

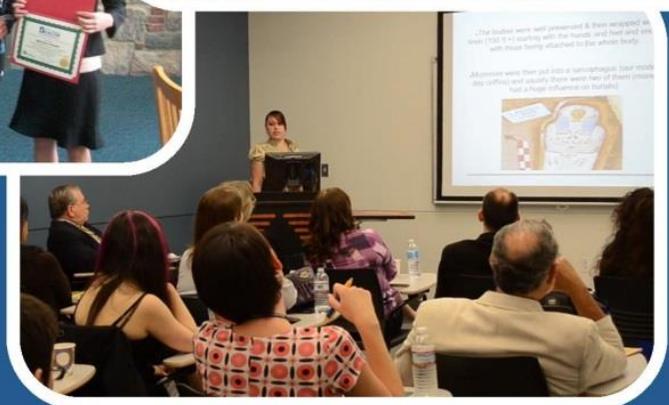
20th annual BEACON CONFERENCE

WESTCHESTER
COMMUNITY
COLLEGE

JUNE 1, 2012

*CELEBRATING STUDENT SCHOLARSHIP AT TWO-YEAR COLLEGES
IN THE MID-ATLANTIC REGION*

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www.beaconconference.org

BEACON 2012 HOST
WESTCHESTER COMMUNITY COLLEGE

WESTCHESTER COMMUNITY COLLEGE PRESIDENT
Dr. Joseph N. Hankin

BEACON 2012 CONFERENCE CO-DIRECTORS
Dr. Mira Sakrajda and Dr. Lori Maida

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Financial Officer Lisa Mitzner, Administrative Assistant Terri Markward,
Student Designer Chutipan Songtokaew

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Dutchess Community College, NY	Prof. Kevin Cavanaugh
Erie Community College, NY	Dr. Rene Rojas, Prof. Lisa Matthies-Wiza
LaGuardia Community College, NY	Dr. Bob Kahn
Lehigh Carbon Community College, PA	Prof. Ned Schillow, Dr. Christine Bowditch
Montgomery College, MD	Dr. Lucy Laufe, Prof. Effie Siegel
Northampton Community College, PA	Prof. Randy Boone, Prof. Shauna Gobble, Dr. Ronit Shemtov, Dr. Nancy Trautmann
Northern Virginia Community College, VA	Dr. Joyce Brotton
Orange County Community College, NY	Prof. Melissa Browne, Dr. Michelle Iannuzzi-Sucich
Reading Area Community College, PA	Dr. Donna Singleton
Rockland Community College, NY	Dr. Thomas Buttler, Dr. Kristopher Baker, Prof. Robert Fuentes
Sullivan County Community College, NY	Dr. Cindy Linden
Ulster County Community College, NY	Dr. Miho Iwazaki, Prof. Bob Pucci, Prof. Tom Impola
Westchester Community College, NY	Dr. Mira Sakrajda, Dr. Lori Maida

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Montgomery College	

INTRODUCTION: THE BEACON CONFERENCE

The Beacon Conference for student scholars at two-year colleges is an annual event that began in 1993 as a grant-funded AACC/Kellogg Beacon project and is now sponsored by a coalition of junior and community colleges in the mid-Atlantic region. The primary objective of the conference is to showcase academic achievements of students on two-year college campuses.

Students are invited to submit scholarly work in 18–20 subject area categories that encompass all areas of study at two-year schools, from the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, to technical fields and special areas, such as computer applications and multicultural studies. Three community college faculty with expertise in a particular field read and rank the papers in each category. The authors of the top three essays in each discipline are invited to present their papers at the Beacon Conference hosted by one of the sponsoring colleges on the first Friday of June. Out of three finalists in each subject area, one winner is selected by a judge from a four-year university. Panel winners are chosen on the basis of the quality and originality of research, written work, and oral presentation. Prizes of \$100 are awarded to both authors of the winning papers and their faculty mentors. In addition, the fourth-ranked students in each category are invited to present the highlights of their submissions during the Poster Session which precedes the Award Ceremony held at the conclusion of the conference day.

The Beacon Conference is a great opportunity for students and faculty of two-year colleges to receive recognition for their outstanding work. The project also fosters a climate of community through (1) the collegiality that develops among colleagues working on a joint project; (2) the intense relationship that grows between students and their faculty mentors; (3) the interactions among students submitting to, presenting at, and attending the conference; (4) the connections between the two-year colleges and neighboring four-year institutions which supplied panel judges; and finally (5) the communal spirit at the conference itself.

Usually, 120–170 students submit papers for the competition. The level of the papers submitted each year, the quality of the papers presented and, especially, the superiority of the winning papers illustrate that community colleges are the place for high caliber academic accomplishments.

Additional information is available at <http://www.beaconconference.org>.

BEACON 2012 SPONSORS

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Northern Virginia Community College, VA
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Sullivan County Community College, NY
Ulster County Community College, NY
Westchester Community College, NY

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School of Culture, Education,
and Human Development
Pace University
St. Thomas Aquinas University
University of New Haven
SUNY Maritime College
SUNY Purchase College
Adelphi University
Clarkson University

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

SESSION I: POLITICAL SCIENCE

9:00 – 10:30 AM

Gateway Center – Room 133

Readers:

Prof. Paul Basinski
Dr. Bojana Blagojevic
Prof. William Whyte

Orange County Community College
LaGuardia Community College
Northampton Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Anne D’Orazio

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. John Howard

SUNY – Purchase College

Presenters:

Carney Burns III
“Nuclear America’s Role in Preventing Global Proliferation”
Mentor: Dr. Mira Sakrajda
Westchester Community College

Alison Conrad
“Negative Political Advertising and the American Electorate”
Mentor: Prof. Elaine Torda
Orange County Community College

Craig E. Holzschuh
“Enforcement is Not an Alien Concept”
Mentor: Prof. Krista Jefferies
Bergen Community College

Panel Sponsors:

Westchester Community College Faculty Senate
and
Prof. Ava Drutman and Prof. Timothy Magee
Holders of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Faculty Development

SESSION I: EDUCATION
9:00 – 10:30 AM
Gateway Center – Room 135

Readers:

Prof. Mark Altschuler,	Bergen Community College
Prof. Debra Condon	Lehigh Carbon Community College
Prof. Ann Marie Laskiewicz-Ross	Northampton Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Scott Zaluda	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. JoAnne Ferrara	Manhattanville College
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Presenters:

Lisa Michelle Brandler
“The Benefits of Unschooling Within the Public School System”
Mentor: Dr. Katherine Lynch
Rockland Community College

Michele Granitz
“Non-Traditional Women of a Local Community College”
Mentor: Dr. Bahar Diken
Reading Area Community College

Chris Perez
“Majoring in Unemployment”
Mentor: Dr. Lucia Cherciu
Dutchess Community College

Panel Sponsors:

Prof. Carol Klein and Dr. Frank Fato
Holders of Sophia and Joseph Abeles Endowed Chair for Distance Learning

SESSION I: INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

9:00 – 10:30 AM

Gateway Center – Room 137

Readers:

Prof. Randy Boone
Prof. Melissa Browne
Dr. Rasma Koch

Northampton Community College
Orange County Community College
Westchester Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Elise Martucci

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. Andrea Solomon

Columbia University

Presenters:

Simcha Gratz
“Rama: The Hero”
Mentor: Prof. Joan Naake
Montgomery College

Brandon Klein
“Archetypes, Symbols, Needs, and Desires: Egyptomania Explained”
Mentor: Prof. Elaine Torda
Orange County Community College

Brogan Murphy
“The Missing Link in the Puzzling Autism Epidemic: The Effect of the Internet on the Social Impact Equation”
Mentor: Prof. Shweta Sen
Montgomery College

Panel Sponsors:

Dr. Dwight Goodyear and Dr. James Werner
Holders of Sophia and Joseph Abeles Endowed Chair for the Honors Program

SESSION I: HISTORY
9:00 – 10:30 AM
Gateway Center – Room 139

Readers:

Dr. Sarah Shurts.	Bergen Community College
Prof. Jeffrey Ewen	Warren Community College
Prof. Eric DeAngello	Lehigh Carbon Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Christolyn Williams	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Maria del Pilar Ryan	U.S. Military Academy – West Point
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Presenters:

Victoria Dombroski
“Salons of the Enlightenment: The Power of Conversation”
Mentor: Prof. Alex D’Erizans
Borough of Manhattan Community College

William Snyder
“The Tuskegee Airmen”
Mentor: Prof. Sholomo Ben Levy
Northampton Community College

Megan G. Willmes
“The People’s History vs. Company Profit: Mine Wars in West Virginia, the Battle of Blair Mountain, and the Ongoing Fight for Historical Preservation”
Mentor: Dr. Joyce Brotton
Northern Virginia Community College

Panel Sponsors:

Prof. Karen Vanterpool
Holder of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair in Library Sciences
and
Prof. Joanna Peters and Prof. Susan Arietta
Holders of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Academic Support Center

SESSION I: COMMUNICATIONS I – POPULAR CULTURE

9:00 – 10:30 AM

Gateway Center – Room 140

Readers:

Prof. Denise Chaytor-Zugarek	Northampton Community College
Dr. Carol Farber	Nassau Community College
Dr. Katie Lever-Mazzuto	Western Connecticut State University

Moderator:

Dr. Christine Timm	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. James Eggensperger	Iona College
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Presenters:

Krystal L. Cabrera
“The Evolution of Mummies and Zombies into Modern Day Pop-Culture”
Mentor: Prof. Sabrina L. Caine
Erie Community College

Cristiana Lombardo
“Parent-Child Relationships in the Wicked Child Sub-Genre of Horror
Movies”
Mentor: Dr. Mira Sakrajda
Westchester Community College

Gregory Schmidt
“Violent Video Games: A Mere Enjoyable Pass-Time or a Snake in the
Grass to Modern Youth”
Mentor: Prof. Cyd Skinner
Northampton Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Dr. Jianping Wang
Holder of Jack and Ralynn Stadler Endowed Chair for Arts and Culture in Society

SESSION I: ALLIED HEALTH AND NURSING

9:00 – 10:30 AM

Gateway Center – Room 141

Readers:

Dr. Marcia Gellin
Prof. Samantha Ruschman
Prof. Stephanie Miller

Erie Community College
Northampton Community College
Lehigh Carbon Community College

Moderator:

Prof. Gloria Coschigano

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Mary Ellen Higgins, RN MS

Westchester Medical Center

Presenters:

Monika Laskowska
“Effectiveness of Breast Cancer Treatments”
Mentor: Prof. Ann Verschuuren and Prof. Elaine Torda
Orange County Community College

Ana Sicilia
“Alpha 1 Anti-Trypsin Deficiency Lung Disease Awareness and Latest
Treatments”
Mentor: Dr. Amy Ceconi
Bergen Community College

Leah Silverstein
“Anorexia Nervosa in Children and Adolescents”
Mentor: Dr. Mira Sakrajda
Westchester Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Prof. Eileen Karlik
Holder of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Nursing

SESSION II: PSYCHOLOGY
10:45 AM – 12:15 PM
Gateway Center – Room 133

Readers:

Dr. Betsy Swope
Dr. Azadeh Aalai
Prof. Michael Hall

Lehigh Carbon Community College
Montgomery College
Dutchess Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Michael Hackett

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. Linda Bastone

SUNY – Purchase College

Presenters:

Stacy Beaty
“The Effect of Education and Stress Reduction Programs on Feelings of Control and Positive Lifestyle Changes in Cancer Patients and Survivors”
Mentor: Dr. Gina Turner and Dr. Sharon Lee-Bond
Northampton Community College

Joanne B. Gottier
“Motherese: The Impact of Infant-Directed Speech”
Mentor: Dr. Robin Musselman
Lehigh Carbon Community College

Lita M. Horn
“Impact of Attachment on Future Development”
Mentor: Dr. Robin Musselman
Lehigh Carbon Community College

Panel Sponsors:

Gloria Leon
Holder of Sophia and Joseph Abeles Endowed Chair for Admissions
and
The Westchester Community College Student Government Association

SESSION II: THE ARTS
10:45 AM – 12:15 PM
Gateway Center – Room 135

Readers:

Dr. Cecelia Connelly-Weida	Lehigh Carbon Community College
Dr. Jill Hirt	Northampton Community College
Dr. Vanda Bozicevic	Bergen Community College

Moderator:

Prof. Craig Padawer	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Julia Rosenbaum	Bard College
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Presenters:

Linda Fiore
“Gustave Moreau: Almost Everything”
Mentor: Prof. Margaret Craig
Dutchess Community College

Angelika Klein
“The Art of Remembering: War Memorials Past and Present”
Mentor: Prof. Robert Bunkin
Borough of Manhattan Community College

Navid Safaie
“The Use of Art as Propaganda by Despotic Rulers”
Mentor: Dr. Nancy Hazelton
Rockland Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Dr. Melissa Hall
Holder of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Art and Art History

SESSION II: NATURAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

10:45 AM – 12:15 PM

Gateway Center – Room 137

Readers:

Prof. Nelda Latham
Prof. Terry Heisey
Prof. Glenworth Richards

Bergen Community College
Lehigh Carbon Community College
Westchester Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Neil Basescu

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. Leon L. Robert, Jr.

U.S. Military Academy – West Point

Presenters:

Jacqueline Christmann

“Genetic REM Behavioral Disorder: Is Inappropriate GABA Transmission the Cause?”

Mentors: Dr. Michele A. Paradies and Prof. Elaine Torda
Orange County Community College

David L. Gustafson

“The Music of Autism”

Mentors: Prof. Melissa Browne and Dr. Michele Iannuzzi-Sucich
Orange County Community College

Fiorella Villar

“Characterization of the Tissue Distribution of the Three Splicing Variants of LAMP-2”

Mentor: Prof. Robert Applebaum and Prof. Chad Thompson
Westchester Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Prof. Jose Quinones

Holder of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Respiratory Therapy and Care

SESSION II: AMERICAN LITERATURE

10:45 AM – 12:15 PM

Gateway Center – Room 139

Readers:

Prof. Linda Novak
Dr. Allison Carpenter
Prof. Joan Naake

Lehigh Carbon Community College
Northampton Community College
Montgomery College

Moderator:

Dr. Richard Rodriguez

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. Arnold Krupat

Sarah Lawrence College

Presenters:

Karen Breslin
“Sherman Alexie: What the Indian Saw”
Mentor: Dr. David Lucander
Rockland Community College

Brian Campesi
“Defining and Defending the Ambiguity in Faulkner’s Old South: A
Historical and Cultural Approach”
Mentor: Prof. Seamus Gibbons
Bergen Community College

Samuel Miller
“American Social and Spiritual Progressivism: A Comparative Study
between Anne Bradstreet and the Transcendentalists”
Mentor: Dr. Dorothy J. Altman
Bergen Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Dr. Frank Madden
Holder of Dorland Russett (Carol S. Russett) Endowed Chair for English

SESSION II: NUTRITION STUDIES/FITNESS/PUBLIC HEALTH

10:45 AM – 12:15 PM

Gateway Center – Room 140

Readers:

Prof. Holly Morris
Dr. Catherine Folio
Prof. Dale Crispel

Lehigh Carbon Community College
Brookdale Community College
Rockland Community College

Moderator:

Prof. Theresa Cousins

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. Karen Dolins

Teachers College, Columbia University

Presenters:

Omari Muhammad
“A Fitting Definition: Redefining Fitness through Global Cultural Connections”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Monica Ruth Powell
“Messing with Mother Nature: The Practice of Genetically Modifying Foods”
Mentor: Prof. Brian Malin
Rockland Community College

Melissa Puskar
“The High Cost of Cheap Food”
Mentor: Prof. Beth Wheeler
Northampton Community College

Panel Sponsors:

Prof. Daryl Nosek and Prof. Theresa Cousins
Holders of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Culinary Arts

SESSION II: SOCIAL JUSTICE
10:45 AM – 12:15 PM
Gateway Center – Room 141

Readers:

Prof. Jack Gasper	Lehigh Carbon Community College
Prof. Michael McCoy	Orange County Community College
Prof. Christine Armstrong	Northampton Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Richard Courage	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Daniel Villena, Esq.	Empire Justice Center at John Jay Legal Services, Pace University School of Law
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Presenters:

Stephen Peters
“Are American Democracy and the American Dream Equally Accessible?”
Mentor: Dr. James Werner
Westchester Community College

Mariame Sylla
“Reproductive Tourism: Ethical Implications of a New Form of Global
Consumerism”
Mentor: Prof. Shweta Sen
Montgomery College

Alisa Tsaturov
“Out of Sight, Out of Mind: The Global Trade in Human Beings”
Mentor: Prof. Shweta Sen
Montgomery College

Panel Sponsor:

Westchester Community College Federation of Teachers

SESSION II: INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND GLOBALIZATION

10:45 AM – 12:15 PM

Gateway Center – Room 229

Readers:

Prof. Alexander D’Erizans	Borough of Manhattan Community College
Prof. Rachel Plaksa	Lehigh Carbon Community College
Prof. Caroline Kelley	Bergen Community College

Moderator:

Prof. Russell Ippolito, Esq.	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Orly Shachar	Iona College
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Presenters:

Elizabeth Hellman
“Incentives for Impact: The Implications for the Health Impact Fund in a Globalized World”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Viktoria Ivanova
“The Myth of Homogenization”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Philip Kem
“Power to the People? The Dangers of Cyber Warfare in a Global Age”
Mentor: Prof. Shweta Sen
Montgomery College

Panel Sponsor:

Dr. Farhad Ameen
Holder of Carl and Lily Pforzheimer Foundation
Endowed Chair for Business and Public Policy

SESSION III: PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES

1:30 – 3:00 PM

Gateway Center – Room 133

Readers:

Dr. Rene Rojas	Erie Community College
Prof. Diane Bliss	Orange County Community College
Dr. Edward Grippe	Norwalk Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Dwight Goodyear	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Michael Fagge	Mount Saint Mary College
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Presenters:

Yechiel Erps
“The Essence of Morality and its Independence of God/Religion”
Mentor: Dr. Katherine Lynch
Rockland Community College

Kim Goldstein
“Frankenstein’s Creation: According to Aristotle – A Human Being”
Mentor: Dr. Jessica Seessel
Westchester Community College

Nicolette St. Lawrence
“I am Not a Nike Sneaker: A Personal View on Existentialism”
Mentor: Dr. Frank Madden
Westchester Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Dr. Joseph N. Hankin
President, Westchester Community College

SESSION III: BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS

1:30 – 3:00 PM

Gateway Center – Room 135

Readers:

Dr. Ann Bieber	Lehigh Carbon Community College
Prof. Denise Francois-Sweeney	Northampton Community College
Dr. Seemi Ahmad	Dutchess Community College

Moderator:

Prof. Barbara Connolly	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Michael Renahan	College of St. Elizabeth
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Presenters:

Silvia Argueta
“Globalization and Americanization: The Cause and Potential Future of Dollarization”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Yves Gomes
“Talk, Text, and Transfer: How Globalization Revolutionizes Money Transfer”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Mpho Mafune
“Social Entrepreneurship: A 21 Century Approach to Social Change”
Mentor: Prof. Shweta Sen
Montgomery College

Panel Sponsor:

Prof. Jeffrey Conte
Holder of Sylvia and Leonard Marx, Jr. Endowed Chair for Business Management

SESSION III: ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

1:30 – 3:00 PM

Gateway Center – Room 137

Readers:

Dr. Michelle Iannuzzi-Sucich	Orange County Community College
Prof. Ned Schillow	Lehigh Carbon Community College
Prof. Isabel Cadenas	Rockland Community College

Moderator:

Prof. Michael Priano	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Karl Appuhn	New York University
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Presenters:

Hebe Lis Ballaben
“E-Waste: The Perils of Innovation”
Mentor: Prof. Effie Siegel
Montgomery College

Susan Z. Lowy
“The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge – Section 1002”
Mentor: Dr. Martin J. Lecker
Rockland Community College

Yasuyo Tatebe
“Demand of Green Public Space in Urban Design”
Mentor: Dr. Beth Cunin
Rockland Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Prof. Kary Ioannou
Holder of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Alternative Energy Technology

SESSION III: COMMUNICATIONS II – MEDIA STUDIES/SPEECH

1:30 – 3:00 PM

Gateway Center – Room 139

Readers:

Prof. Kim de Bourbon
Dr. Kathleen Williams
Prof. Scott Aquila

Northampton Community College
Bergen Community College
Lehigh Carbon Community College

Moderator:

Prof. Eric Luther

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. Natalie Redcross

Iona College

Presenters:

Benjamin N. Foltin
“Why Media Piracy May Lead to Internet Censorship”
Mentor: Prof. Shweta Sen
Montgomery College

Sairam Nagulapalli
“No ‘Techno Logic’: Why Reducing Information Barriers Is Not Helping the Poorest of the Poor”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hassami
Montgomery College

James David Swartz
“Globalization and Serious Games: Focus on Virtual Reality Therapy and Rehabilitation”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Panel Sponsor:

Prof. Gabrielle Miller
Holder of Liane Beebe Brent (Frederick Sessions Beebe)
Endowed Chair for Journalism

SESSION III: WORLD LITERATURE

1:30 – 3:00 PM

Gateway Center – Room 140

Readers:

Prof. Barbara Love	Northampton Community College
Dr. Beth Kolp	Dutchess Community College
Prof. Martha Robinson	Ulster County Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Elizabeth Gaffney	Westchester Community College
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Judge:

Dr. Bette Kirschstein	Pace University
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Presenters:

Susan Crawford
“The Endless Cycle in Joyce’s ‘The Dead’”
Mentor: Prof. Cara McClintock-Walsh
Northampton Community College

Gillian K. Fitzgerald
“The Heroine, the Anti-Heroine, and the Female Hero: An Analysis of Queen Guenevere, Morgan Le Fay, and Nynveve, the Lady of the Lake in Sir Thomas Malory’s *Le Morte Darthur*”
Mentor: Dr. Geoffrey J. Sadock
Bergen Community College

Robert Harris
“The Women of *Boewulf*: Power and Duty in Anglo Saxon Society”
Mentor: Prof. Paul Lux
Montgomery College

Panel Sponsors:

David Bernstein
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SESSION III: GENDER AND GLBT STUDIES

1:30 – 3:00 PM

Gateway Center – Room 141

Readers:

Prof. Rita Kranidis
Dr. Elaine Olaoye
Prof. Precie Schroyer

Montgomery Community College
Brookdale Community College
Northampton Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Patricia Schulster

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Prof. Jane E. Harsha

Pace University

Presenters:

Jacqline Wolf Tice
“Willa Cather: Forsaken Love for Art’s Sake”
Mentor: Prof. Jennifer Myskowski
Lehigh Carbon Community College

Leah Sweeney
“Examining Homosexuality in Three Cultures”
Mentor: Dr. Cory Harris and Prof. Elaine Torda
Orange County Community College

Ryan Patrick Kramer
“George Eliot and Mary Shelley: The Connection to the Male Mystique”
Mentor: Prof. Jennifer Myskowski
Lehigh Carbon Community College

Panel Sponsor:

Prof. Joanne Conway
Holder of Joseph and Sophia Abeles Endowed Chair for Counseling

SESSION III: SOCIAL SCIENCES

1:30 – 3:00 PM

Gateway Center – Room 229

Readers:

Dr. Diana Glynn
Dr. Christine Bowditch
Dr. Miho Iwazaki

Brookdale Community College
Lehigh Carbon Community College
Ulster Community College

Moderator:

Dr. Betty Jo Stokes

Westchester Community College

Judge:

Dr. Richard Hoff

U.S. Military Academy – West Point

Presenters:

Kevin Bautista
“One Discipline, Different Paths”
Mentor: Prof. Alison Diefenderfer
Northampton Community College

Alexis G. Martinez
“Japanese Citizenship and the Zainichi”
Mentor: Prof. Jennifer P. Haydel
Montgomery College

Pamela M. Sutliff
“The New Homeless – Economic Recession Hits the Middle Class: A
Proposed Sociological Study”
Mentor: Prof. Alison Diefenderfer
Northampton Community College

Panel Sponsors:

Dr. Lori Maida and Prof. Kent Trickel
Kathryn W. Davis Global Community Scholars Program Co-Directors

POSTER SESSION
3:00 – 4:00 PM
HAROLD L. DRIMMER LIBRARY, MAIN FLOOR

Stephen Arriaga
“Henry David Thoreau’s
Resistance to Civil
Government”
Mentor: Dr. Dorothy Altman
Bergen Community College

Laura S. Griffin
“Individuality on the Brink of
Extinction Due to Media
Influence”
Mentors: Prof. Elaine Torda
and Prof. Alex Jakubowski
Orange County Community
College

Abigail Tjaden
“The Mirror Image”
Mentor: Prof. Shauna Gobble
Northampton Community
College

Marcia Stoudt
“Always with Honor and
Loyalty”
Mentor: Prof. John Lawlor
Reading Area Community
College

Larry Hixenbaugh
“A Global Sound: The
Democratization of Music”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Jacey Berger
“Banking Cord Blood: One
Step Closer to Saving Lives”
Mentor: Prof. Randy Boone
Northampton Community
College

Christopher Doolittle
“Rehabilitation and
Incarceration: A National
Problem”
Mentor: Prof. Jennifer
Bradley
Northampton Community
College

Jared Hoffman
“The Influence of Plato on
Christian Philosophy”
Mentor: Dr. Geoffrey Sadock
Bergen Community College

Laura E. Halsel
“An Artist of a Kind”
Mentor: Prof. Margaret
Borene
Northampton Community
College

Barbara Force
“Tetrachromacy: The
Potential for Human Beings
to Experience a Whole New
World of Color”
Mentors: Dr. Jennifer
Merriam and Prof. Elaine
Torda
Orange County Community
College

Miriam R. Greco
“Learning Styles in the
Classroom”
Mentor: Dr. Katherine Lynch
Rockland Community College

Britney Schoonmaker
“Mirror, Mirror: Literature and
Life”
Mentors: Prof. Melissa
Browne and Prof. Elaine
Torda
Orange County Community
College

Steven Cornacchia
“An In-Organic Truth: How
Organic Farming and Big
Business Can Never Co-
Exist”
Mentor: Dr. Mira Sakrajda
Westchester Community
College

Julia Branco
“Tweeting Our Way to
Change: The Case of Egypt”
Mentor: Dr. Aram Hessami
Montgomery College

Jeff Lim Li
“The Fatal Flaw of Hong
Kong Working Class
Parenting: Parents’ Ideals
and Molding of Their
Unconscious Minds through
Repression”
Mentor: Dr. Joseph Matthew
Pirone
Rockland Community College

Jonathan Fiore
“The Potential Marginal
Industrial Revolution:
Spending, Saving, and Real
Wealth of Nations”
Mentor: Prof. Noreen van
Valkenburgh
Westchester Community
College

Jason Pagan
“Contemporary Moral Issue:
Water Crisis”
Mentor: Dr. Cindy Linden
Sullivan County Community
College

Monica Ruth Powell
“The Multifarious Many: A
Research into the Roles of
the Chorus within the
Oedipus Trilogy”
Mentor: Dr. Nancy Hazelton
Rockland Community College

Gonzalo Molinolo
“Out of the Closet and into
the Globalizing World: The
Impact of Globalization on
LGBT People”
Mentor: Prof. Shweta Sen
Montgomery College

Jocelyn Alvarez
“The Effects of Single
Parenting: Are They as Bad
as Thought to Be?”
Mentor: Dr. Lucia Cherciu
Dutchess Community College

OUTSTANDING PAPERS BY PANEL

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Negative Political Advertising and the American Electorate

by Alison Conrad

Politicians have used various methods to win elections, including whistle-stop speeches, public debates, and political rallies. However, the negative political advertisement has become the main ingredient in promoting a candidate's agenda and superiority over their opponents (Chang, Park, Shim, 1). Political advertisements can be venomous or poignant, motivational or damning, and shape the atmosphere of the election and the images of each candidate. Commentators within the political community, including voters, accuse modern elections of becoming less intellectual, less substantive, and above all, more negative. The trend towards increasingly negative advertising has been assessed as a debasement of the democratic process, and a catalyst for decreased voter participation (Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, Babbitt, 851).

As political campaign advertising decays deeper into negative mudslinging, many argue that the democratic process itself will decay. Politicians who seek the nation's highest office carefully craft words and advertisements to hypnotize the electorate and secure their success. Doris Graber concludes that in politics, "Words have a magical effect, on both the politicians who state them and the electorate that absorbs them (Graber, 1)". Aldous Huxley echoes her observation as he stated, "Words have power to mold men's thinking, to canalize their feeling, and direct their willing and acting (qtd. in Graber, 1)".

Campaign strategists construct advertisements to persuade not only their political and ideological base, but also the coveted undecided and independent voters that can swing an election's outcome. In a democracy, such as the United States, this raises the question as to how much of citizens' political behavior stems from free choice and careful analysis of prevailing political issues, or results from a reaction to negativism that exists strictly as a marketing method of squashing the political competition. Is the American electorate voting for the best candidate and policy, or against the weaker opponent who has been victimized by a feral political marketing machine?

The critical analysis of negative campaigns provides crucial knowledge to the common voter and provides greater balance in the election process by illuminating the psychological manipulations that are created to confuse and mislead the public. Throughout my analysis I will explore the complexity of negative political advertising, past and present, by analyzing examples of negative campaign advertisements including, "Peace Little Girl", the "Willie Horton" ads, and the crusade of the Swift Boat Veterans and POWs for Truth. I will document the events surrounding their creation, election outcomes, and their perceived effects on the electorate. I will highlight the reasons that political scholars offer for the consistent rise in political negativism including, the power of television, the rise of independent Political Action Committees, and the media's role in exploiting sensational negative ads to perpetuate negative messages and influence the electorate. Finally I will offer opposing analytical perspectives on negative campaigning.

Polls show that voters condemn negative political ads. Citizens hark back to the hypothetical "good old days" when campaigns were designed to address political issues and candidates' qualifications. Many historians dispute that such a political paragon of virtue ever existed. Senator Howard Baker declared in 1985:

There is one singular new development in American politics that violates fair play, and that is negative advertising, the paid commercial, usually on TV or radio, that is a smear attack on a decent person. Not only is the negative ad the sleaziest new element in politics, it may also be the most dangerous. The first victim is the person under attack. But the greater victim is the integrity and credibility of the political system itself. (Mayer, 439)

Senator Baker's assessment of negative campaigning as a "new element" does not help neutralize negativism and is grossly misrepresentative of the history of American politics. Lord Bryce characterized the American election system in 1888, as, "Thick with charges, defenses, recriminations, till the voter knows not what to believe (Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, Babbitt, 851)." In fact, historians note the negative strategy of Thomas Jefferson during his campaign against John Adams in 1800 (PBS) as an early example of a smear campaign. Jefferson's campaign maligned Adams and portrayed him as a tyrannical war hawk who was clandestinely looking to return the new democratic nation to an English monarchy (PBS). Jefferson effectively established the blueprint for negative campaigns during the inception of our nation's election process.

The rise in negativism in modern campaigns has been attributed to the dominant force of television (Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, Babbitt, 851). Jamieson describes television as having, "Granted the manufacturers of campaign discourse some Svengalian powers that radio and print lacked (9)." Due to the overwhelming expense in television advertising, campaign strategists design ads that will provide the maximum effect and strike fast and hard at their opponent's positions and/or personal character. The political scientist, Herbert Alexander, wrote, "The high cost of television now means that you have to go for the jugular (qtd, in Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, Babbitt, 851)".

The most effective negative television ads, according to Tony Schwartz, one of the brains behind the "Peace Little Girl" advertisement, try to appeal to a sentiment that already exists within the viewer (Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, Babbitt, 47). His philosophy claims that if an advertisement nurtures the electorate's concerns and internalized perspectives, then viewers will better remember and respond to the ad. Schwartz's "Peace Little Girl," exemplified his advertising doctrine. This ad is highly credited with Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory over Barry Goldwater in 1964.

L. Patrick Devlin proclaims 1964 as, "The year of the negative political advertisement (47). Johnson and Goldwater's fiery battle for the White House embodied the ideological tensions that were present in 1960's American society. The controversy over Vietnam intensified and American Cold War politics and the threat of nuclear attacks swelled in the minds of many Americans. Rutherford offers that both opposing parties in the 1964 election ran more negative advertisements than any other race, from 1960 to 1988 (30). According to the Museum of The Moving Image, Johnson gained an advantage over Goldwater by branding him as a war hawk, capable of using nuclear weapons in Vietnam. He capitalized on statements that Goldwater had made during his victory speech after securing the Republican nomination for president. Goldwater proclaimed, "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue (livingroomcandidate.com)". This prompted a public consciousness of fear against Goldwater. Schwartz exploited the public's mistrust by intensifying Goldwater's hawkish persona within the ad (Devlin, 47).

The ad opens with an innocent little girl, playing in a field, and counting up to ten as she takes petals off of a daisy. Once she reaches the number ten, a militant voice begins an ominous countdown to zero and she is frozen in the camera frame, motionless and helpless until a mushroom cloud and a thunderous explosive sound eclipses her face and turns the screen completely black (thelivingroomcandidate.com). Johnson's voice is heard after the atomic fallout warning, "These are the stakes: to make a world in which all God's children can live, or go into the dark (Devlin, 47 and thelivingroomcandidate.com)." The concluding statement in the ad hails from a somber voice urging the viewer to prevent global catastrophe by showing up at the ballot box. The voice declares, "The stakes are too high for you to stay home (Rutherford, 32)."

According to Rutherford, this ad was a remarkable because it was simple, emotional, and gave the viewer the responsibility of being a citizen of the world (32). It is important to note that Goldwater is never mentioned and or directly attacked in the ad. However, the imagery and language of the ad are so powerful, that Goldwater's foreign policy agenda became viewed as a prophesy for nuclear Armageddon to many American voters. Rutherford points to later

statements made by people who had seen the original ad in 1964, claiming that years later they remembered seeing Goldwater's face within the outline of the mushroom cloud. This may suggest that the impact of the ad's images were so powerful, viewers created their own visual interpretations because of their extreme emotional reaction to the content (32), which distorted their perception.

Although it is considered one of the most historically relevant negative ads of all time, "Peace Little Girl" was only officially aired once during the 1964 campaign (Devlin, 47). The ad lived on, with no additional financial expense to the Johnson campaign, news broadcasts, radio programs, and newspapers until after the election (Devlin, 47). Ansolabehere and Iyengar write that media attention on negative political ads creates a "ripple effect" within the electorate, amplifying the original message within the ad (31). Patterson concludes that the media's attention on specific campaign elements contributes to voter manipulation as they focus on the sensational in order to promote their own successful ratings (55).

Two decades later, another presidential race proved that negativity could become the focus of a campaign, eclipsing relevant debate and candidate qualifications. Although negative campaign advertisements and vitriolic discourse were not new to American presidential campaigns, in 1988 the media, political scientists, and pollsters alike, began to track the progression of negative ads and analyze their motives and effectiveness. Geer writes that the political community viewed the 1988 election between Republican incumbent Vice President George H.W. Bush and the Democratic Nominee, Michael Dukakis, as a low point in modern presidential campaigns (111). He also notes that there were no political science articles referencing the phrase "negative advertising" in the twelve years preceding the 1988 election. However, during the span of twelve years after 1989, the phrase appeared in thirty-six scholarly articles with direct mention of the Bush/Dukakis race (117). According to Mayer, the 1988 election led to pursuits of campaign "cleansing", including academic research, active public polling, and legislative measures to pressure politicians to uphold a more dignified process (2).

