specify type. _____________________________

In your most recent painful episode, how severe was the pain before utilizing any means of treatment? (0= no pain, 5+ moderate pain, 10= worst possible pain you can imagine)?

Using the same number scale, how severe was this pain after treatment? _____

What is your age: ____

Gender: ____M ____F

Have you attempted any of the following self-care methods to alleviate your most frequent pain experienced during the past year?

- (1) Massage
- (2) Aroma Therapy
- (3) Apply Heat or Ice
- (4) Apply a bandaged wrap
- (5) Prayer
- (6) Meditation
- (7) Decrease activity
- (8) Seek social support
- (9) Counseling
- (10) Other ____________________

Which would be helpful pain-related services for this campus?

- (1) A class or program on pain management
- (2) A pain management consultant
- (3) Expanded student health service
- (4) A pain management clinic
- (5) Pain-related articles in MTSU publications
- (7) Web-based or emailed information
- (8) Support groups (e.g. Migraine, GERD, ect.)
- (9) More health fairs
- (10) Yoga or related-classes offered more readily

As a consequence of your most frequent pain during the past year of your collegiate studies, have you had to endure any of the following effects?

- (1) Missed classes
- (2) Dropped classes
- (3) Falling G.P.A.
- (4) Missed work
- (5) Lack of energy
- (6) Sleeplessness
- (7) Lost friends
- (8) Lost significant relationship/ intimate friend
- (9) Social isolation
- (10) Change in mood/ depression
- (11) Loss of faith
- (12) Binge drinking
- (12) Illegal drug use
- (13) Poor decision-making

What is your academic classification?

- (1) Freshman__ (2) Sophomore __ (3) Junior __ (4) Senior

Is your ethnic background:

- (1) Asian- American__ (2) Black__ (3) Caucasian__ (4) Hispanic
- (5) Other: _____________________
Corporate Fraud and Internal Audit: A Study of the Effectiveness of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act

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Introduction

The series of corporate scandals that began with Enron in 2001 caused a strong decline in investor confidence in capital markets. The federal government responded by passing the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002, which significantly expanded the rules for corporate governance, disclosure, and reporting. The act enforced the responsibilities of corporate executives, corporate directors, lawyers, and accountants by creating a broad oversight regime for auditors of public companies. In seeking to enhance accountability and restore investor confidence, the legislation emphasizes the critical role of internal control over financial reporting.

The Enron Fraud

Before filing bankruptcy in late 2001, Enron had revenues of around $100 billion and was one of the world’s largest energy companies. It always seemed to be at the threshold of new ideas and innovations. Fortune magazine had named Enron “America’s Most Innovative Company” for six consecutive years. Experts have suggested that the start of Enron’s problems began when the company decided to launch EnronOnline, a web-based marketplace in which energy, such as gas and electricity, could be bought, sold, or traded. For Enron, this venture was very costly to operate and the system was not profitable. According to Wikipedia, with “the giant cash needs of EnronOnline and the company wasting money in other areas such as broadband, Azurix, Enron Energy Services, and shutting down the original pipeline service which generated cash flow, Enron virtually drained itself of cash.” As a result, the company had to use creative and deceptive maneuvers in order to continue operating. What followed was a prime example of bad corporate governance, out of control corporate greed, misstated earnings, and fraudulent financial reporting. The following is a brief summary of the events that led to the demise of one of the largest U.S. companies at the time:

May 1997: Chief Financial Officer Andrew Fastow creates the first in a series of partnerships which are established for the sole purpose of transferring debts in order to keep them off Enron’s financial statements.

August 2000: Business seems great at Enron. Its stocks reach their peak price of $90 per share.

December 2000: Enron appoints Jeff Skilling as its new CEO. Skilling resigns after six months.

August 2001: Enron founder Ken Lay is appointed Enron’s CEO for the second time. An anonymous note is given to Lay saying, “I am incredibly nervous that we (Enron) will implode in a wave of accounting scandals.” Later it was learned that the note was written by Sherron Watkins, a finance executive at Enron, who later becomes a role model for corporate ethics and helps the implementation of company whistle-blower programs.

October 2001: Fastow is fired from Enron when the company reports a $638 million loss and discloses a $1.2 billion reduction in its shareholder equity. Enron files documents with the SEC
revising its financial statements for the previous five years.

December 2001: Enron files for bankruptcy and lays off 4000 workers.

January 2002: The Justice Department announces that it will conduct a criminal investigation of Enron after investors lost most or all of their money. (Enron’s stock is worthless.) Ken Lay resigns as CEO of the company and leaves the board of directors soon after.

March 2002: Arthur Andersen, Enron’s audit firm, is indicted for destroying Enron-related documents.


October 2002: Fastow is indicted on 78 charges of conspiracy, fraud, money laundering and other counts.

January 2004: Fastow pleads guilty to two counts of conspiracy and agrees to serve 10 years in prison.

July 2004: Lay surrenders to FBI. He is accused of participating in a conspiracy to manipulate Enron’s quarterly financial results, making false and misleading public statements about the company’s financial performance and omitting facts necessary to make financial statements accurate and fair. Lay pleads innocent.

May 2006: After trial, Lay found guilty on charges of conspiracy and fraud.

A wave of corporate scandals followed Enron’s collapse (Moeller 2004). Just three months later, Global Crossing, a high-speed Internet company, also filed bankruptcy. This was the largest bankruptcy filing ever for a telecommunications company. Global Crossing was trying to conceal its true financial state from the public by improperly recognizing revenue from certain transactions. Before the scandal was unveiled, chairman Gary Winnick reportedly sold his company stock, valued at $734 million, before it became worthless.

In July 2002, WorldCom was caught in a major accounting scandal. After an SEC investigation, it was discovered that the company had overstated its earnings by $3.8 billion, a number that would be revised upward to $11 billion. The SEC called this one of the largest cases of false bookkeeping ever. CEO Bernard Ebbers had received a $366 million loan from his company and even issued a loan guarantee to cover his potential losses in WorldCom stock. During a hearing, when asked about the events, Ebbers and other key managers pleaded the Fifth Amendment, which outraged the public. Ebbers and Scott Sullivan, CFO, were both convicted along with three other accounting staff members.

In late 2002, Tyco became involved in a controversy over millions of dollars of questionable bonuses, loans, and other payments to its CEO, CFO, and others. The public accounting firm PriceWaterhouse-Coopers was Tyco’s primary audit firm. As Tyco’s auditors, they had to answer questions about these questionable bonuses such as whether the amounts were disclosed and why the auditors had signed off on them.

The Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002

It was time for someone to step in and do something about all these scandals in corporate America. Investors in the stock market were worried that their companies would also be involved in some sort of scandal. After Enron employees lost all of their retirement in Enron stock, something had to be done. Prior to Sarbanes-Oxley, the general view was that if companies provided regular financial statements, these statements must be correct and the public could make informed decisions about stock purchases. However, the public felt duped when major companies were misstating their financial statements by millions of
dollars. With the accounting profession having problems with audits, and corporations having problems with internal controls and ethics, Congress decided to put forth legislation to ensure accurate financial statements, as well as to gain back the trust of investors. The Sarbanes-Oxley Act became law on July 30, 2002. It was the most significant act of legislation to affect the accounting profession since the 1930s. The overall purpose of the act is to protect investors by improving the accuracy and reliability of corporate disclosures. According to Moeller, the legislation has several objectives:

- Make management accountable
- Enhance disclosure
- Implement inspections of accounting firms
- Make auditors accountable
- Reduce corporate fraud
- Restore the public’s trust in corporate America and the accounting profession

Sarbanes-Oxley aims to ensure these objectives are met by:

- Creating the Public Company Accounting Oversight Board (PCAOB)
- Mandating rotation of audit partners
- Creating audit committees inside companies
- Making CEOs and CFOs personally attest to the accuracy of financial statements
- Taking back management bonuses if financial statements have to be changed
- Purging company conflicts of interest
- Enhancing corporate internal control
- Making auditors keep work papers seven years before shredding
- Providing whistleblower programs and protection
- Giving white-collar criminals more stringent penalties

Four years have passed since the act was approved, and Sarbanes-Oxley still remains quite controversial. Many people believe that the act was hastily passed due to pressure from the public. For those involved in compliance, there seems to be a majority that believes that the costs outweigh the associated benefits. However one views the effectiveness of the act, it is important to understand its significance and the main objectives.

Method

The current study evaluates the perceived benefits and weaknesses associated with the Sarbanes-Oxley Act and whether or not it is perceived to be effective in achieving its stated objectives. Surveys were developed and sent to all publicly traded companies headquartered in Tennessee (See Appendix). Phone calls were made to all individual companies in order to ensure a better response rate. Participants were given the option of completing the survey by email or by hard copy. To companies for which contacting by phone was unsuccessful, hard copies of the survey were sent out addressed to the Director of Internal Audit. Second and third request letters were sent as well. There are 81 publicly traded companies headquartered in Tennessee. I received 34 surveys back for a usable response rate of 41.98%. One survey was returned unusable.

Results

Participants surveyed have a significant level of experience. The average professional experience of respondents is 16.97 years, 8.21 years of which have been spent as an internal auditor. Total time with current employer is 5.48 years. The average age of respondents is 40. Of those responding, 62 percent are male and 38 percent are female.

The first section of the survey lists 12 statements (see below) and each statement had three objectives to be evaluated on a 1-7 scale as follows:
a) How important is this item to American businesses?
b) How much has the Sarbanes-Oxley Act impacted this item?
c) How much should the Sarbanes-Oxley have affected this item?

Table 1 shows the results of the first set of questions on the survey with related p-values. P-values of <.05 show a statistically significant difference between mean perceived impact and mean desired impact. The first 11 statements have a statistically significant difference as shown in their p-values. Statement number 12, strengthening the independence of our external auditor, has a statistically insignificant difference with a p-value of .815.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean Perceived Impact</th>
<th>Mean Desired Impact</th>
<th>P-Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reducing the likelihood of fraud in financial reporting.</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>5.44</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Increasing the use of automated controls.</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Strengthening our investors’ perceptions of our company.</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empowering our audit committee to provide greater oversight over our company</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Strengthening the expertise of our audit committee to perform its function.</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Reducing the likelihood of errors in financial reporting.</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Strengthening our company’s internal controls overall.</td>
<td>4.82</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Increasing the effectiveness of our external auditor in finding financial statement misstatements.</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Making our senior management more involved in reducing the risk of financial statement misstatement.</td>
<td>4.91</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Making our audit committee more diligent in meeting its responsibilities.</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ensuring the accountability of individuals involved in financial reports and operations.</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>5.59</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Strengthening the independence of our external auditor.</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>.815</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was an overall response that the impact of Sarbanes-Oxley is less than it should have been. Impact deficiencies – found by taking the desired impact minus the perceived impact – were present for all statements. Participants were also asked to rate how important each statement is to American business.

Table 2 shows the impact deficiencies and importance for each statement. Three of the top five items with the most importance are also among the highest in impact deficiency:

1) Reducing the likelihood of fraud in financial reporting.
2) Strengthening our investors’ perceptions of our company.
3) Empowering our audit committee to provide greater oversight over our company.
Table 2

Impact Deficiencies and Importance Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Impact Deficiency</th>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Importance Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reducing the likelihood of fraud in financial reporting.</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Increasing the use of automated controls.</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Strengthening our investors’ perceptions of our company.</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Empowering our audit committee to provide greater oversight over our company</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Strengthening the expertise of our audit committee to perform its function.</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Reducing the likelihood of errors in financial reporting.</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>5.53</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Strengthening our company’s internal controls overall.</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Increasing the effectiveness of our external auditor in finding financial statement misstatements.</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Making our senior management more involved in reducing the risk of financial statement misstatement.</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Measured on a 7-point Likert scale with 1 = none and 7 = maximum amount.

The second section of the survey listed a set of eight statements, and participants were asked whether they agreed, disagreed, or were unsure. There seems to be a general belief that the costs of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance outweigh the associated benefits as shown in Table 3. While benefits fall short, respondents are not willing to take on any extra costs to achieve the desired level of benefit.
Table 3

Agree / Disagree Responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Percent Disagree</th>
<th>Percent Unsure</th>
<th>Percent Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>My company’s senior management believes the benefits of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance will be greater than the costs for our company.</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I believe the benefits of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance will be greater than the costs for our company.</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Automating controls is an important means of reducing the costs of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance.</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sarbanes-Oxley will be effective in reducing corporate fraud.</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Implementing the Sarbanes-Oxley Act has increased the morale of our employees responsible for internal controls.</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>My company considered going private as a result of the high costs of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance.</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The Sarbanes-Oxley Act has increased my company’s reliance on external consultants.</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>51.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Overall, the Sarbanes-Oxley Act has been effective at accomplishing its intended purposes</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions

The Sarbanes-Oxley Act is a very extensive and important piece of legislation that has had profound effects on corporate America and the accounting profession. The overall objectives of the act were to restore investors’ confidence in companies and to reduce corporate fraud. However, has Sarbanes-Oxley been effective in achieving its stated goals? This question may be debated for several more years. As respondents indicated in the survey, they believe that the act falls short of the desired impact. Respondents also seem to be unsure as to whether or not the act has been effective in achieving its goals at all.

There is also a widespread belief that the costs associated with Sarbanes-Oxley compliance are greater than the associated benefits. While benefits lag behind, respondents are not willing to take on any additional costs to achieve the desired level of benefit. Perhaps there is an underlying belief that benefits can be achieved more efficiently. Seventy-one percent of respondents believe that automated controls provide an effective means by which to lower costs. This may bring perceived costs and perceived benefits more into balance.

Is it time to modify the Sarbanes-Oxley Act? This question, too, is likely to be debated for some time, but a large majority of financial executives believes the act needs to be revisited, according to the 2004 Oversight Systems survey. Regardless of the final assessment of the act, it is a response to the tremendous toll exacted by failures in business ethics. Sarbanes-Oxley has had and will continue to have a major effect on the accounting profession and corporate America.

Works Cited

Part I. The items below list twelve possible objectives of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act. Please provide the following three ratings for each objective:

a. How important is this item to American businesses?
b. How much has the Sarbanes-Oxley Act impacted this item?
c. How much should the Sarbanes-Oxley Act have impacted this item?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. How important is it?</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Very Little</th>
<th>Little</th>
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<th>b. How much impact has there been?</th>
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<th>c. How much impact should there be?</th>
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**Sarbanes-Oxley Act Survey**

1. Reducing the likelihood of errors in financial reporting.

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2. Reducing the likelihood of fraud in financial reporting.

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3. Ensuring the accountability of individuals involved in financial reports and operations.

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</table>

4. Strengthening our investors’ perceptions of our company.

5. Strengthening our company’s internal controls overall.
10. Making our audit committee more diligent in meeting its responsibilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
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11. Strengthening the independence of our external auditor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</table>

12. Increasing the effectiveness of our external auditor in finding financial statement misstatements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Very Little</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Part II. Please state the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

- Strongly Disagree
- Unsure
- Strongly Agree

My company’s senior management believes the benefits of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance will be greater than the costs for our company.

I believe the benefits of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance will be greater than the costs for our company.

Automating controls is an important means of reducing the costs of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance.

Sarbanes Oxley will be effective at reducing corporate fraud.

Implementing the Sarbanes-Oxley Act has increased the morale of our employees responsible for internal controls.

My company considered going private as a result of the high costs of Sarbanes-Oxley compliance.