The infamous "Willie Horton" ads, designed to attack Dukakis' position on crime, relied on the most primitive and lowly forms of negative mudslinging. They exploited racism, bigotry, and blatantly distorted the truth to scare voters. Bush and Dukakis were even in the polls in early September 1988 (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, 4). The Bush strategists began to focus on a controversial furlough program for Massachusetts prison inmates (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, 4). The ad featured mug shots of an inmate, "Willie" Horton, a convicted murderer, who was permitted to leave on a "weekend pass" from prison. While on furlough, "Willie" stabbed a man and kidnapped and raped his girlfriend, a white woman (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, 4). This tale was narrated as favorable images of Bush were juxtaposed with unflattering pictures of Dukakis. Statements of Bush's support for the death penalty were flashed, and repeating, frightening images of "Willie's" mug shot were shown (livingroomcandidate.com). Devlin maintains that visuals such as those in the "Willie" ads are even more important than the narration (47). He offers a study that found 80 – 85% of information retained through television commercials is visual (47).

This ad was alarmingly distorted and irreparably damaged Dukakis' bid for the White House. Jamieson argues that the "Willie Horton" ads created a manipulative vocabulary that infected the media's coverage of the campaign, and proved that the power of television spots contribute to false hype that overshadows truth and actual events (128). She claims that the Willie Horton ads were an, "Instance of the complexity of the visual-verbal relationship," with, "repeated viewing of images situating the visual-verbal link in memory (132)". The ad was filled with blatant deceptions. The Bush campaign claimed that Dukakis originated the "revolving door" policy for inmates (Jamieson, 131). In actuality, Dukakis had signed a bill ending furloughs for inmates who were murderers not eligible for parole in April of 1988 (Jamieson, 131) and inherited the program from his Republican predecessor (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, 4). The media also quickly adopted the tabloid style language of the "Willie" ads, which perpetuated and reinforced the Bush campaign's attack on Dukakis.

Although the ad distorted the truth and exploited racial bigotry, the details were close

enough to the facts to persuade voters. The persuasive power of negative ads relies on the voter's perception that the facts are "truth-like" even if not completely accurate (Chang, Park, Shim, 6). After all, what voter would take the time to critically analyze the exploitation of a prisoner who was convicted of depraved, violent crimes twice?

Dukakis was powerless to regain control of his campaign's agenda. He responded with oppositional ads that were "novel" (Geer, 116) for the time period because they were designed to attack other attack ads. Unfortunately, the limited time of television ads left little room to discuss substantive campaign platforms and were devoid of any substance beyond claims that Bush was waging a smear campaign against him.

After the "Willie Horton" airings, Bush surged ahead of Dukakis in nationwide polls (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, 4). Chang, Park, and Shim quote Janet Mullins, Bush's 1988 campaign media director, in her defense of their negative strategy:

Everybody hates negative ads; then they rate them most effective in terms of decision making. There isn't any long term effect...It's kind of like birth pains. Two days later, you forget how much it hurt. The same is true for negative advertising. (6)

The political advertising scene is not exclusive to those competing for public office and their strategists. Negative strategies are reinforced by independent entities and Political Action Committees who spend limitless amounts of money to secure their preferred candidate's success (Chang, Park, Shim, 2). The second term election of George W. Bush in 2004 is argued as an example of how PACs effectively supplement a political party's power to persuade the electorate.

The phenomena of the PAC can be traced back to the development of the interest group, according to Heany. The interest group developed through the failure of political parties to represent individual interests of the voting population (Heany, 571). If candidates fail to recognize the needs of the public or do not differ enough in their ideology, then interest groups have an opportunity to obtain loyalty and persuade the electorate by exploiting emotional capital and framing issues to target specific voters. The 1976 amendment to the Federal Election Campaign Act, allowed independent parties and PACs to spend "limitless independent political expenditures on behalf of candidates (Chang, Park, Shim, 2). The Supreme Court prompted this amendment after it's ruling of *Buckley v. Valeo* (424 U.S. 1, 1976), which legitimized a new political "regime" titled, the PAC (Heany, 571). More recently, the Supreme Court ruled in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission* (No. 08-205) that PACs could receive unlimited donations to be used to influence elections (Liptak, 1). The key is, that a PAC can support a candidate or party, but the candidate cannot have any direct interaction with the PAC. This ruling equated financial contributions with free speech and therefore, gave PACs legally limitless power in the election process. Heany explains that PACs are "shadow parties" that "sub-contract services" needed to gain political power over the electorate (575).

Some PACs, including Swift Boat Veteran's and POWs for Truth, exist solely to launch media assaults on specific, targeted candidates, as they did against Senator John Kerry, in his 2004 bid for the White House (Heany, 572). PACs have the ability to wage a media war without fear of losing the election because as independent organizations, they are not bound by the same expectations of campaign ethics that candidates are socially pressured to uphold. The Swift Boat Veterans and POWs for Truth aimed to sour the voting pool against Kerry in battleground states.

According to a John Zogby poll released in the evening on Election Day, November 2nd, 2004, Kerry was projected to win the presidential election with 311 electoral votes (Altschuler, Spitzer, 108). Zogby was incorrect, for then incumbent President George Walker Bush, won with 286 votes compared to Kerry's 252. This was the slimmest margin of victory since the election of Woodrow Wilson (Altschuler, Spitzer, 108). Many political scientists and media pundits attributed Bush's surprise victory as a confirmation that the Right Wing, Evangelical Movement had flooded the voting booths and voted on moral and social issues such as gay marriage. Altschuler and Spitzer claim that this assumption is false, noting that the most salient issue on voters' minds was the threat of terrorism and the ongoing wars in both Iraq and Afghanistan

(110). Although President Bush held record high approval points during the aftermath of the 9/11 terror attacks, his numbers dropped to approximately 50% in the summer and fall of 2004 as Americans lost support for the less than successful and seemingly dubious invasion of Iraq (Jamieson, 12). The problem for the voter was that both candidates equally supported the Wars on Terror. Bush and Kerry differed dramatically in ideological values, but their similarities in opinions over Iraq failed to persuade undecided voters.

Kerry's camp focused attention on his status as a Vietnam War hero to gain greater legitimacy over Bush's service record in the Air National Guard that did not include active combat (Altschuler, Spitzer, 112). Bush's strategists were unable to directly refute Kerry's war record with a negative campaign because it would focus media attention on Bush's lack of combat field experience and his failure to produce success in the Wars on Terror. This type of negative spin would be a gamble because Bush may have appeared to devalue a war hero's sacrifice while he was in the role of Commander In Chief, creating what Garramone named, a "backlash effect" of negative advertising (Garramone, Roddy, 416). This presented a perfect opportunity for the virulent efforts of the Swift Boat Veterans and POWs for Truth to erode support for Kerry through "independent" media advertisements.

The Swift Boat Veterans and the POWs for Truth deployed attack ads to "educate voters" on Senator Kerry's "true" military legacy. These PACs waged a political "jujitsu (Altschuler, Spitzer, 112)" on Kerry to attract the attention of swing voters. They accused Kerry of being unpatriotic, a liar, and a coward. The Swift Boat Veteran's For Truth claimed that Kerry, "Betrayed the men and women that he served with in Vietnam," and "dishonored his country" (Altschuler and Spitzer, 112, quoted in Sabato, 169) when he testified before congress regarding suspected war crimes that were committed by U.S. military forces. These insults were hurled at Kerry because, "Sen. John Kerry's 2004 presidential bid became the catalyst for an unprecedented political movement by Vietnam veterans who had long resented his false 1971 testimony that American troops routinely committed war crimes (Swett, Zeigler, tosettherecordstrait.com)."

The advertisement, "Any Questions?" was a direct attack on Kerry's service while in Vietnam and his deservedness of three Purple Heart Medals earned during his tours of duty (Swiftvets.com). While footage of Kerry in uniform played in the background, men who appeared to have served with Kerry, many as equally decorated with medals of valor, claimed that Kerry was, "not trustworthy" and, "lying about his first Purple Heart and Bronze Star." The advertisement is careful not to elaborate on any details that could prompt a thorough analysis of the facts, and cleverly provides buzz phrases that attack Kerry's credibility and military integrity. The speakers in the ad were well dressed, conservative looking white males who spoke clearly and calmly with no hesitation. The most damning ad, "They Served", featured dignified men, all veterans who supposedly served with Kerry. The men are silent and stoic; they hold their heads slightly tilted upwards, symbolizing their pride and unshakable integrity. They are described as pillars of the community, as fathers and grandfathers, before the narrator closes the ad by stating that these vets have nothing to gain except for the satisfaction that comes with "telling the truth." There are no visuals of Senator Kerry, which leaves the viewer fixated on the implied righteousness of the Swift Veterans themselves.

Altschuler and Spitzer note that Kerry pollster, Mark Mellman, admits that the negativity in the ads caught the Kerry campaign flatfooted (112). Mellman claims, "There were so many things that were made up that it really was impossible to prepare for them (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, 112, qtd, in Institute of Politics 49)." The beauty of the Swift Boat ads was that the featured veterans seemed above reproach, immune to political jabs because of their service. If Kerry responded harshly to the Swift Boat and POWs' claims, then he, just as President Bush, would have run the risk of a negative backlash.

Kerry spent the rest of the campaign on the defensive, whereas Republicans were able to focus their advertising on Bush's conservative ideological agenda and heroic images of strength in the aftermath of the 9/11 horror. The Institute of Politics reported that voters in six battleground states mentioned the Swift Boat ads as the most influential during the campaign

(2005, 214, Altschuler and Spitzer, 113). The negative advertisements aired by the Swift Boat Vets and POWs for Truth acted as wind in the Republican's sails during the election. They provided the proper amount of distraction to sway a crucial percentage of independent voters away from Kerry and towards Bush. Although the margin of victory was historically small, one cannot ignore that the negativity promoted by the anti-Kerry forces, played an integral part in winning the election.

These advertisements all beg the question, how effective are negative strategies on the electorate and the election process? The effectiveness of negative political ads is heavily debated among political scientists and scholars. The methods in which political scholars measure their effectiveness are also debated, for studies conducted through polls and questionnaires are technically faulted and ill equipped to detect the effects of negative ads on the electorate (Ansolabehere, Iyengar, 17). Kaid and Holtz-Bacha report that in polls, voters are reluctant to admit the effect of negative advertisements on themselves, and have been socialized to express distaste for negativity (49). They also suggest that voters exhibit a "third person effect", asserting that other people may be affected by negative ads, but they themselves are not (49).

Regardless of indefinite research, Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, and Babbitt concur that strategists, who both praise and condemn negativism, believe that it works (852). They reference Republican pollster Richard Wirthlin who states, "A negative attack can take a virtual unknown up against a strong incumbent and provide a tremendous and strong margin (852)", and Democratic consultant, Philip Friedman, who adds, "The big question in most campaigns is whose negative campaign is better. If it's negative, it works, if it's positive, save it for your tombstone," (852).

Supporters of negative ads believe that negativism blocks support for the opponent, mobilizes ideological bases, and promotes a determined electorate. The assumption is people are more likely to vote against something than for something. Chang, Park, and Shim explain that political strategists rely on psychological theories that support a citizen's stronger reaction to negative ads than positive ones, resulting in more motivation to support their candidate of choice. Mayer also highlights a study that contradicts normative conclusions and assumptions in various studies that claim attack ads do nothing but mislead and confuse the electorate. The study, composed of field experiments conducted by Pfau and Kenski, showed that the threat of negative attack ads can keep a candidate honest, by encouraging them to adopt a strategy known as "inoculation", in which they release unflattering information themselves before the opposition can take advantage (443).

Critics of negativism claim that the nature of negative ads promotes cynicism towards government, reduces voter participation, undermines the election process, and backlashes against negative campaigns. The deceitful nature of negative ads, such as the "Willie Horton" and The Swift Boat Veterans, promote tabloid dribble that is intended to mislead viewers and mock common sense and rational judgment. Journalist Walter Shapiro wrote in 1990, "American Democracy may be the inspiration of the world, but the transcendent spirit has dismally failed to uplift U.S. elections (Mayer, 438)".

There have been studies that reported data on the effects of negative advertising. Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, and Babbitt conducted an extensive, "meta-analysis" which involved the statistical integration of research findings in various studies to establish consistency and the magnitude of the relationships in question (853). They found 117 pertinent findings in 52 studies and the results were as follows (855): First they concluded that the most concrete analysis was that the common citizen did not like negative ads with 95% confidence in this assessment. Next they found that the prevailing trend on the intended consequences of negative ads was that it did appear that the sponsoring candidate's opponent was liked less after being attacked. However, this also revealed that the effect was counterbalanced with an even stronger backlash against the sponsor (857). This data suggests that negative ads are not as powerful in determining campaign outcomes as may be assessed from the outcomes of the three previously mentioned ads. Finally, they addressed the concern that negativism

undermined the election process and concluded there is little evidence to blame negativism for the decrease in voter participation (858).

In conclusion, it is safe to say that whether or not society admires a negative political strategy, it will remain an integral part of the American presidential election process. We are reminded that vitriolic discourse has been a part of our election history since the founders competed for political power at the inception of our nation. To presume that the players in politics will cleanse the election process and promote advertising tactics that are above reproach would be gravely naïve. The recognition of the nature and intentions of negativism is important to maintain an educated electorate. An ill informed electorate is just as dangerous for democracy as negativism.

Each of the three advertisements discussed provide the public with a platform for debate through their content, their political ideologies, and the level of mendaciousness of the ads themselves. One decidedly positive aspect of analyzing the intention of negative campaigns is that as the electorate becomes more media savvy and able to better interpret political strategy. This empowers the individual voter to become an active participant in the election process. Voters must immunize themselves against the manipulations of negative ads and choose to focus on substantive election elements. To truly acknowledge and appreciate the concept of negative political advertising, the electorate must accept that negativism is ubiquitous throughout the American election process.

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Non-Traditional Women of a Local Community College

by Michele Granitz

Abstract

This paper looks at the challenges of the non-traditional student attending college. Community colleges may provide access to higher education in the most cost-effective manner; however, the student's decision to take the step to enroll and to persist is contingent on the circumstances of one's own life. The sub-culture of the non-traditional, female college student, aged 35 to 50, with children, currently attending the local community college was chosen as the focus group. The purpose of this research was to learn more about who these non-traditional women are, what their inspiration is, and what tools are available to them. Research participants include seven non-traditional female students, aged 35 to 50, with children at a local community college (name of the college has been withheld) who agreed to be interviewed. The research also includes conversations with administrators and professors at the community college, and discussions with additional non-traditional, female students who also fit the criteria. The findings reveal that participants entered the educational experience with trepidation, but with a sense of determination to achieve their educational goal for themselves and especially their children. Participants reported difficulties such as financial, conflict with family obligations, limited resources, and self-doubt. The research found there are few tools for success offered by the local community college. It was discovered that on-site daycare services, a specific student affairs advocate, or possibly a female, non-traditional student orientation may need to be implemented to meet the needs of this segment of student population.

Introduction

“No institution in our society cuts across race, class, age, and gender lines like the community college.” (Cavan, 1995, p. 15) This statement is as true today as it was over fifteen years ago. Community colleges offer access and opportunity for higher education, but it is the enrollment of the non-traditional, female student that the community colleges need to start focusing on. The needs of students considered non-traditional are very different than the traditional college student who just graduated from high school. The non-traditional, female college student faces various challenges and does not always share the need for help. Within the community college landscape, there lies a group of women, aged 35 to 50, who have children, and are working to better themselves. At the local community college, this group of women has been interviewed and observed to understand (a) who they are, (b) what their motivation and inspiration is, (c) what tools the local community college has to offer these non-traditional students to help them succeed, and (d) how they fit within the local community college community.

The study reveals that the non-traditional women of the local community college began their educational experience with a bit of apprehension, but with a sense of determination to achieve their educational goals for themselves and especially for their children. They all reported challenges such as financial, family obligation conflicts, self-doubt, and time management. They also reported successes such as a sense of accomplishment and pride in themselves. The study also shows that the local community college does not offer much help for the non-traditional, female college student unless the student is disadvantaged educationally and financially. Perhaps implementing a specialized, non-traditional female- or adult-focused orientation and having a student affairs professional who specializes in the adult student could help towards an increase in enrollment and the success of these students.

Who is the Non-Traditional Student?

A non-traditional student, typically considered to be over 24 years of age, can be defined as one who (a) delays postsecondary education after high school; (b) attends school part-time; (c) works full-time while enrolled; (d) is a single parent; (e) does not have a high school diploma; (f) is financially independent; (g) has dependents such as children; or (h) is the first person in his or her immediate family to earn a college degree (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2002a). The non-traditional students in this research are female, adult learners, aged 35 to 50, and also fit many of the other characteristics. Students who are identified as non-traditional according to the criteria cited above are more likely to be women (NCES, 2002b). The American Council on Education ([ACE]. 2008) states that part-time and returning women students are the fastest growing segment of higher education. Thirteen percent of non-traditional students are single parents ("Back to College," 2011), and female students are more likely than men to be single parents by a margin of sixteen percent versus nine percent (Cominole, Siegel, Dudley, Roe, & Gilligan, 2004). Being older than the traditional college student, having children, and potentially being a single parent poses many challenges for these students. As the research shows, the non-traditional, female students in this study have also seen many successes, including educational awards, honors, and being published in the local community college newspaper and journal. To further define the group within this research, the majority of them are Caucasian and women who have not been recognized by the college as educationally or financially disadvantaged. Discussions with women of various ethnicities and women who fit the disadvantaged profile took place, but these women were not the main focus of this study. Although it was not purposefully set to be so narrow ethnically, the women more willing to respond to the interview requests happen to fit within a more narrow profile.

The Women of the Study

The information in Table 1 shows the basic information collected about the women interviewed for this study. To find participants, various students in the author's classes were asked to participate, an email was sent from a Humanities Division professor at the local community college to women who fit the profile asking them to contact the author if they were interested in participating, and women who were met on campus were asked if they would like to participate. From each of these types of contact, seven women were able to meet and be personally interviewed by the author or were willing to fill out a questionnaire emailed to them by the author.

Name	Age	Ethnicity	# of Kids	Ages of Kids	current course of study	Full-time or Part-time	GPA	Financial Aid?	Types of Aid	Assoc. degree from RACC?	Plan to Transfer
Rebecca	38	Caucasian	2	8, 11	secondary education and science	full-time	3.9	no	not eligible	Yes	Yes
Andrea	41	Caucasian	2	20, 14	social work	part-time	4.0	yes	grants	Yes	Yes
Lynette	35	Caucasian	2	9, 14	Pre-law / Psychology	full-time	3.4	yes	grants, loans	Yes	Yes
Maria	45	Caucasian	2	19, 22	Physical Therapy assistant	part-time	4.0	no		Yes	No
Patty	37	Caucasian	2	8, 10	anthropology transfer	full-time	4.0	yes	grants, aid, scholarships	Yes	Yes
Patrichia	43	Lebonese	4	18, 15, 8, 7	human services	part-time	4.0	yes	grants, loans	Yes	Yes
Danielle	35	Caucasian	3	6, 9, 12	education	full-time	3.8	yes	grants, loans	Yes	Yes

Table 1.

As the data in Table 1 shows, each participant in the group has at least two children. The group includes a good mix of full-time and part-time and has a mean age of 39. Most of the participants receive some type of assistance from financial aid, all are working on an associate's degree from the local community college, and most all plan to transfer to a four-year institution. The women of this group are all successful students with a mean GPA of 3.8 and most are members of Phi Theta Kappa.

Late Bloomers

Who are these women? Many have referred to themselves as being in a 'third-stage' or 'next stage' of life or a late bloomer. Being a mother was the number one response, being viewed as one of the most important aspects to who they are. Some are married and others realized they needed to better themselves when marriages started falling apart. One participant sadly found that being a college student was the straw that broke the camel's back and is going through a divorce. Some are single-parents and are full-time or part-time workers. One participant was in the Army as a diesel mechanic and is now working construction to support herself and her children along with going to college. Making the decision to go back to school at 35 to 50 years old, with children, is a difficult one. When one has children to be concerned about, especially those who still need daycare, has family and community obligations, and financial concerns, college can be a strain. However, they all felt the struggles of getting through the obligations are worth it. They are all excited to be students and all feel now is the best time for them.

Their Driving Force

What was the driving force behind the decision to go back to school? All of the women knew that to have a better job, a better career, they needed a degree. The quest for a college degree should be a personal one and should culminate into personal satisfaction and growth. The quest should be based on a person's own individual needs and preferences. According to this group of women, their quest does include personal satisfaction and growth. In today's economy, however, career options and job opportunities are limited if the job seeker does not have a degree. More and more employers are requiring that prospective employees hold a college degree before they will even consider them for a position. The women of this study knew if they wanted to be better, to do better, they would need a degree.

However, the desire to earn a college degree was not their only reason for going back to school. Many of these women, as Patricia explains, want to do better for their children, to be a role-model for them: "My education will help me be a better mom and to better help my kids" (personal communication, November 22, 2011). The women of this age group are very proud and want their families to be proud of them as well. Rebecca shares, "When my kids run up to their friends and say, 'My mom is back in school,' or they tell their teachers I am back in school, I can't screw up" (personal communication, November 30, 2011). Despite challenges and hardships, the drive and desire to move forward and not just do better, but to excel, is very strong.

Challenges

Challenges come in many forms. For the financially and educationally disadvantaged students, there is a great deal of assistance available. For thirty years, the local community college has had an employee dedicated to helping these students with aid received through ACT-101, a Higher Education Equal Opportunity Program. The program offered the local community college students who fit their criteria a chance to do better with their lives and earn a college degree through financial assistance and academic and social support services. According to the Pennsylvania Department of Education ([PDE], 2011), "The program provides support services for undergraduate students whose cultural, economic and educational disadvantages might impede their ability to pursue higher education opportunities successfully. Through a program of tutoring, counseling, curricular innovation, and cultural enrichment activities, students develop as campus leaders and graduate with marketable skills." To be eligible for this program, a family needs to "have an annual family income equal to or less than 200% of the family income level established by the United States Bureau of the Census for determining poverty status" (PDE, 2011). None of the women in this study fell within requirement for this program, but that does not mean they are not struggling to make ends meet. One woman in the study said she was told she and her husband should separate on paper in order to be eligible for financial aid. Families are finding it difficult to pay for their college and their children's college at the same time.

And, what is a mother to do when there are snow days at school or a child is sick? These women must miss class and find ways to make up the work. Most professors understand when a mother must miss class, but others are not so understanding or forgiving. Scheduling classes around the kid's schedules is not always easy. When these students are trying to get through community college in two years, they find it may be impossible to fit all their classes into the time frame which works for their family. "This has also forced my 11-year old son to take on more responsibility, and next semester he will have to get himself and his sister on the bus because I have an eight a.m. class," Rebecca said (personal communication, November 30, 2011). These women continue to persist in their dreams.

Despite the challenges, some of these women also find being part of Phi Theta Kappa, the honor society for two-year colleges, and taking honors classes to enhance their learning

experiences. A few did not know about the honors classes until after they had already completed many of their courses, but these women feel honors classes are a great enhancement. According to The Honors Program brochure at the local community college (n.d.), "The primary goal of the [Local] Community College Honors Program is to enrich the education experience of academically talented, intellectually curious students" (p 2). Curious as to why some of the women in this study would add the additional pressure of honors classes to their workload, the author asked them why they are enrolled in honors classes. Andrea shares, "the medallion!" (personal communication, November 30, 2011), and clarified the honors program offers smaller class sizes, more of an intellectual challenge and greater opportunity for scholarships. The women in this study are determined to make it work. They know that a few years of struggles will be rewarded in the end.

Motivation and Inspiration

Non-traditional students typically have different motivations for enrolling in classes at their local community college: securing a job and income, advancing their career, and being able to provide for themselves and family (Mott, 2008). For these women, "my children" was the number one answer. Children, no matter who you are or what you do, have an amazing impact on mothers. Anthropologist and University of Oregon professor Lisa Gilman shares, "Now that I have children, it is nice because I can relate to a lot of people who are mothers. At the same time, I have to adapt my research visits when I go with the children, something I had not thought much about when I was in graduate school and first doing research in Malawi" (personal communication, November 21, 2011). How, why, and when a woman does something is typically focused around her child(ren). Gilman realized how doing her research and fieldwork as an anthropologist changed after having children. The non-traditional women of the local community college have all stated similar thoughts. Motivation comes in many forms.

"Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivations: Classic Definitions and New Directions" (2000) theorizes that students could be motivated to learn because he or she understands the value of the education. A person is intrinsically motivated if they (a) have sense of autonomy or an internal perceived locus of causality; (b) have a feeling of competence for the skill; and (c) are mastery oriented (54-59). This theory supports the fact that if non-traditional students believe that continuing higher education will make a difference, a powerful motivation is in place. The women in this study have all agreed, in their own way, that intrinsic motivation plays a large part in their motivation. Inspiration is also an important factor to consider. When the author questioned the women in this study as to what inspires them, after their children, the list varied based on the life of the individual. Maria shares, "Humanity. I know it sounds corny, but it's true. What makes me come alive and feel a sense of worth is dealing with other human beings, interacting and trying to help them. Anyone I meet is inspiring. Life is inspiring" (personal communication, November 21, 2011). Fear and perfection, although somewhat tongue-in-cheek, are also listed as inspiration and motivation. Andrea, while laughing, states "my own desire for perfection drives me" (personal communication, November 30, 2011). These women, despite their challenges, illnesses, loss of jobs, and loss of spouses, are happy and find inspiration in the simple fact that a happy life brings happiness which, in turn, provided them with inspiration. Patricia, who came to America after the civil war in Lebanon, credits her mother for much of her inspiration. "My mother was a teacher and has been my inspiration," Patricia shares (personal communication, November 22, 2011). The Dalai Lama once said, "We can never obtain peace in the outer world until we make peace with ourselves" ("Life Balanced," 2007). These women must have found the power within themselves to find happiness and strength to be successful with their quest into college.

The Community College Environment and What it Offers the Non-Traditional, Female Student

Due to the recent setbacks in our economy, it should stand to reason there would be an increase in the enrollment of non-traditional students, but that does not seem to be the case. According to the Director of Public Relations at the local community college, the decline in the non-traditional student is of concern which she discussed during a marketing forum held at the local community college on November 14, 2011. Is it the economy? Could it be that the local community college is not focusing on the non-traditional student enough or that classes may not be available at convenient times to the non-traditional student? The local community college may need to reach out to the non-traditional student in a way which makes the school seem an excellent choice. On the local community college's website, there is information which would help the non-traditional students feel welcome.

The [Local] Community College is an accredited, comprehensive, open-enrollment education institution that provides the following: Associate degree, Certificate and Diploma Programs; career-focused training; transitional coursework; skills training for business and industry; personal enrichment programs and public service activities. . . . Students from every age, race, religion and many different countries throughout the world choose to study here. ([Local], 2011)

The female, non-traditional college student, aged 35 to 50, with children does feel welcome at the local community college. However, something is missing. When asked about the most difficult aspect of being a college student, the focus again goes back to their children. Missing their children's events and knowing what to do when the kids have a snow day or get sick were shared concerns by nearly all the women. Lynette sums it up in one sentence: "Juggling college, work, kids, activities and just life in general. Never enough hours in the day" (personal communication, November 29, 2011).

The author searched for answers and tried to find what might be available to assist not just the non-traditional student being studied, but any non-traditional student and sadly came up short. When asked if there are special materials, forms, or anything geared directly to the non-traditional student, the Director of Enrollment Services said, "While I have been a part of many discussions about the needs of our non-traditional students, I am not aware of any materials or services particularly designed for them" (personal communication, December 2, 2011).

Trying to understand where the help might lie, the author interviewed an administrator with the local community college's Center for Academic Success (CAS), which includes resources such as "tutoring center, student facilitator, career center, transfer center, disability services, Keys Program, Advantage Program, Perkins Program and probation. [And are] free for students and designed to help [them] complete [their] academic goals" ([Local], 2011). According to the CAS administrator, the local community college has never targeted a population and just recently begun an enrollment management philosophy. She shared some stories of various students, showing pictures of them she has hanging in her office. She pointed out the ones who fit the criteria of this study. Basically they were all disadvantaged students living in the city near the college, all had children of varying ages, and all had to work hard to finish school. The administrator worked closely with these students, and takes great pride in their accomplishments. Some women needed to stop attending school for family reasons, but came back to make sure they were able to finish. A common theme was their desire to do better for themselves and their families. Most of them grew up disadvantaged and just wanted a better life. As with the women in the study, these women found an inner strength to be successful, but they also had help, guidance, and assistance through the CAS administrator's office and those who worked with her. The CAS administrator is still at the local community college, but does not run programs specifically targeted toward the non-traditional student. The local community college is lacking in an area which could be of great benefit to the women who are attending and would potentially attend college. The CAS administrator pointed out a student could begin a

club geared toward these women to create awareness of the middle-aged, female college student.

Conclusion

The non-traditional, female college student, aged 35 to 50, with children, currently attending the local community college is part of an amazing sub-culture. The women interviewed for this study share passion, strength, love and compassion. They all have a determination that shows through. Used to working hard, not taking hand-outs, and standing up for themselves, these beautiful women have indomitable spirit and are focused on making their college journey a success. By the conclusion of each interview it was recognized how much the women have in common. "Too bad we can't spend more time together. We deserve time for ourselves," says Andrea (personal communication, November 30, 2011). Although it is with some assumption, the non-traditional students often work harder than traditional students. The non-traditional women of the local community college are perhaps more self-sufficient than the traditional students and have better coping skills, such as time-management, healthy ways to deal with stress, and methods to ensure they are able to complete assignments in a timely manner. The hard work and dedication of these students, however, seems to hinder involvement with the school activities for many of the women in the study, as well as finding time with new friends outside of class.

The non-traditional, female college student is more likely to develop relationships with administrators and place a greater value on faculty interaction than the traditional student. The women from this study all have had wonderful experience with administrators and professors. When asked who their favorite professor is, the answer was nearly always all of them. It is hard to narrow it down to just one or two professors for these women. "Every teacher has been awesome," says Maria (personal communication, November 21, 2011).

The participants of this study have all credited the professors as being an additional inspiration. Being told how well one is doing is a great morale booster. Even without the specialized help from the local community college's services, the professors have provided opportunity and assistance for each of the women and to many other students the author spoke with. The women each shared how they need to thank the teachers for their support and assistance. They are all grateful for how wonderful the professors are at the local community college. But this relationship is only built once the women, or non-traditional students in general, are attending classes. The local community college should look to developing a marketing program geared towards these women to encourage more of them to attend and consider developing programs such as daycare or offering a specialized student affairs professional to help them be successful. The community at the local community college will be richer and more vibrant if more women like Andrea, Patrichia, Maria, Danielle, Lynette, Patty, and Rebecca, can become students. Even without the services, these women will be successful, will make themselves proud, and will become role models for their children.

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The Missing Link in the Puzzling Autism Epidemic: The Effect of the Internet on the Social Impact Equation

by Brogan Murphy

Introduction

Autism¹ is a condition that is particularly hard to define for several reasons, not least of which is the fact that the clinical definition itself has changed several times during the past few decades (Blaxill 539). For now, the definition of “autism” (according to the U.S. National Library of Medicine online medical dictionary) is “a developmental disorder that appears in the first 3 years of life, and affects the brain's normal development of social and communication skills” (A.D.A.M.).

Before discussing possible causal factors of the autism epidemic, it is important to define the term itself. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) defines “epidemic” as “the occurrence of more cases of disease than expected in a given area or among a specific group of people over a particular period of time.” According to Autism Speaks², over the course of just the last two decades, there has been an increase of six hundred percent in autism prevalence³ in the United States alone (CDC). A recent study conducted by Simon Baron-Cohen in the U.K. suggests that over the course of the previous thirty years up to that point, autism prevalence in the U.K. had increased twelve-fold (Laurance).

Unfortunately, longitudinal data on the autism epidemic seems to be centered around the U.S and U.K. simply because that is where nearly all research on autism has been conducted until recently. Since most studies in countries outside the U.S. and U.K. have only been initiated in the past few years, it is too soon to gather enough data to establish a concrete trend over time in a given area. Another problem in obtaining data on the autism epidemic is the difficulty in differentiating autism from a few other similar mental disorders. Although changes in autism diagnostic criteria through advances in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) have helped with this discrepancy, the problem remains, especially in countries where the term (“autism”) is just starting to become well known. According to Roy Richard Grinker, an anthropologist as well as a parent of an autistic child himself, “in India, most of the children who would be diagnosed with autism in the United States are called either mentally retarded (MR) or mad (in Hindi, paagol). So there is no ‘epidemic’ of autism diagnoses in India” at the time of Grinker’s visit (Grinker 215).

Despite barriers to substantial statistical evidence at this time, there is a great deal of anecdotal evidence that demonstrates that autism is a global issue. For example, in South Korea, Seung-Mee attributes her autistic daughter to something called han, somewhat like a manifestation of punishment for wrong done by her ancestors (Grinker 230). In a village at the foothills of the Himalayas, the in-laws of a woman named Mamta believe that her child, Ohjyu, was being possessed by a demon due to this boy’s mother and father not making adequate sacrifices to the god of subcaste (224-226). In South Africa, a nyanga, or spiritual diviner, told a woman that her son, “Big Boy”, was acting that way because he had not come to the sacrifice

¹ For the purpose of this paper, the term “autism” refers to classic autism as well as the entire spectrum of autism disorders (Autism Spectrum Disorders, ASD). Since autism is a spectrum disorder, it affects individuals to varying degrees.

² Founded in 2005, Autism Speaks is an organization that strives to increase global awareness and recognition of autism, to deliver services to people with autism, and to increase autism research collaboration around the world.

³ Prevalence of a condition is the number of cases that are diagnosed or recorded.

(203-204). Overall, “to date, there is no evidence of differences in the way ASD is expressed in children around the world; however, it is possible that cultural factors may impact diagnostic practices and prevalence rates” (Autism Speaks). That is, regardless of culture or country, the symptoms of autism remain remarkably constant, but cultural bias may affect autism prevalence rates.

So, while it is generally agreed that autism prevalence is rising globally, the question of why this is happening is still heavily debated. There are three possible explanations for the increase in autism diagnoses around the world: greater prevalence, greater incidence⁴, and a combination of the first two factors. A combination of increased prevalence and incidence would imply that the number of cases diagnosed is rising while (simultaneously) the actual number of autistic people is also rising. Although causal factors for both incidence and prevalence will be discussed in the next section, the explanation proposed in this paper describes a causal factor for the increase in autism prevalence. By redefining “social interaction” in the world, globalization of communication via the Internet is one of the causal factors for the increase in autism diagnoses.

Several Causal Factors for the Autism Increase

Since the actual causes of autism are not known at this point in time, it is very difficult to decide which factors to study when trying to determine what has caused the drastic increase in prevalence. As a result, several explanations have emerged and spread like viruses themselves despite a lack of any real scientific evidence to support them. These pseudo-scientific studies such as the infamous Measles, Mumps, and Rubella (MMR) vaccine correlation⁵, can and have caused concerned parents to withhold important medical treatment from their children (such as vaccinations) for fear that stemmed from this misinformed view of the epidemiology of autism. It is for this reason that the global community is in dire need of reliable theories for the increase in autism as soon as possible.

Of course, several legitimate theories have already been proposed as well. Some have come about in attempts to explain increased incidence of autism, usually due to some sort of genetic factors. Unlike the previous causal argument for vaccines, most of these theories have carefully conducted research for support. For example, in today’s society, it is common for older adults to reproduce; new parents of advanced age are at increased risk for having a child with autism, possibly due to the increased chance of de novo mutations occurring (Liu 1423-1424). Although they focus on an increase of incidence, the credible genetic theories in no way imply that you can “catch” autism. Instead, scientists study it much like one would a genetic disorder, searching for patterns in heritability and gene make-up of individuals with the condition. For these theories to be viable, scientists also have to prove that the given gene or other genetic factor they are studying is, in fact, correlated with autism itself before they can prove that it is responsible for the increase. While work in this area is slow, progress has been made. For example, Daniel P. Campbell and his associates published a study in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences in 2006 that demonstrated a link between autism and a gene that interferes with MET transcription (Campbell). However, “to date, no single gene has been associated with more than 1%-2% of all autism cases” (Liu 1423).

Some environmental factors, such as various levels of toxins in a given area, have also been proposed as causal agents that increase incidence of autism. However, data from the

⁴ Incidence of a condition is the number of cases of that condition that actually exist, both diagnosed and undiagnosed.

⁵This theory refers to the idea that the MMR vaccine somehow actually puts people at risk for contracting autism. The study that originally proposed this correlation has been dismissed in almost every imaginable way, not only by proving the initial research supporting it to be faulty, but also by formally conducting new research to prove the idea wrong.

longitudinal California study conducted by Soumya Mazumdar and his associates show that certain areas display higher prevalence of autism than others, even when that data is adjusted for several different environmental factors. This is not to say that environmental factors are not involved in the increase in autism diagnoses. For example, it may be found that some genetic predisposition to autism may be triggered by environmental factors (Weintraub).

One of the most well supported theories explaining the rise in autism prevalence is that more people are being diagnosed due to the changes in diagnostic criteria. The changes in diagnostic criteria have been shown to be directly correlated to the increase in prevalence ever since Leo Kanner first named this condition in 1956. From that point on, the DSM definition of autism has changed to include a wider and wider range of symptoms, and, later on, to encompass several related conditions. These changes caused “autism” to apply to a variety of different Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD) such as pervasive developmental disorders (PDD) as well as the “not otherwise specified” (NOS) category (Table 1). Not only do autism rates rise with each successive change in the DSM criteria for the condition, but also the degree of change matches up as well (Figure 1). Although always increasing, the autism prevalence rates increased most dramatically after the DSM-IV came out in 1994 with a new definition that included not only PDD-NOS, but also more specifically Asperger’s syndrome, Rett’s syndrome, and childhood onset of disintegrative disorder (Blaxill 539). However, despite the overwhelming evidence to support the idea that more inclusive diagnostic criteria is the causal factor behind the autism epidemic, in reality, it can only account for about one-quarter of the overall increase in prevalence (Insel).

Each of these theories is a legitimate explanatory factor to some degree. However, according to Peter Bearman (an expert in autism research), only about fifty percent of the rise in autism rates worldwide can be accounted for by social forces such as greater awareness of autism (15%) among the general public as well as health-care professionals, advanced parental age (10%), and wider diagnostic criteria (25%) combined (Figure 2). In addition, spatial clustering (proximity studies) accounts for 4% of the increase and will be discussed in detail in this paper (Figure 2). This means that even with several plausible and even viable theories for this epidemic, half of the increase is unaccounted for (Insel). This is why it is so essential that new supplementary theories are published to explain the autism epidemic. As long as there are some unexplained aspects of autism, particularly in regard to increased prevalence, parents will be looking for any theories they can find to explain their child’s behavior. The lack of an explanation leaves room for theories like the MMR vaccine connection that pollute the minds of parents to the point where parents deny their children a vital vaccination in fear of it somehow causing autism.

What are some of the causal factors for the unknown portion of the increase in prevalence? At times, outlandish theories of such causal factors will be published, as was the case with Susan Greenfield’s⁶ idea that increased use of the Internet has actually altered brain chemistry of the people who use it, thereby causing an increase in incidence of autism. However, this particular pseudo-scientific theory was quickly dismissed not only by the scientific community, but also by the general community. In this paper, the Internet will not be considered as a contagion that increases the incidence of autism, but rather as a social factor that increases prevalence of autism. The theory proposed here demonstrates how globalization of communication via the Internet accounts for a portion of the unknown reasons for the global increase in autism diagnoses because it redefines “social interaction” and the effects of proximity on social interaction in the world.

⁶ Articles like Neuroskeptic’s “Susan Greenfield Causes Autism” satirically pointed out that correlation clearly does not equal causation. Since this correlation between Internet usage and autism prevalence was all Greenfield really had to back her claims, the entire theory was quite easy to dismiss.

Studies That Provide Support for the Proposed Theory

How does social interaction cause an increase in autism prevalence? The data compiled from several published studies supports the theory proposed in this paper. For example, results from a famous longitudinal California study conducted by Mazumdar and colleagues from 1993 to 2001 indicate that social dynamics would provide the most likely explanation for the increase in autism prevalence (Mazumdar 545). A more recent study conducted by Marissa King and Peter Bearman also took place in California and used a similar area to that used in the previously mentioned longitudinal study. The results of this study indicate a relatively strong correlation (0.71) between property value and autism prevalence (King 331). The ultimate conclusion of this data is essentially that children with educated parents and favorable economic conditions are more likely to be diagnosed with autism than children of less-educated or lower-income parents (Figure 3).

Obviously, this is a case of increased prevalence due to increased awareness. It is highly doubtful anyone will argue that these factors are related to incidence. However, these results are not meant to imply that being economically secure and having educated parents puts you at a higher risk for being autistic. What it does mean is that greater awareness and greater access to information makes it more likely that those who are autistic will get the proper diagnosis. The rich and educated have long had the upper hand in getting diagnosed, particularly when it comes to autism. The interesting part of it is that autism isn't the "rich person's diagnosis" that it used to be. Today, people of all socio-economic backgrounds are being diagnosed (King 340). But why now? What caused this change? What factor narrowed (but obviously did not eliminate) the cultural, economical, and informational gap? The view that has been clearly expressed by parents and autism experts around the world is that the Internet has provided a means of information dissemination that has provided ethnic and economic groups with the means to diagnose their members with autism more effectively than they would have otherwise (Grinker 215, 218). However, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the globalization of communication via the Internet has had such a huge impact on autism prevalence not only by making it easier to access information all around the world, but by providing easier access to other people ("social interactions") as well. So now the question is, how does "access to people" affect autism diagnoses? The answer to this question will be thoroughly discussed in the theory section of this paper after the correlation between proximity and prevalence is evident.

Correlation between Proximity and Prevalence

While longitudinal data needed to properly analyze this question is regrettably quite rare, there are the few longitudinal studies done on autism prevalence in California and meticulous records kept with this data. Ka-Yuet Liu, Marissa King, and Peter S. Bearman utilized this information to establish a correlation between proximity and prevalence of autism in individuals over time. The data collected from this study showed a statistically significant positive correlation between the proximity (defined here as less than 250 meters) of one child to another child with autism and the increased probability that the former will be diagnosed with autism himself (Figure 4B). This explanation is referred to as social diffusion. That is, when parents talk to and educate other parents about autism, then it is more likely that a child living close to another child with autism will be diagnosed with autism himself. Furthermore, previously residing in close proximity to a child with autism had no real effect on prevalence if any members of this equation moved away (thus drastically decreasing proximity). Finally, the

possibility of increased prevalence simply due to increased population⁷ was also accounted for, and the adjusted data still displayed the same pattern of increased prevalence with increased proximity (1412). However, establishing such a correlation, even when statistically significant, is not enough to suggest causation without considering other factors as well. Therefore, an explanation for this correlation needed to be evaluated, and the easiest way to start determining what causes something is to first find out what isn't causing it.

When proximity to someone with a condition increases the probability of another person being diagnosed with that condition, the initial conclusion one might reach is that the condition is some sort of virus or other contagious pathogen. However, the explanation of a biological pathogen was found to be highly unlikely due to the evaluation of several factors. First of all, in addition to increasing the chance of an autism diagnosis, increased proximity simultaneously had the opposite effect on the diagnosis of mental retardation, or MR. It should be noted that this negative correlation between MR and proximity only held true for sole-MR diagnoses. Autism-MR diagnoses were still just as positively correlated with proximity as the sole autism diagnosis (Liu 1424). So, in order to explain this phenomenon, the causal factor would have to result in an increase in autism and MR-autism diagnoses while simultaneously decreasing the prevalence of sole-MR diagnosis (Figure 4B, 4C). That is, the number of "mentally retarded" children would have to decrease just as the number of children diagnosed "autistic" increased. Liu also mentions that the effect seems to be stronger with the younger members of the population and primarily increased the prevalence of autism that was either very mild or very severe (the extreme ends of the spectrum). For a biological virus to discriminate using all of these factors is nearly impossible; therefore, it is not a logical cause for the increase.

On the other hand, social influence (as demonstrated by Liu and her colleagues with this same study) can help account for nearly all of these factors. First of all, the affects of social influence can be observed in urban and rural settings alike, so this aspect of the environment seems to have little to no affect on the overall effectiveness of proximity. Since closer proximity between individuals is highly correlated with greater degrees of social interaction and closer proximity is highly correlated with the simultaneous increase in autism diagnoses and decrease in sole-MR diagnoses, greater degrees of social interaction are therefore correlated with the simultaneous increase in autism diagnoses and drop in sole-MR diagnoses (Liu 1393-1394). If proximity is correlated in such a way along with these other discriminating factors, it is reasonable to argue that the causal agent is not a biological pathogen but a form of social impact via social diffusion. Finally, social impact explains the "homophily of referral sources" among children diagnosed with autism in close proximity to each other (Liu 1398). This simply means that a child in close proximity to another child with autism is far more likely to have the same mode of referral as the child who has already been diagnosed with autism than if they were not in close proximity to each other. Basically, parents will contact other parents to obtain information regarding which doctors to see and what questions to ask as well as how to effectively approach the school system for an autism diagnosis and services. A virus or other type of biological pathogen would not have this effect.

It is important to note that this diffusion is not merely a greater availability of information because, as Liu pointed out, "proximity to health-care resources" did not in fact have any significant impact on the likelihood of autism diagnoses (1425). This distinction is key to understanding the proximity effect because it implies that this phenomenon occurs not simply because closer proximity to a person with autism increases availability of information, but rather "the importance of spatially localized person-to-person contact in affecting parents' decisions to seek out professional help" (Liu 1425). This also helps explain why younger people are more affected; younger children are more heavily influenced by their parents' decisions than they are

⁷ The thought behind increased population affecting results lay in the idea that the likelihood of being in close proximity of someone with autism naturally increases with more people in general (1412).

when they grow older. As children grow older and more independent, the responsibility for seeking professional help falls on the individual rather than the parents, rendering factors that influence the parent's decisions less consequential to the child's course of action (Liu 1424).

Finally, one of the most intriguing aspects of the proximity effect is that it tends to primarily affect those at the extreme ends of the autism spectrum. According to Liu, a social influence dynamic could likely cause "parents with children on the border of an autism-MR diagnosis" to pursue an autism-MR diagnosis if they live in close proximity to another child with this diagnosis. The reason is that patients with autism-MR diagnoses are "perceived as having a greater chance for recovery and have greater access to resources and services" than they would with a sole-MR diagnosis. Conversely, the same factors should also cause parents with children on the higher functioning end of the spectrum to seek an autism diagnosis in order to "secure the most advantageous opportunities for their children" (Liu 1395).

So, how does one make a correlation between proximity and prevalence when an increase is occurring in areas that had little to no people officially diagnosed with autism living in close proximity to other members of the population? Recall that the proximity effects described in the California studies seem to adequately explain the increase in prevalence in areas where people live in close proximity to others diagnosed with autism or autism-MR. The reason why the California data is so often used for longitudinal autism studies is because autism prevalence data from countries outside of the U.S. and U.K. is very, very rare. This is not due to the fact that there are less people with autism elsewhere in the world, but rather that other countries have only begun to recognize autism as an actual condition. Therefore, the change in prevalence does not indicate an increase in incidence, but rather an increase in correct diagnoses for conditions that were previously classified as everything from mental retardation to demonic possession (Grinker 215-216). Each culture has its own ways of defining, interpreting, and dealing with autistic individuals. But one thing remains constant throughout nearly all cases involved: increased access to the international community, especially when seeking information, has made people more aware of what certain symptoms actually mean and more accepting of an autism diagnosis. According to Amit Sen, one of the only two trained child psychiatrists in New Delhi, India, "because of the Internet, people know more about autism in India than ever before. It's wonderful actually" (Grinker 215).

But such a drastic change in diagnoses in India and other countries worldwide cannot be due only to information diffusion, as that was shown to be not enough on its own by Liu's study. In countries where diagnosis and support services are still rare, this effect certainly cannot have been caused by the same means as was proposed to have been the cause in California. So the question remains, what caused such a dramatic increase in autism diagnoses in areas that had little to no people officially diagnosed with autism living in close proximity to other members of the population?

Proximity itself is but one of the three major aspects of something called the Social Impact Theory. Bibb Latane first defined social impact theory in 1981 as "any influence on individual feelings, thoughts, or behavior that is exerted by the real, implied, or imagined presence or actions of others" (Nowak 363). The three factors that affect the degree of impact are the "strength", "immediacy", and "quantity" of the source. The "strength" of the source refers to how credible a source is (Nowak 364). For example, authority figures or close friends are sources that have much greater "strength" than would a stranger you just met. The "immediacy" of the source refers to its proximity in space and time in relation to the individual being impacted. Lastly, the "quantity" of a source refers to the number of sources in a "social environment" (Nowak 364). The unique aspect of social impact theory is that there is actually a mathematical formula that can be applied to it. The formula can be expressed as $\hat{i} = f(SIN)$, where \hat{i} represents the "magnitude of impact", f stands for "function of", S stands for "strength", I for "immediacy", and N for "number" (Nowak 364). Interestingly enough, when the individual in question "stands with others as the target of influence", the effect is essentially reversed, now being represented as $\hat{i} = 1/f(SIN)$ (Nowak 364).

The Proposed Theory with Concluding Evidence

The theory proposed in this paper is as follows: By redefining the effects of proximity on social interaction, globalization of communication via the Internet has affected the Social Impact Equation and, as a result, accounts for a portion of the unknown reasons for the increase in autism prevalence worldwide.

Taking the formula for Social Impact Theory into account, consider what communication via the Internet does to this social equation. The degree of immediacy of a given source is determined largely by time and space between that source and the individual being impacted. The closer in time and space the source is to the individual, the greater immediacy it will have. The Internet grants each of its users the unique ability to circumvent the traditional barriers of time and space, allowing people to communicate across huge geographical distances in a fraction of the time it would take to cross that barrier physically. As a result, each Internet user becomes a source for billions of other users with far greater immediacy than they would have otherwise. This means that parents with autistic children can now easily interact with other parents of autistic children even when they are across the globe. The perceptual global community that results from these expanded social networking possibilities should essentially be no different from the spatial clusters observed in certain areas of California, particularly when those areas provided a social environment with limited space between individuals. With more people interacting with those in similar situations (such as having a child with autism), ideas are shared via sources with the “strength” of a close friend and the “immediacy” of a neighbor even when the geographical distance between the source and individual is hundreds to thousands of miles. Finally, time and space aside, individuals with autism are better able to share and obtain ideas from others via the Internet than they would be able to even a real next-door neighbor. Autistic individuals often feel more comfortable communicating online where they do not have to worry about the plethora of nonverbal and other subtle social cues that cause them so much difficulty in normal everyday interaction (Raymaker). Thus, the input of those autistic individuals is not only coming faster and to more people, but more often than it ever has before.

During one of Peter Bearman’s presentations at the Harvard Inequality Seminar discussing possibly pathways for the spread of autism, someone asked if Bearman thought that “the Internet would obviate the effect of this physical proximity”? Bearman responded by saying he did not, since we primarily use the Internet for things like finding a restaurant or good place to buy something rather than finding a doctor or “navigating bureaucracy” (Social Capital Blog). But is that really the case?

Information diffusion via the web has been around for some time. What is a more recent phenomenon, however, is the increase in use of social networking sites around the world. Unlike a simple search for a term or even an e-mail, social networking sites focus almost entirely on the type of interaction that would be most greatly influenced by the Social Impact Theory. Consider the fact that, after the U.S., U.K., and Poland, South Korea had more social networking users than any of the other samples surveyed from twenty-two different countries in a recent study by Pew Research Center⁸ (Green). Now consider that a recent study conducted in South Korea in 2011 suggests an autism prevalence rate of 2.64% of the population, or 1 in 38 children (Peart). But why would the fourth top user of a social networking site have such a drastically higher rate of autism prevalence than the other three countries with more online participants? It is important to keep in mind that unlike the social networking study done by Pew, the study conducted in South Korea by Young-Shin Kim and his colleagues was one of the rare autism prevalence studies that used a total population sample (Peart). The significance of this data lies not only in the numbers themselves, but also in the mere fact that the numbers for a total population exist. If the same modern comprehensive approach was applied to research in

⁸ The Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan organization that provides information on issues, attitudes and trends shaping the United States and the world.

countries with greater percentages of social network users, it may reveal an even higher prevalence rate than was seen in South Korea. The South Korean study is also further evidence that autism is a major global concern and may be more common than previously thought. Research similar to the South Korean study is currently being conducted in India, South Africa, Mexico, and Taiwan (Autism Speaks). Only more studies and time will reveal the actual prevalence of autism in the population of the world. Only more studies and time will confirm the causal factors, which is key to understanding the recent increase in prevalence as well as the underlying cause(s) of autism itself.

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Table 1. From Blaxill 539, Table 2.

Table 2. Changes in nomenclature and major shifts in diagnostic criteria in widely accepted definitions of autism

	Kanner and Eisenberg ³³	Rutter ²⁷	DSM-III ²⁹	DSM-III-R ³⁰	ICD-10 ³¹ /DSM-IV ³²
Date published	1956	1978	1980	1987	1994
Larger category	—	—	PDD	PDD	PDD
Autism					
Nomenclature	Early infantile autism; infantile autism	Infantile autism; childhood autism	Infantile autism	Autistic disorder	Autistic disorder
Age at onset of symptoms	None specified	By 30 months	By 30 months	During infancy or childhood	By 36 months
Related disorders ^a	—	Other infantile psychoses	Infantile autism/residual state; atypical PDD	PDD-NOS	PDD-NOS; Asperger's syndrome; Rett's syndrome; childhood onset disintegrative disorder

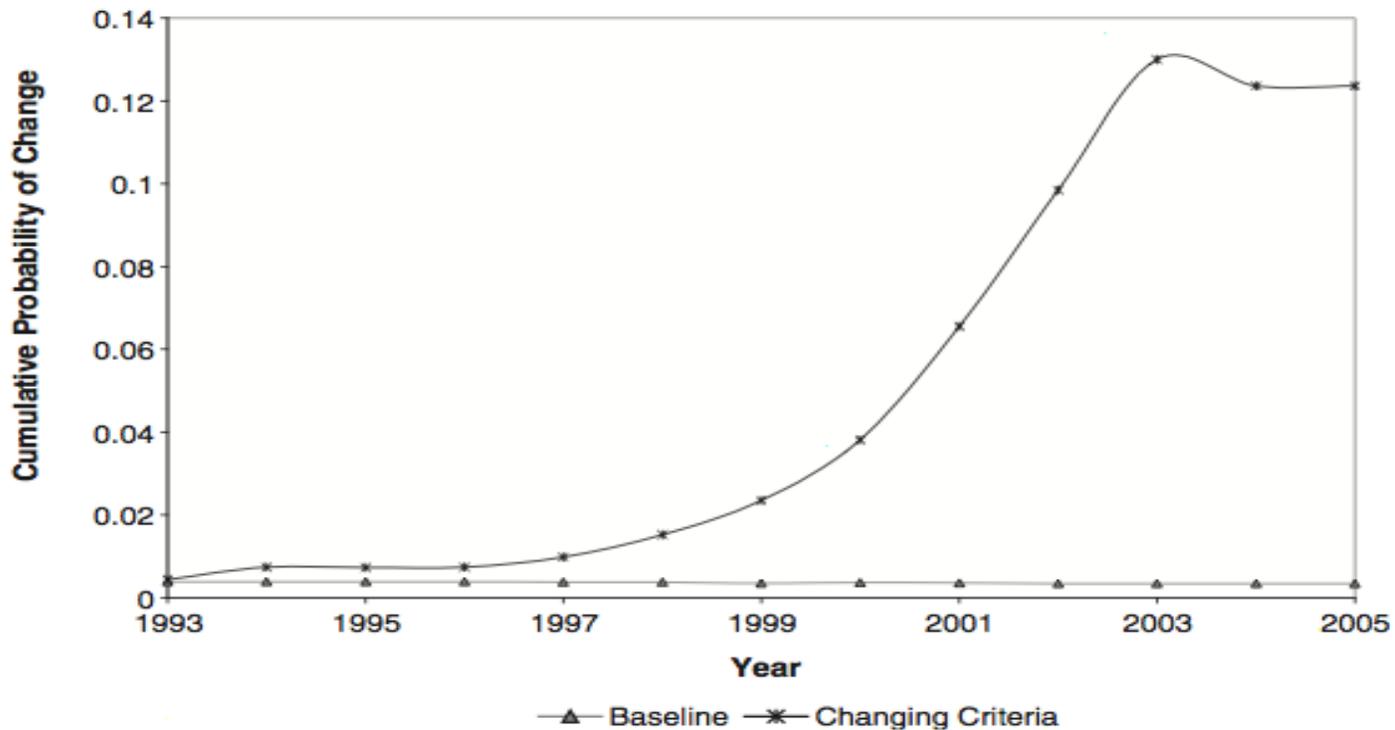
^aA number of studies based on the diagnostic criteria outlined in DSM-III and DSM-III-R used the term "autistic-like condition" to refer to certain related disorders, although this term was not included in the official definition of pervasive developmental disorders.

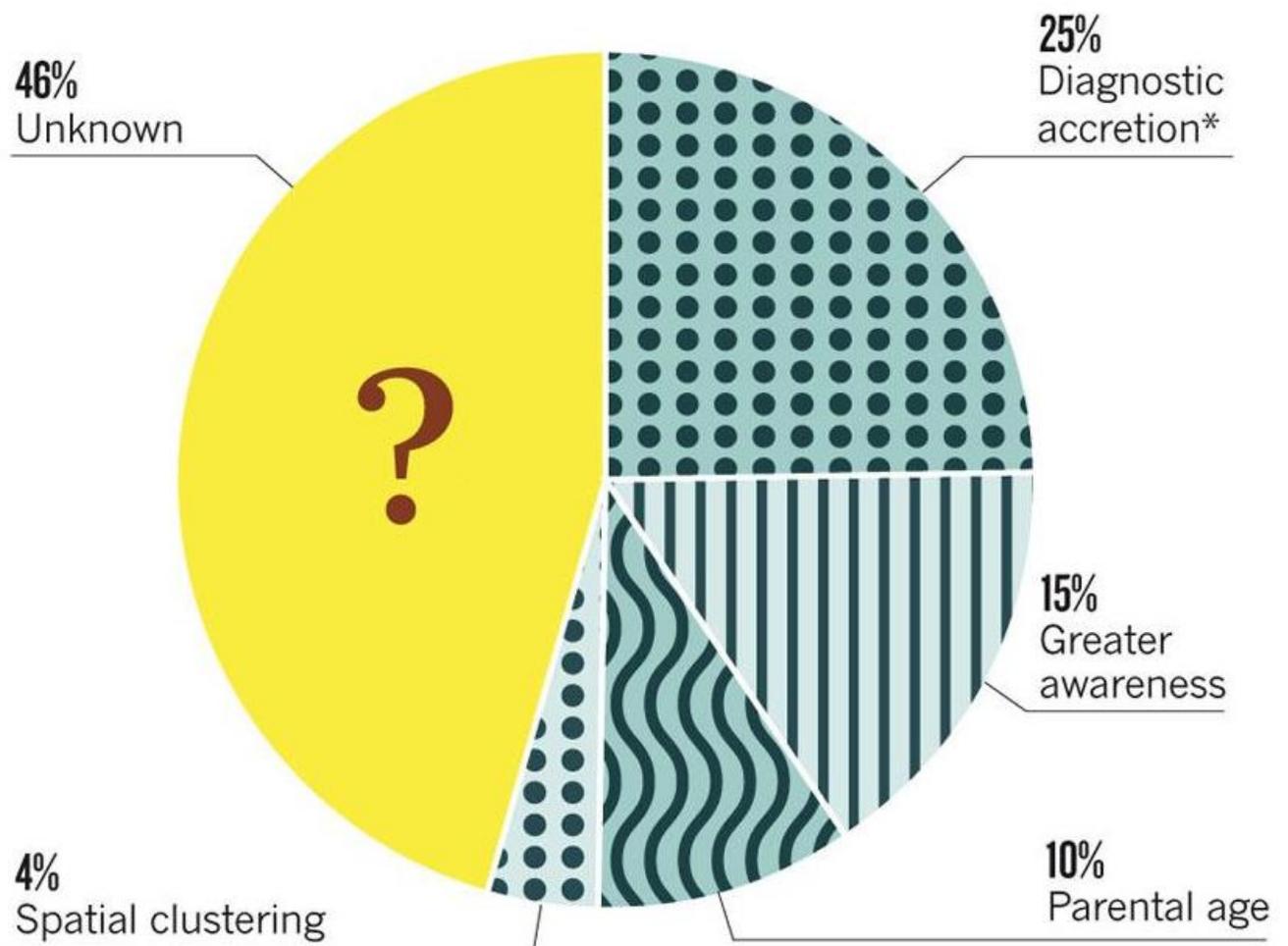
PDD = pervasive developmental disorder

NOS = not otherwise specified

Figure 1. From King and Bearman 1231, Figure 2.

DIAGNOSTIC CHANGE AND THE INCREASED PREVALENCE OF AUTISM

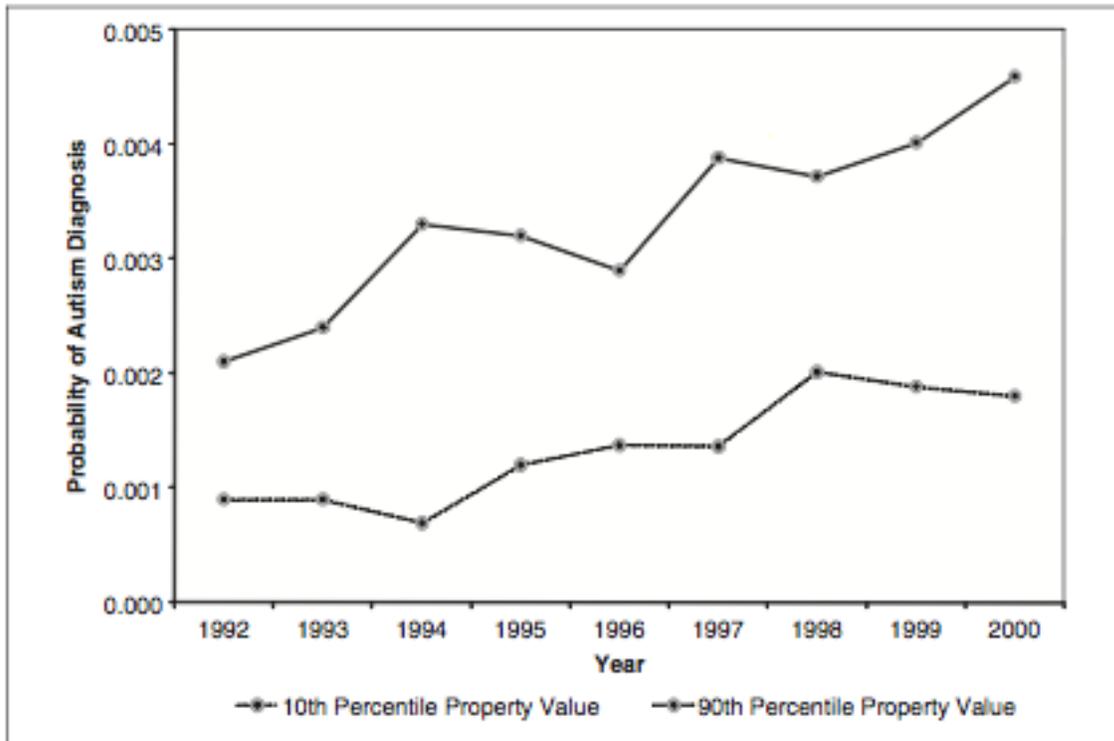




*Children who formerly would have been diagnosed solely with mental retardation

Figure 2. Reasons for Increase in Autism Prevalence. From Weintraub 23.

A



B

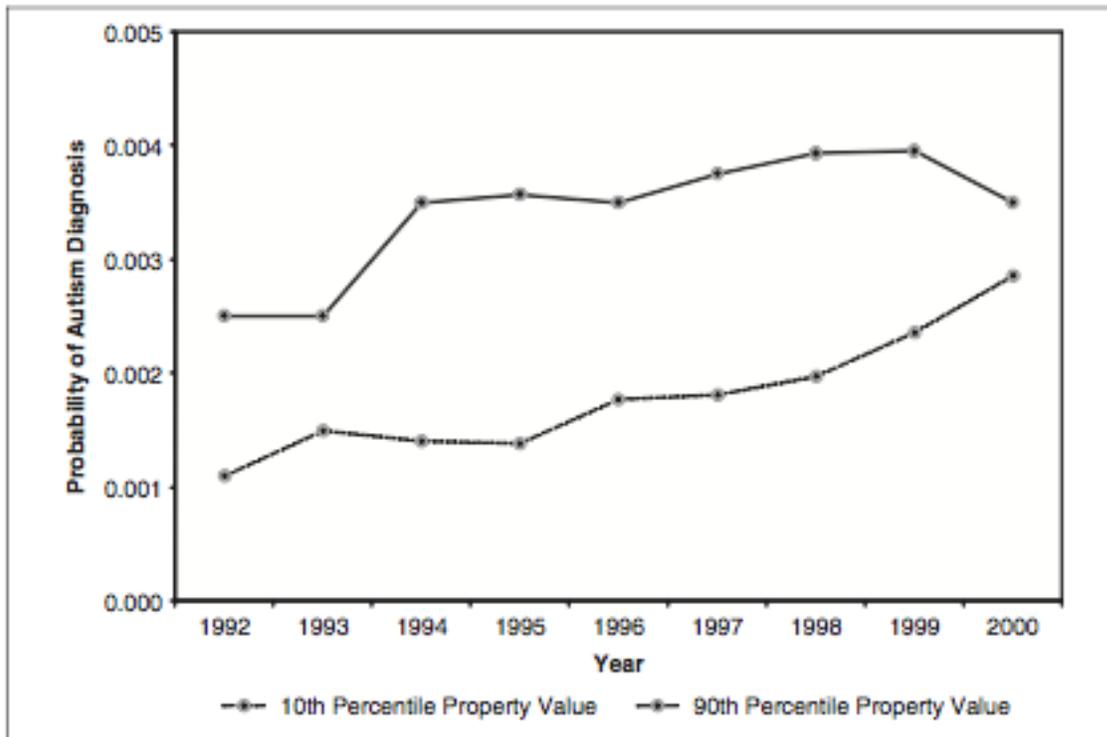


Figure 3. Community Effect of Property Value on Medi-Cal Recipients (3A), Community Effect of Property Value on Non-Medi-Cal Recipients (3B). From King and Bearman 333, Figure 4A-B.

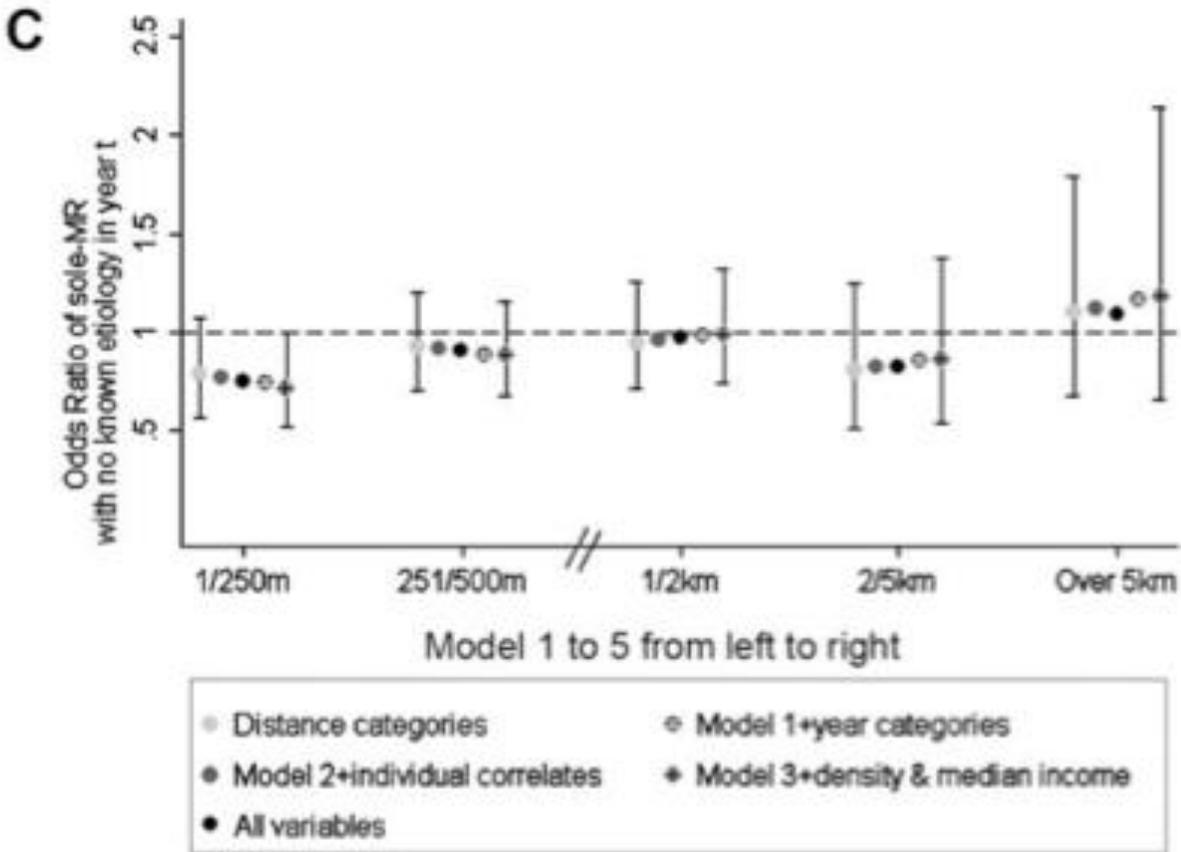
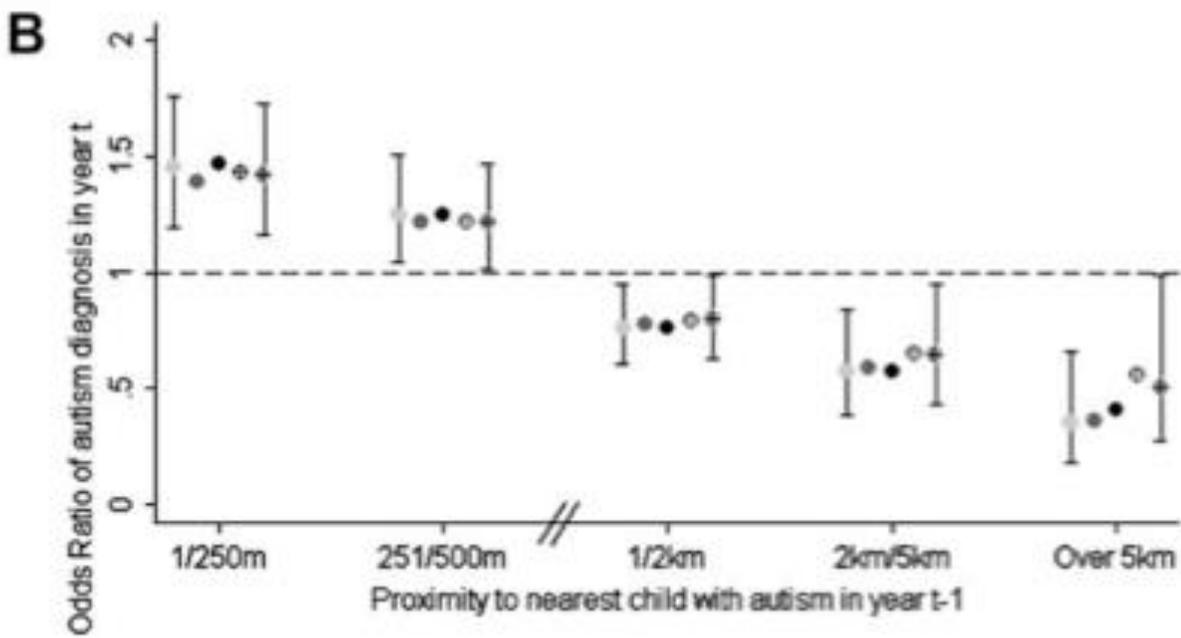


Figure 4. Effects of proximity to the nearest child with autism on subsequent diagnosis of autism and MR. From Liu et al. 1409, Figure 2A-C.