The Sarbanes-Oxley Act has increased my company’s reliance on external consultants.

Overall, the Sarbanes-Oxley Act has been effective at accomplishing its intended purposes.
Part III. Please respond to each of the following questions.

Please state as a percentage the extent to which each of the following broad areas made up your job responsibilities as an internal auditor before and after the Sarbanes-Oxley Act. (Percentages should add to 100%.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before the Sarbanes-Oxley Act</th>
<th>After the Sarbanes-Oxley Act</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial Audits</td>
<td>Financial Audits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compliance Audits</td>
<td>Compliance Audits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operational Audits</td>
<td>Operational Audits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consulting Projects</td>
<td>Consulting Projects</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Were any changes made to the reporting structure or the placement of hiring and firing authority over the internal audit department after the Sarbanes-Oxley Act?

Yes  No

If yes, what changes were made?

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

Please list any portions of the Sarbanes-Oxley Act you believe are unnecessary

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

Please list any areas you believe the Sarbanes-Oxley Act should have addressed but did not.

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

Please list the types of software your company has used to automate controls.

________________________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________________________

Part IV. Please provide the following information about yourself.

1. Current job title: ________________________________

2. Number of years of experience as an internal auditor: _______ years.

3. Number of years of total professional experience: _______ years.

4. Number of years of experience with current employer: _______ years.

5. Age: _______

6. Gender:  M  F
The Social Roots of Terrorism:
A Quantitative Approach

Russell Parman

Dr. Andrei Korobkov
Political Science Department

Modern terrorism, as stated by Crenshaw (1983), “cannot be defined unless the act, target, and possibility of success are analyzed.” Following Crenshaw, terrorism is the use of violence by non-state actors, targeting predominately civilians, with the intention of influencing a particular religious, political, or ideological goal. The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the hypothesis that in high-terror states, poverty coupled with high percentages of young, unemployed men in urban centers are the most salient indicators of the recruitment of terrorists. In addition, a brief section will explore the possible relationship between the extent of freedom and terrorism. The social causes will be explored from the macro level statistically, with insight on more local causes explained through unique circumstances. The ideology of the groups is also relative, as it can influence the degree of violence perpetrated by these respective groups. The ideologies of the top 20 regions with the most attacks are listed and analyzed.

After the fall of the Soviet Union ushered in a new era of unipolar power distribution in the contemporary world, terrorism itself also evolved. While Marxist-oriented terror groups still existed, Islamic fundamentalism was on the rise. Today, the world is made up of the powerful that deploy legitimate or sanctioned uses of force, and those who use non-conventional means of terrorism and insurgency in order to compete with the more powerful states for power. Terrorism is different from other crimes because it has a political intent: “Terrorism is a sophisticated form of political violence. It is neither random nor without purpose. On the contrary, terrorism is a strategy and tool of those who reject the norms and values of civilized people everywhere” (Whitehead, 1987, 216).

Terrorism as a concept has been difficult to define, in part, because the line between freedom fighters, insurgency, and acts of violence perpetrated by non-state actors against civilian, government, and military targets is difficult to draw. As Ross (1993) states, “some theorists argue that there is little difference between terrorism and guerrilla warfare, and, consequently, little variation between the causes of guerrilla warfare and those of terrorism” (318). Defining the actual causes of this violence has proven to be even more difficult.

The top 20 regions with significant terrorist activity account for a total of 15,910 attacks from January 1, 2000, through June 20, 2006 (MIPT 2006). The average number of attacks per state is 795.5 (Fig. 1). The main variables correlated with these numbers include the average male age (CIA World Factbook 2006). This variable was selected on the basis of the “youth bulge,” as discussed by Samuel Huntington in The Clash of Civilizations (1996). Huntington suggests that a low average age, combined with low human development, can breed conflict, possibly terrorism, in the respective country. While this is not a claim for the universality of this notion, it is the idea that a youth bulge can be a contributing factor. The extent of freedom as determined by Freedom House rankings is the second variable. The extent of freedom is based on a scale of 0 (not free), 1 (partially free), and 2 (completely free). Human development, the third variable, is determined by the United Nation’s Human Development Index. This index assigns a score from 0 to 1.00 according to how wealthy a state is.

Figure 1 displays the number of attacks per country based upon the Terrosim Knowledge Database (www.tkb.org). Figure 1 also shows the above-described variables for the top 20 listed countries.
Figure 1. Relation of variables previously described with terrorist statistics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Location</th>
<th># Terror Attacks</th>
<th>Avg Male Age</th>
<th>FH Rank</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>4992</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipines</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>92.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Due to constraints in information gathering, some countries or locations are lacking all of the listed information. The numbers from Russia include those relevant to Chechnya. Northern Ireland and Kashmir are also listed as separate entities due to their large numbers of attacks.

Figure 1.1 Correlation of the variables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Terrorism</th>
<th>Average Male Age</th>
<th>FH Rank</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Male Age</td>
<td>-0.38583</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FH Rank</td>
<td>-0.39596</td>
<td>0.55705854</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>-0.25327</td>
<td>0.43562884</td>
<td>0.276946</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.1 illustrates the relationship between these variables. The HDI-Terrorism correlation shows that the poverty (HDI) on the broader scale has a weak to moderate effect on terrorism. There are, however, micro effects which can help facilitate the growth of terrorist movements, and these will be discussed later in this paper. The inverse relationship between average male age and terrorism shows that the lower the age range, the greater the prominence of terrorism in the listed countries. This is also a relatively weak association. In terms of freedom, the less terrorism, the greater the Freedom House scores. The average freedom scale score for 112 states from which these 20 are derived is 1.09 out of a possible 2 (completely free). However, a large portion of these states also have large disaffected minority populations. The states are listed in Figure 2 with their minority groups. Democracy based on majority voting prevents minorities from having a significant voice in political matters of the state.
Figure 2. Terrorism: groups and motivations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ethnic Minority</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
<th>Main Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Salafist</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Nationalist</td>
<td>Hamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Marxist</td>
<td>FARC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>ETA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>PULO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Salafist</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>Irish-Catholic</td>
<td>Catholicism</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>IRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Salafist</td>
<td>CPN-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Salafist</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Nationalist</td>
<td>Hamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>PKK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Corsican</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>FLNC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Marxist</td>
<td>CPN-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Chechen</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Marxist</td>
<td>Nov 17 Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipines</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Separatist, Salafist</td>
<td>Abu Sayyaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Salafist</td>
<td>Jemaah Islamiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Separatist</td>
<td>Tamil Tigers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Marxist</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The listed groups represent the predominant organization or movement in the respective country, as well and their goals and ideology: Marxist 25%, Separatist 45%, Salafist 20%, Nationalist 10%. The Marxist and separatist groups tend to have a longer existence than the Salafist groups, which have proliferated in recent years.

The Youth Bulge and Poverty

The combination of a young population with a low HDI ranking can lead to a disaffected and under-employed youth. This can have dangerous repercussions for the state. States with weak financial institutions have a limited capacity to provide jobs for a growing workforce. This is particularly problematic in Muslim countries, as Huntington notes:

The demographic explosion in Muslim societies and the availability of large numbers of often unemployed males between the ages of fifteen and thirty is a natural source of instability and violence both within Islam and against non-Muslims. Whatever other causes may be at work, this factor alone would go a long way to explaining Muslim violence in the 1980’s and 1990’s (265).

Poverty as a whole has implications at all levels of society, particularly in the realm of education and the state’s infrastructure. A state which is presently unable to provide for the overall welfare of its citizens will face an exacerbated problem from a growing youthful population. Graham Fuller, a former Vice Chairman of the National Intelligence Council at the CIA discusses the long range implications:

The rapid population growth is such that youths under the age of 24 now make up 50% - 65% of the population of the Middle East. This places immense strains on the entire infrastructure of the state, especially on educational services, which are already poor and declining in quality, and creates greater dissatisfaction among the most volatile element of society (Fuller, 2003, 3).
High levels of unemployment combined with a youthful male population can lead to dissent. These individuals are left without the ability to provide for a family and as a consequence, unable to fully participate in society. This can breed revolutionary sentiment, and foster violent anti-government movements. This is especially true when the individual is forced to leave his home country and work in an alien culture which contradicts his or her world view.

The conflict in Northern Ireland (a non-Muslim example) also highlights conflict which can result from an impoverished youth. This is particularly true when the youth is of a minority sect, such as Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland. The minority will often see the majority group as the scapegoat for its problems. In some cases, although not all, this is a well-founded perception. “Job discrimination in Northern Ireland remains a problem where Catholics are regarded as discriminated against by Protestants and this is often seen as the core of the province’s social and economic problems” (Dingley, Morgan, 2005, 53).

The Tamil Tigers group of Sri Lanka has also grown as a result of these problems. This group is among the world’s most violent, and has until recently led the world in suicide bombings. From 1983 to 2000, the group perpetrated an estimated 171 suicide attacks (Schweitzer 2000). These bombers tended “to be young, unemployed, and unmarried” (Sprinzak, 2000, 70). Poverty and unemployment has played a direct role in this conflict. “A large pool of educated and unemployed young people on the island rose up against the government in 1972” (Hudson, 1999, 135).

If poverty causes terrorism, why does Sub-Saharan Africa not have these same problems? In the opinion of some theorists, the extreme poverty of Africa prevents it. Sub-Saharan Africa lacks the major urban centers which provide some of the necessary elements for terrorism. “Cities are more likely than rural environments to facilitate terrorism. Urban environments allow terrorists several advantages over countryside” (Ross, 1993, 320). These advantages include ghettos which serve as fertile recruiting grounds, abundance of targets, easy availability of weapons, quicker access to media, greater number of people affected, and sympathizers who may aid the group (320).

Two concrete indicators of poverty include large-scale unemployment and percentage of the population under the poverty line. When combined with a large element of male youths, this can be a dangerous situation for the host government. Twelve of the 20 states have an average male age under 30. The data in Figure 3 and 3.1 illustrate the high correlation between poverty and a youthful male population:

Figure 3. Attacks, average male age, unemployment %, population below poverty line %.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State/Location*</th>
<th>Attacks</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>U%</th>
<th>P%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>4992</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>49.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Northern Ireland has been omitted in order to prevent the inflation of statistics. Five states were included despite missing a field. Kashmir represents disputes between Kashmiri militants and the states of India and Pakistan. MA- Average Male age U%- Unemployment Percent P%- Below Poverty Line Percent
The statistics in Figure 3 were correlated in Figure 3.1 to illustrate the relationship between the variables.

**Figure 3.1 Correlations for Figure 3.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attacks</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>U%</th>
<th>P%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attacks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>-0.38583</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U%</td>
<td>0.396401</td>
<td>-0.62378</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P%</td>
<td>0.72402</td>
<td>-0.79181</td>
<td>0.606703</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1 shows that the higher U%, the lower the MA. The higher the P%, the lower the average male age will be. In regards to attacks, the higher U% and P%, the more attacks on average.

**Contemporary Marxist Terror Movements**

While the world’s attention has been fixated on Islamic radicalism and the Salafist ideology, a great number of terror groups with Marxist leanings still exist. From the groups identified in Figure 2, below are listed the groups with these inclinations in Figure 4:

**Figure 4. Marxist movements in top 20.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Main Group</th>
<th>Attacks in Nation Total</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>U%</th>
<th>P%</th>
<th>FH</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>FARC</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>CPN-M</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>CPN-M</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Nov 17 Group</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*MA- Average Male age*

*U%- Unemployment Percent*

*P%- Below Poverty Line Percent*

*FH- Freedom House Score*

*HDI-Human Development score from United Nations*

*Greece and Italy are missing P% data*

India and Nepal have groups which identify with the Maoist version of Marxism, while Italy and Greece have groups that seem to have an anarchist as well as Marxist approach. With the exception of Nepal, all of the listed nations have relatively low unemployment rates. However, Colombia, Nepal, and India each have a large population below the poverty line. This is a large group that would likely sympathize with the idea of redistribution of wealth. It is interesting to note the contrast between the FARC of Colombia and the November 17 organization of Greece in terms of education level. The FARC “members are reportedly poorly educated young people from rural areas and who are more attracted to the FARC for its relatively good salary and revolutionary adventurism than for ideology” (Hudson, 1999, 155). The November 17 group, however, has a different makeup. “In 1992, according to a 17N expert Andrew Corsun, the groups hard core members were most likely professionals such as lawyers, journalists, and teachers in their late thirties and early forties” (166). This may seem to contradict the thesis, but it in fact supports it. The number of attacks increases as the citizens are more impoverished. The wealthier of the five states have fewer attacks.

The Maoists have more in common with the FARC, as they also have an enlarged peasantry within its ranks. Maoists have been active in both politics and violence. “Maoists strongly believe in the philosophy of Mao Tsetung that ‘political power grows out of the barrel of a gun’” (Rajamohan 2004). Moreover, the Terrorism Knowledge Base refers to the CPN-M as “one of the largest and most potent communist insurgent groups in the world” (MIPT 2006). Considering India’s and Nepal’s high U%, the groups have a large base from which to recruit. Impoverished people will hear the message of these groups as they di-
ectly relate to their own plight of poverty.

Figure 4.1 indicates moderate to high correlations between the listed variables with the exception of the affect the unemployment percentage on attacks. There is a very high correlation between attacks and poverty percentage. It is also interesting to note the strong impact the independent variables have on one another aside from their effect on the dependent variable (number of attacks). This interrelatedness suggests that controlling for individual effects is warranted in future research.

**Figure 4.1 Correlation of Marxist variables.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attacks</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>U%</th>
<th>P%</th>
<th>FH</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attacks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>-0.5877448</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U%</td>
<td>-0.08796541</td>
<td>-0.61827</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P%</td>
<td>0.915470281</td>
<td>0.36047</td>
<td>-0.27165</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FH</td>
<td>-0.33972117</td>
<td>0.739605</td>
<td>-0.86217</td>
<td>-0.23806</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>-0.5077919</td>
<td>0.641474</td>
<td>-0.33235</td>
<td>0.867124</td>
<td>0.38607</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Separatist Movements**

Separatist movements have been typically the most common movements which have degenerated into terrorism. The lines between terrorism and legitimate resistance are the most difficult to distinguish here. Salafists and Marxists both seek to challenge the state. Separatist movements seek to establish their own respective homeland from the governing authority. For the purpose of this research, the statistics derived from the Terrorism Knowledge Database should be viewed as terrorist acts committed for a separatist agenda. Figure 5 illustrates the contemporary movements which represent the highest number of attacks within the 20 states with the greatest activity.

**Figure 5. Separatist movements.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Ethnic Minority</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Main Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>ETA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>PULO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>Irish-Catholic</td>
<td>Catholicism</td>
<td>IRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Chechen</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Kurdish</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>PKK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Corsican</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>FLNC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipines</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Islamic</td>
<td>Abu Sayyaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Tamil Tigers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The states/regions have few if any mutual similarities regarding their respective religions or nationalities. Kashmir and Russia have several groups under the umbrella of a specific resistance. Russia has problems with both Chechnya and Daegestan. Kashmir also has fighters who belong to several groups, as well as free-lancers who belong to no specific organization. Asia and Europe have seen the most terrorism related to separatism.
The separatist movements listed above represent the greatest quantity of movements that have resorted to terrorism within the top 20. Forty-five percent of the movements in the top 20 are of separatist intent.