The People's History vs. Company Profit: Mine Wars in West Virginia, the Battle of Blair Mountain, and the Ongoing Fight for Historical Preservation

by Megan G. Willmes

More than 90 years ago, the narrow valleys of West Virginia rang with gunshots and explosions. Infuriated by long-term harassment of coal company mine guards, and the indifference of the federal and state government to their plight, the workers of West Virginia resorted to public appeals for help and, at times, violence. Their struggle culminated in the striking miners' march on Blair Mountain. The defeat of the worker's union in this area would have resounding effects in the years following 1921.

The anger and resentment harbored by the miners of West Virginia had festered long before the proverbial powder keg blew at the Battle of Blair Mountain. In 1897, The United Mine Workers (UMW) staged a nationwide strike to protest wage cuts brought on in part by increased competition among coal companies vying for the same industrial markets. 100,000 workers responded to the union's call, and the walkout brought coal production in the northern regions to a screeching halt except for the West Virginian fields that, for the most part, did not join in the strike (Shogan 35). The UMW prevailed and won an important victory: the creation of the Central Competitive Field Agreement. This leveled out the competition by allowing coal operators in four states to know what costs their competitors were charging (Shogan 36).

Victory, however, had been narrowly won. West Virginian coal mines had succeeded in producing almost enough coal to replace all the striking states together, nearly forcing an end to the walkouts in favor of the mine owners. To close this one weakness, the UMW went after unionizing the remaining workforce with a vengeance, growing to over 550,000 miners in an industry that employed around 650,000, making the UMW the largest and one of the most powerful unions in the U.S. (Lane 42). One thorn remained in the UMW's side: the coal fields of West Virginia which employed approximately 40,000-45,000 men, roughly half the total of unorganized mine workers in the country--the only workforce still able to blunt the union drive (Lane 43).

The coal operators in the state had a very simple reason to oppose the UMW so wholeheartedly: geography. West Virginian coal had to travel farther to the main industrial centers in New England than their Pennsylvanian or Ohioan competitors did. In order to seize an equal share of the market, the coal operators had to keep wages down—and therefore, the union out--to offset the increased transportation costs (Shogan 38). Companies were looking to make a hefty profit, while the UMW was looking to close its ranks with the only remaining workforce that could bring the entire coal industry to its knees. Neither side could afford to blink. Called the "El Dorado of Appalachia" because of the natural abundance of coal, the West Virginian fields were set as center stage in the struggle between the UMW and mine owners (Corbin 989; Lane 44).

The miner's union failed to gain a foothold in the state until 1912, when miners, on their own initiative and without leadership, staged a walkout. The Paint Creek- Cabin Creek strikers demanded a wage increase, the right to belong to a union, and an end to cribbing (Shogan 38). Cribbing was a method where operators would cheat the workers by misinforming them of how many tons of coal a car could hold. Since the miners were paid per ton of coal they produced, this was one of the ways to for the mine owners to reduce wages (Shogan 34).

Pledging their full support for the strike, the UMW sent organizers, and money for supplies and legal fees (Shogan 39). The mine owners fought back by employing additional mine guards and pushing the courts to write injunctions against any pro-union speech, assembly or advertising (Lane 68). One agency in particular was hired as mine guards: the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency. Known for their commitment to strikebreaking, the detectives served a variety of purposes for the coal operators, from protecting the paymaster, to collecting rent, keeping out

union organizers, and maintaining order in the mining camps (Lane 76-79). The Baldwin-Felts' special weapon made its debut during the Paint Creek-Cabin Creek strike. Called the "Bull Moose special", this train car was heavily fortified with iron siding and machine guns were mounted on the carriage. The detectives drove this contraption into a camp of strikebreakers, spraying the miners and their families with gunfire. The miners retaliated in kind, attacking a mine guard encampment in a conflict that lasted hours and claimed sixteen lives (Shogan 40).

This outbreak of violence forced the governor, William Glasscock, to declare martial law in September 1912. Sending 1,200 state militiamen to disarm miners and mine guards, the troops arrested more than 200 miners without warrants and held them in the local jail (Barkey). Miners were also illegally court-martialed, deported from the state, beaten, threatened, and ambushed. Two newspapers sympathetic to the worker's cause even had their offices ransacked and their editors imprisoned ("The Mine Wars"). Glasscock's actions, however, had little effect. The strike continued until the election of a new governor, Henry Hatfield, in March 1913. Though no friend of labor himself, he was determined to restore peace to the state. Acting as an intermediary, he persuaded the coal operators to agree to a nine-hour workday, the right of the workers to elect their own checkweighman (the person who weighed the tonnage of the coal cars), and an end to discrimination against union members (Shogan 41). The union officials and local representatives accepted the deal.

However, the local strikers were outraged. The agreement with the companies had not included two of their most important demands: the right to belong to a union, and the abolition of the mine guard system. Workers renewed the strike, staging wildcat walkouts against the wishes of the UMW and Hatfield alike. Finally, the federal government intervened, and the Senate opened an official investigation. Their report condemned the arbitrary arrests, lack of proper warrants, and the kangaroo courts. With added federal pressure, the operators granted the two additional demands. This agreement would become part of the impetus for later unrest in West Virginia, as non-union workers resented the higher wages of union men for equal work. Feeling betrayed by their union and local officials, who the strikers believed had been too willing to settle, workers searched for new leadership, finding it in the more militant Fred Mooney and Tom Keeney (Corbin 1004). The pair would prove a potent force in the events leading to the march on Blair Mountain.

The years during World War I saw the labor movement make great strides. The National War Labor Board raised wages, promoted the eight-hour day, granted women equal pay, and in many other ways helped to foster the spread of unionism. Mine workers were even exempted from the draft, though this didn't deter many from enlisting (Millet 350). Between 1917 and 1920, membership in unions increased almost 70%, bringing membership totals to almost 20% of the entire workforce (Shogan 50). The forward drive was brought to a halt with the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, and the call for the proletariat to rise up against the capitalists. Suddenly, the Soviet's shadowy influence was seen behind labor's strikes. In the days of the Red Scare, the labor movement was now looked at with distrust (Shogan 53).

Coal miners returning from war as seasoned veterans faced postwar inflation, static wages, and a more militant union with a tarnished image. Attempting to renew the effort to organize the rest of West Virginia, Fred Keeney began a series of strikes in 1919. Gunfights, destruction of mine property, and even minor skirmishes between miners and mine guards rocked the state ("The Mine Wars"). Successful in gaining a pay increase of about 27%, union membership steadily rose, creating scores of new local chapters (Shogan 12-13).

Seeing a potential threat to their profit margins, the coal operators did everything in their power to prevent unionization of their mines. A potent tactic was the yellow-dog contract. These legal forms required that, for a miner to be employed by the contracting company, the employee had to agree to never be part of a labor union. If the worker did join, he would be breaking the terms of employment and could be summarily fired. As fast as they joined, the miners were losing their jobs (Lane 65-66; Lens 228). This had one other significant effect in the form of housing evictions.

Coal companies owned most of the lands around a mine. In order to house and feed their workforce in what were often remote and isolated locations, mine owners built entire towns, complete with post and doctor's offices. In the words of Winthrop Lane, "...the operators are not only the miner's employer; they are his landlord, his merchant...the source of his police protection, and the patron of this physician, his minister, and his schoolteacher" (17). Living in company residences depended on employment with that company, and so losing a job also meant losing housing. Employers hired the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency, the same agents involved in the Paint Creek-Cabin Creek strike, to help evict miners from their homes. The Sheriff of Mingo County, George Blakenship, arrested lead detective Albert Felts on grounds of evicting miners before the court orders had been signed. Control of the evictions was turned over to Blakenship, and the pace slowed down significantly (Shogan 17).

Ignoring the sheriff and the court order, the Baldwin-Felts agents continued to remove miners, often at gunpoint, from their homes, throwing furniture in the street and destroying many possessions. At one point, Albert Felts even attempted to bribe Mayor Cabell Testerman into letting him mount machine guns on roofs in town (Shogan 20). The Mayor refused, and, along with Police Chief Sid Hatfield, went to confront the detectives before they left the town of Matewan for their headquarters in Bluefield, West Virginia. Sid brought along a couple deputies in case of trouble.

Felts meet Testerman and Hatfield outside the Matewan train depot, along with a number of other Baldwin-Felts agents. What happened next on that bloody day, May 9, 1920, differs between accounts. Some claim Hatfield pulled a gun on Felts, killing him before turning on Testerman. Others claim Felts killed Testerman before he was downed by Hatfield. In all accounts, the Mayor and Albert were the first two to be shot. Albert died instantly, while Testerman would die two days later from his wounds. Hatfield's deputies and the detectives opened fire on each other. When the dust settled some 20 minutes and 100 gunshots later, seven detectives, including another Felts brother, Lee, and three locals lay dead (Shogan 21-25; "The Mine Wars"; "Matewan Massacre").

Known around the country as "Bloody Mingo" or the "Matewan Massacre", the gunfight had the effect of turning Hatfield into a local hero, as well as giving miners an ideological basis in taking up arms to protect themselves from what they saw as violation of their Constitutional rights and abuses of the mine operators (Fishback 439). As a result, union membership increased after the shooting. Mooney also attempted to use the violence in Mingo to request federal aid. President Wilson provided no response and did not take any action. The miners were on their own (Shogan 63).

Coal operators increased their imports of "scabs", men who had no qualms taking the place of striking workers. Tom Felts, head of the Baldwin-Felts agency and older brother of Albert and Lee who had been killed in the Matewan Massacre, sent in more detectives to replace those who had died. Tensions grew, and the state saw an increase in attacks on both strikers' tent colonies and mine guard encampments. Sheriff's deputies joined the fight on the mine owners' side, mainly because the coal operators subsidized their salaries (Lane 17). In the midst of this unrest, Keeney again asked for help from Washington, but the two agents sent by the Department of Labor to help negotiate between the UMW and the operators were politely rebuffed and sent back (Shogan 67).

On January 26, 1921, the trial of Sid Hatfield and his deputies for the murder of the Baldwin-Felts detectives began, and in March, all the defendants were found not guilty ("The Mine Wars"; Shogan 107). Buoyed by this success, in May, UMW members launched attacks against mine guards and scabs working for non-union mines in the Tug River Valley. The conflict, known as the "Three Days' Battles", prompted Governor Ephraim Morgan to declare martial law (*Thunder in the Mountains* 53). Miners had their right of habeas corpus suspended, and the slightest wrongdoing led to incarceration (*Thunder in the Mountains* 58). Morgan also banned two pro-union papers, the carrying of guns, and all public assembly (Shogan 123).

Meanwhile, Hatfield had been summoned to stand trial for blowing up a mining tippie. Outside the courthouse in McDowell County, a non-union stronghold, Tom Felts finally got

revenge for his murdered family. Sid, along with his friend Ed Chambers, were gunned down by Baldwin-Felts detectives ("The Mine Wars"). By tampering with evidence, all the detectives won acquittal from the subsequent murder charges (Shogan 158).

Hatfield's death infuriated the strikers. Organizing a protest march, without the support of Mooney or Keeney, the miners planned to head to Logan County, where Sheriff Don Chafin and the mine owners ruled with an iron fist, to free imprisoned miners and decry the acquittal of the Baldwin-Felts detectives in Sid's murder. Determined to keep the strikers out of his county, Chafin scrounged together a force of 3,000 vigilantes and strikebreakers and proceeded to fortify the passes leading from nearby Blair Mountain into Logan (Shogan 173).

Desperate, Morgan asked Mooney and Keeney to plead with the miners to stop their march (Meador 5). After multiple attempts, the union leaders successfully persuade the miners to return home. This fragile peace was destroyed, however, when news of a shooting in the town of Sharples reached the marchers' ears. In less than 36 hours, the miners re-formed and restarted their march on Logan County (Meador 6). Mooney and Keeney fled West Virginia to avoid imprisonment, leaving the miners under the leadership of William Blizzard (Shogan 195).

Many of the miners were veterans of World War I, and they organized themselves according to their old division ranks (Meador 4). A chance meeting of a small party of miners and Logan deputies sets off the fighting when the Logan deputies are killed (Shogan 192). Due to the heavily wooded slopes of Blair Mountain, fighting was concentrated around the passes leading into Chafin's county, in particular Crooked Creek Gap, Beech Creek Gap and Blair Gap. These defensive works link the Logan defenders' fortifications, which stretched almost ten miles in length (Nida and Adkins 8). The miners began to assault these positions on August 31, 1921. At one point on the 31st, the miners break through the defender's line at Craddock Fork after three hours fighting. This placed them roughly four miles from Logan county lines and caused panic among the civilian population (Nida and Adkins 9).

Morgan pleaded to President Warren Harding to send federal troops to put down the battle. On September 2, around 2,100 infantry were sent to West Virginia. Both union and Logan defenders welcomed the federal troops, believing they were there to help their respective sides. The UMW men, however, were not the ones the troops had been sent to help (Shogan 203). By the 4th, it was clear the war was finished. All told, between 10,000 to 20,000 men had participated in the battle. The casualty reports are unclear, but estimates range from as low as twenty to more than 50 (Shogan 208; "The Mine Wars"; Patel 50). Archeologists estimate more than one million rounds were fired over the course of the five-day battle (Patel 49).

The action forced public attention to West Virginia. However, no official legal action from Washington was taken. "We are of the opinion that no steps should be taken by the Federal government at this time for it may embarrass the state officials", said one of Harding's attorney generals (qtd. in Shogan 213). Mooney and Keeney were brought back to West Virginia to face murder charges, but, since they were not even in the state for the battle, the prosecutors were hard pressed to prove the charges (Shogan 215). William Blizzard was tried for treason, but ultimately acquitted (Bailey). 325 other miners were indicted for treason, along with another 200 for conspiracy and carrying weapons. Most of the charges were eventually dropped (Lens 229). Only one miner, Walter Allen, was convicted of treason. A relatively minor player, nothing more damaging than the fact that he had been seen with the marchers could be proved, but he was still convicted. After posting bail, Allen disappeared and was never seen again (Shogan 217).

The trials drained the UMW treasury, and tarnished its public image greatly. With the strike broken, the coal operators had the upper hand. The miners were forced to give back a recent pay increase of \$1.50. It would take Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal to raise the miners' union from this shattering defeat (Shogan 219).

Today, the legacy of the miners' march is being threatened. Massey Energy Corporation, owner of Blair Mountain and its surrounding lands, is planning on mining coal by a process called "mountaintop removal" (MTR). Vegetation and soil are cleared away to the bedrock and dumped in nearby valleys. The mountain itself is then dynamited until the seams of coal are exposed to the surface. This is an extremely destructive mining tactic, not only on the environment but also

on the health of the local population. The process creates toxic residue that leaches into the ground, contaminating groundwater and leading to health issues of the inhabitants who regularly drink it. The EPA estimates around 1.4 million acres of land would be razed if the MTR is allowed to continue (Nida and Adkins 12).

In what is being called the “Second Battle of Blair Mountain”, such unrelated groups as the Sierra Club, the UMW, the National Trust for Historic Places (NTHP), and local West Virginian organizations are banding together to fight the destruction of Blair Mountain (Patel 49). The efforts of Kenneth King, Dr. Harvard Ayers, and Dr. Barbara Rasmussen lead to Blair Mountain being listed on the National Register for Historic Places (NRHP) on March 20, 2009. Less than three months later, Massey Energy challenged the listing, and the site was removed from the NRHP (Nida and Adkins 11).

The removal was based on the objections of property owners around the mountain. Ayers investigated the claim. For removal, a simple majority of votes was needed, and it was discovered that eight votes had been miscounted. In addition, five of the objectors were not even legally credible. Two were dead, one of them for twenty-seven years. However, despite these findings, the West Virginia State Historic Preservation Office refused to reevaluate the listing (Nida and Adkins 13). The site remains delisted and in danger to this day.

Not only is Blair Mountain a battlefield, MTR is an environmentally unsafe method to extract coal. Destroying Blair Mountain would be the equivalent of “drilling for oil in Gettysburg,” says Dr. Rasmussen (Patel 52). The miners’ struggles in West Virginia were extremely important in the fabric of American labor history. Removing the mountain and its rich historical significance would be a blow to the entirety of the American people. The conflict over the physical site is eerily similar to the miners’ fight more than 90 years ago, and it is our duty to make sure the legacy of the fight for Constitutional rights is not forgotten. The Second Battle for Blair Mountain is being waged. We cannot afford to lose.

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Parent-Child Relationships in the Wicked Child Sub-Genre of Horror Movies by *Cristiana Lombardo*

The horror movie genre is almost as old as cinema itself. The common misconception is that this genre's value lies solely in its being a popular culture phenomenon and entertainment for the unsophisticated, typically young, viewer. However, horror films have more significance than is typically ascribed to them. They continuously invoke our worst fears and expose the dark sides of the human experience. They explore common anxieties, serving as a manifestation of universal psychological vulnerabilities as well as social preconceptions and angst. The focus of the present paper is on what is frequently labeled as the sub-genre of wicked children (Rowe 1). I will demonstrate that films representing this sub-genre serve as an outlet for the psychological and societal fears regarding parenthood. Relying on a combination of psychoanalytical and sociological approaches, I will examine five examples of the wicked child sub-genre released between the 1950's and 90's, showing that these films reflect and challenge the parent-child relationships in a meaningful manner by exposing the clash between the underlying impulses of the human psyche with the pressures of social mores.

For decades, the sub-genre of children-focused horror has "been making regular appearances in the multiplex" (Calhoun 2) with a theme that is "uniquely able to reach a broader audience," "transcend its specialization," and "attain real mass success" (Scahill 39). But what is it about the exposition of monstrous children that continues to be such an alluring and provocative subject matter? The evil child provides a subtle excavation of the profound fears and vulnerabilities of parenthood, exposing the ambiguities of and societal pressures on the family unit. The evil child films have chronologically evolved as a reflection of the psychological and social conflicts of their eras, beginning with the rediscovery of Freudian theory in the 1950's which "opened the door" for a new type of horror (Hendershot 3). Cindy Hendershot notes:

Films as diverse as *Rebel Without a Cause*, *Psycho*, and *Pillow Talk* trace abnormalities in human behavior back to unresolved Oedipal conflicts. In an important way, Freudian theory was used in Fifties America to construct widely accepted notions of normality, especially within the realms of marriage, sexuality and childrearing. (2).

Unlike the popular horror films of the 1940's, whose villains and threats were often a product of the foreign "other," horror films from the late 1950's and beyond gave evil a place much closer to home. As the horror genre progressed, family became a reoccurring theme, portraying cultural developments and criticisms of the family unit that "produces everyday monsters" (Williams 182).

Adults have always had a unique attraction to the concepts of childhood and the relationship between their reality and that of their kids. Wheeler Winston Dixon, a film professor, argues that children live in an essentially different universe from adults, intermixed with reality and fantasy, which creates a feeling of unpredictability about how they perceive the world (Rowe 2). This subject matter is so effective because it works as "repository of adult fears about children, who are like us, yet in crucial ways so different, who are both vulnerable and demanding, and in touch with the id in ways that can elicit great anxiety and discomfort . . ." (Calhoun 3). The impact of these stories is fueled by the misleading assumption of innocence and shock at the perversion of nature. These films juxtapose the innocent exterior of their subjects with corrupt interiors, synthesizing the limitless power of imagination with the mysterious and animalistic nature of childhood.

Mervyn Leroy's *The Bad Seed* is considered one of the first horror films to "transgress . . . the taboo on children murderers" (Hendershot 4). The 1950's depicted the nuclear family as a perfect institution; *The Bad Seed* turns this fantasy into a nightmare (Jackson 11), rapturing the myth of the flawlessness of domesticity. The movie focuses on Christine Penmark, a 1950's housewife whose perfectly polite daughter, Rhoda, is not nearly as angelic as she seems. Clad in tightly plaited hair and a dress she never soils, Rhoda is able to manipulate the adults around

her to commit shocking crimes. While faultless and mannerly on the outside, Rhoda has corruption and evil within her. Her perfect exterior opposes her tainted motivations, creating a contradiction of malevolence within the appearance of a presumably innocent little girl. Rhoda's outward perfection mirrors the apparent faultlessness of the suburban household that she was brought up in. Her home life seems happy and intact on the exterior, but it is clearly damaged.

In his analysis of the movie, Chuck Jackson notes that Rhoda upholds duplicity of character which quickly begins to erode as she loses control of the situations around her (5-6). The willingness of nearly all the characters to accept her act of perfection displays the reluctance and fears of admitting that there can be something wrong with a child and ideal upbringing. Like the other characters, Christine is originally unaware of her daughter's innate drive to kill, but she grows more and more conscious of her child's abnormality. At first, her daughter only appears slightly strange: she has no friends her own age and seems incapable of understanding how she could have lost a penmanship competition to her classmate, Claude Dagle. To Christine's horror, these small idiosyncrasies build up into blatant sociopathic tendencies.

Rhoda returns home after murdering Claude, eerily nonchalant about the death of one of her classmates. She enters the room asking "her mother for a peanut butter sandwich and seems primarily concerned with having missed her lunch. She tells Christine, 'I don't feel any way at all'" (Hendershot 5). Though it isn't until much later in the movie that Rhoda admits to her deeds, it is the painful and complex hysteria Christine feels which intensely drives the film. John K. Muir states that the movie creates a situational claustrophobia which enhances the agonizing dilemma (3). Taking place entirely in the Penmarks' small apartment, the sense of entrapment and helplessness Christine experiences is certainly accentuated by the setting.

Rhoda collapses into her mother's arms after her façade has ultimately fallen apart, triggering Christine's innate maternal instincts. Christine decides Rhoda's inability for compassion is not Rhoda's fault, but it is biological and, essentially, Christine's own creation. Holding her daughter tightly, Christine promises that she won't allow anyone to punish her. Out of guilt and confusion, she decides to give Rhoda an overdose of sleeping pills after somberly reading her a story. There is a maternal and affectionate bond between the two, emphasized by the sentimental background music. Christine is the one who must maintain an act of duplicity now, a contradiction of love, distorted justice and motherhood. She knows Rhoda is a danger to other people, but still feels the instinctive compulsion to protect her. Christine's decision is not a punishment for Rhoda, but a necessary escape. She still loves her daughter regardless of her evil deeds, emphasizing that maternal affection prevails over the immoral.

As a mother and a person, Christine faces the agonizing contradiction between two ingrained values of parenthood and morality. Parents are supposed to protect their children, but their inability to successfully "do so can be a potent source of horror: for both children and adults," says Calhoun (4). Children are generally viewed as extensions of their parents, sometimes struggling with differentiation. Their traits are completely inherited, yet they are still their own individuals (Rowe 4), provoking the fears that having kids is a lottery because what they can become is beyond your control. *The Bad Seed* shows that good and evil are not just separate and dualistic concepts, but that they stem from within as our own creations. Christine's decision to shoot herself after Rhoda has fallen asleep exemplifies the symbiotic relationship of child and mother and their linked existences. While the movie initially remains ambivalent regarding the debate of nature vs. nurture, both the biological and environmental circumstances place the accountability and guilt on Christine. It is impossible for her to deny that there is something wrong with her daughter, but that deviation from societal norm within the family is heartbreaking and tormenting.

Four years later, *Village of the Damned* (1960) crossed the same taboo as *The Bad Seed*, highlighting societal fears of the child's rebellion and violation of norms. In the 1950's, a firm youth culture had been established that began conflicting with the postwar standards of the older generations. The social concept the child was changing because of the clash of values and the growing power of the seemingly communal youth. Though juvenile crime had always

existed, the rapid growth of large cities and publicity made it a staple anxiety of the era. Jackson highlights that newspaper headlines about troubled children, school shootings and violence were seen as an epidemic (1), challenging the romantic notions of parenthood. As early as 1953, the statistics suggested a youth crime wave (Jackson 1). People were concerned and horrified with such disobedience and disregard for authority, and statistics like these scared the older generations who feared the corruption of morals and society as they knew it.

Data regarding juvenile delinquency and youth crime represented a serious failing because of the symbolism children embody as a replacement for their parents. When children are corrupted, essentially so are their parents – and so is the future. Parents feared their children would be easily influenced by the 1960's. "It's only a matter of time before these children get entirely out of hand, with fatal consequences," says a character in *Village of the Damned*, encapsulating one of the major parental fears of the decade. *Village of the Damned* manipulates this fear beyond the control of the parent, as it paradoxically portrays it as something the kids are born directly into. In this film, all the women in the town are simultaneously and mysteriously impregnated, giving birth to perfectly healthy babies that possess enhanced intelligence and development rate. Because of their incredible intellect, similar features, and emotionless behavior, the village is frightened by their own offspring. Similar to Rhoda, they hold a flawless Aryan appearance, building on the post-war fears of genetic predetermination to portray an intimidating enemy (Roake 1).

It is clear that the collective revolt of the children is an exaggeration of the power of the youth culture to challenge parenting in this era's social conditions. Though the future is meant for the young, these kids have taken over before they have been "properly" raised or taught. It seems as if the children embody a revolution against adults, looking to create a new society. Simultaneously, the ambiguous and unknown nature of childhood is exemplified by their ability to telepathically communicate with each other, excluding the adults from their understanding of the world. Their actions are representative of the animalistic urges of the id, dictated through self-preservation and eradicating any person whom they deem a threat to their success.

The story trails Gordon Zellaby, a "father" of one of the children and a scientist. Gordon is at first enthusiastic to work with the kids, hoping to teach and study them. He argues that they might not be inherently evil and reconciles with the urge to kill them. Compassion for these children is compromised more with each wicked act they commit. As their inhuman nature becomes obvious, he realizes that he must destroy them. Planting a bomb in the building he teaches them in, he diverts the children's attention away. The building is set aflame, with Gordon sacrificing himself as a moral obligation to the future of mankind.

It has been amply documented that Freud's theories on repression exemplify the roles that society plays in our conceptualization of right and wrong, defining a monster as anything that threatens normality. The children in *Village of the Damned* and Rhoda in *The Bad Seed* represent the primal impulses of the id and behaviors often repressed by Western society. Calhoun appropriately recognizes that parents in these movies struggle with contradictory compulsions to terminate the evil they're responsible for and nurture their progeny (7). Whether intentionally or not, these films reflect upon the disjointed connection between expectations and reality. They play upon Oedipal fears of parents, as much as they do upon the dread of being responsible for the future of society.

Social tensions seemed only to worsen as the 1960's and 1970's were faced with religious and moral controversies that appeared to invade households, questioning the fundamentals of ethics and upbringing. This time was characterized by tumultuous debates over the legalization of abortion, the shattering of the conservative concept of the family unit, and instability. The change in the structure of family was becoming a subject of intense evaluation, particularly with regard to the development of children. The portrayal of 1950's familial perfection clashed with real domestic situation. Social normality was questioned, particularly in the context of the war in Vietnam, and the disparity between older and younger generations seemed to grow wider. These anxieties were reflected in this period's horror entertainment, with stories displaying the confusion of values and religion.

Rosemary's Baby, directed by Roman Polanski in 1968, echoes the ethical clashes between idyllic expectations enforced by society and reality. It differs from the other movies in this sub-genre by focusing on the romanticized projection of pregnancy instead of actual parenthood. *Rosemary's Baby* tells the story of a young wife – a lapsed Catholic – who moves into a new apartment with her husband. Rosemary wants to start a traditional family as a homemaker, but she soon fears the people around her plot something horrible for the future of her child. Like *The Bad Seed* and *Village of the Damned*, the film becomes increasingly claustrophobic and oppressive as the setting and the local atmosphere seem to cancel out any possibility of escape.

The passivity and domesticity of women were continually questioned in this era, and the movie reflects those social tensions as Rosemary fights against subservience to her husband and the outside social pressures to, paradoxically, maintain a perfect appearance. Lucy Fischer notes that pregnancy was always closely associated with death; therefore, it seems natural that so many fears arise from it (7). Fischer points out that pregnancy gives rise to a juxtaposition of emotions: it represents happiness, but also pain and concern (4-6) as women lose control of their bodies and are host to a variety of symptoms and changes (11). Similarly, the poet Adrienne Rich admits that pregnancy is not a purely joyful experience, but it is marked by “anxiety, depression, [and] the sense of being a sacrificial victim” (Fischer 7). However, it is rare that pre-natal terrors are publicized or accepted. Rosemary’s panic that there may be something wrong with her child and that there are people around her conspiring to hurt it is an exaggeration of the frequently marginalized but common fears that women possess during pregnancy.

Indeed, the 1960’s had faced shocking images of birth defects from the drug Thalidomide, enhancing the fears of childbirth. Myra Liefer, author of *Psychological Effects of Motherhood: A Study of First Pregnancy*, notes that pregnant “women commonly beg[in] to view the outside world as potentially threatening. They bec[ome] more cautious in their activities, fear[ing] that they might be harmed or attacked” (Fischer 9). Liefer claims that “Women typically . . . vividly imagine a variety of deformities that they had either read about or seen” (Fischer 10). The separation of sexual activity from conception combined with the terrifying descriptions of natal defects heightened the fears of childbirth. Helen Deutsch, a Freudian psychologist, points out a very common maternal fear that the newborn “will be a monster” (Fischer 9). Deutsch admits that some women see the fetus as a “parasite” which “exploits the maternal host” (Fischer 10). Rosemary’s experience in the movie serves as a revealing materialization of these contradictory emotions during pregnancy enhanced by the instability in society. On the surface level, Rosemary’s horror is related to a cult of devil worshipers, but it echoes the “worries of an abnormal fetus” (Fischer 9) and magnification of danger frequently experienced among women in real life. Although the movie links itself with the supernatural, it relies heavily on the psychological tension and anxiety created through its atmosphere. It puts the situation and fears within a “psychological frame” of “emotional liability” (Fischer 8-9) and hysteria. The film maintains a sense of uncertainty between reality and what is a product of Rosemary’s own heightened paranoia and vulnerability, as everyone around her seems to downplay her fears.

Similar to *The Bad Seed*, the final scene illustrates a sharp clash between maternal nature and morality when Rosemary is forced to make a decision. Even after realizing she has given birth to the son of the devil, Rosemary knows she is above all else, its mother. The scene is unsettlingly calm and poignant as Rosemary rocks the cradle, staring into the eyes of her child she had recoiled at moments before. The contradiction in ethics is powerful. She has rejected religious responsibility but will not reject her role as a mother. As Fischer astutely observes, Rosemary’s relationship between love and repulsion encompasses the very key elements of the entire horror genre (12). “Maternal instinct triumphs” (Fischer 13) and Rosemary accepts the satanic beginning, not only over-riding her anger, but completely betraying her very morals. Hauntingly melancholy, this film differs from the other movies by lacking a real sense of closure or righteousness: “In accepting her loathsome progeny, Rosemary acknowledges her *own* demons – the fears of motherhood” and religious betrayal “that society wants hushed”

(Fischer 13). It is an emotional ending which plays upon the sacred and intrinsic weakness (or power) of maternal love that can even transcend ultimate evil.

1973, the same year as the Supreme Court case *Roe v. Wade*, *The Exorcist* was released. William Friedkin's largely provocative film notoriously horrified moviegoers with reports of various psychological and physical symptoms upon viewing (Scahill 40). Lawsuits regarding broken bones from fainting (Daily Beast) and theaters providing "barf bags" for screenings were not just rumors. *The Exorcist* follows a financially independent atheist raising her child alone; often the story hints that it is her boundless celebrity lifestyle which enables harm to her daughter, Regan. Regan is the product of a broken home. With split parents, absent father, and famous mother, her home life seems to blatantly betray the nuclear family. She is "vulnerable and verging on pubescence" (Calhoun 1), while her upbringing also reflects the dysfunctional home life the 1970's seemed to emit, making her seemingly "primed for diabolical intervention" (Calhoun 1).

Her upbringing represents much of what was criticized during this era. The 70's reflected deep and dark fears that the moral shifts in society had produced a "culture of monsters" (Wilson 2). In particular, divorce was identified as a primary fault for the degradation of the traditional social values. In the opening paragraphs of *The Divorce Culture*, Barbara Dafoe Whitehead writes, "For most of the nation's history, divorce was a rare occurrence and insignificant feature of family and social relationships. After 1960, however, the rate accelerated at a dazzling pace" (3). Whitehead contends that the ideas about the obligations of family had begun to change, becoming less of a collective concept (4). Parents were becoming more aware of their interests and needs, not abandoning responsibility but becoming more independent (4).