The separatist movement in Kashmir represents the most potent of the listed phenomenon. Kashmiri militants come from a wide range of sources, although it is a largely Islamic group, it is considered separatist and not Salafist due to its intent. However, Kashmir has become a magnet for Jihadist fighters who have a Salafist ideology. “Since 1989, Kashmiri militants have been crossing the border to Pakistan occupied Kashmir and receiving military training. The valley has also been infiltrated by foreign Islamic Jihad fighters (mujahideen). The best known group is Harakat ul-Ansar, headquartered in Muzzafarabad, the capital of Pakistan Kashmir, which boasts a membership drawn from Pakistani, Afghan, Lebanese, Egyptian, Algerian, Saudi, Syrian, and Sudanese origins” (Tremblay, 1996-1997, 472).

South Asia holds a wide range of ethnic minorities. The most violent conflicts which have led to terrorist acts have involved minorities such as those in the Punjab and Kashmir in India. Democracy has the unfortunate consequence of risking alienation of a state’s minorities. Pakistan and India have both had these difficulties. “Both States have been both Democratic and Federal, India more so than Pakistan, yet neither has succeeded in solving their two- and three-level minority problems. At least two consequences of this failure have been the spread of terrorism and internal migration” (Ganguly, Bajpai, 1994, 402).

The Basque separatists in Spain, along with the IRA campaign in Northern Ireland, represent the strongest movements in Europe. The Basque rebels have long sought their independence from the Spanish government. The movement has used terrorist/guerilla tactics since the inception of the ETA group. “Recognizing that direct military confrontation was out of the question, ETA opted for the classic third-world insurrectionist model, in which guerrilla action was designed to provoke state repression of the general populace, thereby raising the latter’s political consciousness and resentment” (Douglass, Zulaika, 1990, 244-245).

Poverty and unemployment are not factors in the Basque movement. Development is also not a factor. As a result, this movement is unlikely to ever be placated by anything short of substantial autonomy. ETA also enjoys the benefit of using average citizens for its attacks, and unlike Kashmir, it does not import its fighters. “Most ETA activists were young single males who were part timers, in the sense that they were
students, workers, or agriculturists who were only activated for an action” (Douglass, Zulaika, 1990, 245). The Basque movement is very similar to the conflict in Northern Ireland. Both seek nothing short of autonomy or outright independence, and there are no predominate underlying causes of this terrorism which contribute, except for poverty and unemployment as a result of discrimination. Poverty, unemployment, development are not as likely to be contributing factors in European movements to the degree they are in Asian ones.

The Sri Lanka Tamil’s have been among the most violent movements in the world. Unlike the European movements, the Tamils have utilized the tactic of suicide bombers, at one point more frequently than any Islamic groups. The Tamils are an ethnic group within Sri Lanka which seeks to secede the northern and eastern regions. “Tamil claims for a separate state rest, in part, on the territorial concentration of the community in the northern and eastern portions of the island” (Kearney, 1985, 899). The Tamil’s have their own religion, ethnicity, and language separate from the governing Sinhalese. “Tamil grievances centered around the 1956 declaration that Sinhalese was to be the only official language of the nation, with attendant fears of discrimination in public employment and difficulties in dealing with government agencies” (Kearney, 1985, 904). This situation is similar to the Northern Ireland fears of discrimination against the Catholic minority.

These demands are constant with each group. An ethnic or religious minority seeks autonomy or outright independence from its government. These demands can stem from a lack of representation within its host government, or from a history of violence with the ruling group. The use of terrorism can make it increasingly inconvenient for the host government to continue to control the disputed region. Because the group committing acts of terror is at a disadvantage in its inability for a direct military confrontation, its use of terrorism is seen by the group as a justifiable means of evening up the odds, and forcing the host government into negotiation.

Brutality by the governing powers serves as an instigator of terrorist violence. This is most evident in Chechnya. The Chechen movement has been historically brutal on both sides of the conflict, and continues to be. “The hardships experienced by the Chechens and other mountain peoples were nevertheless substantial, especially given the brutality with which both tsarist Russia, the Soviet authorities, and lately modern Russia suppressed these rebellions” (Cornell, 1999, 85). The Russian responses to terrorism, including large-scale suppression and the military occupation of Chechnya, have exacerbated the issues which have highlighted the Chechen plight. Chechen terrorist acts in Moscow and Beslam have been horrifically played out on the world stage. These desperate acts of Chechen terrorists have been a result of brutality they have experienced at the hands of the Russian military. The Russian responses in Chechnya have provoked world-wide reaction, including in the Islamic world. Like Kashmir, Chechnya has served as a flashpoint for Islamic holy war. Chechnya, like Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Kashmir, among others, has an influx of foreign fighters dedicated to the conflict with incredible religious zeal. It is a classic example of a separatist movement which is being hijacked by the Salafist agenda.

Salafist Movements

The term Salafist may confound readers not familiar with the phrase. In his book, Understanding Terror Networks, Marc Sageman provides a clarifying definition and explanation of the term:

The Global Salafi Jihad is a worldwide religious revivalist movement with the goal of establishing past Muslim glory in a great Islamist state stretching from Morocco to the Philippines, eliminating present national boundaries. It preaches salafiyyah, the restoration of the authentic Islam, and advocates a strategy of violent jihad, resulting in an explosion of terror to wipe out what it regards as political heresy. The global version of this movement advocates the defeat of the western powers that prevent the establishment of a true Islamist state. Al Qaeda is the vanguard of this movement (Sageman, 2004, 1).

Al Qaeda represents a wider movement of Islamic radicals who promote terrorism worldwide. The leaders of the group have served to inspire like-minded radicals in many countries, including Western nations, to commit acts of terror to further this cause.
The movement is unique. While the previously discussed separatist and Marxist groups seek change within their immediate regions, Salafists have a more global vision. Like Marxists, Salafists have a vision of a proper means of governance. However, Marxism has never been as violent as Salafism, and its ideas can be empathized with anywhere in the world. The Salafists, on the other hand, are concerned with violent Islamic expansion. States with sizeable Islamic populations are not the only victims of this ideology; Europe and North America have also been subject to the violence of this movement due to their large influx of refugees from Islamic countries.

Salafists derive their power from what is seen as a failure of Western liberal societies to solve the world’s problems. Similar to Marxism, this movement seeks to challenge free-market capitalism with an alternative form of governance. Salafists seek convergence of religion and state, and see Allah as the true answer to the world’s problems. Salafist movements in the top twenty are listed in Figure 6:

**Figure 6. Salafist movements in top 20.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Main Group</th>
<th>Attacks</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>U%</th>
<th>P%</th>
<th>FH</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>4992</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipines</td>
<td>Abu Sayyaf</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Jemaah Islamiya</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The youth, as well as poverty, are notable in the listed countries. Only Indonesia has a relatively low rate of poverty. It is also the only state with a completely free ranking from Freedom House.

**Figure 6.1 Correlations for Figure 6.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attacks</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>U%</th>
<th>P%</th>
<th>FH</th>
<th>HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attacks</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>-0.31656</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U%</td>
<td>0.434209</td>
<td>-0.62883</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P%</td>
<td>0.623971</td>
<td>-0.88336</td>
<td>0.766258</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FH</td>
<td>-0.58148</td>
<td>0.724124</td>
<td>-0.11998</td>
<td>-0.41122</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>-0.94081</td>
<td>0.546096</td>
<td>0.997767</td>
<td>0.111295</td>
<td>0.68654</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As stated above, P% has a relatively high correlation with number of attacks. MA also has a moderate relationship to violence. In countries with a strong Islamic influence, this provides fertile recruiting ground for terrorists. Note the relationship between MA and P%. This very high association illustrates the lower the male age, the higher the poverty. When large numbers of men have little to lose and a low level of education, they are very susceptible to influence by the Salafist agenda, from which they can benefit.

Terrorism has served as the easiest and quickest means of provoking change within societies. “Bin Laden, like others before him, has adopted terrorism as a rational choice to bring certain political goals nearer, and as a shortcut to transforming the political landscape. After World War II, Israel’s future prime minister Menachem Begin and his Irgun organization, for instance, conducted a campaign of terror against the British targets in Palestine to hasten the British withdrawal from the country, a strategy that proved successful” (Bergen, 2006, 390). Bin Laden has frequently cited the U.S. debacle in Somalia and Beirut as motivation that terrorism will hasten a U.S. exit from the region. Bin Laden refers to this in his 1997 interview with Peter Arnett:

With God’s grace, Muslims over there (Somalia) cooperated with some Arab Mujahideen who were in Afghanistan. They participated with their brothers in Somalia against the American occupation troops and killed large numbers of them. The American administration was aware of that. After a little resistance,
the American troops left after achieving nothing. They left after claiming that they were the largest power on earth. They left after some resistance from the powerless, poor, unarmed people whose only weapon was their belief in the almighty, and who do not fear the fabricated American media lies. We learned from those who fought there, that they were surprised to see the low spiritual morale of the American fighters in comparison with the experience they had with the Russian fighters. The Americans ran away from those fighters who fought and killed them, while the latter stayed. If the U.S. still thinks and brags that it still has this kind of power, even after all these successive defeats in Vietnam, Beirut, Aden, and Somalia, then let its troops go back to those who are awaiting its return (Lawrence, 2005, 55).

The rhetoric of Bin Laden in 1997 has only been intensified by further U.S. military intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan. Clearly the high number of attacks in these nations is related to the American presence and the underlying perception that terrorism will eventually force the United States to drop its plans for the region. The failure of the Reagan administration in 1983 and the Clinton administration in 1993 in Beirut and Somalia, respectively, has reinforced the idea that the United States will only tolerate so much bloodshed before abandoning its plans in the region.

While the Taliban are only one movement to have successfully implemented Sharia law, they offer a glimpse into the ideas of similar groups throughout the world. What kind of society do Salafists want to construct? For one thing, a society that is not empowering for women. The official decrees of the Taliban illustrate the harsh treatment of women under this regime. One such decree, in 1996, spells out some of the laws regarding women:

Islam as a rescuing religion has determined specific dignity for women, Islam has valuable instructions for women. Women should not create such opportunity to attract the attention of useless people who will not look as them with a good eye. Women have the responsibility as a teacher or coordinator for her family. Husband, brother, father, have the responsibility for providing the family with the necessary life requirements (food, clothes, etc.). In case women are required to go outside the residence for the purpose of education, social needs, or social services they should cover themselves in accordance with Islamic Sharia legislation. If women are going outside with fashionable, ornamental, tight, and charming clothes to show themselves, they will be cursed by the Islamic Sharia and should never expect to go to heaven (Rashid, 2000, 217).

The decree continues with the consequences for women who rebel against this law. The family elders are required to enforce these rules, “otherwise these women will be threatened, investigated, and severely punished as well as the family elders by the forces of the religious police” (217-218). The decree also bans all forms of music (218), shaving (219), kite flying (219), British and American hairstyles (219), and addiction and gambling (219), among other vices. All of these offenses carry stiff penalties such as arrest and imprisonment.

The groups and states listed in Figure 6 are only a small fraction of the growing number of Salafist movements. The ones here are nations with the greatest number of attacks. All of these states have groups who are closely, if not overtly, allied with Osama Bin Laden. All groups hold beliefs which would espouse a similar governing structure to the one illustrated by the Taliban.

The new threat of nuclear proliferation further intensifies the danger of the Salafist movement. “We have the sub nuclear but hardly ‘conventional’ new threat of international terrorism, as represented by the Al Qaeda network and nurtured by the Taliban regime. In much the same way that the Nazis drew upon and distorted German nationalism, this terrorist movement has hijacked radical Islam, stretching it in quite lethal directions” (Dittmer, 2001, 906). Dittmer further elaborates on this threat with a hypothetical Taliban coup in Pakistan: “Could forces allied to the Taliban, once nurtured in Pakistani madrasas, seize power in Islamabad’s 29th coup d’etat and turn Pakistan’s bomb to that account?” (898). This speculation shows how dangerous it could be for U.S. forces to enter Pakistan’s Northwestern tribal region to hunt
Bin Laden – dangerous not only for the United States but for the world. Already unpopular for his alliance with Washington, Pakistani President Musharaff would likely be overthrown in response to a Western violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty, and this nightmare scenario of militants with a nuclear weapon could come to fruition. Clearly, the killing or capture of Osama Bin Laden could ignite this tension, further complicating the hunt for him.

**Nationalism**

The concept of nationalism is pivotal to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Both sides of the conflict have competed for the same plot of land for the last 100 years, and the UN proposition in 1948 to separate the land of Palestine into two territories has fueled this conflict into the present time. Three major wars have been fought, along with countless military incursions by Israel into its surrounding neighbor’s territory in retribution against Palestinian attacks. Palestinians have in consequence resorted to terrorism against a more powerful opponent. It is ironic that terrorism in Israel is regarded widely as Palestinian attackers and Israeli victims, whereas in the 1930s and 1940s, it was Menachem Begin’s Irgun group which attacked British targets in order to secure their new home from foreign domination. In fact, terrorism against the Israelis closely resembles terrorism against the British by the Israelis, the main difference being the targeting of civilians by Palestinian groups.

Hamas is the largest group to challenge Israel through the use of terrorism in recent years. Suicide terror by Hamas has been well documented, as well as effective at times:

As an example of a suicide campaign, consider Hamas’s suicide attacks in 1995 to compelled Israel to withdraw from towns in the West Bank. Hamas leaders deliberately withheld attacking during the spring and early summer in order to give PLO negotiations with Israel an opportunity to finalize a withdrawal. However, when in early July, Hamas leaders came to believe that Israel was backsliding and delaying withdrawal, Hamas launched a series of suicide attacks. Israel accelerated the pace of its withdrawal, after which Hamas ended the campaign (Pape, 2003, 348).

Suicide attacks have become the norm for Hamas in Israel, with more than 2400 combined terror attacks as shown in Figure 7.

**Figure 7. Nationalist movements in top 20.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th># Terror attacks</th>
<th>MA</th>
<th>FH Rank</th>
<th>HDI</th>
<th>U%</th>
<th>P%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.729</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.915</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While limited data prevents an accurate correlation, the reader can compare the living conditions in Israel with those of the Palestinian territories. There is a sharp contrast between the P%, MA, HDI, U% and number of attacks. Development in the Palestinian territories is certainly less advanced than in Israel. However, considering the fact that the movement is based upon Palestinian nationalism and the return of their perceived homeland, would improved conditions in Palestine reduce terrorism? Improved conditions would likely reduce the micro elements which induce individuals to commit suicide in attacks as individuals with little to lose are more prone to be willing to sacrifice themselves for a greater cause.

**Failed States: Iraq and Afghanistan**

After the fall of the communist government in Afghanistan in 1992, the factions that had defeated the Najibullah Regime began fighting among themselves to determine which group would lead the country. This violence left the country without a strong, competent government which could provide the most important government function, security. The Taliban eventually filled this vacuum and brought security and strict Sharia law to the people. This regime also welcomed Osama Bin Laden and like-minded Jihadists to
the region to establish terrorist bases. The Taliban restored an older ideology of religious purity with an organized bureaucracy that espouses Salafist principles. While the West ignored the bleak situation in Afghanistan, the Al Qaeda organization set its sights on the West.

In the Middle East, failed states will be a magnet for Salafist terrorists. The ultimate goal is to establish a Taliban-like regime to serve as a base for further terrorist exploits against secular Arab leaders. Iraq is one such example. The groups organized by the now-deceased Abu Musab Al Zarqawi have sought to establish a purist Islamic state in Iraq, much like the one which existed in Afghanistan before the U.S. intervention. Fawaz A. Gerges discusses the new Iraqi Jihad in his book, *The Far Enemy* (2005):

There is one promising theatre, Iraq, which has provided Al Qaeda with a new lease on life, a second generation of recruits and fighters, and a powerful outlet to expand its ideological outreach activities to Muslims worldwide, thanks to the 2003 American-led invasion and occupation of the country (251).

In a bizarre paradox, the Bush administration perhaps played right into Al Qaeda’s hands with its invasion of Iraq. However, it could have been worse. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, it was widely noted that 15 of the 19 hijackers hailed from Saudi Arabia. Had the United States invaded the Saudi Kingdom in response, it would have done Al Qaeda’s work for them in removing the Saudi monarchy from power.

Iraq and Afghanistan rank highly in the figures throughout this research. While it can be argued that much of the terrorism committed in these countries represents resistance movements in response to military occupation, the reader should not ignore the large Salafist element which has been largely responsible for these attacks in both countries. The occupation of Iraq represents a double-edged sword for the Bush administration. Does the continued U.S. military presence encourage terrorist attacks by being a target as well as magnet for foreign fighters? Further, if the United States were to withdraw, would the ensuing violence result in a Taliban-like regime, hostile to the West and a likely host for Al Qaeda coming to power? The answers to these questions go beyond the scope of this research but are likely to be affirmative in both cases, suggesting that either approach is likely to entail unwanted consequences for the West.

**Conclusion**

This paper has attempted to describe and compare some possible local causes of terrorism. This is not a one size fits all approach, as there will always be unseen circumstances which will contribute. It is important to note that the lead hijacker of the biggest attack in history, September 11, was a well-educated man. (In fact, 75 percent of the pilots were educated in the West.) The leader did not come from an impoverished background without education, was not hungry for the right to vote, or for equal benefits, as might be indicated by the statistical analyses in this study. The leader and the rest of the hijackers sacrificed themselves in a barbaric act of terrorism to achieve promises of the afterlife. They were driven by hatred to murder an enemy who they saw the United States as the scapegoat for Islam’s diminished status in the world. This notion is derived from previous military incursions by the West into Islamic lands. The United States must carefully wield its power in a manner which makes friends and not enemies.

Dealing with the variables of poverty, unemployment, and development could reduce the number of individuals willing to join these movements. Separatist movements will likely continue to exist so long as minorities exist in states where they have little influence on the political process. Of the Separatist movements, only Chechnya exists in a state with a not-free Freedom House rating. The rest have some political rights. In this sense, democracy can be a hindrance to peace. Autonomy is more likely to reduce tensions. But states are reluctant to reward acts of terrorism by granting such privileges to groups which they have been in conflict with. This fuels a cycle of violence in many parts of the world such as Chechnya. The Russians are wary of their disaffected minorities. Daghestan would likely follow Chechnya in secession from the state.

In the coming years, policy makers may want to consider the growing youth bulge mentioned in this paper. An enlarged youth in the male population combined with concrete indicators of poverty can be a dangerous mix. In this sense, the fight against poverty and the fight against terrorism could become nearly the same conflict. Limited work for males fosters the environment for corruption of education and introduction of extremism. Poor, unemployed males will likely be seduced by a cause bigger than themselves.
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An Ethnographic Experience: Exploring African Immigration and Integration into France

Sunshine M. Pinell

Dr. Nancy Goldberg
Anthropology and French

Immigration regulations maintain a position of utmost importance to all powerful nations, and a variety of recent global events have intensified many nations’ concerns with citizenship requirements. For example, France’s bureaucratic policies regulating entry, naturalization, and asylum have undergone significant changes over the past 15 years. Moreover, a comparative analysis between these policy changes and census data reveals an extreme decline in African immigrants entering and being granted residence in France. This realization motivated my data-based research, which ultimately lead to my first experience in ethnographic fieldwork.

Research Design

This project is part of an on-going study begun in August 2004, which I plan to pursue for my doctoral dissertation and continue to expand in the future, particularly since both the quantitative and qualitative data are dynamic. Furthermore, the recent violent outbreaks in France in October 2005, along with numerous peaceful demonstrations against the ever-changing immigration laws, demonstrate to French administrators, and the world, how important this type of research is. Thus, the goals of this research are multidirectional, but the basic design follows a three-step process. Phase One consisted of reviewing background research concerning immigration statistics and bureaucratic policies. First, I familiarized myself with general information concerning France, particularly its geography, demographics, and administrative organization. Then I narrowed my focus to the Manche department in the Normandy region, and acquired information regarding specific immigration agencies, policies, processes, and requirements. Finally, I segregated the statistics on the immigrant population in France as a whole, in addition to Manche specifics, concerning country of origin, place of birth, and requests for asylum. I then analyzed these same statistics with a specific focus on the African immigrant population.

Phase Two consisted of preliminary field research in Cherbourg, France, via a Middle Tennessee State University Study Abroad program led by Dr. Nancy Goldberg in the summer of 2005. This experience allowed me to assess the potential field site, to locate local experts and key informants, as well as to determine potential settings for encountering research consultants. On a more personal note, this experience provided me with an opportunity to assess my ability to adapt to a new culture and a new environment. Rather than merely follow the path of the study-abroad program, I also traveled throughout Cherbourg and its immediate surroundings in my spare time. I cannot begin to describe all of the emotions and thoughts involved in my independent travel, but I can testify to the fact that an amazing feeling of achievement accompanies learning how to navigate a foreign environment, and its public transportation system. Fortunately, it was time and energy well spent since I located a residential area in Tourlaville that is heavily populated by African immigrants, and learned of an association there that caters specifically to Africans. While it was a little frightening and uncomfortable to head into the unknown, I experienced things that the other Americans in the program never encountered, and further prepared myself for the final stage in this study.

Phase Three of this process involved compressed ethnographic research conducted from June 21 – July 15, 2006. During this time I resided with an African immigrant family, practiced participant observation, and conducted semi-structured, structured, and open-ended interviews with Africans living in Manche. Home-stay seemed the ideal means of residence for me as an undergraduate researcher to best facilitate integration into the community. Realistically, home-stay allowed me to become totally submerged into
the community’s prevailing social climate, which was one of fear, distrust, and secrecy. Nonetheless, it is necessary to reiterate the fact that this was merely a “compressed” ethnographic analysis, thereby emphasizing the short-term nature of my residence within the research site.

In Designing & Conducting Ethnographic Research, Margaret D. LeCompte and Jean J. Schensul (1999: 162) stress that “ethnographic research calls for long-time residence in a field setting ….” However, they also site various occasions that demand a compressed ethnographic research design and explain specific circumstances that must be addressed in order to elicit success (LeCompte 1999: 88). Specifically, these authors state, “The ethnographers must already be familiar with the field setting and/or the cultural context, and ideally speak the language” (LeCompte 1999: 88). I deliberately sought to meet this requirement during Phase One and Two. They further emphasize the importance of locating and utilizing the proficiency of key informants and local experts (LeCompte 1999: 89). Without intentionally attempting to meet this condition, I elicited the support and assistance of both a key informant and a local expert, in addition to many offers of assistance from other Cherbourg residents during Phase Two. Finally, Phase Three served to acquire ethnographic information from the immigrant population in order to gain a full representation of the subject. Briefly, I would like to explain the process of ethnography and the approach I employed in the field.

What is Ethnography?

LeCompte and Schensul (1999: 1) claim, “Ethnography takes the position that human behavior and the ways in which people construct and make meaning of their worlds and their lives are highly variable and locally specific.” In this respect, an ethnographer rejects the “generalizability and universality of human behaviors, motivations, and beliefs” (LeCompte 1999: 4), and is necessarily limited to study a relatively small geographic area. Furthermore, they state, “Ethnography is a scientific approach to discovering and investigating social and cultural patterns and meaning in communities, institutions, and other social settings” (LeCompte 1999: 2). As such, ethnography incorporates both quantitative and qualitative research to achieve a holistic approach to a specific research topic within a particular geographic location. Moreover, ethnographic research is often categorized as “basic” or “applied.” According to LeCompte and Schensul (1999: 6), “Applied ethnographic research is concerned with understanding sociocultural problems and using these understandings to bring about change in communities, institutions, or groups.” On the other hand, basic ethnographic research is not designed to solve problems within the investigated society. LeCompte and Schensul (1999: 8) say, “Ethnography generates or builds theories of cultures—or explanations of how people think, believe, and behave — that are situated in local time and space.” Considering the all-important emphasis on culture, the majority of ethnographic researchers focus on social issues and dilemmas.

LeCompte and Schensul (1999: 9) site the following “seven characteristics that mark a study as ethnographic: 1) It is carried out in a natural setting, not in a laboratory. 2) It involves intimate, face-to-face interaction with participants. 3) It presents an accurate reflection of participants’ perspectives and behaviors. 4) It uses inductive, interactive, and recursive data collection and analytic strategies to build local cultural theories. 5) It uses multiple data sources, including both quantitative and qualitative data. 6) It frames all human behavior and belief within a sociopolitical and historical context. 7) It uses the concept of culture as a lens through which to interpret results.”

Paradigms

I have primarily employed elements from the critical and interpretive approaches. Both are concerned with the structure of a society and the role this structure plays in defining the self (LeCompte 1999: 59-60). Both approaches also involve an active reciprocal teacher/learner relationship between the observer and the observed, where an understanding may only be obtained through this partnership with built-in checks and balances (LeCompte 1999: 59-60). Generating this rapport proved to be quite difficult at times, and produced marked responses, and varying levels of affinity between research consultants. Despite these similarities, a crucial difference in the process separates a critical approach from an interpretive one. LeCompte and Schensul (1999: 60) describe the process of a critical approach as “achieving change in structure and behavior by exposing hidden patterns of meaning, communication, and control.”
In contrast, the process in an interpretive approach is described as “achieving understanding of behavior by analysis of social interaction, meaning and communication” (LeCompte 1999: 60). While I would certainly wish to apply my research and subsequently generate change within the research community, I found that a mere three weeks in the area is not an adequate amount of time to accomplish such goals.

The Field Site — Motivation for Study

At this point it may be useful to provide some pertinent information concerning the location and sociocultural environment of the field site. France has 22 administrative regions, and within those, 100 departments (Global Data Center). The five departments of the Normandy region are Calvados, Manche, Orne, Seine-Maritime and Eure (Hargreaves 2004: 293). Cherbourg is the largest town within the Cotentin peninsula, which occupies the majority of la Manche Département (Hargreaves 2004: 3-5). This area is home to nearly 9,000 immigrants, roughly two percent of the total 1999 Manche population (INSEE). Here immigrants display varying degrees of economic integration, being employed as blue and white collar employees, international professionals, executives, intellectuals, artisans, and farmers. According to an analysis of the 1999 census data, INSEE reported that as many as 1,802 immigrants were retired, 928 were employés or in American terminology “white-collar workers,” while 945 were ouvriers or “blue-collar workers.” As many as 1,091 immigrants were employed in international professions; 654 were executives, managers, or intellectuals, while 341 were artisans, or employed by small businesses, and only 56 were employed as farmers or in agriculture. Nevertheless, the 1999 census claims that one-third of all immigrants in the Manche department were unemployed (INSEE).

The French census has traditionally recorded nationality as a category, distinguishing between foreigners and those who have acquired French citizenship. Consequently, it is necessary to discuss immigration statistics through three groups: French by birth, French by acquisition through naturalization, and foreigners. The 1999 census adopted the term “immigrant” and defined it as “a person born abroad with a foreign nationality” (Hamilton, 2004). “Foreigners” are defined as those born abroad, minors born in France to immigrant parents, and anyone born in France to foreign parents choosing not to adopt French nationality upon adulthood (Hamilton, 2004). One may be classified as a foreigner by nationality, or by origin. Therefore, not all foreigners are immigrants, and naturalized immigrants are not considered foreigners.

Along with defining and redefining these terms of identification, France’s immigration policies have also undergone serious changes. After several decades of seeking migrant workers, France abandoned its labor migration programs in 1974, and has spent the past 22 years refining immigration regulations (Hamilton, 2004). In 1993, France introduced the Pasqua Laws that claimed, “zero immigration” as a national goal (Hamilton, 2004), created the “visa applicants’ fingerprint bank” in 2003, and demanded fulfillment of the “reception and integration contract” beginning in 2005 (Embassy, 2003). The most current immigration campaign carries the title “Choisis Immigrant” and maintains the desire to limit immigration uniquely to skilled applicants. An additional component of this campaign calls for the expulsion of as many as 50,000 immigrant students, many of which are minors born in France with little or no knowledge of their own alleged “home.” Changes such as these are eminently important to Africans in France, who comprise over half of all immigrants granted naturalization in 2000 (Hamilton, 2004). Meanwhile, statistical analysis of the 1990 and 1999 census results proves that France is successfully decreasing African immigration, which fell by 50 percent in a single decade (CIA 2003).

Experiencing Field Work — Detailing Phase Three

In Asking and Listening Ethnography as Personal Adaptation, Paul Bohannan and Dirk van der Elst (1998: 53) say, “Whether you are researching or reading it, ethnography necessarily demands … both a systematic examination of what is happening in a strange society and a simultaneous exploration of what is happening to yourself.” In light of the lengthy investment prior to entering Phase Three, I felt eager and prepared to enter this stage, thus exposing my own naivete. One is never “prepared” for fieldwork. How does one prepare for the unexpected? May I suggest having limited expectations? To begin with, I had hoped to schedule interviews well in advance of my arrival into the host community, but I quickly realized that this desire reflected an American expectation. While Americans plan months in advance, the French are much less likely to do so. In fact, my host family was located only two weeks before my arri-
val, and without any given explanation, I had to stay with someone else my first night in Cherbourg. Only in my final week there did I finally understand why my hosts could not meet me upon arrival, Wednesday, June 21, 2006. My host father was out of the country for the first two weeks of my stay, and my host mother had traveled to Paris, as she did every Wednesday to receive specialized career training. Nonetheless, it was not an ideal welcoming into the community and it certainly added to my growing anxiety concerning the fieldwork at hand.

Although not especially pleasant, in hindsight, this entry now seems utterly appropriate. By and large, the community was not overtly eager to encounter me, and many who initially offered to participate in 2005 inevitably chose to rescind their offers in 2006. In order to pursue a holistic perspective, not only did I seek the governmental, bureaucratic opinion readily available in magazines and news articles, but also the view of the general public, and most especially the concerns of the practically silenced immigrant population. While I certainly respected their reticence towards communicating with me, I also felt the presence of a rather immense and somewhat ironic obstacle. In my attempt to investigate the African experiences of immigration and integration into French society, I genuinely struggled with my own integration into the immigrant community. I was an unwelcome outsider and I knew it. I felt it. Paul Bohannan and Dirk van der Elst (1998: 5) also claim, “If you try to banish your feelings, you will fail. … The purpose of your feelings is to help you figure yourself out. The better you can do that, the better you can figure out everything else.” I kept this notion at the forefront of all thought processes and sought a logical explanation for my feelings.