At the beginning, Regan comes across as a symbol for innocence, and the movie largely manipulates and exploits the fear of unexpectedly having something horribly wrong with a child. With the underlying social and political issues of the time, teenage rebellion was still a critical concern for parents. Her actions almost serve as an exaggeration of any adolescent insurgence and violation of family values, beginning with swearing at her mother, masturbation, and destroying her room. Regan is depicted as the victim of tenuous circumstances outside of her control both domestically and supernaturally. Her behavioral and physical disfigurement seems to violate the natural order. Regan's mother, Chris McNeil – a lapsed Catholic, like Rosemary – watches as her daughter transforms into the embodiment of perversity and revolt against social norms, facing these issues as a single mother. In his analysis of *The Exorcist*, Andrew Scahill argues that "a revolting child represents a failure in proper development," with the inability to suppress certain desires to enter properly a successful adulthood. *The Exorcist* seemed to speak to parents who felt that they were losing their children and could not seem to comprehend why.

In an article regarding familial projection and symptoms of children based on family patterns, Jenny Brown articulates the apprehension and fear parents have when trying to help their children (61). According to the case studies evaluated, parents often feel very vulnerable when any blame or cause is "shifted away" from "external factors" (62). Chris puts her career on hold as she takes Regan to various doctors in order to solve the problem, desperately looking for a solution. She is defensive and distrustful whenever someone seems to attack or imply her role in her daughter's behavior. Chris's avoidance of this is very indicative of the stigma and aversion of responsibility surrounding raising a child. Chris faces the common social conflicts of the modern family unit, being a woman with a successful career, managing her independence but also being a mother. While she desperately wants to see Regan get better and suffers alongside with her, she is anxious to allow the idea that anything she has done could have caused something so horrific. The movie reflects upon the disillusionment with and departure from faith, but it also plays on the contemporary guilt of the breakdown of family. *The Exorcist* creates a situation that is extraordinary but relatable, scrutinizing the effect of dysfunctional lifestyle on children.

The genre of children-focused horror is not only bound by the exposition of fears regarding flaws in the family unit, but also the inevitability of perversion and inability to shield one's child from both society and adulthood. These films represent hopelessness, with families who can never return to the imaginary normality they had previously lived in. Reinventing the plot of *The Bad Seed*, *The Good Son* (1993) directed by Joseph Ruben reimagined the evil child genre using the same key elements integrated into a more contemporary representation of family and maternity.

Rather than focusing on the parents' experience, *The Good Son* predominately emphasizes the encounters with young Henry Evans and his sociopathic thought processing. Henry possesses an obsessive attachment to his mother, Susan, coupled with a warped sense of morality, reacting homicidally whenever her affection for him may be challenged. When Mark, Henry's cousin who begins living with the family, develops a relationship with Henry's mother, Henry reveals his true self. As Mark's suspicions and fears take root, Henry begins setting Mark up to look like the insurgent child.

The Good Son uses the same devices and psychological exploitations as its predecessors to portray a shocking and dramatic evil concealed within an angelic exterior of a child. Macaulay Culkin's status as a media symbol has an important influence on the weight of the role of Henry. "Macaulay Culkin has been called the Shirley Temple of the '90s" (*The Bad Seed*, Part Deux 1) with continuous box office records and popularity throughout the era. Starring in whimsical films, Culkin represented an iconic essence of family friendly entertainment. Henry's antics almost echo the slapstick comedic situations in *Home Alone* as he outwits and deceives the adults around him. However, there is clear disparity between Henry's outer and inner identities. In consequence, the role of Henry provided a dramatic conversion of what Culkin symbolized, and a revolting presentation on the deceptive nature of innocent appearances. This subtle undercurrent works as an effective accentuation of the sinister tone the movie works to present regarding the twist of normality and external influences of media on children.

While *The Good Son* questions the fear of the pre-determined nature of evil, it also examines outside impacts on children. According to Muir, "1990's America was often called 'The Cynical Society'" and represented an era where "children [were] exposed to increasingly sophisticated, increasingly accessible media" (285). This era was characterized by a culture of violence that couldn't be secured out of school and home. Parents were now the same children who had rebelled in the 60's and 70's, purposefully providing a different approach to parenting than the overbearing and conservative traditions of their childhoods they saw as dysfunctional. At the same time, adults of broken homes sought to raise their children in stable environments (Hammel 1). The nuclear family was not really the same desired unit as it had been for older generations, with more of an emphasis placed on parents as individuals. Although the family unit seemed to be stabilizing, dramatic changes regarding upbringing had occurred. Hammel articulates that in the 90's children were treated more like adults, and video games began replacing other forms of childhood entertainment (1). The violence within this medium seemed to provide a brand new influence on how children perceived reality. The actions of the characters in *The Good Son* subtly expose that media are a constant influence in the lives of children from the very beginning where Mark plays a videogame during a car drive. Henry's behaviors, such as his smoking, can be interpreted as not only a deviation from the norm, but twisted interpretations imitated from somewhere else. Henry's acts are violent and systematic, but the film questions the origins of these actions, and the liability of and for a child's behavior.

In commonality with the other children of this sub-genre, Henry lacks real developed emotion and manipulates people however he can. In a statement similar to Rhoda's, he boldly says he doesn't "feel bad about anything" (*The Good Son* 1993), including the drowning of his baby brother. It would seem like evil would be something to enter the home through an alien source like Mark, but the evil is already situated within the family (Muir 285). Children are rarely free agents and because of this can't be treated as a complete lone unit. Rhoda and Henry are technically under parental supervision, but Henry's parents are even more oblivious to his

malignant behavior. They are distant and detached, a further reflection of the changes in parenting styles from the decades before. Susan's grisly realization arrives at the end of the film, while in *The Bad Seed* Christine's anguish over parental responsibility lingered on nearly from the very beginning.

In a moment of ritual adult violence, Henry corners his mother at the edge of a cliff after admitting to murdering his younger brother years before. After Mark tackles Henry, both boys hang off the edge of a cliff as they are held up by Susan. Susan dangles each boy, trying to save them both, but quickly begins losing her grasp. She knows she must choose one child, but hesitates as her moral and maternal compulsions clash. Susan makes the painful decision to let go of her own biological son and save Mark, exemplifying a completely different approach to maternity than the ones portrayed in the wicked child sub-genre before. This choice not only violates the taboo of murdering children, but it provides an abandonment and violation of the interdependent relationship between mother and child. In *The Third Wave of Feminism*, the 90's saw a re-self-actualization of the definition of womanhood compared to the conservative views of the decades before. The horrific ending of *The Bad Seed* is driven by Christine's placement of her daughter at the center of her existence, but Susan never really seems to do that with Henry. In contrast to Christine's complete involvement and symbiosis with Rhoda, Susan is her own person with feelings and obligations separated from her child. As Muir notes, *The Good Son* provides Susan with a clear choice, while Christine's decision feels helpless, disheartened and a last resort to her pain (285). *The Good Son* ultimately examines the accountability we have for our own creations, particularly in an era whose adults had experienced dramatic and threatening social changes during their lives.

Social fragmentation and the upheaval of familial tradition which had surfaced in the 1950's remains a successful plot maneuver for creating fear to this day. It is fascinating that while horror is a genre predominately made not to be seen by children, they are so commonly the focus of it. The concentration on families in these movies takes advantage of susceptibility within its audience, experimenting with some of the most sacred bonds and vulnerabilities. Although perceived as a fixed unit, family serves as a unique subject because it is by no means universally identical and is entrusted with the crucial societal role of reproduction (Reynolds 1). These films are effective because they expose real anxieties, reflecting upon the gamble of having a child and not knowing who it will be, yet feeling responsible for what one has created (Calhoun 4, 6). Wes Craven, a horror film director, says family is the "roots of our own primeval feelings," and to avoid it would be to ignore a crucial element of what creates fear and evil. "It's not that there are violent people out there waiting to break into our own affluent circle," he says, "No. We are those people" (Fahy 113).

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Alpha 1 Antitrypsin Deficiency Lung Disease Awareness and Latest Treatments

by Ana Sicilia

Alpha-1 antitrypsin deficiency (A1ATD) is a genetically acquired disease that causes reduced levels of, or no, alpha-1 antitrypsin (A1AT) enzyme in the blood. A1AT is an important body enzyme that protects the lungs from the damages caused by elastase, an inflammatory enzyme that destroys the alveolar tissue. A1ATD causes panacinar emphysema, COPD and cirrhosis of the liver. One out of 2,500 Americans suffers from this disease. Approximately 20 million of Americans are undiagnosed carriers of A1AT gene, who will likely pass it onto their offspring (Alpha1 Association, 2010). A1ATD lung disease is usually misdiagnosed because the symptoms mimic those of Asthma, COPD and liver disorders. There is no cure for this disease, but the deteriorating effects can be slowed down by augmentation therapy, or replacement of A1AT. Early diagnosis is crucial in treating these patients and prolonging, or avoiding the need for lung transplant (Bhattacharjee et al., 2012, pp. 208-209).

A1ATD was discovered in 1963 at the University of Lund, Sweden, by Medical Doctors, Carl-Bertil Laurell and Sten Eriksson. The etiology of this disease is a mutation in the SERPINA1 gene that leads to a shortage or an abnormal type of A1AT enzyme. The inheritance is autosomal recessive and two forms of the gene might be expressed. The normal version of SERPINA1 is gene M, which most of the population has in the homozygote version "MM", this trait produces normal amounts of A1AT. The defective traits of SERPINA 1 are S, which does not produce enough A1AT; Z that produces even lower levels of A1AT, and Null genes that do not produce any amounts of A1AT. The worst combinations are the Null and ZZ, which can exhibit total deficiency and very reduced levels of A1AT, respectively. Combinations SZ, MZ and SS also transcribe low levels of A1AT. In addition, smoking and inhalation of noxious gases increase the inflammation process in the lungs and catalyze the onset of the disease (Bazzi & Rahaghi, 2010, pp. 48-50).

In order to ascertain the diagnosis of A1ATD, clinicians need to understand the pathophysiology of this disease. The liver produces most of the enzyme A1AT, whose main function is to counteract the effects of another enzyme, neutrophil elastase, secreted by the white blood cells in response to inflammation or infection. Neutrophil elastase destroys elastin, a protein that is found in the alveolar walls and gives the alveoli elasticity. Without sufficient A1AT enzyme, there is no proper counteraction of neutrophil elastase and the alveolar walls lose elasticity and recoil, leading to emphysema. Any patient that has been diagnosed with COPD, specially the pan lobular emphysema type of COPD might have A1ATD or be a carrier of the gene (Bhattacharjee et al., 2012, p. 207).

It can take over seven years for a person to be properly diagnosed with A1ATD. The reason of this delay is because the symptoms are common to other pulmonary obstructive diseases, such as, cystic fibrosis, chronic bronchitis, asthma and emphysema. A simple blood test can reveal the serum of A1AT enzyme, which if the result is less than 80 mg/dL, then a severe deficiency is suggested. Unfortunately, by the time a patient with this disease is diagnosed, there is great damage made to the lung parenchyma (Alpha1 Association, 2010).

The main clinical signs and symptoms are: dyspnea, tachypnea, wheezing or diminished breath sounds, non-productive cough, obstructive pattern in the pulmonary function tests that deteriorates, weight loss, increased work of breathing, barrel chest, clubbing of the nails, elevated liver enzymes, frequent respiratory infections, and chronic respiratory acidosis which is seen in the arterial blood gas at later stages and chest x rays would show hyper-inflated lungs (Wilkins, Stoller, Scanlan, 2003, p. 472).

A1ATD causes the pan lobular type of emphysema, which is why the symptoms are the same as those of emphysema. According to Robert A. Sandhaus, MD., PhD, clinical director of the A1ATD Foundation (2010):

“Today, virtually any clinical laboratory can perform an alpha-1 antitrypsin level on serum- and for a modest price...complexity enters when one learns that there have been more than 100 different mutations of the alpha-1 antitrypsin gene identified since the first article describing the deficiency was published in 1963”. (p. 2) Dr. Sandhaus, further explains, that the serum test will only detect severe cases of A1ATD, so further tests, such as phenotyping and genotyping will further detect those patients that are carriers and those who have almost near to normal A1AT levels, but have one of the defective alleles. Phenotyping is suggested over genotyping, since it searches using an isoelectric focusing for all the A1AT proteins and identifies the genes coded, M, Z, S. The later method, genotyping, only searches for the two most common deficient genes Z and S, but it ignores the other strands and assumes them to be M, coded for normal, which can lead to errors (Sandhouse, 2010).

There are guidelines by the American Thoracic Society (ATS) and the European Respiratory Society (ERS) recommending testing for all patients with COPD, emphysema, or asthma with irreversible airflow obstruction. However, there seems to be some skepticism among clinicians in following these guidelines, perhaps due to the misconception that there is no effective treatment available (Bazzi & Rahaghi, 2010, pp. 48-50; Salzman, 2012, pp. 56-57). Although, it is logical to assume that prognosis of A1ATD depends mostly in the phenotype of A1ATD, the early detection from other family members that might be affected by the homozygote code ZZ or that might be carriers MZ is essential to raise awareness and care planning for these patients.

Smoking cessation and avoiding environmental triggers can slow down the progression of this disease by reducing the inflammatory process and the release of elastase. Treating the symptoms of A1ATD involves: oxygen therapy, inhaled bronchodilators and steroids, prophylactic antibiotics, immunizations and exercise (Sandhaus, 2011, pp. 32-35).

The main treatment for A1ATD is augmentation therapy, which consists in weekly intravenous infusion of purified A1AT protein from the blood plasma of healthy human donors to A1ATD patients. The FDA approved proteinase inhibitors are: Aralast, Prolastin, Zemaira, and Glassia, which are administered intravenously every week at a dose of 60mg/kg body weight. Some of the side effects of these treatments are: malaise or flue like symptoms; mild allergic reactions causing rashes; chest tightness, wheezing, dyspnea and dizziness (Alpha-1 Foundation, 2012).

The cost of these drugs is very high and the effects of the IV infusion only last one week. When augmentation therapy fails because the patient's lungs are totally damaged, the last resort is lung transplant. There are always complications associated with transplantation, the most common being rejection of the new lung by the body's immune system. In order to avoid rejection, combinations of immunosuppressant drugs are administered, such as: tacrolimus, mycophenolate mofetil (MMF), and glucocorticoids. Induction of immunosuppressive drugs is preferred the immediate weeks post transplantation. The other complications are infections, bronchiolitis obliterans, diabetes (from the immunosuppressant drugs) and hypertension, among others. The survival rate for one year is 80% to 90% and for 5 years is 41% to 58%; having a higher outcome for patients with bilateral lung transplant and for the A1ATD patients (Aziz, Penupolu, Xu, He, 2010, pp. 111-116; Petrache, Hajjar, Campos, 2009, pp. 193-204).

Since 2005, Cheryl Schiess, an A1ATD lung transplant survivor comes to Bergen Community College sponsored through the Respiratory Therapy Club and speaks about her experience living with A1ATD, the long wait for a matching donor, and her life after the transplant. She was diagnosed with A1ATD, phenotype at the age of 40 and after receiving bilateral lung transplantation, has been diligently continuing her daily maintenance regimen with immunosuppressant drugs as well as pulmonary rehabilitation, respiratory therapy medications and treatments and frequent visits to her Pulmonologist. Cheryl's story is not only educational

and inspirational, but it raises awareness about the time it still takes to diagnose a patient and the impact of this delay in the prognosis of the disease.

Despite the statistical proof of success with bilateral lung transplant in A1ATD patients, this is the last resource for the patients. While still on trial process, gene therapy offers the most hopeful avenue towards long term effects or even a cure. The main challenge in gene therapy remains to be the amount of healthy DNA of A1AT enzyme to be replicated in diseased individuals. Modifying the viral vectors and targeting the route of delivery are some of the most controversial areas being researched (Greene, McElvaney, 2011, pp. 452-456).

Increasing the genetic carrying capacity of adeno-associated viral vectors (AAV) can prolong the effects of therapy. Recently, phase 2 clinical trial (NCT01054339) of an AAV is being conducted by Mark Brantly, MD, Alpha 1 Research Program Director from the University of Florida, Gainesville, FL; Terence R. Flotte, MD from the University of Massachusetts, Worcester, MA; Bruce C. Trapnell from Cincinnati Children's Hospital Medical Center, Cincinnati, OH; Robert A. Sandhaus, MD, PhD from the National Jewish Health, Denver, CO; and Noel G. McElvaney, MB, BCh, BAO from Beaumont Hospital, Dublin, Ireland, among some of the main investigators. Applied Genetic Technologies, Corporation, Alachua, FL sponsored this study in collaboration with National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute (NHLBI) and The FDA Office of Orphan Products Development. This phase of the trial used the same vector rAAV1-CB-hAAT expressing A1AT enzyme, but produced by the herpes simplex virus complementation. The objective of this trial phase was to increase the A1AT expression to therapeutic levels (Flotte, et al., 2011, pp. 1239-1240).

Three groups of 3 subjects each participated; 8 of these subjects with ZZ phenotype and one with SZ. One of the groups was treated with low dose levels of the vector genome. The other groups were treated with medium and high doses respectively. The dosages of the vector genome were delivered by multiple intramuscular injections in 10 different muscles. All groups developed mild side effects, the most frequent being discomfort and pain at the injection sites. Serum creatine kinase (CK) was elevated in 2 of 3 subjects of group 2 (medium dose) and all groups developed antibodies against the AAV, which was expected from prior trials. The expression of A1AT enzyme was seen by day 30 and was more prominent in group 3, which received the highest dose of AAV (Flotte, et al., 2011, pp. 1241-243).

Although the concentration of A1AT enzyme remained for 1 year; the level of A1AT was below the therapeutic range (less than 572 ug/ml) that will prevent emphysema. There was no certainty as to whether the decline in expression of A1AT enzyme was due to the immunological response towards the viral vector. Overall, the results of phase 2 of the trial reveal the need to modify the AAV and the method of delivery. It is suggested that intravenous delivery of the AAV in combination with immunosuppressive drugs to avoid a high immunological response, might increase the replication of A1AT enzyme up to 9 times higher than by intramuscular injections (Flotte, et al., 2011, pp. 1244-1246).

So far, this is one of the most promising ongoing trials. Even though the preliminary outcome presents flaws in the level of expressed A1AT enzyme; it also shows that A1AT enzyme replication remained for 1 year, being the highest from days 30 to 90 and subsequently declining. In addition, no major side effects were noted (Flotte, et al., 2011, pp. 1244-1246).

Compared with augmentation therapy, gene therapy; if corrected to therapeutic levels, could offer longer lasting results in A1ATD patients. Other studies suggested the delivery of the AAV via tracheal instillation directly into the lungs, but experiments conducted in mice concluded in high immune responses. Another approach is stem cell technology used in combination with A1AT gene therapy, which could enhance the replication of the corrected gene, but it needs further clinical trials. It is expected that within the next decade much more progress will be seen in gene therapies targeted for A1ATD patients (Greene, McElvaney, 2011, p. 453-456).

The conclusion of all these facts is that there are ways to slow down the progress of A1ATD; and now there are many ongoing genetic trials, all leading towards long term effects. However, the best way to decelerate the progress of A1ATD is by early diagnosis. Once the

diagnosis is made, smoking cessation, avoidance of toxic environments, nutritional support, exercise programs and routine pulmonary function testing should follow. Not all A1ATD patients will develop the disease, so it is the clinician's job to educate these patients on how to avoid environmental stressors and not to skip their annual medical examination.

There are currently three detection programs: The State of Florida Alpha-1 Detection Program; National Alpha-1 Detection Program and Alpha-1 Coded Testing (ACT) Trial. The National Alpha-1 Detection Program, sponsored by Talecris Biotherapeutics, provides test kits to pulmonary clinics free of charge for patients who are at risk. It is a simple finger stick test and the results are sent back to the physician's office for proper interpretation. Information regarding genetic clinical trials can be found at: <http://www.alphaone.ufl.edu>, and to follow up on the progress of the ongoing A1ATD clinical trials visit: <http://clinicaltrials.gov> (UF Alpha-1 Research Program, 2010).

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The Effect of Education and Stress Reduction Programs on Feelings of Control and Positive Lifestyle Changes in Cancer Patients and Survivors

by Stacy Beaty

On a biological level, the definition of cancer is referred to as a disease caused by an uncontrolled division of abnormal cells in a part of the body (American Cancer Society, 2012). To a person sitting in an examining room, watching the words fall from the mouth of a person in a white lab coat, this definition may mean nothing. It is not what the cancer is that is most profound, but how it will affect each second of a person's life thereafter. The most important question in that moment is quite likely a short one. "Will I survive?" How is it possible for a person to regain personal control over their life when in that moment all that can be felt is fear, uncertainty and helplessness? The following pages of this paper hope to answer the latter question by suggesting that community programs targeted specifically towards individuals affected by cancer, focusing on education and stress reduction can be effective in encouraging positive lifestyle changes that result in a greater sense of control.

In the fall of 2011 I was given an opportunity to conduct a service learning project through a biology course. I was able to carry out this independent service learning project at a local non-profit organization known as the Cancer Support Community (CSC). The Cancer Support Community of the Greater Lehigh Valley is part of a larger national non-profit organization that offers support groups, stress reduction programs and educational programs free of charge to anyone with a cancer diagnosis as well as their friends and family members. One program in particular that the CSC offers is Healthy Cooking, a monthly cooking class that showcases nutritious and delicious meals, and allows program participants to get hands on to create the meal themselves. Because of my culinary background and personal passion towards food and nutrition, I was given the opportunity to assist with the program for the project. My time spent with the program allowed for observation and communication between myself and individuals who have been affected by cancer.

I was able to collaborate with the healthy cooking program's instructor, Gale Maleskey R.D., and the Cancer Support Community's program director, Jennifer Sinclair, to formulate the basis for an original project based around the healthy cooking classes. We developed a survey that would enable us to observe and document the dietary changes made by individuals affected by cancer, particularly those who had attended the CSC's Healthy Cooking program. We could then compare and contrast these answers to those given by non-participants. We hypothesized that the Healthy Cooking program participants, in contrast to those who had not participated in this particular program, would provide answers demonstrating a stronger belief in the relationship between diet and cancer through personal dietary changes.

To test the hypothesis, a survey was created and distributed to Cancer Support Community participants. It contained a series of questions related to personal diet and nutrition choices. Seventy total surveys were mailed to CSC program participants. Half of the surveys were sent to the experimental group consisting of people who had previously attended the CSC Healthy Cooking class. The other half were sent out to people in the control group, who had not previously participated in the Healthy Cooking class.

Due to the fact that not only cancer patients and cancer survivors are allowed to participate in CSC programs, but their friends and family members as well, we were not able to discriminate when sending out the surveys. To remedy this, the first question on the survey was designed to distinguish whether or not the survey participant was a person with cancer/cancer survivor, spouse/partner, friend, or family member.

Twenty-seven surveys were returned from the experimental group, twenty of which were indicated as cancer patients/survivors, and the remainder was indicated to be a spouse/partner,

friend, or family member. To properly compare results, the twenty participants with cancer/cancer survivors, were labeled as Experimental Group #1. The entire group as a whole, including the twenty cancer patients/cancer survivors, four spouse/partners, two family members and one friend were labeled as Experimental Group #2. Because the control group contained nine cancer patients/cancer survivors and only one spouse/partner, the group as a whole was simply labeled as the Control Group.

Results from the surveys were tallied and expressed as a percentage of total participants for each group as displayed in the following data tables.

	Exp 1	Exp 2	Control
What is your main source for nutrition information? (With option to choose up to three)			
Books/Literature	80%	74%	70%
Doctor/Physician	30%	30%	60%
Family/Friends	30%	26%	30%
TV/News Media	20%	15%	20%
Support Groups	5%	11%	10%
Registered Dietitian	30%	26%	20%
Holistic Nutritionist	5%	15%	0%
Internet	30%	33%	20%
HCSC-GLV Healthy Cooking Class	50%	52%	0%
How much of a role do you believe diet plays in cancer survivorship?			
(very little) 1	0%	0%	0%
2	0%	0%	10%
3	5%	11%	20%
4	35%	26%	40%
(greatly) 5	60%	59%	30%
How drastically have you changed your diet since you or your loved one's diagnosis of cancer?			
(very little) 1	5%	4%	10%
2	0%	4%	10%
3	35%	30%	20%
4	40%	37%	60%
(greatly) 5	20%	22%	10%
In what ways have you altered your diet? (Indicate all that apply)			
Less Animal Products	45%	44%	50%
Vitamins/Supplement	50%	48%	50%
Less Dairy	5%	4%	0%
More Protein	45%	41%	20%
More Veggies	90%	85%	70%

More Fruits/Berries		75%	74%	70%
Less Dairy		35%	33%	30%
Less Red Meat		65%	63%	60%
More Whole Grains		60%	56%	70%
Juicing/Smoothies		25%	22%	20%
Fish Oil		30%	30%	40%
More Fish		40%	37%	20%
Less Carbs		35%	33%	30%
Low Fat		40%	30%	40%
Less Sugar/sweeteners		60%	59%	30%
Hormone-Free Milk		20%	15%	0%
More Organic Produce		40%	33%	20%
How often do you prepare meals at home?				
	(very little) 1	0%	0%	0%
	2	10%	11%	20%
	3	5%	4%	10%
	4	15%	19%	10%
	(frequently) 5	70%	63%	50%
How comfortable are you with cooking and/or trying new and different foods?				
	(not comfortable) 1	0%	0%	0%
	2	0%	4%	10%
	3	10%	11%	30%
	4	15%	15%	30%
	(very comfortable) 5	70%	63%	20%

Compared to the control group, the experimental groups did appear to display a slightly greater level of changes in dietary habits, a greater confidence in working with new foods, and a stronger opinion towards the role diet plays in cancer survivorship.

The surveys produced interesting though not clearly conclusive results, which brought rise to a plethora of possibilities in terms of new hypotheses and questions. Could it be possible that food was one particular area the participants felt could be controlled, which in turn gave them a positive feeling towards their health outcomes? Why did people who attended the cooking classes feel this way as opposed to those who did not?

When assisting with the healthy cooking classes, I noticed something about the people involved. They had great enthusiasm and joy. Typically this would not be noted as something strange, but when in a room full of people who had or were currently battling cancer, one may not expect such a lively group. Many participants were very talkative and eager to share the personal changes they had made to their own eating habits, whether it was new ingredients added, or certain types of foods eliminated altogether from their diets. Perhaps they did or did not believe that what was put into their bodies would have an effect on their future prognosis, but for the moment it appeared to be an area of life that could be controlled when so many other things were uncertain.

The survey results in conjunction with my direct interaction between program participants during the cooking classes pushed me away from focusing on dietary changes and the nutrition mindset specifically. It then directed the future research focus towards the creation of a new psychological control based hypothesis, addressing the root causes and effects of

lifestyle changes such as healthy diet changes, initiating or increasing exercise routines, creating and maintaining positive relationships, and practicing meditation.

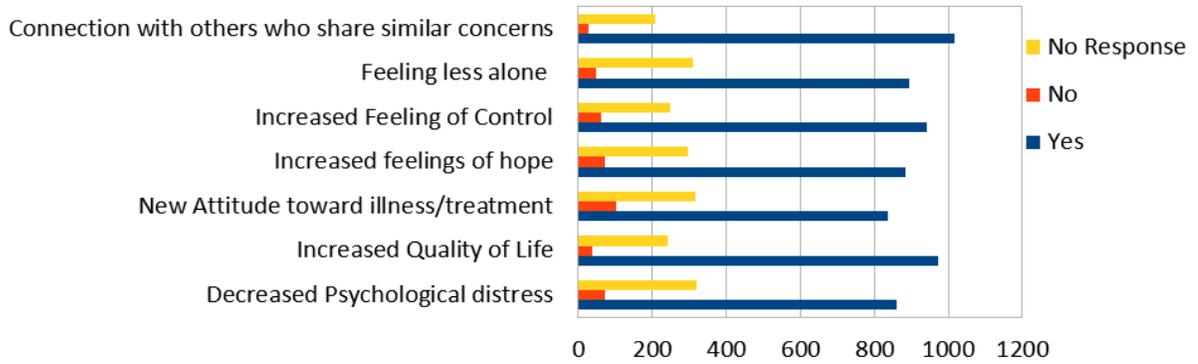
I began to speculate that with further research and investigation into the subject, we could develop evidence to support a new hypothesis. The new hypothesis states that *community education programs targeted specifically towards individuals affected by cancer and focusing on education and stress reduction can be extremely effective in encouraging positive lifestyle changes and a greater sense of control.*

Locus of control is a theory (Rotter, 1990) developed by Julian Rotter which suggests that “behavior or personality is determined by (1) what you *expect* to happen following a specific action and (2) the reinforcement value attached to specific outcomes (Taylor, 2012).” It is suggested that possessing an internal locus of control may result in greater psychological well-being. Similarly the Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, 1966) addresses the causes for a change in health behavior as a result of a “perceived health threat” and a “perceived threat reduction.” The Health Belief Model is not always effective, as can be seen in the example of a person who smokes. Although smoking is known as a threat, and it is also known that quitting smoking can reduce the threat, many still choose to continue the current smoking behavior. Icek Ajzen’s theory of planned behavior (Taylor, 2012) combines the health belief model with a plan of action for changing behavior involving three main components: attitudes towards the specific action, subjective norms regarding the action, and perceived behavioral control (CITE).

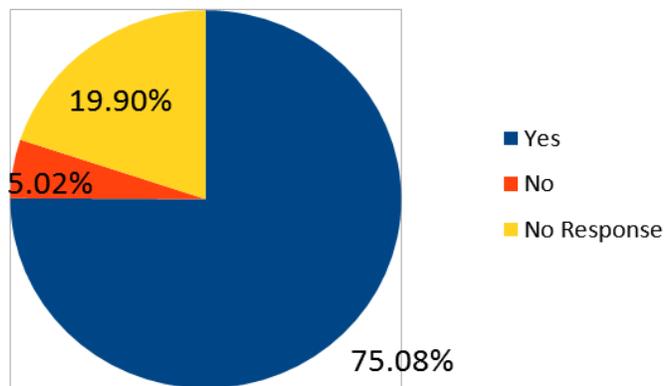
Though theoretically possible, it is not being suggested that changing one’s lifestyle will necessarily also impact a person’s physical health outcomes in relation to cancer, however it is widely accepted that the general American population could afford to be healthier. A cancer diagnosis is often a significant catalyst for making personal changes that could have been afforded prior to diagnosis. The difference between a person actually making positive changes and those who do not can be explained in part by the Health Belief Model and the theory of planned behavior. The Cancer Support Community offers educational programs, matched with a positive supportive community atmosphere which can reinforce “normative beliefs.” This type of environment acknowledges positive lifestyle changes, such as diet and exercise as “acceptable norms.” It also fosters “motivation to comply” through positive peer pressure. Lastly, it allows for “perceived behavioral control” in which the individual believes that the changes can realistically be made. These steps allow for a back and forth exchange between making changes and feeling a greater sense of control (Taylor, 2012).

The Cancer Support Community offers many programs such as yoga, meditation, jewelry making, educational seminars, healthy cooking classes, knitting and focused support groups. When participants attend a program, they are asked to complete a workshop evaluation upon conclusion of the program session. These surveys are then compiled and entered into a database. Questions asked on these evaluations relate to decreased psychological distress, increased quality of life, new attitude toward the illness and/or treatment, increased feelings of hope, increased feelings of control, feeling less alone, and an increased connection with others who share similar concerns. As a whole, based on 1,256 workshop evaluations from a variety of programs offered by the organization, the results were overwhelmingly positive. Individually when analyzing a smaller sample size limited to ten participants after a Healthy Cooking Class, results were similar to that of the overall grouped results.

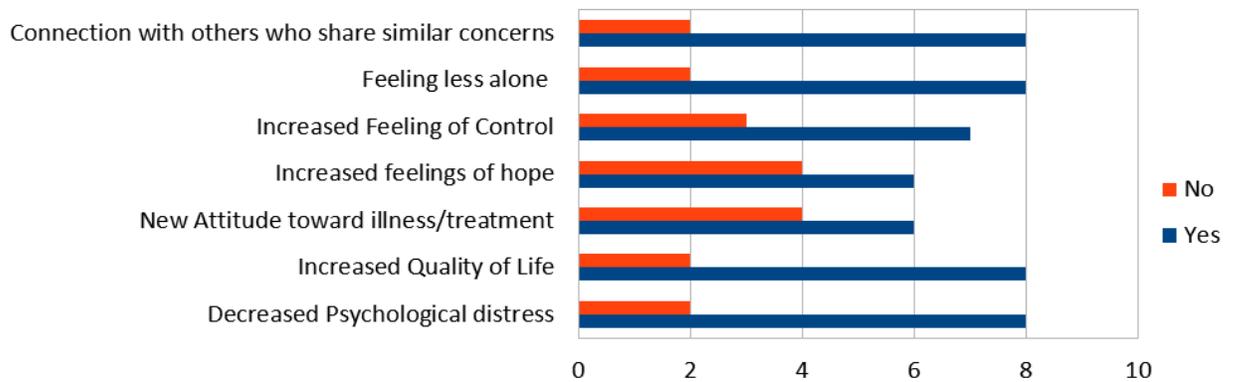
Results from 1,256 Workshop Evaluation Surveys



Increased Feeling of Control



Healthy Cooking Workshop Evaluaton Results



In an effort to journey further into investigating the subject of lifestyle changes and control, a focus group was organized consisting of seven Cancer Support Community program participants. Some were current cancer patients, others were survivors, but all maintained active involvement in the organization. The goal of the focus group was to address times of helplessness, how a sense of control was lost and/or regained, and why, if any, lifestyle changes (diet, exercise, meditation, etc) were made after diagnosis. Before the focus group began participants were asked to complete an eighteen question Multidimensional Health Locus of

Control Scale (MHLC). This scale has the ability to rate an individual's locus of control when experiencing a medical condition. The outcomes are categorized as "internal", "chance", or "powerful others" (Wallston, Stein, & Smith, 1994). In this specific form (form "C") used for the focus group, powerful others is divided into subgroups of "doctors", and "other people."

From the seven MHLC's that were completed, four were scored as "powerful others: doctors", two were scored as "chance" and only one was scored as "internal." The results were surprising considering the intention of the focus group was to prove participants possessed an inner locus of control from taking part in Cancer Support Community programs. According to the surveys, most of the participants believed that doctors were in control of the outcomes of their condition and not themselves. The focus group discussion itself later revealed an exceptional explanation for this.

During the focus group most of the participants in the room verbalized past feelings of helplessness, intense fear and hopelessness at the point of diagnosis. It was at this time that all previous felt control was lost. Powerlessness was also felt for some during treatment in which participants were unable to maintain normal routines and activities due to sickness. Everyone in the group shared experiences of times the control had to be let go in order to cope. Some participants did their best to continue routines while others embraced a new life path by engaging in new activities such as traveling, doing volunteer work and reconnecting with friends.

What I noticed about this group from my own perspective was that they did share a great sense of control; however it was highly selective, based on the things they found that could be realistically controlled. It was an important coping mechanism for them to let go of the things they felt were beyond their control and in the hands of healthcare providers and the healthcare system itself. One focus group participant appropriately stated, "You can only do what you can do." Letting control go in certain areas seemed to enable participants to establish control in other areas of their lives, especially emotional control.

To some degree it appeared that most if not all people in the group had altered their diets by beginning to carefully read food labels, cutting out red meat, eating more fresh fruit and vegetables, switching to organic foods and even juicing. Participants discussed engagement in various types of physical activity such as walking, jogging, general exercise and quite a few in the group were active participants in the weekly yoga program at the Cancer Support Community. Some focus group participants also described the importance in meditation, which the Cancer Support Community also offers as a program, as a way of reducing stress and putting the mind at ease. All participants expressed their profound appreciation and thankfulness for the support groups and programs offered by the Cancer Support Community. Many described it as a turning point after their diagnosis, in which they were able to regain control, become educated about their illnesses, and connect with others having similar experiences. They were also able to pass on encouragement and useful information to friends, family members and new CSC participants.

As a whole, from the original nutrition survey, through evaluating the workshop evaluations and conducting the focus group, a large amount of meaningful data had been collected throughout the duration of the project. A greater sense of personal control can bring about a reduction in stress, a regained level of normalcy, and the ability to reclaim pleasure from life. It is also important to acknowledge the particular areas of life in which control should be exercised and when it should be released. Releasing control to outside factors can be a form of control in itself because the conscious decision is being made to allow someone or something else to take over a selective segment of life. A cancer patient cannot control how the healthcare system will process their medical claim, or how a doctor will interpret results of a recent scan, but are able to control personal mindset and outlook. This can be directly impacted by diet, exercise, education, meditation, stress reduction, and effective communication with others. The Cancer Support Community and organizations like it that offer such programs have the ability to empower patients and survivors to take control over their emotional well-being.

This particular research project was intended to observe psychological impact as related to personal control and lifestyle changes. If possible to conduct in a clinical setting, it would be

extremely valuable to evaluate the effectiveness these factors could potentially have on physical health outcomes and survivor rates of cancer patients.

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Multidimensional Health Locus of Control Scale Form C

Instructions: Each item below is a belief statement about your medical condition with which you may agree or disagree. Beside each statement is a scale which ranges from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). For each item we would like you to circle the number that represents the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement. The more you agree with a statement, the higher will be the number you circle. The more you disagree with a statement, the lower will be the number you circle. Please make sure that you answer **EVERY ITEM** and that you circle **ONLY ONE** number per item. This is a measure of your personal beliefs; obviously, there are no right or wrong answers.

		SD	MD	D	A	MA	SA
1=STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD) 2=MODERATELY DISAGREE (MD) 3=SLIGHTLY DISAGREE (D)		4=SLIGHTLY AGREE (A) 5=MODERATELY AGREE (MA) 6=STRONGLY AGREE (SA)					
1	If my condition worsens, it is my own behavior which determines how soon I will feel better again.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2	As to my condition, what will be will be.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3	If I see my doctor regularly, I am less likely to have problems with my condition.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4	Most things that affect my condition happen to me by chance.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	Whenever my condition worsens, I should consult a medically trained professional.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6	I am directly responsible for my condition getting better or worse.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	Other people play a big role in whether my condition improves, stays the same, or gets worse.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8	Whatever goes wrong with my condition is my own fault.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9	Luck plays a big part in determining how my condition improves.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10	In order for my condition to improve, it is up to other people to see that the right things happen.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11	Whatever improvement occurs with my condition is largely a matter of good fortune.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12	The main thing which affects my condition is what I myself do.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13	I deserve the credit when my condition improves and the blame when it gets worse.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14	Following doctor's orders to the letter is the best way to keep my condition from	1	2	3	4	5	6

	getting any worse.						
15	If my condition worsens, it's a matter of fate.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16	If I am lucky, my condition will get better.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17	If my condition takes a turn for the worse, it is because I have not been taking proper care of myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18	The type of help I receive from other people determines how soon my condition improves.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Taken from: <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/nursing/kwallston/mhlcformc.htm>



Nutrition & Diet Survey

Thank you for taking time to complete this evaluation.

1. I am: Person with Cancer/Cancer Survivor Spouse/Partner Family Member Friend

2. I have attended a CSC Healthy Cooking Workshop: Yes No

3. What is your main source for nutrition information?

- Books/Literature Doctor/Physician Family and Friends Television/News Media
- Support Groups Registered Dietitian Holistic Nutritionist

4. How much of a role do you believe diet plays in cancer survivorship?

(Very Little) 1	2	3	4	5 (Greatly)
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5. How drastically has your diet changed since you were affected by cancer?

(Very Little) 1	2	3	4	5 (Greatly)
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6. In what ways have you altered your diet? (Check all that apply)

- Added Vitamin Supplements Less Animal Products More Protein More Vegetables
- More Fruit Less Dairy Less Red Meat More Whole Grains Juicing/Smoothies
- Added Fish Oil More Fish Less Carbohydrates Low Fat Less Sugar/Sweeteners
- Other _____

7. How often do you prepare meals at home?

(Very Little) 1	2	3	4	5 (Frequently)
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8. How comfortable are you with cooking and/or trying new and different foods?

(Not very comfortable) 1	2	3	4	5 (Very Comfortable)
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Additional Comments: _____

The Art of Remembering: War Memorials Past and Present

by Angelica Klein

As warfare has changed over the centuries, the voices commemorating wars and conflicts have changed. The approach to these wars and the way we remember them certainly are reflected in the way artists and architects create memorials. Not only do they reflect decisive and difficult events in our history, but also the way society feels toward them. They attempt to combine memory and history. While “memory is life, always embodied in living societies, and as such [is] in permanent evolution [...]. History, [...] is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer.”¹ In comparing memorials in their historical and art historical contexts, we can discover that not only does history have an influence on how they are designed, but that the architect or artist plays an important role in this process. In comparing two exceptional memorials, Maya Lin’s *Vietnam War Memorial* and Jane Hammond’s *Fallen* to classical memorials, the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* and the *National World War Two Memorial*, we can clearly see the changes in how we remember the past and how we perceive past events now. The space and structure of the memorial has changed and is used in different ways to affect the people visiting and remembering the past. Some contemporary memorials are not necessarily built to reflect the unity of a nation or the nobility of a cause; they are meant as a space to remember fallen and missing soldiers and to begin the process of healing wounds the war has left.

The first time I saw *Fallen* was at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 2008. The impression it made on me never faded. I have also seen the *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, the *Tomb of the Unknowns* and the *National World War Two Memorial* in Washington D.C. Considering the reactions I had when seeing these memorials with my reaction to *Fallen*, I thought it would be interesting to discover more about them, historically, socially, and art historically.

To understand the differences in the approaches to memorials, it is important to look at examples that demonstrate key design elements. The *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* at Arlington Cemetery and the *World War Two Memorial Plaza* in Washington D.C. will serve as examples of traditional memorials. Maya Lin’s *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* in Washington D.C. and Jane Hammond’s *Fallen*, in the collection of the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City, and the *Lafayette Crosses* in Lafayette, California will be explored as contemporary memorial paradigms. It is important to bear in mind the historical differences these memorials represent and the way they are remembered. While the First and Second World Wars are triumphs in American history, the Vietnam War was a devastating defeat. The engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan are just concluding. Their historical significance will not be known for many years. How we see these events, the World Wars and the Vietnam War, and how they affected the United States are visualized in the memorials that we’ve erected in their remembrance. We generally think of memorials as static and unchangeable. Jane Hammond’s *Fallen* as well as the *Lafayette Crosses* are memorials that are additive, progressively changing by expansion. They expanded with the seemingly unending events in Afghanistan and Iraq. While the Whitney Museum of American Art has purchased *Fallen*, the fate of the *Lafayette Crosses* is undetermined. *Fallen* will be preserved in its final stage as a work of art. The *Lafayette Crosses*, on the other hand, were made *ad hoc* by a community of protestors, using an agreed-upon format, meant to be ephemeral.

To understand the *National World War Two Memorial* and its symbolism it is important to

¹ Greg Dickinson and others, *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 8.

take a closer look at another classical memorial. The *Tomb of the Unknowns* in Arlington Cemetery honors the unknown soldiers of the First and Second World Wars, as well as the Korean Conflict and the Vietnam War. The remains of an unknown soldier of the First World War are located below the marble cenotaph, a monument that honors a person who is buried somewhere else. In front of the tomb are three crypts covered with large slabs of white marble under which lie the remains of soldiers from the Second World War and the Korean Conflict. The center crypt used to be the final resting place for an unknown soldier of the Vietnam War. DNA identification made it possible to return him to his hometown. While the other two crypts state the Wars and the dates of these conflicts, the empty crypt of the Vietnam War was designated to missing servicemen of all conflicts, present and future.

The memorial shows the traditional aspects of what was expected of a memorial after the First World War. It is placed in front of the Memorial Amphitheater with a twenty-four-hour guard. The memorial itself consists of white marble, which is inscribed on the backside of the cenotaph, facing the amphitheater: "Here Rests In Honored Glory An American Soldier Known But To God". The sides of the cenotaph are divided into three panels, each with a relief of a wreath, shown upside down to symbolize mourning. The wreaths symbolize the six major battlefields of the First World War. The front of the cenotaph displays personifications of peace, victory, and valor. Peace holds a dove, Victory, an olive branch, and Valor, the only male figure, carries a broken sword. Holding hands connect Peace and Victory, while Valor stands by himself facing Victory who extends the olive branch toward him. These figures symbolize the devotion and sacrifice made by fallen soldiers and their courage to make their cause triumphant. The memorial's elements, the wreaths, the inscription, and the symbols are all traditional aspects of a classical monument of this time. The structure and the traditional western motifs date back to antiquity. They are neoclassical motifs borrowed from nineteenth century war monuments such as the *Arc de Triomphe* in Paris or the *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* in Leipzig², which have their earliest expression in Greco-Roman memorial sculpture such as the *Nike of Samothrace* and the *Ara Pacis Augustae* in Rome. The memorial shows war and honoring the dead from a romanticized perspective. The visitor is expected to sense "intangible values like honor, sacrifice and spirit"³. These values continue to be important and determine how we should react in a time of war.

The National World War Two Memorial Plaza, another neo-classical memorial, reflects the same values. Although it was completed in 2004, it does not show the influence of modern, minimalist memorials. It exhibits the same elements as the Arlington memorial, in a much larger and more pompous scale as befits its setting. This massive marble complex located on the National Mall takes up 7.4 acres of land between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. It is framed by two flagpoles, which are decorated with the seals of the United States armed forces that were engaged. The entrance leads down a wide pathway framed with balustrades depicting twenty-four bas-relief scenes of life during the Second World War, the Atlantic theatre on the right and the Pacific on the left. The images are montages based on photographs from the Office of War Information or from sketches made of reenactments of World War Two events. At the end of the walkway the visitor enters the plaza with the Rainbow Pool containing fountains and geysers. The freedom wall is located across the plaza, behind a small reflecting pool. Each of the wall's 4,048 gold stars stands for a hundred fallen troops. To the right and the left of the plaza are two arches symbolizing the Atlantic and Pacific grounds of battle. Closing the Circle between the entrance, the arches and the Freedom Wall are "fifty-six granite stele, representing the forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, and the seven U.S. territories that comprised the nation during World War Two."⁴ To understand the scale of this

² Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: the global rush to commemorate atrocities* (London: Berg Publishers, 2008), 3.

³ Paul Williams, *Memorial Museums: the global rush to commemorate atrocities*, 4.

⁴ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2010), 201.

memorial it helps to visualize the interior space, the space of the Rainbow Pool and the surrounding walkway. It can fit an entire football field inside it.

The neo-classical style of Friedrich St. Florian's design is evident in every detail of the memorial. The two arches representing victory in the Atlantic and Pacific contain bronze sculptures of gigantic eagles clasping a flowing ribbon in their beaks, which supports a victory wreath. Each arch has a small balcony overlooking the pool. These are inscribed with the most prominent battlegrounds of their specific theatre of war. The fifty-six seventeen-foot stele, which are connected by thick steel ropes, are draped with alternating wreaths of oak leaves and wheat spears.

In this memorial, the United States emphatically valorizes great men and the great wars they fought in. These values are seen in the different symbols St. Florian chose to embody the war and what it means to us today. For instance, the oak and wheat wreaths are not randomly chosen for their beauty; they are symbolic. The oak leaves stand for military strength and endurance, while the wheat spears symbolize agricultural abundance and power. The ropes connecting the stele symbolize the closing of ranks against a common enemy. St. Florian's intentions for this memorial are clear and straightforward. He commented that he intended it to be a "timeless Olympus... where America can find its roots."⁵ It is a place of pride and glory.

Looking at the memorial critically, one can clearly see the points critics have made about the memorial's style and the way it wants us to remember the war and the people who fought in it. It is laden with symbols and inscriptions of collective patriotism, describing a national body that made immense sacrifices to protect our nation. The Freedom Wall, the wall of stars located at the front center of the memorial plaza, doesn't name the 405,973 fallen soldiers. It diminishes the number to 4,048 stars, molding them into an anonymous patriotic mass. It condenses each fallen soldier into a national body of golden stars. The idea of symbolizing the fallen soldiers with gold stars originated from a practice during the war itself. Families would hang a gold star in their window to show that they had lost a family member. The inscription at the Freedom Wall reads: "Here we mark the price of freedom." This is a phrase that has been used in many memorials, speeches, and obituaries. Similar inscriptions are placed throughout the memorial, reinforcing its focus: collective effort and national unity. Walking through the memorial, the visitor passes inscriptions reading: "they fought together," "we are determined," and "the eyes of the world are upon you." These elements, the nameless soldiers lumped together on an anonymous wall, the grandiose design, and the neo-classical structures don't portray what happened and what these symbols mean. Visitors are overwhelmed by all the unclear messages they are receiving and are "given no explanation of the awful math behind the flashy display."⁶ Without knowledge of classical vocabulary it is difficult for visitors to understand what they are seeing. Very few understand that the wall of stars symbolizes the fallen soldiers and some only understand the order of the pillars as a symbol of the order of admission into the union. The visitor's center offers touchscreen computers that are linked to a World War Two Veteran database, but is insufficient to help people understand the memorial's implicit messages. Many visitors see this display of national unity and romanticized heroism and are incapable of understanding the consequences and the aftermath the war had on our society.

Another interesting aspect of the *National World War Two Memorial* is the way people are led through their grieving process. Most modern memorials encourage people to leave flowers or small mementos. The visitors at the *National World War Two Memorial* are asked not

⁵ Thomas B. Grooms, *World War Two Memorial* (Washington D.C.: U.S. General Services Administration, 2004), 25; Friedrich St Florian, remarks made at Art, politics and Process: Creating the National World War Two Memorial symposium, Washington D.C., April 22, 2004, quoted in Erika Doss, 201.

⁶ David S. Broder, "A Fitting, if Flawed, Tribute," *Washington Post*, May 27, 2007, quoted in Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 203.

to throw coins in the fountain or leave flowers at the wall of stars, because it provides a “complete record” of the war. This implies that they believe there is no need to individualize the mourning of the dead. Instead the memorial plaza is meant to celebrate the awesome power of the United States and the glory of a great victory. It is not an inviting or contemplative place; it overwhelms with granite and symbolic gestures. It also does not portray a sense of the war’s history or why so many lives were lost. All of the components, the symbolism and the inscriptions, clearly show that it was not meant as a memorial to the people who lost their lives, but to celebrate the great generation that won the war. As St. Florian said, it is a memorial meant to instruct a future generation when facing similar threats. Visiting this memorial they should think: “if that happens again, I will do the same thing.”⁷ It is meant to thank the “greatest generation” for their services and to reconfigure contemporary understandings of national purpose and identity. By doing this double duty, it sheds a new light on the fight against terrorism, reflecting on the commitment and courage of previous generations in the fight against evil, which makes it very different from the *Tomb of the Unknowns*. Although they share design elements, the *Tomb of the Unknowns* serves one purpose – to commemorate the sacrifice of the soldiers. “Imperialism, militarism, and hyper-masculinity are all key to the *National World War Two Memorial*, with its Roman Imperial motifs, acres of bright white stone, multiple quotes from great men, and its blatant emphasis in both design and mission statement on the ‘awesome power’ of the United States.”⁸ Showing the Second World War as a bloodless victory shows neither how nor why so many died. The subtext of the memorial implies that the United States single-handedly won a war against an unspecified enemy and with the shameless celebration of the virtues of war it speaks to a dominant military attitude.

Having discussed memorials using classical design elements, and the commemorative purposes they serve, we’ll take a closer look at contemporary memorials and their very different approach to contemplating war and remembering the tragedies and losses they represent.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial was established in 1982 to honor the U.S. service members who fought, died, or went missing during the Vietnam War. It consists of three parts, the *Veteran’s Memorial*, two intersecting walls of granite set directly into the earth, the *Three Soldiers* statue, and the *Vietnam Women’s Memorial*. After resistance to Maya Lin’s abstract proposal was too strong to ignore, the Federal Arts Commission, in charge of building and approving the design of memorials, compromised by adding two additional components in forms of figurative sculptures to the memorial.⁹ These statues are more traditional memorials. *The Soldiers* by Frederick Hart shows three soldiers, representing both different armed forces and ethnicities. It was added in 1984. *The Vietnam Women’s Memorial* was not completed until 1993. Glenna Goodacre originally proposed a Vietnamese baby in the nurse’s arms. Although she did not intend it to be a political statement, it was seen as such. The nurse now holds a wounded American soldier. As much as these additions were intended to console those against Lin’s design, today they vanish into the background. A closer look at these statues shows distinct differences in their concepts. The statue depicting the three soldiers expresses ideas of masculinity, emphasizing unity, strength, and brotherhood. It is placed in a wooded area, with low bushes surrounding it, setting it apart from the visitor. Glenna Goodacre’s design, on the other hand, is on a low, round pedestal, a shape often associated with the feminine. Additionally the statue is set in a small plaza, accessible from all directions, allowing the visitor to get close.

Maya Lin’s design is drastically different from the two sculptures. *The Vietnam Veterans*

⁷ Thomas B. Grooms, *World War Two Memorial* (Washington D.C.: U.S. General Services Administration, 2004), 80; Friedrich St Florian, remarks made at Art, politics and Process: Creating the National World War Two Memorial symposium, Washington D.C., April 22, 2004, quoted in Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 206.

⁸ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 213.

⁹ Molotsky, “Changes Set in Viet Memorial.”

Memorial is one of the most renowned and emulated of this style of memorial. Its minimal, straightforward design and the elimination of any bravado make it very different from any of the fore-mentioned memorials. Lin's intervention is very unobtrusive in the landscape and, when seen from above, does not catch the eye as the *National World War Two Memorial* does. The earth drops to reveal the panels of the fallen and missing soldiers. The visitor enters the memorial and follows the downward sloping path along the panels. Each panel measures 250 feet in length and starts at a height of eight inches on the outside and at its deepest it measures almost ten feet. The lowest point symbolizes the highest number of casualties. Then the path takes an upward slope and brings the visitor back into the sunlight, into reality. Walking alongside the panels the visitor walks beside and sees the names of the 58,195 fallen and missing soldiers of the Vietnam War. This memorial is meant as testimony to the lives lost, not to the glory of war. The concept was purposefully chosen to reflect the need to heal and reunite a nation split by this war and its aftermath. The cut in the landscape reveals Lin's intentions for her design. While reading the names of the fallen soldiers the visitor sees his own reflection in the polished black granite and cannot escape connecting with the memorial itself. Every single name becomes an individual, even if one has not lost a family member or a friend, one can connect with the immense loss and sadness that this war caused. The main focus is on felt experience, encouraging people to touch names, make copies of them and to leave flowers and tokens. Lin stated that she "didn't want a static object that people would just look at, but something they could relate to as on a journey, or a passage... I had an impulse to cut open the earth... an initial violence that in time would heal."¹⁰

The *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* was not intended as a social critique or a political statement. Its restrained nature was meant to be a step toward national reconciliation after a much despised and protested war. The inscription on the memorial underlines this purpose: "our nation remembers the courage, sacrifice, and devotion to duty and country of its Vietnam veterans". The incantatory fashion in which the names are listed acknowledges the trauma and wounds that the war inflicted on society, but avoids any assessment of the war and how it disturbed and divided the nation. It was never called a *war memorial*, but rather a *veteran's memorial*. "This memorial with its wall of names becomes a place of quiet and reflection, and a tribute to those who served their nation in difficult times. All who come here can find it a place of healing."¹¹ Inscribing the names of every individual lost is an acknowledgement of their death. Although it was one of the requirements of the competition, Lin made it the most important feature of her design. By foregrounding individuals, she heightened the importance given to them, asserting their existence. They are not merely casualties, but witnesses to what happened, the evidence of the war. Even though the visitor gets a sense of the individuals, he also sees the overwhelming number of casualties. Joining these names, these individuals, into one unit is a powerful reminder of what was lost.

A closer look at Lin's design reveals that contemporary art and the growing movement of monumental public art in the 1980s influenced her. Especially Richard Serra's massive steel constructions, like the *Tilted Arch* from 1981, can be seen in Lin's work, not just in the idea, but also in the role of the viewer when seeing the massive black granite wall. Serra's works, like Lin's design, shows a "kind of dynamism (which) seem, at first, as reductive and self-contained as most Minimal sculpture, but which in fact draw the spectator into a much more engaged relationship."¹² Their works require the viewer to enter them and engage with them. Due to the sheer size, the materials, and the angles used, these works draw the spectator in, not only to

¹⁰ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 128.

¹¹ "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Design Competition: Design Program" (1980), as noted in Abrahamson, "Maya Lin and the 1960's," 685-87, 701, quoted in Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 130.

¹² Terry Smith. *Contemporary Art: World Currents* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2011), 66.

experience the environment, but also to measure oneself in and with the work.

Even more recent is Jane Hammond's *Fallen*, a memorial to the soldiers that lost their lives in the Iraq war. At first glance, it is an uncontested scene of beauty, hundreds of fallen leaves, all shapes and colors, on a low white platform. The platform makes her work accessible, similar to Glenna Goodacre's *Vietnam Women's Memorial*. Looking closer at the leaves one can see that every leaf has a name written on it, representing a fallen soldier. For each fallen soldier since the invasion of Iraq in 2004, Hammond selected a leaf out of her collection, copied it precisely onto paper, so that front and back align perfectly, and then carefully cut it out to show all its edges and imperfections. She then proceeds to color the edges, so that any sign of paper is eliminated, and touches up the veins and other details. After writing a name on it, it is reshaped to resemble the original leaf.

This idea of accumulation can be seen in many other artist's approaches to a variety of subjects. An almost overwhelming collection of items can be seen in Ann Hamilton's *indigo blue* from 1991/2007, in which she formed a semi truck sized pile of blue work clothes on a low steel platform. The original installation was based in Charleston at an old carriage house on Pinckney Street. "Appropriately, Pinckney Street was named for Eliza Pinckney who, while running her father's plantation, introduced indigo to Charleston in 1744."¹³ Obscured from view, "an attendant sat and erased slim blue books at a table borrowed from the central market, which formerly housed one of Charleston's pre-Civil War slave markets."¹⁴ The eraser waste accumulated over the duration of the showing.

Accumulation is a very powerful way of showing the number of fallen soldiers. While the *National World War Two Memorial* lumps the fallen into a group of golden stars, Hammond highly individualizes every leaf and shows them spread out on a low platform. Sadly, the more soldiers died, the more powerful her work became.

The first showing of *Fallen* included approximately fifteen hundred leaves. As the war continued the platform expanded to fit the growing number. It started at a length of twelve feet and is now a little over twenty-four feet long. As of November 14th, 2011 there were 4,483 casualties reported. The longer the war lasted and the more soldiers died, the larger this memorial was; it grew with the list of fallen soldiers and wasn't considered complete until the war had officially ended. Unlike the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* and *The National World War Two Memorial* this memorial is not concerned at all with honoring the heroes of great wars and speaking to a national war ethos. The only concern is to honor the fallen. "The light and delicate materials subvert the traditional expectations of enduring materials such as bronze and stone in favor of an expression of the fragility and ephemerality of life."¹⁵

Unlike Andy Goldsworthy, another contemporary artist who has used autumn leaves, Hammond creates the leaves and therefore keeps them from disappearing. While Goldsworthy creates images using real leaves and documents his artwork through photography, Hammond creates a simulacrum of the actual leaves. By reproducing the leaves, Hammond makes them durable; they won't fade away, just as we should always remember the soldiers that have given their lives.

Hammond does not comment on the war, expose any political views or agendas. As with Lin's *Memorial*, the inscription on the wall shines a light on the purpose of *Fallen*. It reads: "Each unique leaf has been inscribed by the artist with the name of a U.S. soldier killed in Iraq." It then states the amount of leaves that were on exhibit when the exhibition started. Nothing else is said; visitors are left alone with their thoughts, contemplating the symbolism of the word

¹³ Ann Hamilton, "indigo blue". Ann Hamilton, <http://www.annhamiltonstudio.com/projects/indigoblue.html>

¹⁴ Ann Hamilton "indigo blue". Ann Hamilton, <http://www.annhamiltonstudio.com/projects/indigoblue.html>

¹⁵ Jane Hammond "Fallen". FLAG Art Foundation, <http://www.flagartfoundation.org/exhibition/70/description>

“fallen” and the cycle of life that the fallen leaves reflect. Critics might say that she is sentimentalizing death, aestheticizing the image of loss. One might also think that by obscuring the names, she is not truly listing them the same way Lin does and therefore doesn’t honor them in the same way. These criticisms might be valid, but they dismiss the artist’s intent and her very truthful and sensitive way in trying to grasp the number of fallen soldiers.

Similar to Hammond’s memorial are the *Lafayette Crosses*, which are set up on a hillside in California. They too serve the sole purpose of honoring the fallen. Looking up from the street the visitor can see thousands of white markers echoing the fields of markers seen in many military cemeteries. Every cross represents a fallen soldier of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. This memorial started as a protest as well as a reminder not to forget that the number of casualties represents the fallen. Looking closely one notices that among the crosses are also Stars of David and sickles to honor not only the Christians serving in this war, but also other religious affiliations that make up our country’s mixed society and armed forces. Although it doesn’t name the soldiers, it aims to show the numbers of lives lost. The sign at the top of the hill reads: “In Memory of our Troops” and then shows the current number of fatalities. Although many of the markers are painted white, some have names written on them and flowers and pictures in front of them. The site of protest has become a place of remembrance that friends and family can visit to mourn their loved ones. Unlike Lin’s and Hammond’s approach, the *Lafayette Crosses* were erected with a political message. The controversy it brought up has united both sides in realizing that no matter whether you support or oppose the war, it is important not to forget the people who have lost their lives because of it. *The Lafayette Crosses*, as well as *Fallen*, show us that modern memorials in our society are not necessarily granite or marble structures, but instinctively grow out of society when we see a need for them. The need of a single artist or a group of people to show their concern or share their emotions with a community is important to many of us.

Studying these memorials, it becomes evident that they are different in more than just the way they were designed. While the traditional neo-classical *Memorial to the Unknown Soldiers* was built to celebrate the honor and the sacrifice of their courageous deeds, the *National World War Two Memorial* uses these same symbolic elements and emphasizes patriotism and a glorious generation that won the Great War. Both memorials romanticize war and especially the *National World War Two Memorial* glorifies victory and valor. By elevating these aspects they portray war as bloodless and deemphasize the many lives that were lost.

The *Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, *Fallen*, and the *Lafayette Crosses* show a different picture of how society today commemorates wars. Lin had certain guidelines to consider. Although she was not the first to include a list of the fallen soldiers’ names, she did choose to make the display of the names the most important part of the memorial, without neo-classical symbols that glorify death and brutality. These memorials reflect the reality of war, the lives that were lost to defend our cause. Unlike traditional memorials, contemporary memorials don’t reflect upon the war, but remind us of the men and women who lost their lives. Even if the *Lafayette Crosses* started as a protest, it nevertheless connects the people passing it and visiting it, and makes them realize that, despite their position pro or con, they can agree that every fallen soldier is one too many. All three of these memorials stress the individual within the collective. *Fallen* is not just a memorial to the fallen soldiers which shows us the number of lives that have been lost, but must also be seen in an art context. Unlike the other memorials, it is displayed in galleries and museums, not where one can pass it on the street. Her work is also not touchable; the viewer can’t approach it the way they might with other memorials, no matter what style and agenda they may have. Art removes it from the sphere of the public and brings it into a narrower cultural context.

What makes Maya Lin’s and Jane Hammond’s works especially powerful is the extra step they go in naming the dead. This show of individuals adds an extremely personal note to the numbers. They are actual people, sons and daughters, fathers and mothers. Even if you don’t know them, naming them makes them real and brings forth a different, much deeper, emotional reaction than a wall of stars or a field of crosses ever will. Although the *Lafayette*

Crosses show that society has changed over the last century in how we see war and how we display and process our losses, I believe that especially women have brought these aspects to the forefront. The attempt to include everyone in the mourning process by naming the fallen and giving them individuality, unseen in the *Tomb of the Unknowns* and the *National World War Two Memorial* shows a different understanding of memory and history. If a person seeing one of these memorials didn't lose a family member or friend in the Vietnam or Iraq War, they are compelled to partake in the mourning process. This shows that women take a different position in how we remember history. Although this is not a distinctly female tendency, but a growing consensus among the population, it shows a clear shift from using neo-classical clichés glorifying the past to using design and art to commemorate and make us aware of specific lives that have been lost. These tendencies to show the individual within the group have become more important in our society and are especially recognizable in the powerful works of both Maya Lin and Jane Hammond.

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Maya Lin
Vietnam Veterans Memorial
Washington D.C.
Black granite
1982

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Maya Lin
Vietnam Veterans Memorial
Washington D.C.
Black granite
1982
Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Own image. August, 2010



Maya Lin
 Vietnam Veterans Memorial (detail)
 Washington D.C.
 1982

“Maya Lin, Vietnam Veterans Memorial”,
<http://www.klopex.com/pictures/2005/memorials/memorials4.html>



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The Soldiers
 1984

“Frederick Hart, Three Soldiers”,
http://www.wallpaperweb.org/wallpaper/miscellaneous/the-three-soldiers-vietnam-veterans-memorial-washington-dc_21195.htm



Glenna Goodacre
Vietnam Women's Memorial
1993
"Glenna Goodacre, Vietnam Women's Memorial",
http://dc.about.com/od/monumentphotos/ss/VietnamMemPts_5.htm



Richard Serra
Tilted Arc
1981
Federal Plaza, New York
Cor-Ten steel
36.5 m x 3.66m x 6.3cm
"Richard Serra, Tilted Arc", <http://youcallthatart.net/tag/1-for-art-law/>



Jane Hammond

Fallen

2004–ongoing

Inkjet prints, printed from digital file recto and verso, cut, with matt medium, Jade glue, fiberglass strands, sumi ink, and additional handwork in acrylic paint and gouache
dimensions variable.

“Jane Hammond, *Fallen*”, http://wapedia.mobi/en/Jane_Hammond



Jane Hammond

Fallen

2004–ongoing

Inkjet prints, printed from digital file recto and verso, cut, with matt medium, Jade glue, fiberglass strands, sumi ink, and additional handwork in acrylic paint and gouache
dimensions variable.

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

Installation view, *Two Years*, 2007-2008 at the Whitney Museum of Art.

“Jane Hammond, *Fallen*”, <http://whitney.org/Collection/JaneHammond>



Jane Hammond

Fallen

2004–ongoing

Inkjet prints, printed from digital file recto and verso, cut, with matt medium, Jade glue, fiberglass strands, sumi ink, and additional handwork in acrylic paint and gouache
dimensions variable

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

“Jane Hammond, *Fallen*”, <http://whitney.org/Collection/JaneHammond>



Jane Hammond

Fallen

2004–ongoing

Inkjet prints, printed from digital file recto and verso, cut, with matt medium, Jade glue, fiberglass strands, sumi ink, and additional handwork in acrylic paint and gouache
dimensions variable

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

"*Fallen*" at the Wexner Center for the Arts, Columbus, OH, in 2008

“Jane Hammond, *Fallen*”, <http://www.janehammondartist.com/text/news.html>



Jane Hammond

Fallen

2004–ongoing

Inkjet prints, printed from digital file recto and verso, cut, with matt medium, Jade glue, fiberglass strands, sumi ink, and additional handwork in acrylic paint and gouache
dimensions variable.

Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

Installation view at the FLAG Art Foundation, 2011.

“Jane Hammond, *Fallen*”, <http://www.janehammondartist.com/text/news.html>



Ann Hamilton

indigo blue

1991/2007

blue work clothing, steel and wood base, wood table, chair, light bulb, books (military regulation manuals, blue bindings), saliva, pink pearl erasers, erasures, net sack, soybeans

Collection of San Francisco Museum of Art

“Ann Hamilton, *indigo blue*”, <http://www.annhamiltonstudio.com/projects/indigoblue.html>



Lafayette Crosses
Lafayette, California
2006 – ongoing
“Lafayette Crosses”, http://www.schweich.com/imagehtml/IMG_0466sm.html



Lafayette Crosses (detail)
Lafayette, California
2006 – ongoing
“Lafayette Crosses”, http://www.upi.com/News_Photos/gallery/May-25-2009/1935/1

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-

Characterization of the Tissue Distribution of the Three Splicing Variants of LAMP-2

by *Fiorella Villar*

Abstract

Malfunctioning proteins are often accumulated in the cytosol of aged cells (1). These proteins are continuously being removed through various degradation processes such as autophagy (2). Chaperone-mediated autophagy (CMA) is a generalized proteolytic mechanism that is mainly responsible for the degradation of 30% of the cytosolic proteins. It requires binding to a lysosomal-associated membrane protein type 2A (LAMP-2A) (3). However, there is no research concerning the role of the other two isoforms of LAMP-2 (B and C). Moreover, the baseline concentration for these variants has not been established in tissues other than the liver. This study was conducted to establish that baseline for 7 different mouse tissues. The samples were analyzed to ascertain the levels of each LAMP-2 variant in tissues from several wild-type mice by electrophoresis and immunoblot. Acid precipitation was also used to optimize the samples for electrophoresis. Densitometric quantifications of the immunoblots revealed that the LAMP-2 variants are expressed differently in the 7 tissues tested. These results are promising because they support the existence of functional differences among the different LAMP-2 isoforms, possibly attributing to the different metabolic requirements of each tissue. This is the first study to document concentrations of all LAMP-2 isoforms in different tissues. This information will facilitate future research on age-related changes in these isoforms and on the functional consequence of those changes.

Introduction

Malfunctioning or aberrant proteins are often accumulated in the cytosol of senescent cells (1). These damaged proteins are continuously being removed from inside the cells through various degradation processes by different intracellular proteolytic systems (2). Generally, rates of intracellular protein degradation decrease with age leading to the accumulation of damaged proteins and causing aberrant effects in cellular function (3). Of the different proteolytic systems, the lysosomal system appears to be the most severely impaired with age (4). Chaperone-mediated autophagy (CMA) is a generalized proteolytic mechanism that is mainly responsible for the degradation of approximately 30% of the cytosolic proteins (3). It is activated under conditions of stress such as nutrient deprivation, where it is maximally stimulated, oxidative stress, and toxin exposure (7). Degradation of cytosolic proteins by CMA requires binding to a lysosomal receptor, the lysosome-associated membrane protein type 2A (LAMP-2A). The activity of CMA is modulated by changes in LAMP-2A levels at the lysosomal membrane (8).