I quickly realized that the target research community is currently on-guard and experiencing a crisis that was not quite so looming in June of 2005. Right now there are many immigrants at risk for expulsion. This very minute there are many immigrants in hiding, aided by French nationals and immigrants with French nationality alike. Although completely unaware of it until July 5, 2006, I was actually sleeping across the hall from a Moroccan male in hiding and was subsequently questioned about my own identity by Interpol. I was in Cherbourg on June 28, 2006 or the “Day of Expulsion,” the cut-off day for reviewing “regularization” applications. This day marks the beginning of collecting and exporting foreigners/immigrants, especially school-aged children born in France to non-nationalized parents. In all fairness, my research consultants had no reason to trust me, to discuss a highly controversial subject with me during a particularly capricious time, or to allow me to record our exchanges, but I am grateful to the 17 African immigrants who spent time with me. I also interviewed the French national spouses of three research consultants in addition to five other French nationals, creating a total of 25 interviewees. A third party contacted 13 of my 17 consultants and informed them about my research plans before requesting their participation. He then presented me with contact information for those willing to meet me. Nevertheless, only four of the 13 allowed me to take their photo, and only two allowed me to audio-record our conversations. Of the four consultants encountered by chance, only one permitted a photo, and none agreed to an audio recording. These 17 consultants ranged in age from 22 to 48 years old, although most were in their late twenties to early thirties. They also varied drastically concerning the amount of time spent living in France, ranging from two months to 21 years, and the 13 male participants far outnumbered the four females that met with me. Finally, the 17 participants came to France from the following countries: Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Morocco, and Senegal.

In light of this extreme diversity within a rather small sample population, I expected variable responses, life histories, and reactions to my presence thus limiting any in-depth analysis. In other words, I will not presume to fully comprehend the sociocultural environment, or to be qualified to speak for the researched community after a mere three-week residency. Such achievements require a much longer stay, which results in full immersion and a marked acceptance into the community. Nonetheless, I obtained a wealth of information from my first-hand experiences and I have deduced some patterned ideologies.

To begin with, the less time spent in France directly correlated to a general acceptance of the changes in France’s laws. Those participants, who lived two year or less in France, claimed that the limits were just and necessary, yet declined having their photos taken or voice recorded. Paul Bohannan and Dirk van der Elst (1998: 22) state, “Every ethnographer must go beyond questioning into careful observation and description, because even when the question is perfectly understood and honestly answered, that answer may contradict actual behavior.” Through interaction and observation of these participants, I unearthed data not explicitly offered that illuminated an unconscious fear and awareness of discrimination and racism. For example, a 22-year-old Tutsi male from Burundi claimed to have had no problems whatsoever
with immigration or integration in all of his eight months in France. He affirmed that France did not mis-
treat its African immigrants, yet within minutes he professed, “We must be careful and carry our docu-
mentation daily. At any moment, we may be stopped by the police and told to show our papers. Without
them, we are immediately taken to jail.” He is in his first year of University and can be returned home if
deemed necessary or appropriate.

Meanwhile, those participants with more than four years experience living in France spoke out against
the immigration policies, specifically the “Choisi immigration” campaign and the ever-approaching expulsions. A young Batibo male from Cameroon declared boldly, “The only law in France is against immi-
grants. It is the priority. It is a mentality here. In the past, in the 1990s they [French nationals] were
ashamed to say racist things. Now they are proud to say these things.” He is as little as three months from
receiving French nationality, and has already arranged to join the Socialist Party upon receipt of his final
documentation. I interviewed a passionate Neyo woman from the Ivory Coast who has lived in France for
the past 16 years. She beseeched me to speak about the “monstrous” and “inhumane” law imposed by
France’s Interior Minister, Sarkozy. She cried, “He wants to deport children! Where will they go? This is
their home. Here is where their mothers and fathers are. Are they to live in the streets?” To create and
enforce his new immigration regulations, Sarkozy declared it a matter of national security, thereby cir-
cumventing standard Parliamentary procedures, checks, and balances. In light of this knowledge, I asked
her if she felt that the public supported Sarkozy and his anti-immigration campaigns. She assured me that
the public was in “full support of their government” and rationalized that, “if they were not happy, they
would strike.”

France is world renown for its wine, cheese, and fashion, but its propensity for striking is equally re-
markable. In other words, she made a valid point. Nevertheless, while I was in Normandy, there were
some anti-discrimination demonstrations that targeted the expulsion campaign, but never a strike. In fact,
on July 1, 2006, approximately 250 people gathered in Cherbourg to protest the deportation of school-
aged immigrant/foreign children. That same day, a similar demonstration occurred in St-Lo, a town that
serves as the documentation headquarters for the Normandy region. In each of these protests, local com-
unity members were upheld as examples and petitions circulated in a frantic effort to specifically aid
these few. However, much larger and generalized demonstrations took place in both Paris, and Marseille
on this same Saturday. While demonstrations are helpful and encouraging, strikes are the typical tool for
enacting change within France. I too must now question why the French public has negatively responded
to Sarkozy’s law, yet failed to strike.

While on the subject of a cultural paradox, I was in France during the World Cup tournaments. The
French team includes multi-cultural players, many of which are of African origin. By contrasting the im-
migration laws and the obvious ethnic diversity of the team, I found the almost universal national support
of the French team quite intriguing. This fact often served as a conversation piece with my host family,
my research consultants, and many others that I encountered. A common African response to their pres-
ence on the French team concerned the current campaign to grant entry into France to only the best appli-
cants, only those immigrants with marketable and needed skills. For them, the Africans on the soccer
team signified the ideal immigrant according to the government’s standards because they have the ability
to bring France glory. Meanwhile, six of the eight French nationals that I interviewed pointed to the Afri-
can soccer players as role models for younger immigrants. One lady said, “With them on the team, it
shows everyone that we are all working together for one goal. Little immigrant children see them and
know that they can accomplish big things too. They are not limited here.” However, the previously men-
tioned statistics certainly prove otherwise. Personally, I found the fact that these two groups professed
polar opposite opinions most enlightening and would liked to have had enough time to sufficiently dis-
cover and probe other differences such as this one.

In conclusion, I found that a compressed ethnographic study can and does lend itself to some basic
findings, but I have a much stronger appreciation for, and understanding of, the 18-to-24-month standard
in ethnographic research. Three weeks is simply not enough time to establish trust and develop rapport,
especially when researching a controversial topic at a time of political crisis. I feel as though I had to
leave just as I was beginning to make progress, just as my consultants were learning to trust me and truly
understand my research goals. Nonetheless, this initial experience with ethnographic fieldwork will cer-
tainly serve as a foundation for all future projects both in this setting, as well as all others.
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Perceptions of Adjustment and Retention in First-Semester Traditional-Age College Students

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Introduction

Issues regarding college retention and graduation rates are of primary concern to federal and state officials as well as to administrators at many large, public universities (Association of American State Colleges and Universities, 2005). Research shows that of approximately 1 million freshmen who start out in four-year colleges each year, only 37% graduate in four years, and only 63% graduate in six years (Carey, 2004). Officials are concerned about graduation rates due to the potential impact on the U.S. economy. As other nations approach America’s educational standards, jobs are outsourced to these countries where educated individuals are willing to work for lower wages (Carey). Although 60% of American jobs now require post-secondary degrees, it is estimated that jobs requiring advanced degrees will grow twice as fast by the year 2012, due to the competitive global market (Lotkowski, Robbins, & Noeth, 2004).

In 2002, as the U.S. Department of Education began considering proposals for reauthorization of the Higher Education Act of 1965, many university officials were concerned that the new version of the bill could mandate graduation rates as a basis for federal funding to universities (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). According to American College Testing (ACT), in 2005, national five-year baccalaureate and associate degree completion rates were 51.8% and 30.8%, respectively (Lotkowski et al., 2005). For Tennessee, the six-year baccalaureate degree completion rate was 48% in 2003 (The Education Trust, 2003). Governor Phil Bredesen announced in his 2006 State of the State address that Tennessee’s college graduation rate is below the national average, and in an effort to improve institutional effectiveness and retention rates, he set a six-year college graduation goal of 55% for the year 2012 (Bredesen, 2006).

Approximately 100 post-secondary institutions joined with the Association of American State Colleges and Universities, The Education Trust, and the National Association of System Heads in a collaborative effort to better understand why some universities have greater success in graduating their students (AASCU, 2005). Findings showed that campuses with high retention rates employed different strategies to achieve them. They did, however, share three common features: (a) a first-year program; (b) a “culture” of success among faculty, staff, and students; and (c) highly effective presidential leadership.

Research has examined degree completion in relation to various factors such as social and academic integration of students (Tinto, 1975). Tinto’s model of integration was popular in the 1980s and became the foundation for many campus programs (see also Chapman & Pascarella, 1983; Terenzini & Pascarella, 1977; Terenzini, Theophilides, & Lorang, 1984; Terenzini & Wright, 1987; Tinto, 1993). A considerable amount of research also has addressed successful college student adjustment in relation to factors such as personality characteristics (Holmbeck & Wandrei, 1993; Terenzini & Pascarella, 1978), homesickness (Tognoli, 2003; Urani, Miller, Johnson, & Petzel, 2003), student-faculty contact (Terenzini & Pascarella, 1980), and perfectionism (Rice & Dellwo, 2002).

In the 1990s, with the realization that the freshman year is the most tenuous for students, “first-year” programs, emphasizing the integration of student engagement, social activities, student-faculty contact, and academic support, gained popularity on America’s college campuses (Jeweler, 1989; Levitz, Noel, & Richter, 1999; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). A 2002 survey of 1,000 post-secondary schools conducted by the Policy Center on the First Year of College reported a 2% increase from 66.6% to 68.3% in first- to second-year retention rates since 1996 (see Policy Center on the First Year of College, 2005). Today, universities are focusing on comprehensive strategies to retain students and reduce the number of those who drop out before degree completion (AASCU, 2005; Muraskin & Lee, 2004; Tinto, 2004).
According to Richard L. Ferguson, chief executive officer at ACT, “students drop out because their expectations of college – academically, socially, or both – don’t match up with the reality once they get there. Any practice that can help students get through this adjustment period is likely to help increase retention” (ACT, 2004). In fact, 50% of first-year students experience difficulty adjusting to college life due to stress, which may influence their decisions regarding retention (Kadison & DiGeronimo, 2004). For example, in two separate studies, the American College Health Association (ACHA, 2003, 2004) surveyed adjustment concerns in students from 74 colleges in the United States. Results from the 2000 and 2004 surveys, respectively, show (a) an increase from 66.2% to 94% in the number of students who felt overwhelmed at times, (b) an increase from 54.6% to 63% in the number of students who felt hopeless at times, and (c) an increase from 37.6% to 45% in the number of students who felt depressed to the point of not being able to function. In addition, of the 47,202 U.S. students surveyed in 2004, results indicated that (a) 10% reported having seriously considered suicide and (b) 14.9% reported having a diagnosis of depression. Among the latter, 25.2% said they were currently in therapy, and 38% said they take medication for their condition (Kadison, 2004).

The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH, 2005) reports that mental illness is especially prevalent among young adults and is now considered a chronic disorder among individuals aged 14 to 24. The report states that 50% of all lifetime cases of mental illness begin by age 14, and 75% begin by age 24. The highest incidence of alcohol abuse is currently among young adult males aged 18 to 29 (Kadison & DiGeronimo, 2004).

According to Kadison (2004), not only is age a factor in the onset of mental illness, making traditional-age college students especially vulnerable, but the stress of adjusting to college life may trigger the onset of mental illness. Kadison states that although some individuals possess a genetic predisposition for anxiety, the stress of college may cause others to experience their first anxiety attack. According to NIMH (2005), anxiety affects approximately 9.1% of the college student population. Earlier research found that psychological disorders such as anxiety and depression caused 5% of students to end their college education before graduation, and that an additional 4.29 million people would have attended college if they had not been experiencing psychiatric disorders (Kessler, Foster, Saunders, & Stang, 1995). Mental health issues on campuses have been on the rise since 1988, and the likelihood that today’s college student will experience depression has doubled, suicidal ideation has tripled, and sexual assaults on campus have quadrupled (Benton, Robertson, Tseng, Newton, & Benton, 2003).

Given that an estimated 50% of first-year students drop out (Kadison & DiGeronimo, 2004), it is important to gain a better understanding of the relation between student adjustment to college during the first year and retention. The present study addresses the following questions: (a) What are students’ top concerns about college life? (b) Do concerns differ from the beginning of the semester to the end? (c) Are students’ perceptions of retention different at the beginning of the semester than at the end? (d) Is there a relation between students’ concerns and their perceptions of future retention over time? and (e) Is there a relation between students’ adjustment to college and their perceptions of future retention over time? To address these questions, we surveyed more than 200 first-semester, traditional-age students at the beginning and end of their first semester at MTSU about their (a) concerns regarding college life, (b) adjustment to college, and (c) perceptions of future retention in college. We expected that students’ concerns about college life and their adjustment scores would be related to their perceptions of future retention.

Method

Participants

Participants were 221 first-semester, traditional-age college students (63 males, 158 females, 82% Caucasian). The majority of students were full time (99.5%), unmarried (91%), and childless (99%). Students were recruited through the Middle Tennessee State University general psychology subject pool and received research credit for participating. Additional demographic information can be found in Table 1.

Materials

Demographic questionnaire. At time 1, 19 questions addressed participants’ background and characteristics (e.g., age, marital status), and 16 questions addressed their mental health history (e.g., past diagnoses, counseling history). At time 2, 10 questions addressed any changes in participants’ residence, work hours, and student activities since the beginning of the semester (e.g., “Since the beginning of the semes-
ter, have the number of hours you are working changed?”). Fourteen questions addressed participants’ current mental health (e.g., number of missed classes due to a mental health issue).

College Adjustment Scales (CAS; Anton & Reed, 1991). The CAS is a Student Affairs-Related Outcomes Instrument that provides measures of psychological distress, relationship conflict, low self-esteem, and academic and career choice difficulties. The 108-item instrument assesses the following nine areas of college adjustment: (a) anxiety, (b) depression, (c) suicidal ideation, (d) substance abuse, (e) self-esteem problems, (f) interpersonal problems, (g) family problems, (h) academic problems, and (i) career problems. Each subscale consists of 12 items. Responses are made using a 4-point scale (1 = not at all, 2 = slightly true, 3 = mainly true, 4 = very true). The CAS has good internal reliability (M = .86, range = .80-.92) and is typically used by student affairs groups and counseling centers (Anton & Reed).

Changes in college adjustment survey. This 20-item survey was developed by the authors to assess change since the beginning of the semester along the nine dimensions assessed by the CAS (Anton & Reed, 1991). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = considerably more often or considerably worse to 5 = considerably less often or considerably better.

Student concerns survey. This survey consists of 47 items related to college life (e.g., choosing a major, public speaking, passing a test). It assesses the frequency of thoughts or worries that students may have about different issues related to college life. Each item was rated from 1 = never to 5 = very often. Participants also had the opportunity to write in other concerns that did not appear on the list and to rank order their top 10 concerns.

College retention survey. A 10-item student retention survey was developed by the authors to assess students’ perceptions of future retention in college (e.g., “How often have you thought about dropping out of college?” “How likely are you to transfer to another institution?”). Responses were made along a scale of 1 = definitely unlikely or never to 5 = very likely or always.