Continued removal of minimally damaged proteins is crucial in preventing their future accumulation inside cells. Failure of CMA with age can contribute to the intracellular accumulation of abnormal proteins (4) not only because some damaged proteins are normally degraded by CMA, but also because prolonging the time unmodified substrates for CMA remain in the cytosol will increase their probability of becoming irreversibly modified (9). Recent studies have found that lysosomes from old rodent tissues and aged human fibroblasts contain a decreased level of the receptor LAMP-2A, which accounts for the decline of CMA (10).

The LAMP-2 gene gives rise to three different protein products LAMP-2A, B, and C through alternative splicing (11). LAMP-2A has been shown to be the receptor for CMA but as of now, there is no literature documenting the function of the other two LAMP-2 variants. It is important to know if they are related to autophagy since a relationship between CMA and macroautophagy has been established and it is important to know if any changes that are

induced in LAMP-2A are affecting the function of LAMP-2B and LAMP-2C. The Albert Einstein Laboratory has extensive data concerning the role and the levels of LAMP-2A in liver tissue; however, it lacks data on the behavior of LAMP-2A in other tissues and of the other LAMP-2 variants in all other tissues but liver (12). This study was conducted to establish baseline concentrations for all three LAMP-2 isoforms in tissue samples from mouse liver, brain, skeletal muscle, kidney, heart, lung, and spleen.

Methodology

Sample processing and preparation

Samples of murine liver, brain, skeletal muscle (SKM), kidney, heart, lung, and spleen from 5 different mice (FBV mouse strain; male, 3-4 months age) that were in cold storage (-80° C) at the laboratory of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine were provided prior to experiment. Each tissue was weighted in order to calculate the level of protein per gram of tissue as well as their mean-value (Fig.1). The tissues were then homogenized in a teflon/glass motorized homogenizer in 0.25M sucrose. The concentration of protein in the homogenates (in μg) was determined using a colorimetric assay (Lowry assay).

Acid Precipitation

To improve the electrophoretic resolution of the samples, they were subjected to acid precipitation. Briefly, the proteins were precipitated with 10% Trichloroacetic Acid (TCA) so that molecules such as lipids and nucleic acids could be separated from the proteins. This was done by loading 200 μg of each sample tissue into seven different microtubes labeled accordingly. Water was added to the microtubes until the samples reached a volume of 20 μl . An equal volume of solubilizing buffer (RIPA: 150mM NaCl, 0.1% SDS, 0.5% sodium deoxycholate, 1% Nonidet P-40 and 50 mM Tris pH 8) was added, and the samples were vortexed. The microtubes were then placed on an ice rack for 15 minutes to allow them to solubilize.

After this, they were placed in a centrifuge at 4°C and spun at 16,000g for 15 minutes. The supernatant was collected and placed in new microtubes labeled accordingly. Water was added to each new microtube until the volume reached 100 μl . An additional 100 μl of TCA 20% was added to each microtube. The samples were then vortexed and set in an ice rack for 30 minutes. They were spun under the same conditions as before; however, this time the supernatant was aspirated, leaving only the pellet, which contained the proteins free of lipids and nucleic acid. Then 200 μl of acetone were added to each pellet. The microtubes were spun a third time, placed in the fume hood for 5 minutes until the acetone had completely evaporated and finally, 200 μl of water were added to each sample. A Lowry assay was conducted a second time on the samples to determine the amount of protein that was lost during the acid precipitation washing. The results of this are labeled in Figure 1.

Protein Electrophoresis

For each tissue, 150 μg of protein from the acid precipitation wash were loaded into four 10% SDS-acrylamide gels with a molecular weight marker (to estimate the molecular weight of the proteins of interest) where they were subjected to Sodium Dodecyl Sulphate Polyacrylamide Gel Electrophoresis (SDS-PAGE). This separated the proteins in the tissue samples according to their respective molecular weight. One of those four gels was taken out and placed in a

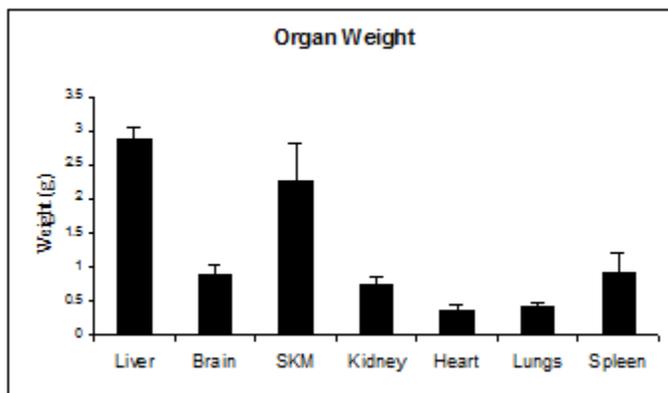


Fig. 1: Organ Weight of tissue samples

Coomassie blue staining solution for 10 minutes and then washed with destaining solution (50% methanol, 10% acetic acid) to clear the background of the gel to observe the bands. Once this was done, it was washed in water and a picture was taken so it could later be used as a control against a gel that was loaded with non-acid precipitated proteins.

Immunoblot

As for the remaining 3 gels, they were set to transfer into 3 nitrocellulose membranes in a transferring apparatus overnight. The membranes were then removed from the apparatus and washed in Tween-Tris Buffered Saline 1x (TTBS) for 5 minutes. They were marked by cutting the ends of the membranes for identification. Then they were placed in 20ml of 5% nonfat dried milk (NFDM) freshly made in TTBS and set to block at room temperature for one hour or overnight at 4°C in a rotating shaker. After this was done, they were washed with TTBS for 5 minutes before they were incubated overnight, one with the LAMP-2A primary antibody diluted 1:10,000 in 3% Bovine Serum Albumin (BSA) in TTBS, the second with the LAMP-2B diluted 1:2,000 and the third with the LAMP-2C diluted 1:4,000. The disparity between the dilution ratios is due to the strength of each specific antibody. These three antibodies were developed in the Cuervo Laboratory of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University through the immunization of rabbits with peptides with the amino acid composition of the 12 residues at the cytosolic tail of each of the LAMP-2 variants. The membranes were washed for 5 minutes with TTBS and incubated one hour at room temperature with the secondary antibody conjugated to horseradish peroxidase (HPR) in the dilution 1:10,000 in NFDM. Then they were washed 3 times for 15 minutes each time in TTBS.

For developing of the Western Blot, an equal ratio of Western Lighting and Enhance Luminol Reagent Oxidizing Agent (Perkin Elmer, Wellesley, MA) was combined for each membrane. Each membrane was placed in a plastic wrap facing up and this mixture was placed on them for exactly one minute. The membranes were dried off with a filtering paper and completely wrapped in the plastic. Four radiographic films were then placed on the covered membranes and pressed in a film cassette with fluorescence enhancer screen for 20 seconds, 1 minute, 5 minutes, and 10 minutes, respectively. These different exposure times are done to guarantee that each gel contains an exposure in which all of the bands are visible but none of them are saturated. Absence of saturation is an essential requirement for accurate quantification. The films were then passed through a standard developing machine that revealed the location of the bands where the different LAMP-2 isoforms are found.

A similar procedure was used for the detection of actin by western blot. The membranes were incubated in NFDM for one hour at room temperature and washed in TTBS for 5 minutes. The Actin antibody (Biolegends, San Diego, CA) was added to each membrane in a dilution 1:10,000 in 3% BSA in TTBS for one hour at room temperature. The membranes were then washed in TTBS for 5 minutes and the secondary antibody, anti-Mouse conjugated to alkaline phosphatase (AP), was added to each membrane in a ratio of 1:7,500 in NFDM for one hour. After this, 10ml AP Buffer (100mM Tris-HCl pH 9.5, 100mM NaCl, 50 mM MgCl₂) were added to each membrane and they were incubated for 20 minutes. Finally, 2ml of the developing agents 5-bromo-4-chloro-3-indolyl phosphate (BCIP) and nitroblue tetrazolium (NBT) were added in an equal ratio and the membranes were incubated for 15 minutes or until bands were displayed.

Statistical Analysis

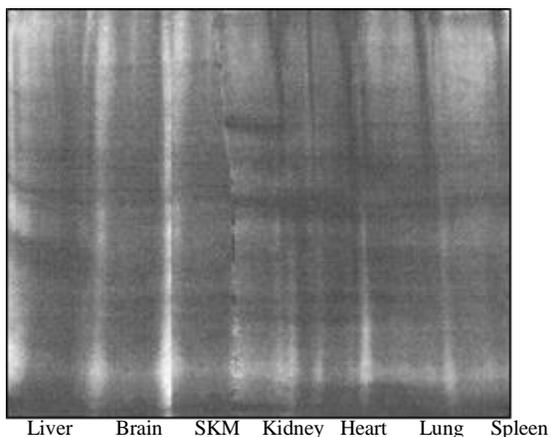
To adjust for variability in the loading of the sample, the LAMP-2 bands were normalized to that of actin (a housekeeping protein with constant levels in all tissues). Theoretically, the bands of the Actin antibody should be equivalent to one another because 150µg of each tissue sample was loaded into each gel. To ensure this is what occurred, the intensity of the bands was calculated by taking a picture of the bands on the film and subjecting them to densitometry in an Image Analyzer (AlphaNotech, Temecula, CA). The Image Analyzer software allowed the measurement of the area and intensity (integrative density volume) of protein in each band. This entire procedure was repeated four additional times in the case of LAMP-2A and 5 in that of

LAMP-2B and LAMP-2C to ensure reproducibility. The results of the densitometry analyses were normalized and the mean-value and standard error for each protein was calculated for tissue samples from the 5 mice. Statistical significance was determined using student t-test for non-paired values.

Results

Liver homogenates have been shown to be easily resolved electrophoretically by solubilization directly in Laemli buffer; however, when these procedures were applied to other tissues it was found that the abundance of lipids in some of the samples resulted in many lanes (Fig. 2A). Proper electrophoretic resolution is required for accurate quantification of the levels of different proteins, in this case, LAMP-2A, B and C in each sample. In order to optimize the conditions for the sample preparations, they were subjected to acid precipitation (to remove most of the lipids in the sample) followed by a neutralizing wash with acetone. This procedure improved the resolution of the electrophoretic pattern in almost all tissues and revealed a very distinct electrophoretic protein patterns for each of them (Fig. 2B).

Fig. 2A



2B

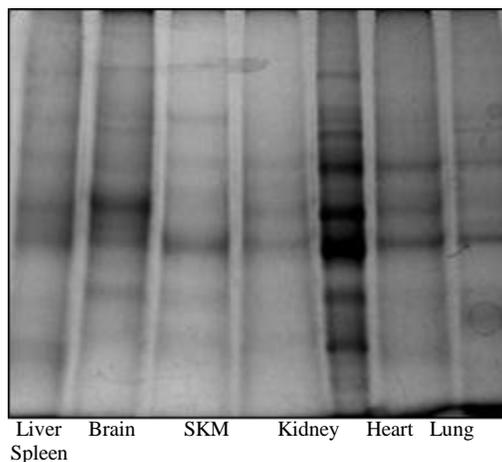
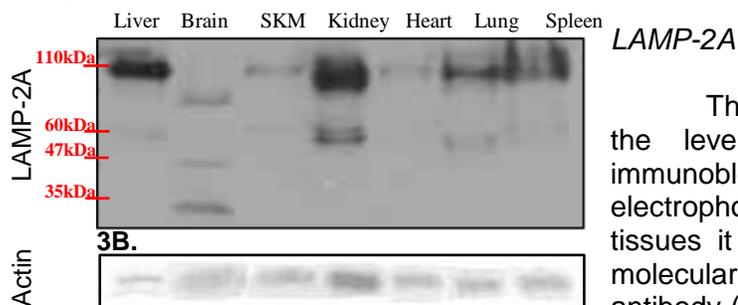


Fig 2. A. Electrophoretic resolution of homogenate samples from liver, brain, skeletal muscle (SKM), kidney, heart, lung, and spleen tissues. **B.** Electrophoretic resolution of acid precipitated samples of homogenate liver, brain, SKM, kidney, heart, lung, and spleen tissue.

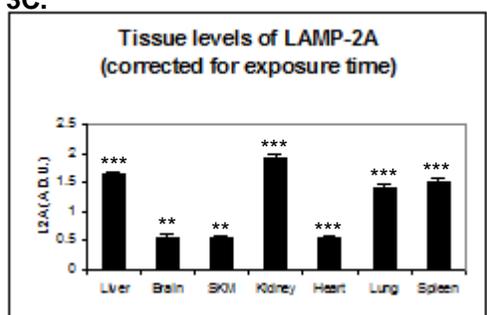
Fig. 3A.



The samples that were used for the analysis of the levels of the different LAMP-2 isoforms by immunoblot were subjected to acid precipitation prior to electrophoresis in order to improve their resolution. In all tissues it was noted that a band of about 110 kDa of molecular weight was selectively recognized by the antibody (Fig 3A.). In other tissues such as brain, kidney, lung and spleen, the presence of other bands were also observed at 60, 47, and 35 kDa. These were considered to be forms of LAMP-2A partially glycosilated since LAMP-2A has an estimated molecular weight of 40kDa but reaches the 110kDa through glycosilation.

3B.

3C.



3D.

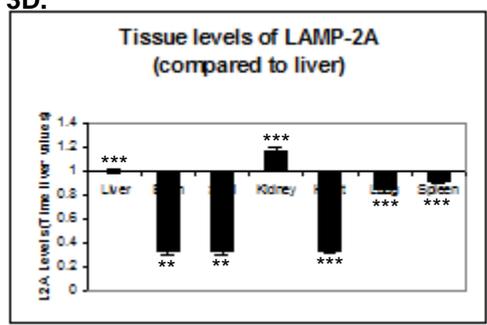


Fig. 3: **A.** Levels of LAMP-2A in different tissues. Homogenates (150 µg protein) of the indicated mouse tissue were subjected to SDS-PAGE and immunoblot for LAMP-2A. Levels of LAMP-2A in each sample were quantified by densitometry. **B.** Representative immunoblot showing actin levels as loading control. **C.** Mean value of the levels of LAMP-2A in different tissues (values are mean + S.E. of four different experiments). **D.** Values of LAMP-2A in different tissues relative to those in liver. Significant differences with the values are indicated with * (*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001).

Quantitative analysis of LAMP-2A through densitometry in the same amount of protein from the tissues revealed that LAMP-2A is broadly distributed, as it can be detected in almost all tissues, but it is particularly abundant in tissues such as liver, kidney, lung and spleen (Fig. 3C.).

When the values in each tissue were compared to those detected in liver since it is the tissue with the most literature, it was found that levels of LAMP-2A in brain, skeletal muscle or heart were 0.4 times lower than those in liver (60% decrease) (Fig. 3D.).

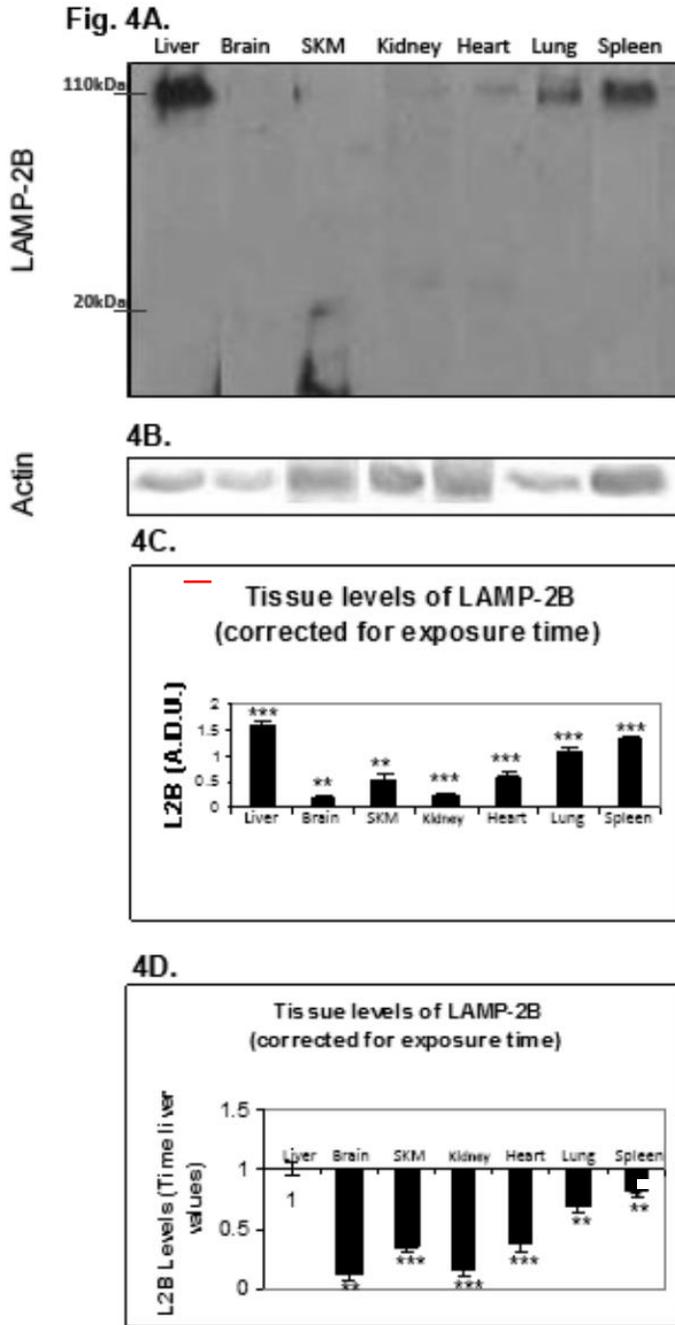


Fig. 4: **A.** Levels of LAMP-2B in different tissues. Homogenates (150 µg protein) of the indicated mouse tissues were subjected to SDS-PAGE and immunoblot for LAMP-2B. Levels of LAMP-2B in each sample were quantified by densitometry. **B.** Representative immunoblot showing actin levels as loading control. **C.** Mean value of the levels of LAMP-2B in different tissues. Values are mean + S.E. of four different experiments. **D.** Values of LAMP-2B in different tissues relative to those in liver. Significant differences with the values are indicated by * (*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ****p<0.001).

LAMP-2B

Immunoblot of similar samples for LAMP-2B revealed a band of about 110 kDa in samples from liver, heart, lung, and spleen (Fig. 3A). In SKM tissue, the presence of a partially deglycosylated band form of the protein, of about 20 kDa, was observed.

Quantitative analysis LAMP-2B through densitometry, in the same amount of protein from each of the tissues, revealed that LAMP-2B is particularly abundant in liver, lung and spleen, and it can also be detected in skeletal muscle and heart. Levels of this isoform are very low in brain and kidney (Fig. 4C). When the values in each tissue were compared to those found in liver it was found that levels of LAMP-2B in all tissues are lower than in liver. This supports a very important role for macroautophagy in liver, the organ that will provide amino acids to the other tissues when nutrients are scarce through the degradation of its own proteins (Fig. 4D).

LAMP-2C

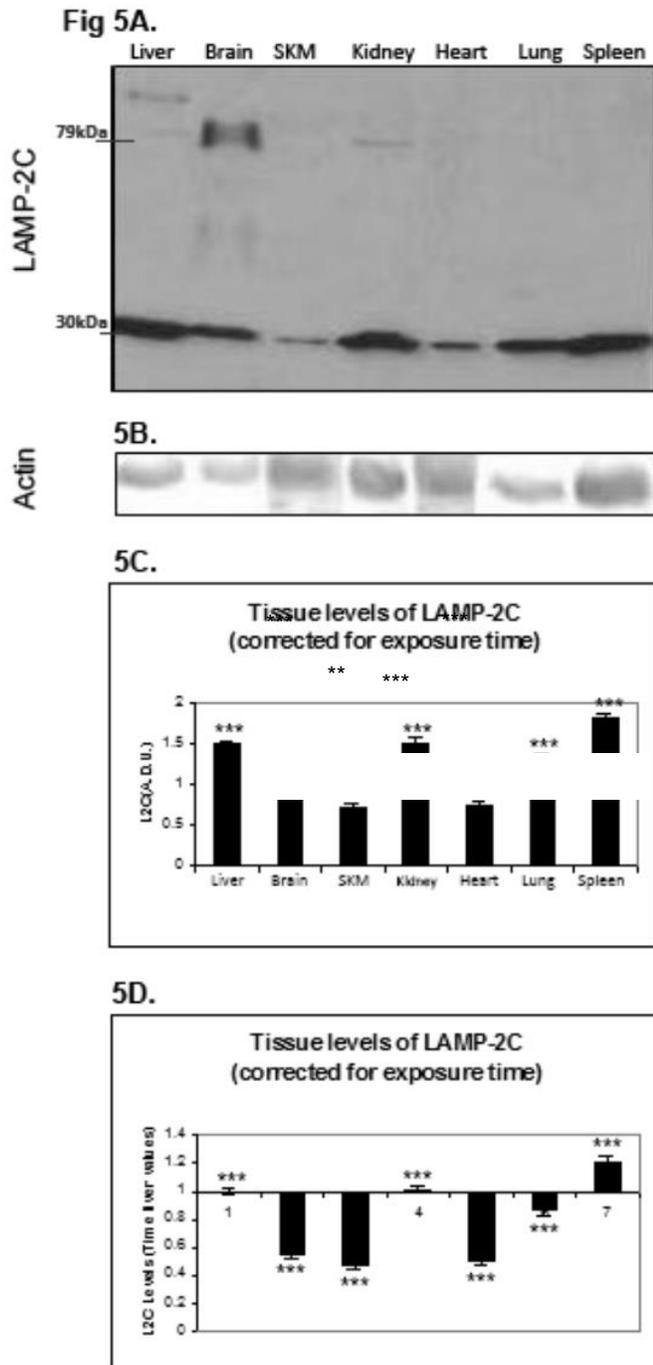


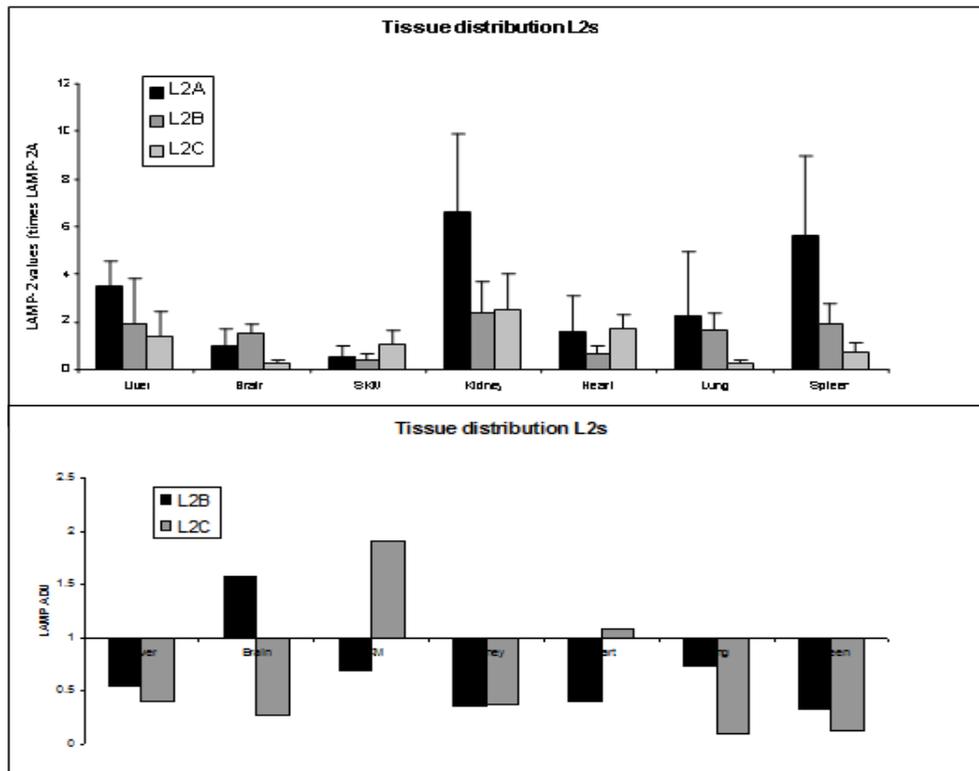
Fig. 5: **A.** Levels of LAMP-2C in different tissues. Homogenates (150 μ g protein) of the indicated mouse tissues were subjected to SDS-PAGE and immunoblot for LAMP-2C. Levels of LAMP-2C in each sample were quantified by densitometry. **B.** Representative immunoblot showing actin levels as loading control; Glycosilated band is highlighted **C.** Mean value of the levels of LAMP-2C in different tissues. Values are mean + S.E. of four different experiments. **D.** Values of LAMP-2C in different tissues relative to those in liver. Significant differences with the values are indicated with * (* p <0.05; ** p <0.01; *** p <0.001)

As for LAMP-2C, immunoblot samples revealed a band of about 30 kDa molecular weight selectively recognized by the antibody in all tissue samples (Fig. 5A.). The full size LAMP-2C is only detectable in large amount in brain and in lower amount in kidney. In brain, an additional single band of about 79kDa was also detectable (Fig. 5A.). Only the lower molecular weight form of the protein was taken into account because that was the band that was detected in all tissues and it was found that this lower molecular weight form of LAMP-2C is broadly distributed, but it is particularly abundant in tissues such as liver, brain, kidney, lung and spleen (Fig. 5C). When the values in each tissue were compared to those detected in liver it was found that, except in spleen, levels of LAMP-2C in all tissues were lower than in liver (Fig. 5D). The amount of LAMP-2C in kidney tissue was almost identical to the amount of LAMP-2C in liver tissue. This makes sense because the kidney, akin to the liver, is an organ that will degrade its own proteins when nutrients are scarce.

Comparison of the three isoforms

A comparative analysis of the levels of the isoforms in each of the tissues was analyzed (Fig. 6A). To simplify the comparison levels of LAMP-2B and C, they were compared to those of LAMP-2A since it is the LAMP-2 variant with the most literature (Fig. 6B). To better reflect this distribution the value of LAMP-2A was considered as 1 in each tissue and the levels of the other isoforms were compared to it. (Values are expressed as times LAMP-2A values). It was proven that the values of LAMP-2B were 1.5 times higher than those of LAMP-2A (Fig. 5B), in brain and levels of LAMP-2C were 1.8 times higher than levels of LAMP-2A in skeletal muscle. In the rest of tissues LAMP-2A was the predominant form with values always higher than the other two isoforms.

Fig 6A.



6B.

Fig. 6: Comparative analysis of the levels of the three LAMP-2 variants in different tissues. **A.** Levels of LAMP-2A, B and C in each tissue. Values are expressed in arbitrary densitometric units (ADU). **B.** Relative levels of LAMP-2B and C compared to those of LAMP-2A. Levels of ALMP-2A in each tissue were given an arbitrary value of 1 and values of B and C were expressed as folds levels of LAMP-2A. Values in A and B are mean +S.E. of 5 mice.

Discussion

This project has revealed that different LAMP-2 isoforms have different distribution in liver, brain, SKM, kidney, heart, lung, and spleen tissue. This could explain their different functions and their relations to the many degradative autophagic pathways that exist. The mouse LAMP-2 gene was cloned almost 30 years ago; however, the specific functions all the LAMP-2 variants are unknown. The Albert Einstein Laboratory has worked with RNAi to block LAMP-2A expression and has shown that this isoform is involved in CMA. Mutations in LAMP-2B have been identified in patients with Dannon's disease, which is caused by malfunctions in macroautophagy. The different levels of each isoform found here could be a good indication of the activity of each of these pathways.

For instance, a tissue with low amounts of LAMP-2A but high amounts of LAMP-2B could indicate that macroautophagy is more active in that tissue than CMA. This offers the possibility of measuring autophagic activity indirectly by measuring the levels of these three isoforms (an easier method than any other procedure developed before). In addition, knowing the contribution of each of the autophagic pathways to protein degradation is essential to determine the specific pathway affected in conditions such as aging or age-related disorders such as neurodegenerative diseases. Further, it has been found that particular tissues show differences in the glycosilation pattern of particular LAMP-2 isoforms. It is unlikely this was the result of deglycosilation during the handling of samples because the glycosilated bands only appear in certain tissues and the amounts are reproducible from mouse to mouse. Instead, different levels of glycosilation could reflect different intracellular locations or functions of those particular smaller forms of the protein. Future studies will be necessary to elucidate the functional relevance of the observed differences.

Some discrepancies between the quantification of protein by the Lowry assay in the samples and the final values in the blot according to Actin labeling were found. This could be partially due to interference of the lipids and nucleic acids with the protein quantification assay. It is well known that levels of lipids are particularly high in tissues such in brain, while the ratio of DNA to protein is very high in spleen. Since large amount of DNA can alter the ability to quantify proteins, it could be hypothesized that normalization for the amount of Actin loaded in the gel is a more accurate way to determine differences in the levels of LAMP-2s.

In the future, it would be important to determine the changes these tissues undergo with age since it has previously been described that both macroautophagy and CMA decrease with age, and in liver, the decrease in CMA is due to reduced levels of LAMP-2A. Analyzing age-related changes in the levels of the three isoforms in different tissues could be a possible determining factor of the autophagic activity of those tissues and whether all tissues are equally affected by age. A decrease of autophagy with age in tissues such as brain could have major functional consequences and explain the aggravation in elders of pathologies such as Alzheimer's disease and Parkinson's disease in which abnormal proteins accumulate inside neurons.

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Sherman Alexie: What the Indian Saw

by Karen Breslin

The short stories in Sherman Alexie's *Ten Little Indians* (2003) present a view of contemporary Native American life that focuses on stereotypes and cross-cultural conflicts. In this paper, I will explore how Alexie exposes the dichotomous world occupied by Native American characters straddling both sides of a cultural fence – both Native and American, traditional and modern. At times, their Native American identity is encroached upon by their American identity, and vice-a-versa, with both applying equal pulling force on his characters' perceptions of themselves. At stressful times in their lives, his characters return to their Native American roots for comfort and strength – a situation that suggests a reversion to their most true self. Perhaps Alexie is suggesting that it is okay to be a “hyphenated American” where one can select the aspects of either culture that will provide the courage and strength to live life with hope and dignity. As such, Alexie's literature is a model of cultural pluralism. The characters in *Ten Little Indians* look inward to question and evaluate their lives, identity, happiness, and strengths and weaknesses, and to use whatever heritage they can to move forward. They may not always find answers, but they are usually better for the journey.¹

Alexie's characters often display what W.E.B. Du Bois called a double-consciousness: “this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity.” While Du Bois was referencing the condition of African Americans in early twentieth century America, Alexie imposes this concept to frame the Indian experience in contemporary America. From behind the “veil of race,” Du Bois writes that African Americans see a “world which yields him no true consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world.”²

It is in this “other world” – a white world – that Alexie casts his characters to find their true consciousness and acceptance in a culture that has routinely denied it. An example of this is in Alexie's story “Whatever Happened to Frank Snake Church.” The protagonist, Frank Snake Church, is overwhelmed by the recent death of his father. Overnight, he becomes a 39-year-old orphan who must address his grief, and ultimately, move forward with his life without the mentorship or support of someone else that has experienced the loss of a parent. The soul-searching and assessing of his life's goals leads Snake Church to attempt recreating a happier time in his life and to “remember himself.” As a youth, Snake Church was a phenomenal basketball player, but he stopped playing to honor his mother after her death. He attempts to revive his playing skills and undergoes a strenuous training program to get back in shape. During this year long process, he obsessively works on “methodically changing into something new and better, into someone stronger” and he constantly plays basketball. This obsession leads to a nervous breakdown and hospitalization. In this story, Alexie suggests that Snake Church, by not utilizing his Indian culture to overcome the grief of his parents' deaths, crumbled under the weight of all his grief. Snake Church seemingly accepted the Indian belief that one must give up something special to honor the death of a parent, but his own consciousness was telling him this was unfair and impractical. He longed to be his former self and to be accepted as a fabulous basketball player – both of which he was

¹ The term “Indian” will be used from here on because this is how Alexie personally identifies himself.

denied by his choices. He did not like what was reflected in his mirror, nor did he like what others thought of him.

A brief historical review of Indians and white settlers is necessary to illustrate how conflict still contributes to contemporary Indian life in America. The conflicts of the nineteenth century ultimately resulted in the formation of reservations, particularly in the western United States. Alexie frequently mentions that life on the “rez” had a profound impact on his life. The movie *Smoke Signals*, written by Alexie, depicts reservations as ghetto-like islands of deprivation, where poverty and alcoholism form the main themes of life. In this film, the protagonist’s father accidentally sets a raging house fire while in an alcoholic stupor, which takes the life of several people. The poverty is depicted in the movie’s settings: trailer parks, substandard housing, wrecked automobiles, and the absence of nutritious food.³ In his book, *The Absolutely True Story of a Part-Time Indian*, Alexie details Junior’s attempt to leave the reservation and attend a white school in a neighboring town. In this thinly veiled autobiography, old textbooks, burnt-out teachers, alcoholism, unemployment, bullying, and despair are the norm on the reservation where he grew up.⁴ In *Ten Little Indians*, one character suggests that “leaving the rez for Seattle is immigration.”⁵ This supports the idea that life on the reservation is so vastly different from mainstream America that when you leave the rez, it’s like you are actually immigrating into a different culture/country. In Alexie’s conception, the Indian is, and currently remains, an immigrant in his own country.

Alexie’s fictitious image of reservations is similar to that of the autobiography, *Lakota Woman*, where Mary Crow Dog describes reservations as “places without hope where bodies and souls were being destroyed bit by bit.” Mary Crow Dog grew up on the Rosebud Reservation in an isolated area of South Dakota, a place notorious for lacking economic opportunities. In *Lakota Woman* schools leave kids illiterate and without skills, jobs are almost nonexistent, and Indians are not hired by whites outside of the rez. This predicament left men with little to do but drink and get drunk; these men were psychologically crippled by their lives.⁶ She describes a nomadic young life of sex, drugs, shoplifting, and arrests. When Mary Crow Dog became inspired by the Civil Rights Movement and ethos of the Black Power movement, she started participating in protests and marches aimed at highlighting the Indian struggle for autonomy and dignity. As she matured, she realized that her life’s choices were dictated by forces outside Indian life in America, and she wanted to be a part of the movement that helped change the dialogue about Indians in America. *Lakota Woman* only details her life up to age 37; however, in the Epilogue she describes how she and her family have settled into an authentic Indian lifestyle in the Rosebud Reservation. As she says, “Life goes on,” and so do the Indian struggles for their rights.⁷

Mary Crow Dog’s participation in social movements has a parallel in Alexie’s literature. In “The Life and Times of Estelle Walks Above,” Alexie places the protagonist right in the middle of the 1970’s feminist movement. Estelle Walks Above is an active organizer of women’s support groups and an avid reader of feminist literature. While Mary Crow Dog participated in the American Indian Movement (AIM) to raise awareness of the Indian in America, Estelle Walks Above participated in the feminist movement to raise the awareness of women in America. These two goals dovetail together perfectly: by raising awareness these two women were attempting to correct the perception that Indians (Crow Dog) and women (Walks Above) should be side-lined in American life, where expectations for a brighter future do not exist. These are women of action, but they acted in different ways.