Procedure

Time 1. At the beginning of the Fall 2005 semester (weeks 3 and 4), participants completed a 200-item survey composed of (a) a demographic and mental health history questionnaire, (b) the CAS (Anton & Reed, 1991), (c) a student concerns survey, and (d) a college retention survey. Prior to completing the survey, participants were given an informed consent letter stating their rights as research participants, according to Institutional Review Board policy. To ensure anonymity, participants were randomly assigned a participant number. The group-administered survey took 45 minutes to complete. Upon completing the survey, participants were given a short debriefing letter that included contact information for the campus counseling center. Time 2. Three weeks before the end of the semester, participants completed a 101-item survey comprising (a) a demographic and mental health history questionnaire, (b) the student concerns survey, (c) the changes in college adjustment survey, and (d) the college retention survey. The survey took 30 minutes to complete. Participants were given a longer debriefing letter, a mental health resource phone list, and mental health pamphlets provided by the university counseling center.

Results

Student Concerns About College Life

Time 1. Students reported thinking or worrying about the following 10 items (in order) the most often: (a) passing a test, (b) managing time, (c) passing a class, (d) being overwhelmed, (e) accomplishing everything there is to do, (f) completing assignments on time, (g) writing papers, (h) diet and exercise, (i) getting enough sleep, and (j) getting to places on time. It is important to note, however, that scores for the six highest rated items were nearly the same. See Figure 1. Time 2. Students reported thinking or worrying about the following 10 items (in order) the most often: (a) passing a test, (b) managing time, (c) accomplishing everything there is to do, (d) being overwhelmed, (e) completing assignments on time, (f) getting enough sleep, (g) passing a class, (h) writing papers, (i) diet and exercise, and (j) getting to places on time. Paired comparisons of students’ responses from time 1 to time 2 indicate that the mean scores for passing a class, t (220) = 4.08, completing assignments on time, t (219) = 3.08, being overwhelmed, t (219) = 3.60, and writing papers, t (220) = 2.24, decreased significantly from time 1 to time 2 but still remained among the highest rated concerns, all ps < .05. See Figure 1.

In summary, the mean scores for students’ concerns about college revealed that students reported thinking or worrying about the same concerns the most often at both time points. At both time points, students
reported thinking about or worrying about passing a test the most often.

**Student Adjustment to College**

Students scored highest on the Anxiety subscale of the CAS (M = 24.47, SD = 7.83) and lowest on the Suicidal Ideation subscale (M = 13.91, SD = 3.61). Scores for Anxiety were not significantly higher than scores for Academic Problems (M = 23.65, SD = 5.98), r (217) = 1.77, p > .05; both were significantly higher than all other subscale scores. Scores for Suicidal Ideation were significantly lower than scores for all other subscales. Means and standard deviations for all of the subscales can be found in Table 2.

**Student Perceptions of College Retention**

In general, at time 1, students reported (a) few thoughts about dropping out of college, (b) a high likelihood of returning to MTSU the next semester, and (c) a high likelihood of graduating from MTSU. More frequent thoughts about dropping out of college at time 1, however, were related to a lower reported likelihood of returning the next semester, r (217) = -.26, p < .001. Paired comparisons of students’ perceived retention scores indicated that, over time, students reported (a) significantly more likely to take a semester off before graduation, (b) significantly more thoughts about dropping out of college, (c) significantly more thoughts about taking a semester off, (d) a lower likelihood of graduating from MTSU, (e) a significantly greater likelihood of transferring, and (f) a significantly greater likelihood of reducing course hours the next semester. There was not a significant difference in the reported likelihood of returning the next semester. These results suggest that students’ perceptions of future retention at MTSU change significantly over the first semester but still remain positive. Means and standard deviations for perceptions of retention can be found in Table 3.

**Relation Between Student Concerns and Perceived Retention**

**Time 1.** Correlational analyses were used to determine the relation between students’ concerns and their perceived retention in college. Four questions were chosen to assess perceived retention at MTSU: (a) frequency of thoughts about dropping out, (b) likelihood of returning the next semester, (c) likelihood of graduating from MTSU, and (d) likelihood of transferring.

First, more frequent thoughts of dropping out of college were related to more frequent concerns about (a) roommate issues, (b) post-college plans, (c) homesickness, (d) being overwhelmed, (e) adapting to change, and (f) being in control. A higher reported likelihood of returning the next semester was related to less frequent concerns about (a) homesickness, (b) the health of a family member, (c) the health of a friend, (d) balancing school and work, and (e) adapting to change. A higher perceived likelihood of graduating from MTSU was related to lower concerns about (a) making decisions and problem solving on one’s own, (b) physical health, (c) post-college plans, and (d) debt (theirs or their parents’). Correlation coefficients for students’ concerns and perceived retention at time 1 can be found in Table 4.

**Time 2.** Near the end of the first semester, more frequent thoughts about dropping out of college were significantly related to more frequent concerns about (a) passing a test, (b) writing papers, (c) choosing a major, (d) paying for school, (e) post-college plans, (f) debt (theirs or their parents’), and (g) adapting to change. A higher reported likelihood of returning the next semester was correlated with fewer concerns about (a) making decisions and problem solving, (b) diet and exercise, (c) sexual orientation, (d) homesickness, and (e) establishing personal independence. None of the concerns on the survey were significantly correlated with students’ perceived likelihood of graduating from MTSU, although more frequent thoughts about dropping out were negatively correlated with reported likelihood of graduating from MTSU, r (220) = -.16, p < .05.

These results suggest that the concerns most strongly related to students’ perceptions of retention differ from time 1 to time 2. At time 1, perceptions of retention were related to non-academic concerns, such as homesickness, health of a friend, and feeling overwhelmed. By the end of the first semester, however, perceptions of retention also were related to academic concerns, such as passing a test or writing a paper. Correlation coefficients for students’ concerns and perceived retention at time 2 can be found in Table 4.

**Relation Between College Adjustment and Perceived Retention**

**Time 1.** Correlational analyses were used to determine the relation between initial college adjustment and perceived retention in college. More frequent thoughts about dropping out of college were significantly correlated with higher scores on all nine CAS subscales (i.e., higher anxiety, higher depression). Perceived likelihood of returning the next semester was negatively correlated with scores on the Depression, Suicidal Ideation, Substance Abuse, Self-Esteem Problems, and Academic Problems subscales. Perceived likelihood of graduating from MTSU was negatively correlated with Suicidal Ideation subscale.
scores but was not significantly correlated with scores on any other subscales. Correlation coefficients for CAS scores and perceived retention at time 1 are listed in Table 5.

Time 2. More frequent thoughts about dropping out of college were correlated with scores on the Anxiety, Depression, Suicidal Ideation, Self-Esteem Problems, Academic Problems, and Career subscales (from time 1). Also, at time 2, perceived likelihood of returning the next semester was negatively correlated with scores on the Suicidal Ideation subscale only. Perceived likelihood of graduating from MTSU was not significantly correlated with any of the subscale scores. See Table 5 for correlation coefficients. These results suggest that, at time 1, students’ perceptions of retention were related to scores on all nine subscales of the CAS but that, by the end of the first semester, initial adjustment appeared to be largely unrelated to changes in perceived retention over time.

Discussion

Students’ highest rated concerns about college life remained the same over time, with students rating the same 10 concerns highest at both the beginning and end of the first semester. Students reported that they thought about or worried about “passing a test” and “managing time” the most at both time points. Also, at time 1, “passing a class,” “being overwhelmed,” and “accomplishing everything there is to do” were among the top five concerns reported by students. Interestingly, the top five concerns were related to time management and study skills. It is possible that students did not have realistic expectations for the time they would need to study and that their courses were more demanding and covered more material than high school classes. Ratings for “passing a class,” “completing assignments on time,” and “being overwhelmed,” however, decreased significantly from time 1 to time 2 but were still among the top items that students reported worrying about the most frequently.

Students’ perceptions of college retention changed significantly over the first semester. At the beginning of the semester, students were highly optimistic about staying in college and graduating from MTSU. They reported having few thoughts about dropping out of college, a high likelihood of returning the next semester, and a high likelihood of graduating from MTSU. At time 2, however, students reported (a) being significantly more likely to take a semester off before graduation, (b) having significantly more thoughts about dropping out of college, (c) having significantly more thoughts about taking a semester off, (d) having a lower likelihood of graduating from MTSU, (e) having a significantly greater likelihood of transferring, and (f) having a significantly greater likelihood of reducing course hours the next semester. It should be noted, however, that students did not report being significantly less likely to return the next semester at time 2 than at time 1, and, even at time 2, they were generally optimistic about graduating from MTSU. Furthermore, even though the mean response for many of the retention questions changed significantly over time, with the exception of “likelihood of reducing course hours” and “likelihood of transferring,” most of the effect sizes were very small. Thus, it is possible that students were simply more realistic about the number hours they could handle at time 2 than at time 1 rather than being less optimistic. For instance, given that 62% of participants were enrolled in 15 or more hours, it is not surprising that, at time 2, they reported being somewhat more likely to reduce their course hours the next semester.

The results suggest that more frequent thoughts about dropping out, likelihood of returning the next semester, and likelihood of graduating from MTSU were each related to different concerns about college life at both time points. For instance, although frequent thoughts about dropping out of college at time 1 were related to more frequent concerns about roommate issues, post-college plans, homesickness, being overwhelmed, adapting to change, and being in control, at time 2, frequency of thoughts about dropping out were related to concerns about passing a class, writing papers, choosing a major, paying for school, and debt. Not surprisingly, more frequent thoughts about dropping out also were related to reported likelihood of returning the next semester.

At time 1, specific concerns related to students’ likelihood of returning the next semester included homesickness, health of a family member, health of a friend, balancing school and work; whereas, at time 2, participants’ likelihood of returning the next semester was negatively correlated with the frequency of thoughts about making decisions and problem solving, diet and exercise, sexual orientation, homesickness, and establishing personal independence. Reported likelihood of graduating from MTSU was marginally related to students’ concerns about making decisions and problem solving on their own, their
physical health, post-college plans, and debt, either theirs or their parents’ at time 1. No concerns were significantly related to students’ perceived likelihood of graduating from MTSU at time 2; however, more frequent thoughts about dropping out were negatively correlated with being less likely to graduate.

Correlational analyses reveal some potentially important relations between students’ initial adjustment to college and their perceived college retention. For example, participants’ highest scores were for anxiety, and scores on all nine subscales were correlated with more frequent thoughts about dropping out of college at time 1, suggesting that anxiety and anxiety-related concerns are associated with less positive views of college retention over time. By the end of the semester, however, thoughts about dropping out of college were only positively related to scores on the Anxiety, Depression, Suicide, Self-Esteem, Academic, and Careers subscales, as opposed to all nine subscales at the beginning of the semester. This suggests that students experienced more positive adjustment over the course of the semester concerning issues related to substance abuse, interpersonal problems, and family problems.

Perceived likelihood of returning next semester was negatively correlated with scores on the Depression, Suicide, Substance Abuse, Self-Esteem Problems, and Academic Problem subscales at time 1 and only negatively correlated with scores on the Suicidal Ideation subscale at time 2, suggesting that over the course of the semester as students experienced fewer problems related to depression, substance abuse, self-esteem, and academic success, they perceived a greater likelihood of returning the next semester. Furthermore, perceived likelihood of graduating from MTSU was negatively correlated with scores on the Suicidal Ideation subscale only and was not significantly correlated with any other CAS subscale scores.

There were at least two unforeseen issues regarding population and data collection methodology. First, for this particular study, students had to participate at both time points; however, 201 additional participants from time 1 were excluded from the study because they did not return at time 2. It is possible that students who were excluded from the study had more difficulty adjusting than those who participated at both time points. Because responses were made anonymously, participants’ responses could not be matched to their names. Thus, it was not possible to determine which participants who did not return at time 2 (a) dropped out of school, (b) dropped out of their psychology course, (c) had already completed their credits, or (d) were just ambivalent about completing the study.

Similarly, because participants’ responses were made anonymously, we were not able to determine which responses belonged to participants who actually returned to MTSU the next semester and which ones did not. Thus, it was not possible to determine the relation between reporting a high likelihood of returning and actually returning. For predictive reasons, the relation between reported intent to return and actual return rates would have been useful. Thus, one limitation in the present study is that perceived retention may not be the same as actual retention.

For future research, longitudinal data from the end of year 1 to year 2 would prove valuable for predicting retention. Future research will focus on the extent to which adjustment scores, concerns, and student characteristics predict retention, and the role of mental health in retention among traditional, non-traditional, and transfer students.
Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Participants

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<td>Greek Housing</td>
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<td>Home</td>
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<td>Off Campus with Friends</td>
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<td>Off Campus Alone</td>
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<td>New Student Orientation (CUSTOMS)</td>
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<td>Participated</td>
<td>191</td>
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<td>Did Not Participate</td>
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<td>Participated</td>
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Table 2: Student Adjustment to College

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<th>Concern</th>
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<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anxiety</td>
<td>24.47</td>
<td>7.83</td>
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<td>Academic Problems</td>
<td>23.65</td>
<td>5.98</td>
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<td>Self-Esteem Problems</td>
<td>22.60</td>
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<td>Interpersonal Problems</td>
<td>21.32</td>
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<td>Family Problems</td>
<td>20.13</td>
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<td>Career Problems</td>
<td>19.62</td>
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<td>Depression</td>
<td>19.34</td>
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<td>Substance Use</td>
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<tr>
<td>Suicidal Ideation</td>
<td>13.91</td>
<td>3.60</td>
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*Note.* Possible scores could range from 12 to 48.
### Table 3: Perceptions of College Retention

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Time 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Time 2</th>
<th></th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood of Taking Next Semester Off</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>-1.82</td>
<td>-.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Likelihood of Taking a Semester Off Before Graduation</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>-3.84**</td>
<td>-.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency of Thoughts About Dropping Out</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>-7.30**</td>
<td>-.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency of Thoughts About Taking a Semester Off</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>-5.80**</td>
<td>-.19</td>
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<td>Likelihood of Returning to MTSU Next Semester</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>1.09</td>
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<td>2.42</td>
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<td>Likelihood of Graduating From MTSU</td>
<td>4.30</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>1.31</td>
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<td>Likelihood of Transferring</td>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>-16.95**</td>
<td>-.60</td>
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<td>Likelihood of Reducing Course Hours Next Semester</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>-19.24**</td>
<td>-.68</td>
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* p < .005, ** p < .001

### Table 4: Correlation Coefficients for Student Concerns and Perceived Retention

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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
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<tr>
<td>Making friends</td>
<td>.16**</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paying bills</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.18**</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managing time</td>
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<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.02</td>
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<td>.07</td>
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<tr>
<td>Making decisions</td>
<td>.16**</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.19**</td>
<td>-.14*</td>
<td>-.11*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting to places on time</td>
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<td>.06</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accomplishing everything each day</td>
<td>.19**</td>
<td>.12*</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.09</td>
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<td>-.03</td>
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<td>Passing a test</td>
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<td>.19**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.12*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Passing class</td>
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<td>.22**</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.13*</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.12*</td>
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<td>Completing assignments on time</td>
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<td>.22**</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.13*</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.13*</td>
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<td>Using the library</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>-.02</td>
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<td>.04</td>
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<td>Public Speaking</td>
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<td>.12*</td>
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<td>-.08</td>
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<td>.01</td>
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<td>Writing Papers</td>
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<td>.22*</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.13*</td>
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<td>Talking to a Professor</td>
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<td>.16**</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.12*</td>
<td>.06</td>
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<td>Choosing classes</td>
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<td>.00</td>
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<td>-.08</td>
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<td>Choosing a major</td>
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<td>.25**</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.14*</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.13*</td>
</tr>
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</table>
1 – How often have you thought about dropping out of college?
2 – If you had to decide now, how likely is it that you would return to MTSU next semester?
3 – How likely are you to graduate from MTSU?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>.07</th>
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<th>-13*</th>
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<tr>
<td>Paying for school</td>
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<td>-11</td>
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<td>-02</td>
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<td>.02</td>
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<td>.14*</td>
<td>-12*</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.01</td>
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<tr>
<td>Your physical health</td>
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<td>.13*</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-07</td>
<td>.14*</td>
<td>.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Your emotional well-being</td>
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<td>.18**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-02</td>
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Table 5: Correlation Coefficients for Adjustment Subscales and Retention (Time 1 and Time 2)

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* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

ANX = Anxiety; DEP = Depression; SUI = Suicidal Ideation; SA = Substance Abuse; SE = Self-Esteem; INT = Interpersonal Problems; FAM = Family Problems; ACAD = Academic Problems; CAR = Career Problems
Acknowledgments

I would like to especially thank Dr. Michelle Boyer-Pennington for her exemplary mentorship of this two-year research project. Since its inception as a research proposal, her knowledge, guidance, and encouragement has been a great source of academic, as well as personal, satisfaction and achievement. It is a privilege and an honor to call you professor, mentor, and friend. Special thanks are also extended to many MTSU departments and staff for their generous counsel, support, and contributions to this study. In particular, I would like to express gratitude to MTSU’s Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program and staff, Dr. L. Diane Miller, Dr. Mary Enderson, Mr. Steve Saunders, and Ms. Cindy Howell for their unending support, sponsorship, and friendship; the Office of Undergraduate Research, Scholarship, and Creative Projects for their endorsement and funding over several semesters; the Department of Psychology, Student Government Association, and McNair Challenger Alliance for covering conference and travel expenses; and to those who contributed their valuable time and expertise – Dr. Gene Fitch, Dr. Deb Sells, Dr. Robert Carlton, Dr. Thomas Cheatham, Dr. Jane Tipps, Dr. Marva Lucas, Dr. Virginia Donnell, Dr. Toto Sutarso, Dr. Will Langston, Dr. Carol Ann Baily, Dr. Basavapatna Sridhara, Dr. Tim Graeff, Ms. Linda Chrysler, Ms. Becky Garrett, and Ms. Teresa Thomas.

References


The Relationship between British Pantomimes and American Circus Clowns

Linda Selby

Dr. Martha Hixon
English Department

By laughing at me, the audience really laughs at themselves, and realizing they have done this gives them sort of a spiritual second wind for going back into the battles of life. – Emmett Kelly

As a child, I remember seeing a clown on television. He was sweeping up after a circus had performed. He saw a spot on the floor that continuously moved around as he tried to sweep it up with an old broom. It was a spotlight and no matter how hard the clown tried to sweep it up, it kept moving away. This clown was Emmett Kelly, one of the most famous tramp clowns in history. His beloved sad face will remain in my mind forever. When I decided to join this fraternity of merrymakers in the early 1990s, famous clowns Emmett Kelly, Lou Jacobs and his dog, Knucklehead, along with Red Skelton’s Freddy the Freeloader, were already firmly ingrained in my psyche because I remembered them as a child.

In Great Britain, “pantos,” or pantomimes, are the most popular form of children’s live entertainment. These are comedic skits based on well-known children’s stories and performed by a group of easily recognizable stock characters that are quite similar to the American clown. In 19th century America, however, the art of pantomime was not a favorite. Instead, for American children and families in the 1800s, traveling circuses featuring the lively antics of clowns became a primary form of entertainment. The period of greatest popularity for the circus in America was from 1880 to 1930. According to Anne Dhu Shapiro in “Action Music in American Pantomime and Melodrama,” pantomime was popular during the 1700s in the United States although there is little record of music by local American composers for these live dramas (Shapiro 52, 57). Most of the pantomime skits were imported from England, and American performers did little to add their own flavor to the comedic skits. The British pantos were at their peak from 1860 to 1940, but are still enjoyed today in England, unlike the American circus, which began to dwindle in popularity by the 1950s. Despite the failure of the British pantos to catch the imagination of the American public, many of the clown characters in the United States today derive from the panto stage characters in England. Although clowns found in the American circus are quite different from the panto performances in England, there are striking similarities between the two. Both are aimed at a child audience, and both use the extravagant costumes and personalities to engage the attention of the child (or the child at heart) in the action of the performance.

In America, clowns have performed on stage, on television, in the circus and the rodeo, as birthday party entertainers, and as street performers. Though not every clown is readily identifiable by appearance alone, costuming is a major identifying feature of the clown, who frequently appears with unusually large footwear, oversized or outlandish clothing, and of course, the red nose. There are long-established clown types. For example, the traditional whiteface makeup of the clown was introduced by the character Pierrot, the French clown with a bald head and flour-whitened face. Today, there are different versions of the whiteface clown. The “neat” whiteface clown uses little color on the face and is costumed in white. The outfit is usually a one-piece garment with sleeves and pants tied at both the wrist and ankles, decorated with ruffles and a huge pleated collar around the neck. The “grotesque” whiteface clown exaggerates everything about the character: the pants, shoes, collars, ears, and wig are bigger, wider, or baggier than is usual. An example of this clown in 21st century American culture is Bozo or Ronald MacDonald.

The Auguste clowns became popular during the second half of the 19th century. They wear colorful, ill-fitting clothing, often mismatched and oversized, and have bulbous red noses and brightly colored wigs. Their shoes are oversized and exaggerated, and color is an important part of their wardrobe. This clown
Clowning has appeared as far back as Aristotle’s Greece, to the court jesters of the early 1400s, up to the present. A form of entertainment that enthralled the audience in the 16th century was the *Commedia dell’Arte* from Italy. After the Italian troupe came to Great Britain, England began putting its own version of comedic clowns on the stage. According to Brockett’s *History of the Theatre*, England during the mid-1700s was politically repressive, which caused small theaters to close, while larger theaters paid for expensive licenses to perform plays for the aristocracy that the smaller theaters could not afford (Brockett 334). When the non-English-speaking Italian performers came to Great Britain, they began to pantomime to tell the story to the audience. The small theaters were spellbound with this new form of entertainment, and since it was not a play because there were no spoken lines, it was not subject to fines. English actors soon began to mimic the pantomimes. According to Towsen, the non-aristocratic audiences knew of the political harassment that the smaller theaters endured, so the actors gained in sympathy and popularity (Towsen 79). A highly improvisational theater was the result. This was the birth of the English pantomime, or *panto* as it has become known. Gerald Frow explains in “Oh, Yes It is!” that the pantomime was used to exploit the comic or emotional possibility of whatever was topical during the day, “whether to censure or just hold in amusement the absurdities of the times.” In the 19th century particularly, pantomime tended to be judged by the number of jabs it took at topical events (136). Writers continued to update scripts in order to keep the material fresh and exciting for the audience.

Several theater managers are renowned to this day for their contribution to pantos in Great Britain. One manager was Augustus Harris, who was famous for elaborate and spectacular pantomimes staged at Drury Lane in the 1880s and 1890s that cost vast sums of money to produce, had hundreds of performers, and lasted for approximately five hours. As Brockett observes, many of the elements of today’s pantomimes are based upon the stock characters and scenarios traced back to Harris’s Drury Lane pantomimes (503). Harris hired many stage workers to design sets to keep the pantomime exciting with numerous scene changes and transformations to boggle the minds of patrons who came to see the performances.

The Victorian pantomime incorporated all kinds of scenic effects, which originally served as a way to move between the different acts. As stage technology became more advanced, the transformations became events in themselves. Designer William Beverly first used the transformation scenes to alter stage sets. Frow describes how scenery was flown in from above on wires or changed by a series of hinged flaps. Trick objects turned around to become another object. Beverley also introduced a “fan effect.”
Another element of traditional pantomime is the principal boy role, or hero, usually played by a woman. The principal girl, Columbine, is always the prettiest female in the cast and is traditionally portrayed as the epitome of youth and innocence. In modern times, this role is a more feisty character and not the passive and helpless female of yesteryear. Columbine and Harlequin eventually live happily ever after.

Drury Lane Theater produced an elaborate pantomime of *Sleeping Beauty* from the Victorian period that had seven elaborate changes of scenery using gaslight and large fountains. Trick scenery and fast scene changes were created by systems of hinged flaps, pivots and slots in the stage. Scenic changes and traps were coordinated by 50 or 60 stage hands using a series of whistles to signal to each other. The more elaborate transformations would require systems where canvas cloths painted on both sides were turned over and flown in to reveal another setting. Other devices were hidden in secret panels. Under the stage there were trapdoors for characters to appear and disappear. Frow says that one of these doors was called a star trap which is a circular opening and a series of triangular-shapes segments of wood hinged around the circumference with the points meeting in the middle this would allow a performer to materialize and be catapulted 14 feet or more above the stage floor with the help of six men and weights (Frow 151).

In Great Britain, the theatrical productions of pantomime in the British theater are quite a different form of entertainment than what Americans expect when we hear the word pantomime. In the United States, we think of a whiteface figure clad in black tights and black-and-white striped shirt trying to get out of an invisible box or climbing invisible stairs. This image is one that has been used in countless television shows, motion pictures, and advertisements. American mimes use the body to portray a character, mood, idea, or narration by gestures and body movements without the use of sound. When pantos began, a chorus would sing and narrate the story to the audience. Later, Great Britain took the pantomime to a new level by allowing several of the characters a voice and giving them song and dance to tell the story with extreme exaggeration, techniques which have been used up to the present day.

The words “Harlequin, Columbine, Clown, and Pantaloon!” conjure up memories of childhood for many English pantomime fans. The antics of these characters remain forever imprinted in the minds of adults who had the good fortune to attend the extravagant pantos in Great Britain, but these same words mean little to the American child. In England, the most favored form of children’s entertainment in the 19th century was the pantomime, a burlesque-extravaganza and musical entertainment for children and adults who not only enjoyed the pantomime performance, but expected to join in themselves.

Today, pantomime has survived by combining elements of theater — novelty and topicality — within its framework (Frow 151). Fairy tales became the framework that holds together the comic routines, dance and gymnastic spectacles. A traditional element of a pantomime begins with a strong story line, such as a fairy tale incorporating the elements of good versus evil, with good emerging triumphant. The basic set of characters in a panto is composed of Harlequin, Pantaloon or Clown, Columbine, Hero, and the Dame. In time, some of these names have changed, but the basic characterizations remain the same.

Harlequin is considered to be a magical creation in the pantomime. He wears a dark mask and a tight-fitting costume with diamond-shaped or triangular patterns. He is able to leap through walls and appear or disappear at will. He can change things magically with his bat or sword made of wood, which alternates between being a weapon and a magic wand. This sword or bat has a hinged flap, which creates a loud noise when used to slap fellow actors. The primary aspect of Harlequin is his physical agility. Because he is nimble, the audience expects him to perform acrobatics. Harlequin never simply performs an action when the addition of a cartwheel or backflip spices up the movement. Harlequin is the roguish character who is always caught up in comic and acrobatic chases.

Harlequin’s foil, the overprotective father, Pantaloon (later identified as Clown), refuses to allow the heroic Harlequin to woo his daughter Columbine. Comic chases and tricks are employed to full effect for the audience’s gratification. Because Harlequin is so nimble and athletic, the clown is the brunt of all of his antics. The role of Pantaloon is the forefather of the traditional whiteface clown made famous by Joseph Grimaldi, who became known far and wide as the best clown father to the beautiful Columbine.

The principal girl, Columbine, is always the prettiest female in the cast and is traditionally portrayed as the epitome of youth and innocence. In modern times, this role is a more feisty character and not the pathetic and helpless female of yesteryear. Columbine and Harlequin eventually live happily ever after.

Another element of traditional pantomime is the principal boy role, or hero, usually played by a woman. Frow explains that such roles have changed enormously through the years and reflect the current fashion. The boys of the Victorian pantomimes were curvaceous women dressed in boy’s fashion. Just before World War I, the women mirrored a more masculine style, which gave way to a more feminine look fol-
lowing the war (Frow 183). In today’s pantos, the role is also played by popular male teen stars. This role is not always a romantic lead involved with the principal girl but often is that of a boy similar to “Jack and the Beanstalk” fighting the giant or “Aladdin” and his magic lamp.

The Dame is always played by a male member of the cast and is outlandishly dressed in women’s clothes. The Dame’s entrances are more extravagant and exaggerated than any other character. This character is usually portrayed as older, unattractive, and rather common – the total opposite of what the Dame believes she is. She thinks she is the elegant and sophisticated lady that has all the answers to all the problems. She is usually good and kind, and the audience is attracted to her even though she is peculiar and sometimes a bit overwhelming in her attempts to control situations. She befriends the two principals early in the story and is usually instrumental in all the good acts they perform in the course of the tale.

The first real star of the pantomime and the most famous clown, Joseph Grimaldi, debuted in 1800, and his distinction was such that today new clowns all over the world are called “Joeys,” in his memory. His roles consisted of Pantaloon (clown) and also the Dame. The public clamored to see his performances at Sadler’s Wells and Drury Lane, and left the theater singing the comic choruses of songs he introduced. The elements of comedy, songs, and slapstick are still traditional parts of the performances today.

Grimaldi was well-known as the cross-dressing Pantomime Dame. Among his roles were Queen Rondabellyana in “Harlequin and the Red Dwarf,” and Dame Cecily Suet in “Harlequin Whittington,” as well as Mother Skipton and the Baroness in “Cinderella.” According to Frow, Grimaldi developed the pantomime tradition of audience singing. He was famed for his comic songs and for encouraging audience participation. His catch phrases included, “Here we are again!” and the audience-teasing taunt, “Shall I???” to which they would all yell, “Yes!” His most famous song was “Hot Codlins” (toffee apples) (Frow 75). Grimaldi grew up in the theater and excelled at designing special effects that became sight gags, such as a hot dog machine, wherein a dog goes in and out comes sausages that wag like a dog’s tail (Towsen 159).

While these special effects and outrageous antics of the clown kept the audience entertained, there were several 19th century actors who specialized in performing animal roles called “skin” parts. Actors who performed them excelled because of their ability to act, walk and behave as a dog, cat, monkey or even the big, bad wolf, leading the audience to believe in the personification of an animal. Skin parts became a special attraction for the panto. According to Frow, animal roles go back to the very earliest days of the theater, and pantomime used them from the start. Many theatrical children began their careers in skin parts. For example, Grimaldi was three years old when he began his career as a monkey (Frow 176).

Audience participation is an important aspect of the panto tradition and even the most staid members of the audience swiftly leave their reserve at home in their eagerness to take part. The audience boos the villain whenever he enters, argues with the Dame, and warns the principal boy when the villain is behind him, by shouting out “He’s behind you!” or “Watch Out!” while the hero tends to not understand the warnings much to the surprise of the audience. This back and forth verbal banter between the actors and the audience is an integral part of a panto and can happen several times throughout the show. Sometimes the actors will even leave the stage and mingle with the audience to continue this repartee. Such audience participation is also characteristic of the American circuses, when the clowns encourage excitement with their behavior and acrobatic stunts. The audience responds by shouting and squealing with delight at the antics of these performers.

Although the world of clowns in the American circus is quite different from the stage performance of England’s pantos, there are striking similarities between the two art forms, including elements of the skits performed for the child audience, the costumes and personalities of the major clown and panto characters, and the excitement the characters induce in their audience that allows some participation in their antics. The performers, both those of the British pantos and the American clowns, realize the importance of laughter and bring this gift to millions throughout the generations.

Works Cited


Maintaining Japanese Identity in Murfreesboro, Tennessee: The Redefinition of a Southern Community

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Introduction

This paper focuses on my summer field research with a community of Japanese expatriates living in Murfreesboro, Tennessee. To an undergraduate anthropology student, field research “is often considered a sort of ‘rite of passage,’ a necessary prerequisite for one to be considered a bona fide anthropologist” (Angrosino and Crane 1992: v). For eight weeks this summer I conducted ethnographic field research consisting of taking photographs, participant observation, and conducting semi-structured interviews with a community of Japanese expatriate wives who are experiencing Southern American culture in Middle Tennessee. The expatriate wives are all acquainted through a local Murfreesboro native who coordinates bi-weekly tennis games and bi-monthly Christian Bible study classes. I spent six hours a week as a participant observer at the tennis matches, and twice a month I attended the bi-lingual Bible study classes. I hypothesized that during the gathering of the expatriates and the Murfreesboro residents there were cultural exchanges taking place that would forever imprint each other’s lives. I will begin this paper with an explanation of how the Japanese presence has aided in the hybridization of Middle Tennessee’s cultural landscape. Next, I will give a brief history of the Japanese expatriate presence in Middle Tennessee, followed by a description of my field research methodology. Finally, I will present my preliminary conclusions and future research goals.

For decades the American South has been separated from the rest of the country by the “Mason Dixon Line,” an imaginary border that binds the Southern community by common traditions, morals and history. This subset of American identity has historically been seen as having a dual nature of race consisting of black or white. In actuality, globalization and advances in international communication has opened the door for many other cultural communities to exist in the South, including Murfreesboro. There are many diverse groups living in Middle Tennessee. For example, the area is home to America’s largest Kurdish population, as well as Laotian, Mexican and Japanese populations, among many others. As a result, these communities are making a mark upon the cultural landscape. When cultures come together, and frequent exchanges take place, each then becomes imprinted by the others, altering their traditional practices.

The effects of globalization have changed Murfreesboro’s community infrastructure. For instance, the growth in transnational corporations has increased Middle Tennessee’s global awareness. An appreciation for the global community is crucial. “We cannot understand what globalization entails if we lack fundamental knowledge of the globe on which it is played out” (Martin 2000; 619). Middle Tennessee has welcomed this “fundamental knowledge” of the growing Asian community and many attempts to accommodate the Japanese community have been made. For example, there is a local news program, “Konnichiwa Murfreesboro,” on Channel 3, which provides residents local news in Japanese. There is also a Saturday secondary school at Middle Tennessee State University for expatriates’ children to stay at the same education level as home, and at least seven Japanese restaurants thriving in Murfreesboro.

Background

Considerable field research has been conducted on Japanese culture, such as the classic work, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, by Ruth Benedict, along with Japanese gender and sexuality studies such as Ann Alison’s Prohibited and Permitted Desires and Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club. The literature also includes ethnographies on Japanese expatriates
(an example is of the Japanese population living in Brazil: Jeffrey Lesser’s *Searching for Home Abroad: Japanese Brazilians and Transnationalism* and Japanese economic ethnographies (Theodore C. Bestor’s *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World*). However, no ethnographic studies have been done on Japanese expatriates living in a Southern American community such as Middle Tennessee, leaving this topic virtually unexplored. I felt that being a native of this region gave me the perfect opportunity to explore cultural exchanges taking place in the community. I also chose to focus on the Japanese living in Murfreesboro because of the economic influence of “local” Japanese corporations such as Nissan, Toshiba, and Calsonic. The increase of transnational business brings economic growth, cultural enrichment and demographic diversity to the South. This new “hybridization” of the South diminishes the region’s reputation of isolation, shifting the area into a global community of ethnic fusion.

**History of Japanese Presence in America**

During the late 1800s, Japan was experiencing a painful transition into a modern economy. Large-scale unemployment, bankruptcies, and civil disorders contributed to a much larger portion of Japanese emigrants moving to Hawaii. Many single males were lured to Hawaii, hoping to prosper by working in Hawaii’s abundant sugar fields. Hawaiian plantation owners, anticipating the legislation of American laws against contract labor to Hawaii in 1900, imported more than 26,000 contract laborers from Japan in 1899. This resulted in the largest number of Japanese immigrants ever admitted to the United States in a single year (“Immigration: The Journey to America” 2006). The contracts were then voided under American laws, however, leaving thousands of Japanese free to migrate to the U.S mainland. But Hawaii remained the principle area of concentration for Japanese in the U.S. for many years. Even up to 1910, four times as many Japanese lived in Hawaii than on the mainland. One reason Japanese preferred living in Hawaii to the American mainland was because they did not experience racial tension on the island. In fact, the Japanese people were so accepted in Hawaii that the Japanese government stopped issuing passports for Japanese traveling there. After the 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, anti-Japanese sentiment led to the Japanese internment which ultimately devastated the Japanese businesses which had built up over many years. The number of first-generation businesses declined but, ironically, second-generation businesses accelerated. The second generation of Japanese-Americans, who were American citizens, with American educations, sought out more lucrative businesses and, as a group, surpassed the national income average of native white Americans (“Japanese American Internment” 2006).

The nationwide population of Japanese-Americans living in America has grown to 796,700, or 0.3% of the total. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the Japanese population living in Hawaii has grown to 201,764, which is 16.7% of the state’s total (“A profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000”). In Middle Tennessee, the Japanese population is 4,304, or 0.1% (“Census: Middle Tennessee: race”).

Japanese expatriates began making Middle Tennessee their home when the Nissan auto industry decided to open a manufacturing plant in Smyrna in 1981. The auto plant was the first manufacturing facility opened in the United States by the Nissan Corporation. Since then it has employed more than 6,000 workers in the Middle Tennessee area (“Nissan Manufacturing, Smyrna, Tenn.” 2005/6). Because this auto plant in Smyrna is Nissan’s top manufacturing plant in the country, many Japanese employees are sent to Middle Tennessee for business and training. The success of Nissan has encouraged other Japanese corporations such as Toshiba and Calsonic to also make Middle Tennessee their home. This influx of corporations into the Middle Tennessee area has resulted in many Japanese moving to Murfreesboro.

I became interested in Japanese culture after taking several semesters of Japanese language classes. Having lived in Murfreesboro my entire life, I wanted to explore what cultural exchanges were taking place between the Japanese who were temporarily living in Murfreesboro and the native residents living here indefinitely. While I have been a participant observer at many Japanese events in Murfreesboro that would provide access to a diverse group of research participants such as the annual Bon odori festival, weekly Japanese language sessions, and interviews with students and local business owners, the focus here is on a group of Japanese wives who meet with Murfreesboro natives to learn about Christianity and life in Middle Tennessee. I was intrigued by this group because exploring their experiences would provide me with a more in-depth understanding of this community. Narrowing the research focus for this ethnographic study gave me the ability to gather more enriched data in a shorter amount of time.
Methodology

Field research included participant observations with Japanese women for six hours a week at bi-weekly tennis games. I also observed them during Bible school, held twice a month at a local church, and play days that were held randomly at a common neighborhood playground. Being a participant observer meant I occasionally became physically involved with the gatherings, while recording detailed conversations and any information that was exchanged between the participants. Participant observation is a crucial part of the ethnographic experience. “By becoming active members of the community, anthropologists need no longer be somewhat formidable ‘scientific’ strangers, but can become trusted friends. By doing, insofar as it is feasible, whatever it is that the people are doing, they can have a first-hand experience in what such activity means to the people themselves” (Angrosino and Crane 1992: 64). Spending time playing tennis with the women who volunteered for my research was an opportunity for them to get acquainted with me and develop a trusting relationship. There were a total of eight women participating in my research: seven expatriate wives, whose husbands all work for Japanese businesses in the Middle Tennessee area, and one non-Japanese Murfreesboro native who was a key informant and the organizer of all the Bible study lessons and tennis games where the women would meet. Their ages ranged from 32 to 39 years old. I conducted semi-structured, individual, interviews whereby I asked structured questions but allowed the women to discuss their experiences freely. Having prior experience with the Japanese language allowed me to interview those who were not proficient in the English language.

I originally wanted to determine how Japanese expatriates living in Middle Tennessee experience cultural traditions that would forever alter their way of life. I wanted to explore their experiences and see if assimilation was taking place. However, as my research continued, I also began to see how the Japanese culture is changing Middle Tennessee life. The Japanese presence is becoming embedded in the Southern region and those who would never have experienced an Asian culture from such a distance have now, perhaps even unknowingly, developed cultural sensitivity and awareness. I began my research interviews with a Murfreesboro native who became a key informant to my research.

Research Participants

My first interview was with a Non-Japanese Murfreesboro native with whom the Japanese women were associated. I will refer to her as “Alice.” The extensive detail of Alice is necessary because she is the lens or cultural filter of Middle Tennessee life for the expatriates who semi-depend on her for help. Alice frequently arranged the Christian Bible study lessons and it was her neighborhood tennis courts where we met twice a week. Alice’s story is also an example of how Japanese culture has penetrated our society. I began my research by asking Alice to be my first interviewee. I felt that knowing her role in the group would help me understand their history together and I knew that an interview with Alice would help me establish a trusting relationship with her. I knew that gaining her trust would, in turn, help me gain the trust of the Japanese wives that she was so close to. I asked Alice to tell me how she became involved with the Japanese women. Throughout the interview she spoke freely about her experiences. She told me that she did bookkeeping for a local company that went out of business and she needed another job that would allow her to stay at home, but still provide her with an income. Soon after she lost her bookkeeping job, a Japanese family moved in next door and she was asked by the Japanese husband if she could teach English to his wife. Alice told me that this opportunity was an answer to her prayers. It allowed her to be at home for her children while continuing to earn a modest income.

For two years she taught her Japanese neighbor English by using ESL books and newspaper articles. She noticed that what her neighbor needed most was help with life situations such as reading teacher’s notes sent home with her children and how to make appointments with doctors. When her neighbor no longer needed help, Alice asked if she knew of any other Japanese people living in the area in need of English lessons. The Japanese wife introduced her to another Japanese expatriate, who I will call “Myumi.” Myumi happened to grow up in the Christian faith in Japan and wanted to learn how to read the Bible in English. Alice, being a devoted Christian herself, began to incorporate Bible lessons into Myumi’s English lessons. Myumi had other friends who needed to learn English and invited them to meet with Alice. While many of Myumi’s friends were not Christian, Alice felt that she could at least expose them to Christianity. Alice told me that now every time she meets a new Japanese wife she gives her a
Japanese-English King James version of the Bible with inspirational messages highlighted for their quick reference. Alice told me that she highlighted what she believed to be inspirational messages so the women would not be overwhelmed by the contents of the Bible. She informed me that many of the women do not convert to Christianity but are interested in learning about it because it is the central religion in America.

Today Alice spends almost all of her free time helping Japanese wives. She keeps in constant contact with them through weekly e-mails informing them of any gatherings she has planned or any events being held in the community she feels may interest the women. She also arranges monthly gatherings to teach them how to cook American food or arranges play days for the ladies’ children. This monthly gathering allows any Japanese expatriates new to the area an opportunity to meet other wives. Bi-weekly, the women who want to learn more about Christianity join Alice in a Christian Bible study class. These Japanese women who depend on Alice for simple survival tools also imprint their culture onto Alice.

When I asked Alice what she had learned about the Japanese culture she told me that she did not like Japanese food and she would never travel to Japan so the only thing she could think of was that the Japanese women made really good friends. She told me that she was still very close friends with her Japanese neighbor and that they still spend a lot of time together. While Alice may not directly notice the imprint the Japanese culture has had on her life, the influence is apparent to an observer. She has learned many Japanese phrases and uses the language often when she communicates with the expatriates. I asked Alice if she had taken any Japanese language classes. She told me that she had learned Japanese from the women she had been helping. Alice’s sons and husband also know simple Japanese phrases as well. Having an appreciation for the Japanese language, Alice had unknowingly incorporated a sense of cultural sensitivity into her family’s lives.

After speaking with Alice, I felt comfortable asking some of the Japanese wives for an interview. I interviewed three different women, one who was fluent in English and two who were not. During the interviews with the non-fluent women I asked the Japanese women who could speak English to be present to eliminate any confusion.

They were all very interested in American culture. They especially shared an overwhelming fascination with the “bigness” in the community, apparent in every interview. Comments were often made about the cars being bigger than in Japan, the apartments they were living in being the biggest apartments they had ever lived in before. One interviewee commented on how she frequently witnessed people buying household goods in bulk. She was amazed to see a shopper buying large quantities of groceries at one time and wondered how the lady was able to store all her food at home. The Japanese seemed to view the general bigness in our region as extravagant and typically American.

Because I was curious about how the Japanese presence in Middle Tennessee was affecting the local economy, one question I asked every interviewee was where they shopped for Japanese groceries, if they did at all. Each participant told me that once a month she received a shipment from the Japanese grocery provider in Atlanta. If they needed supplies in a hurry they would drive to Nashville to an international market to get supplies. I realized that with the effects of globalization blurring our cultural boundaries, Murfreesboro was still lacking a more culturally diverse grocery.

The dietary changes that the expatriates were experiencing were often a big concern. Each participant told me that living in this area had affected their diets. While they continue to cook typical Japanese dishes, each participant discussed enjoying American dishes that were not commonly available in their native Japan. All remarked on their new love for hamburgers and hotdogs and American sodas; what seems to them to be a typical American diet.

Having attended many of the bi-lingual Christian Bible lessons held especially for the expatriates I wondered if any of them were experiencing a religious conversion. Christianity also plays an important role on how they perceive this area. To the Japanese women, Christianity was the dominant religion in the American South, and although the women were not Christian themselves, they wanted to understand Christianity and frequently attended the Christian Bible study classes held at a local Baptist church. When I asked the women who were attending the Bible study classes what they thought about the experience, many replied that Christianity was different from their own religions. I was told by one participant that in Japan religion is in everything and the knowledge of the Christian faith was welcome knowledge. Davies and Ikeno confirm the open-mindedness of the Japanese toward different religions. They state, “Thus, when a new religion like Christianity was introduced into Japan, people were open to its precepts, rather than simply denying it out of hand” (Davies, Ikeno 2002:130-131). Another participant told me that
Christianity was something you had to be born into; she was born into a Buddhist family and thus would always be a Buddhist. The interest that the women had about Christianity was to gain a better understanding of the central Tennessee region, and it seemed to them to be an intricate part of the Murfreesboro life.

One participant told me that she knew that many Christians lived in Murfreesboro because they often came to her home to invite her to visit their church. The women I interviewed continue to attend Christian Bible Study classes and participate in Christian holiday events like Christmas and Easter but are more interested in learning about Christianity than converting to it. They see themselves as living like Japanese, only in America.

Conclusions

While the Japanese community living in Middle Tennessee is a small one, the Japanese culture has inevitably affected everyone who lives in the region. Only in the last fifteen years has there been such an influx of Japanese restaurants, Asian markets, and Japanese festivals. The cultural imprints that the Japanese presence has left upon our landscape will forever leave our community altered with a more culturally enriched society. This “typically Southern” region can no longer be seen as isolated with cultural ignorance but as a region with multiple races and a new history.

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Cited Works