Mary Crow Dog and her family chose to return to the reservation, but many immigrants do not have the option of returning to their roots or homeland, or more importantly, do not wish to do so. Immigrants must feel that this struggle to uproot themselves from their homes is as innately necessary to their survival, and the survival

of their children, as the air they breathe. The move into another culture/country is fraught with struggles as one attempts to assimilate into a new culture. These struggles are often fraught with physical and emotional pain, and this is one of the defining pictures of immigration. Even though they are not immigrants, Indians also struggle to be citizens in the land of their ancestors. In the story "Flight Patterns," Alexie describes how William, the protagonist, deals with these contradictions in his life. He is a successful businessman who works for a think tank, yet he is also an Indian who "always felt uncomfortable" no matter where he lived (p. 111). This is contrasted with the struggles faced by an Ethiopian named Fekadu who was granted asylum in the United States after stealing a fighter jet and fleeing his country. Fekadu knows that he will be killed if he returns home, but he terribly misses his family. In Ethiopia he studied physics and was a fighter jet pilot, but here in America, he is a taxicab driver. For his own safety, he has accepted the marginalization of his life, a terrible choice, but his best option. These two men have accepted their role in American society, but both realize the limitations those roles place on their lives. Although one is an upwardly mobile Indian and the other a struggling Ethiopian immigrant, both feel like outsiders.

Fairness, hope and dignity have long been denied Indians, and this has shaped their cultural identity. Historical experiences with white settlers demonstrate a long history of loss – loss of land, culture, family and spirituality. Indians were forcibly moved west as whites demanded more and more of the land where they resided. Reservations were a method of isolating Indians to limit contact with white settlers, done behind a government veil of granting land so they can continue living traditional Indian lives. In *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, historian Dee Brown details instances where treaties were made and summarily broken by whites in order to gain access to more land, leaving Indians angry, bewildered, hurt and demoralized. As an example, according to the Treaty of 1851, Plains Indians "did not relinquish any rights or claims to their lands," but only ten years after the treaty signing, "politicians began maneuvering for a land cession from the Indians."⁸ A generation of children were forced into attending the "white man's schools" in an attempt to civilize them and "educate them far from the contaminating influences of family and tribal society."⁹ Children were only allowed to visit their family for short periods each year. This separation forced a wedge between parents and their children, making them strangers to each other. This experience is played out in Alexie's story, "Search Engine," where the protagonist, Corliss, is told that "Your grandmother still has scars on her back from when a priest and a nun whipped her in boarding school."¹⁰ Her family fears and hates white people and discourages her from studying poetry. Just as Alexie's fictitious Corliss searches for a lost identity in literature, Mary Crow Dog looks for her spiritual foundation in the Ghost Dance, a Lakota practice that had been outlawed for over eighty years and was reintroduced by her husband during the siege at Wounded Knee in the 1970's.¹¹ These preceding examples illustrate why historically there has been rampant distrust and anger toward whites and government officials. Indians' self-worth was dealt a serious blow from their cultural losses and mistreatment at the hands of white settlers. Contemporary Indians still harbor this distrust, which they learned from previous generations, but it is coupled with alcoholism, high poverty and unemployment rates.

Sherman Alexie and his characters attempt to help us see the struggle of Indians in the United States. They carry history's baggage, but despite its weight, are proud to be Indian. A good example comes from the story "The Life and Times of Estelle Walks Above," when the first person narrator says, "I like being Indian." He goes on to say, "Yes, I'm an Indian trying to hold on to the best of Indian. I'm also an Indian man trying to let go of the worst of Indian (low self-esteem, alcoholism, misogyny, and lateral violence)."¹² This is an Indian for the new era, proud of the positive aspects of his culture, but ready to shed the negative ones. He lists the best of Indian as: "cheerful

acceptance of eccentricity; loving embrace of artistic expression; and, communistic sense of community” (p. 135). There is no mention of typical stereotypes showing Indians as shamans, healers, or displaying stoicism and wisdom; instead, their humanism and individuality is valued above all else.

Two stories from *Ten Little Indians* especially demonstrate the cultural fence Indians straddle as they try to seek their place in society: “Do Not Go Gentle” and “The Life and Times of Estelle Walks Above.” In these two stories, the characters are proud of their Indian culture and are acutely aware of their presence in mainstream American society. This often creates feelings of confusion and separateness, but also lets them draw on their cultural traditions for support during a personal crisis or hard times.

In “The Life and Times of Estelle Walks Above,” the male protagonist is at a crossroads in his life. The story is a reflection back to 1976 when he was 13 years old trying to deal with his budding sexuality. The relationship between mother and son and the boy’s burgeoning Indian identity are main topics. He and his mom lived in Seattle, Washington, “the progressive, computerized, and sanitized capital of all things Caucasian” (p. 124). He encounters the usual trials and tribulations of teen life: loving and simultaneously hating his mom while missing his absentee dad, and trying to find his own unique identity as a person. His life is a mixture of Indian culture and 1970’s feminism with a touch of poverty thrown in the mix. He and his mom had many white friends, mainly because they lived in the city and not on the reservation. He states that his mother’s white friends were “engaged in activities that were so damn foreign to me (so dang Caucasian) that it made me feel lonely as hell” (p. 134). Here his identity confusion becomes obvious as he tries to integrate into Seattle’s white culture and is aware of the many cultural differences. Here the protagonist’s “double consciousness,” as an Indian and an American, becomes most evident.

Not surprisingly, his mother also faced many of the same experiences. She left the reservation for a better education and a more comfortable life. She graduated from college, was raising a son as a single parent, working and trying to find her feminist self, while surrounding herself with white friends who “loved how Indian we were, and my mother became more Indian in their presence” (p. 135). His mom was trying to reinvent herself, but she was constantly pulled back by friends that expected her to be more Indian. These friends unknowingly perpetuated the Indian stereotype, and his mother played into it, by asking her for advice about their lives and copying her fashion style. In essence, they admired her and wanted to be her at a time when she was trying to be something else. His mother was clearly straddling the cultural fence. She was struggling to leap the void between the two cultures, but her friends didn’t want her to change. They stereotypically saw her as a wise Indian woman, and they looked to her for support and guidance. This was an interesting conundrum, as she “both loved and resented the attention she received from her white-women friends” (p. 137). This kind of complimentary misperception arises in another of Alexie’s short stories, “Search Engine.” The protagonist, Corliss Joseph, is baffled by the “goofy sentimentalism” that characterizes many white responses to Indians.¹³ This is exactly the response that Estelle Walks Above was receiving from her friends and she, too, didn’t understand it, but instead used it to empower herself.

The role of the feminist movement in this story shines a light on gender struggles coupled with the racial struggles faced by female Indians in America. In her seminal work, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Betty Friedan identified and put a name to the “problem that has no name.”¹⁴ The crux of Friedan’s writing is that “women were defined only in sexual relations to men – man’s wife, sex object, mother, housewife – and never as persons defining themselves by their own actions in society” (p. 16). Friedan felt life cannot be lived solely in pursuit of feminine fulfillment (p. 72). Therefore, she challenged women to pursue lives outside of family and home life and to develop more complex

personalities. Friedan describes women who obtained college degrees, subsequently got married and stayed home raising children, keeping a perfect home and supporting their husbands. This is a comfortable life, but being “the children’s mommy, or the minister’s wife, and never being myself” made many feel restless” (p. 73). Friedan encouraged women to empower and be themselves unbound by gender conventions. These ethos influenced Estelle and what she was trying to do.

Estelle is the personification of this restlessness and empowerment-seeking. She is a smart Indian woman from the reservation who was raising a son as a single parent, while also trying to define herself as an individual. Since she was unmarried, she was outside the traditional feminine roles of housewife and mate, and this allowed her the freedom to seek empowerment. Therefore, adopting the ideals of the feminist movement made sense to Estelle as she tried to become more than just a mom, but also an independent woman. Since she had no voice as an Indian, the feminist movement offered her the opportunity to be heard as a woman, and to become part of the larger women’s movement working towards power and autonomy. Since power and autonomy are missing from the Indian experience in America, both currently and historically, it makes sense that these ethos would appeal to her as an Indian woman living a modern lifestyle in an American city.

Unlike Alexie’s fictitious character, Mary Crow Dog saw feminism and women’s liberation as “mainly a white, upper-middle-class affair of little use to a reservation Indian woman.”¹⁵ While Estelle was embracing feminism, Mary rejected it as irrelevant. One would expect their experiences to be similar, and that feminism would offer the support that was missing from their lives. However, their experiences were vastly different because Estelle lived in Seattle, while Mary Crow Dog lived on a reservation. This disagreement illuminates the differences between life on a reservation and life in mainstream America. While Estelle’s urbane Seattle culture embraced feminism, Mary Crow Dog’s “rez life” rejects it as a foreign ideology. In sum, the culture in which these two Indian women operated informed their opinions on the use of feminism.

As part of the son’s life review, he considers the importance of his cultural identity in shaping his character and life. As a teenager, the son knew that he was proud to be Indian, but as an adult, he realizes there are other things that also define him: a sense of humor, being a good husband and raising children. He works as a teacher in a community college teaching American history, an upwardly mobile profession for this son of a single mother. As he looks back on his life, he questions: Could his life be better or has he “simply settled into a routine, a comfortable and lifelong ceremony that allows me to live a full life, but not an expansive one?”¹⁶ The reader can sense his confusion: is he all he can be, both as an Indian and member of Seattle’s mainstream society? He doesn’t find the answer, but he seems to accept the duality of his identity as a complete picture of himself: his Indian self and his “other” self, existing in harmony. Experiences like these made cultural commentator, Carrie Ching, wonders why “people of color are still treated like visitors in their own home?”¹⁷ Even though Indians are indigenous, they are still treated like immigrants. They remain hyphenated Americans, despite the fact they are the indigenous group in America.

Alexie’s vision of cultural pluralism is also evident in “Do Not Go Gentle.” In this story, the son of an unnamed Indian couple is hospitalized and is hanging onto life after a tragic accident. Terrified at the prospect of losing their son, they refuse to give up hope that he will recover. Indian culture affords little room for baseless optimism, and this couple was not hopeful enough to name their child. The husband says, “We were Indians and didn’t want to carry around too much hope. Hope eats your flesh like a spider bite,” a statement that demonstrates how their Indian culture orchestrates and controls their emotions during stressful times.¹⁸ Perhaps this is a response that has been

carried from the Indian's loss of hope at the hands of the white settlers. Alexie shows that the past still plays a part in Indians' lives.

There are several instances in this story where the couple incorporates Indian rituals to assuage their grief and (hopefully) heal their son. They sing honor songs, play hand drums and sing powwow songs to the baby. The father goes to the store to buy baby toys and ends up buying a vibrator called "Chocolate Thunder" (p. 99). He pretends that the vibrator is a magic wand and begins using it to cast healing spells over his son and other babies in the nursery. Realizing the absurdity of his situation, he still rejoices in being able to do something, anything to help his son. The wife uses the vibrator like a drumstick and pounds her hand drum while singing. The new ceremony "turned the whole thing into a healing duet" (p. 100). This couple used an unusual object – a sex toy – as part of their Indian rituals. They accepted that the vibrator was just symbolic, "stuffed to the brim with ideas and love and hope and magic and dreams" (p. 101). They knew that this instrument of hope could not scientifically make their son well, but they were comforted and empowered by this new ritual – it was *their* ritual, *their* child, and *their* personal crisis. In this stressful situation, these Indians found solace by acting in a traditional way in a modern hospital setting. In this story of stressed parents reaching for their holistic Native culture in a time of trauma and finding comfort and strength in its familiarity, Alexie shows that both cultures, Indian and American, have a place in healthcare.

While the Indian rituals were being performed by the parents, the hospital staff and all the expensive medical equipment were doing their part to help their son. The baby was "hooked up to a million dollars' worth of machines that breathed, pissed, and pooped for him" (p. 96). This is a clear example of the stark contrast between the expensive American healthcare system alongside the simple Indian rituals utilized by the parents and shows how they were straddling both cultures. The parents clearly understood the need for these machines to help their son, but they were not comforted by them. They didn't know if the machines were enough to get the job done - the ultimate job of healing. They found comfort in their rituals, which in the end, they believed ultimately helped heal their son. They are obviously thrilled when their son recovers and is able to go home because he "heard the magic call of Chocolate Thunder" (p. 101).

Many of Alexie's characters in *Ten Little Indians* are leading a double life – existing as "hyphenated Americans" in their native land. The cultural work of Alexie's fiction is to help mainstream America understand, not denigrate, the experience of Indians in America today, respect their attempts at assimilation, and necessitates understanding and appreciating the many aspects of Indian culture that are utilized by these "immigrants" as they continue on their journey. In a culturally pluralistic society, there is no reason for Indians to completely abandon those parts of their culture that are unique, wonderful, empowering, and special, as they try to become accepted and appreciated for their uniqueness and contributions to American society. Alexie wants to educate readers about what it is like to be an Indian in the modern world. Broken treaties and genocide happened, but the current generation has to deal with being a pioneer in struggles – both new and old. Frank Snake Church's failure to recapture his youth through basketball shows us that it is impossible to go back and reclaim what is lost. What is necessary is to move forward and create new opportunities that utilize one's personal and cultural strengths. New opportunities await in the struggle to honor traditions but not be stuck in them, in effectively combating alcoholism and violence, and in establishing workable gender norms for males and females in the Indian culture. The current generation needs to erase the ingrained notion that they are all like Pocahontas, and more importantly, probably never were!

Ten Little Indians only contains nine stories leaving the reader to deduce Alexie is the tenth little Indian. He too, has experienced the same double consciousness as his characters. To borrow a phrase from Du Bois, Alexie is looking through the veil. His stories implore readers to lift that veil, look Indians in the eye, and embrace and understand the unique people behind it. Alexie challenges the romanticized ideal held by many Americans about Indians, and his writing focuses on the contemporary issues facing Indians. Hopefully, Alexie's mission is successful, because his humanistic portrayal of contemporary Indian life destroys antiquated stereotypes and has the potential to lower the racial divide.

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The High Cost of Cheap Food

by *Melissa Puskar*

Not very long ago, I was like most other people when it came to shopping for food. During a typical trip to the grocery store, I had my list in hand as I searched for the best prices on the things I needed. Getting healthy foods was certainly a concern, too. Not only did I need to eat healthy foods, but I also wanted healthy foods for my children. I grew up eating canned, processed, and fatty foods, and I did not want my children consuming all of the salt, sugar, preservatives, and of course fat, associated with those unhealthy foods. Everyone knows healthy choices include fresh vegetables, lean meats, and dairy so I spent the extra money for those things. Being a single mother with four children to feed, it was hard to resist purchasing the \$.39 can of vegetables, since the same amount of fresh would cost about a dollar—more than double the price—or the \$2.00 per pound of ground beef, instead of the \$4.00 per pound of boneless, skinless chicken breasts. The milk and cheese were a little easier to buy, knowing I had no cheaper alternative. Therefore, I made the financial sacrifice for the health of my family, believing that those fresh and lean foods were as healthy as we believe them to be and as their labels claim.

I want healthy and inexpensive food for me and my family, just like you do. I also need to be able to identify which foods are healthy and which are unhealthy, with the help of truthful and accurate package labeling. Now, I am aware that there is much more to buying healthy foods than I ever thought. I am aware that the healthiness of food may not just be in its leanness or freshness, but in where the food comes from. If we look at the labels companies provide for us, we get the impression that the foods come from good, healthy sources. Take a look at the carton of a quart of milk, for instance. I bet you would see an animated picture of a healthy cow grazing in a field of green grass, implying that milk is being produced in the time-honored tradition of farming. What about those cans of Green Giant vegetables? The giant stands on rolling green hills, and the claim on the label states, “Picked at the peak of perfection.” Of course no one would believe those peas or beans were hand-picked, but consumers are definitely associating those vegetables with lush fields. Is that the reality though? When I am shopping and see “farm-raised” on a package label of fish, does that mean, as I imagine, that these fish are better for me and my family than those caught in lakes or oceans? Do the labels of our foods accurately picture or describe the sources from which this food comes? If you stop to think about it, you might wonder if it even makes sense that we would have enough rolling hills and green pastures to provide us with the enormous amounts of meats, for example, that arrive at the grocery stores every day and at easily-affordable prices. You might wonder if you are being misled. As it turns out, you are. The reality is that these foods are not coming from beautiful farms; they are coming from something called factory farms. These globally-popular modern-day farms give consumers abundant, cheap food but at a very high cost to the animals, the land, and most importantly, consumers’ health; in addition these products are being labeled in such a way that purposefully keeps consumers unaware of the truth behind their production.

Production

Undoubtedly, animals pay a terrible price in order for us to have abundant and cheap food, a price we, as consumers, are led to believe through the art of package labeling, does not exist. Before I was exposed to the truth of factory farming, I had not given one thought to the lives and deaths of the animals whose meat I would purchase



Figure 1. Beef cows in feed lot.

and consume. The reality is that most of the meat we buy from the grocery store comes from animals that have been severely mistreated. In a book called *Happier Meals: Rethinking the Global Meat Industry*, Danielle Nierenberg of the Worldwatch Institute vividly describes the living conditions of factory farm animals as cramped: “with little or no access to natural light and fresh air and little opportunity to perform their natural behaviors”

(11). These farms are not lovely, green pastures with red and white barns. They are as their name suggests, factories, and the animals are the machines. According to Nierenberg, “Dairy cows . . . live their short lives in either indoor stalls or dry-lots, outdoor enclosures that can hold thousands of animals, typically with no grass, bedding, or protection from the weather” (17). There are no pretty pastures with streams running through them. Whether they are kept isolated, as veal cows are, or crammed together in manure-filled feedlots (as you see in figure 1 above), these animals are in abusive environments.

Cows are not the only ones to suffer. Farm-raised fish are so unhealthy from the cramped conditions they are subjected to that, as noted by Nierenberg, “they require massive doses of antibiotics and pesticides to prevent diseases that result . . .” (22). These fish are living in water filled with the filth of their excrements, along with antibiotics and pesticides. This is an unnatural environment causing problems for these fish that they would not have otherwise.

Chickens are perhaps the most greatly abused when considering the sheer numbers. A 500 square foot barn on a Perdue farm in Kentucky held 21,000 chickens. Broiler chickens, such as those pictured in figure 2, are given only about 9 by 9 inches each of space in which to move (Nierenberg 16). That is hardly the size of a sheet of paper. Even if they had room to go about normal behaviors, such as scratching for bugs, the only thing they would find is their own feces. Their waste beneath their feet, the chickens are kept cramped in these barns their entire lives.



Figure 2. Broiler chickens on a factory farm.

These are cruel, unnatural, and deplorable conditions in which to raise animals. These are the places our food is coming from—a far cry from barnyards and meadows. Each time consumers have purchased meat from companies producing food this way, we have placed our stamp of approval on these inhumane methods of farming. We have risked our own health as well, because unhealthy animals become unhealthy foods.

Our food, consequently our health, is directly affected by the way these animals are raised. First of all, stress is never a good health factor for animals or humans. It is indisputable that stress contributes to disease in both humans and animals. Because factory farm animals are living under such stressful conditions, including overcrowding, these animals are at risk for disease and are given massive quantities of antibiotics just to keep them alive. These antibiotics can be found in the meat we eat, thus transferring to our bodies. The more antibiotics in our bodies, the more likely we are to create bacteria resistant to antibiotics. According to Samuel S. Epstein, in his article, "Milk: America's Health Problem", "Industry data show up to an 80 percent incidence of mastitis in hormone-treated cattle, resulting in the contamination of milk with significant levels of pus. Mastitis requires the use of antibiotics to treat [the mastitis], which leaves residues to pass on through the milk for human consumption" (*Cancer Prevention*). Not only are we consuming antibiotic residue when we drink this milk but infectious pus as well. This is absolutely disgusting and unacceptable to me as a consumer, as well as a mother. No consumer would choose to give this kind of milk to her children, unless she was unaware of what it contained.

The reality is, we are unaware of the contents of our food because factory farm-based companies have exploited our ignorance and tight budgets. They know we trust their labels, and that consumers, especially those who are financially disadvantaged, seek the least expensive choices. If it is clear most consumers would not choose to feed their families such unhealthy food, then why are we, and why would food producers not only produce food this way but also persuade and deceive us into believing it is actually good for us? It's simple—money. Owners of factory farms are not ignorant of their own appalling practices. They treat their animals cruelly, without care or concern. By the owners' choice, antibiotics are used excessively and growth hormones are used selfishly to make more money. Huge piles of animal feces, harmful to the environment and us, must be piled up on owners' properties and surely are not overlooked. Is it possible that the people who own these operations are unaware of the health risks and effects of factory farm food to consumers? Anything is possible, but one thing is sure: they know they are making money. Factory farming enables maximum profit with minimal expense. These owners are purposefully crowding their livestock and birds into the smallest spaces possible, so they can raise as many head as possible using the least amount of land and resources. They offer us cheap prices because of the huge quantities they are able to sell. We're glad to pay little for a lot, or at least we were, before we found out the truth behind these products. The old saying, "You get what you pay for" is certainly true in this case. Though it may be all about money for these farm owners, it is all about the health consequences for the rest of us.

These poor animals are only surviving; they are far from happy and healthy. Even if the spirit and health of the animals was our only concern, it would be sufficient reason to call for action; however, since the animals' well-being affects the products we eat, and therefore our health, there is an even greater necessity to raise awareness of these factory farm conditions and do something about the way our food is being made.

Package Labeling

At this point, you may be outraged and wonder if there are any solutions to these problems associated with factory farming. Read on. There is more you need to know, and I promise, together we can find reasonable solutions in the end. First, we need to know that the evils of factory farming go beyond the way these companies produce the food; the way they label the food's packaging is also something you need to consider carefully. Companies do not want consumers to know the truth about where their food comes from or how it affects their health. In their attempt to keep consumers in the dark,

companies have utilized what I call “label illusions”. For example, when a consumer reads “farm-raised” on a package of fish, he pictures a large, roomy tank of sorts, with good conditions—better even than the fish’s natural habitat. The word “farm” brings with it the idea of a farmer caring for his animals. Even though he might have imagined a large-scale farm to be less quaint, this consumer could not have been more wrong in his assumption that fish on factory farms are raised with care. It is the bottom-line that these fish are raised for, nothing more, a fact hidden through deceitful labeling.

Another example of a “label illusion” is the picture of healthy-looking cows on dairy products. Dairy cows on factory farms are not healthy or happy if they are being given hormones to produce more milk than is natural for them. Recombinant Growth Bovine Hormone, more commonly known as rBGH or rbST, is the synthetic hormone injected into cows to cause their mammary glands to produce more milk (“Ted Studies”). For years, Monsanto, a company approved by the FDA to sell the hormone rbST, has succeeded in keeping the public ignorant of whether or not this harmful growth hormone is in the milk available in grocery stores. Monsanto has fought fiercely against legislation that would require the use of rbST to be indicated on package labels, and have won. Even more disturbing is Monsanto’s lawsuit against Oakhurst Dairy, a company labeling their milk “rbST free” (“Labeling Issues”). Obviously labels are of great importance to Monsanto, a more powerful company that knows the public would be empowered if it had the right information. Monsanto’s tactic is to keep consumers ignorant, via insufficient and deceptive labeling, so that we will continue to buy its products.

A final example of companies keeping us in the dark through “label illusions” comes from eggs. Some consumers have become aware of the horrific battery cages, illustrated in figure 3, that egg producers have kept their hens in. These cages are typically 18x20 inches and can hold up to 11 chickens (“The Egg”).



Figure 3. Laying hens in battery cages.

Like broiler chickens, laying hens kept in battery cages are afforded space less than the size of a piece of paper. They are unable to perform most natural behaviors, making this a very cruel way to keep these animals. In response to consumer complaints, some companies have switched to a cage-free method. Consumers can find that phrase “Cage-Free” on the cartons of eggs. The deception lies in the implication that the hens producing these eggs are no longer being treated cruelly. After all, they are out of the battery cages. Unfortunately, “Cage-Free” does not mean “Cruelty-Free”, as many companies still keep the birds isolated in overcrowded barns without light (“Cage-Free”). We believe we are getting eggs produced by healthy hens, which is exactly what the egg companies want us to think. Those unaware of the issue of battery cages continue to be kept in the dark, while those concerned about the issue are being further deceived.

Monsanto is not alone in these deceptions; Tyson, Perdue, Smithfield, and Nebraska Beef all want to keep the truth from us, and they know that labels are a great way to do it. Anyone in marketing could tell us that a picture is worth a thousand words. I implore you to look at the real pictures. See the truth about where our food is coming from. Understand that these companies will continue to try to keep the truth out of our sight, whether it be through lawsuits or labels. We, however, are no longer in the dark—we can see the truth, and we can make a difference for ourselves and for our families.

Pollution

Another part of factory farming that producers want to keep to themselves is the pollution caused by their farming methods. The quality of our land, air, and water is directly affected. First of all, a huge amount of waste is produced by housing such large numbers of animals. In her report “Factory Farms”, Jennifer Weeks states, “According to the Sierra Club, livestock operations generate 500 million tons of animal waste a year” (Weeks). That is just one operation. Multiply that number times the many operations that are in the U.S., and that alone equals a whole lot of waste. It is often stored in large tanks until it can be used as fertilizer, but in the meantime, the waste can wash away, polluting the ground and local waterways (Weeks). Huge numbers of animals in concentrated spaces are creating incredible amounts of waste. In the food chain cycle as on traditional or organic farms, the waste should in turn fertilize the ground and crops, but on factory farms there are no crops to fertilize; the factory farm’s land just does not need that much fertilizing. Much of the manure is not even used for fertilizer but disposed of instead into our streams and lakes (Weeks). Waste is just a byproduct that needs to be disposed of. At the grocery store, I purposely buy products that are packaged in a way to reduce waste in order to preserve the land. I did not realize each package of meat I bought was counterproductive to my environmental endeavors not because of the packaging but because of excessive animal waste.

Using manure as fertilizer is natural and normal, so how does its release into the environment cause harm? The answer is found in its composition. As I mentioned before, factory farm animals are given antibiotics to stimulate their growth and to prevent or treat disease (Weeks). The large-scale use and abuse of these antibiotics is creating resistant bacteria, such as E-coli, staph, and streptococci to name a few. When a human



Figure 4. Dairy cow manure lagoon that failed.

gets infected with one of these bacteria, there is serious concern that doctors will have no effective antibiotic for treatment. Bacteria, along with hormones, excess nutrients, undigested antibiotics, and toxic chemicals are all present in the manure, and all pollute land and water. Right now there are more farm animals being raised than ever before, making more manure than ever before. The waste is often stored in deep football-sized ponds called lagoons, which are prone to leaking and breaching. Figure 4 shows one such breaching event in Snohomish, Washington.

According to Komo News staff, in the article “Lagoon Failure Sends Dairy Cow Manure across Snohomish Fields”, a twenty-one million gallon capacity lagoon leaked waste into nearby fields and the Snohomish River (*KomoNews*). When this kind of thing happens on factory farms, fish are killed, and contaminated water enters our food cycle. We can also drink this contaminated water. In addition, the grains and vegetables that we eat are being grown in polluted ground. This excessive and contaminated waste is polluting us.

Consumers are paying a high cost for abundant cheap food by way of their health. The bacteria, hormones, nutrients, antibiotics, and toxic chemicals in the excessive animal waste, present on factory farms, eventually find their way into our bodies. This can occur through the consumption of contaminated water, vegetation, or the meat itself. There is also the problem of air pollution caused by factory farming. Weeks notes, “At big livestock operations, air pollution from decomposing manure, dust,

and gases produced by the animals can contain up to 160 separate chemical substances” (Weeks). People living nearby these facilities are obviously facing serious health threats. The pollution produced by factory farms reminds me of the smog issue during the Industrial Era. It was not until people were sick and dying that clean air became a priority. Unfortunately, we are at that point right now with our food industry. According to an article on People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, PETA’s, website, “Residents of a region known as ‘Feedlot Alley’ in Alberta, Canada, have the highest rates of E. coli infections in the province, and E. coli [found in the manure of factory farm animals] killed almost a dozen children there in one three-year period” (“Other Health”). If it is not enough that our animals are suffering health consequences and dying, is it enough that our children are? We have got to make it clear to those producing our food that cheap food is not worth our health and lives.

Consumers are not the only ones sick and dying as a result of the pollution from factory farms—workers are too. The unfortunate men and women who work amongst the feces, urine, and bacteria inside and outside of the farms face incredible danger. Author Bradley S. Miller, author of “The Dangers of Factory Farming”, writes, “The overpowering fumes from urine and feces cause respiratory diseases in factory farm workers as well as in the animals” (43). In a day and age of equal opportunity employment and employee fairness, it seems factory farming is taking us backwards. These companies are just like those of the past who took advantage of the poor in need of jobs, and subjected them to horrible working conditions.

We buy cheap, abundant, “healthy” food at a great cost. As we stand in the grocery store selecting the food products we will buy, many consumers could not imagine the cruelty and consequences that come from the way this food is produced, especially if she relies on deceptive package labeling. These companies’ labeling tells us nothing about where this food comes from or the pollution resulting from its production. Factory farming has been around for decades, increasing in popularity, as it is so lucrative. I can understand its initial attraction to struggling farmers, as well as consumers with tight budgets, but we are a people with morals and standards. This is America, the home of civil and animal rights. Those of us who know the truth about where our food is coming from need to take our stand against this injustice. Consumers have a right to know where their food is coming from, how it is produced, and to be free from misleading and deceptive package labeling. These big companies have no right to change our rights or to take them away. These big companies know consumers are not stupid, nor are they apathetic, which is why these big companies work so hard at deceiving us. I am convinced that as the light is shown on the dark secrets of factory farming, consumers will demand change.

Power in the Hands of Consumers

All of this information was completely shocking to me when I first heard it. I imagine it is hard for you to hear as well. I neither considered myself an animal rights activist per se, nor a health nut. I could not, however, ignore the suffering of these poor animals, or the contamination of the land, or the serious consumer health concerns brought to my attention. I researched the information I received to make sure I was not being misled. What I found was appalling. It was more than enough to convince me that this is the truth of the matter. The evidence of where our food is coming from, how it is produced, and the deadly consequences is overwhelming. The more I found out, the more disgusted and outraged I became. I could hardly believe that for 33 years, I had been kept in the dark about the unhealthiness of my food, where it came from, and the fact that companies were deceiving me. Their methods and madness have no place in our society or in business. Finding out the truth was empowering to me. I had

knowledge, so I had to ask myself the question, “If it’s all true, then what are you going to do about it?”

As a consumer, I have a right to know what is in the food I am buying and how it is produced. Since I cannot trust food companies to provide me with truthful and accurate information about the food they are selling, I have to find the truth on my own. I have become a critical-thinking consumer, using the internet to check out claims made by food companies, so I can make well-informed decisions about the foods I buy. Knowing what is truly healthy and what is not has changed the way I shop dramatically.

I started shopping with a whole new perspective. Going local, organic, and free-range was a huge step and a must, being a single mother who wants to feed four children healthy foods. Organic and humanely-raised animal meat is expensive, often double the cost of the “healthy” meat. There is no denying healthy foods are more expensive. Ironically, in the past I had paid extra for what I thought was healthy, but as it turned out was not. Now I would pay even more. How could I do this on such a tight budget? First, I had to learn to eat less. We really do not need all that we consume; we are just used to having more. Now, I buy the basics, and make do. In a typical week, I get raw carrots, potatoes, spinach, and tomatoes for vegetables, bananas, a bag of apples, and a bag of oranges for fruit, yogurt, milk, orange juice, and cheese, meat only occasionally and in small amounts because it is expensive, cereal, rice, pasta, oats and bread, peanut butter for the kids’ lunches, and granola bars for breakfast on the go—all organic. I usually spend about \$100. Anything I can get on sale and with coupons, I do, and I try to stock up on sale items. Now, you will not find anything instant in my pantry or refrigerator, and there is not a whole lot of variety, but the kids and I have learned to adjust and are content, knowing we are eating truly healthy food. I have learned to go straight to the organic sections and bypass most others. But because I do not have a big food budget, I have to shop smart. I cannot purchase something just because it is organic; it has to be affordable as well.

I have found several brands and tactics that make buying organic affordable for me. Giant Food Store’s brand, *Nature’s Promise*, is healthy, affordable, and of good quality. I have to be careful though. About half of that brand is organic, while the other half is “natural”. Natural does not mean organic, so buyer beware. Another great brand I like to purchase is Cascadian Farms. When on sale, I can get a box of granola bars for \$3.00—that is about the same price as non-organic. Cascadian Farms cereal is also a great buy. Between sales and coupons, I again pay the same price as non-organic. In addition, Stonyfield is the brand of choice for yogurt and Horizon for milk. Besides learning which brands are the most affordable, I also learned which stores have the best prices on organic and free-range foods. I found that due to more consumer awareness of the dangers connected to factory farm foods, certain stores have made more organic and free-range foods available. Giant Food Stores, a grocery chain in my local area, has an entire two-aisle section devoted to these foods. Above all, I had to remember that cheap food is hazardous; no matter how cheap it is, it is not fit for consumption. Period. Being a very thrifty shopper, it took some time, but I adjusted to this reality. We, as consumers, are so well trained by these companies that I admit it was a little bit difficult to establish new habits; however, every dollar I don’t spend on factory farm foods speaks loudly about my demand that they change their ways.

In addition to using my purchasing power to express my abhorrence for factory farming practices, there is another very practical step I have taken to speak out against the injustice, particularly the deceptive labeling. I submitted my name as a supporter of a petition called, “Millions Against Monsanto”, found on the organicconsumers.org website. The petition calls for labels of factory farm food to be identified as such. Companies would no longer be able to hide behind deceptive pictures, giving false impressions. Still, people would need to become informed of the horrible practices and unhealthy

consequences of factory farms. The best way for this to happen is for you and I to spread the word.

Words are our greatest weapon in this war against the injustice of factory farming, next to our dollars. It only took one person to share the truth for me to be compelled to do the research. Now, here I am, passionately sharing this information with you. It is so important that we not allow these factory farmers, these big, powerful companies, to go on deceiving us. And we cannot ignore the suffering of the animals or the pollution of our land. Most importantly, we cannot allow our health to be sacrificed for their profit. Companies like Purdue, Smithfield, and Monsanto need to be stopped in their tracks. Yes, there is a high cost when buying real health food, but with every purchase, I believe I am making a difference in the lives of animals, people, and the land, and it is worth it. You can choose to make a difference too. We need to send the message loud and clear: We will no longer pay the high cost of cheap food; the time of deception is over.

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Reproductive Tourism: Ethical Implications of a New Form of Global Consumerism

by Mariame Sylla

Introduction

On a May 2009 morning, a young baby's voice resonated through the walls of the Ishwarya Fertility Clinic in the city of Coimbatore, India. Unlike most babies, this newborn was the conglomeration of assembled reproductive parts from various parts of the world. The baby was created when a couple paid a clinic in India to have the husband's sperm and an anonymous donor's egg implanted in the womb of an Indian surrogate mother named Easwari. Desperate to earn extra money for the family, Easwari's husband, Murugun, who saw an ad calling for surrogates, asked her to sign up. As a second wife, she could barely refuse, and her agreement took her to her death. The baby came out to be very healthy and was safely delivered to the hands of its social parents. Easwari, on the other hand, who had undergone cesarean session, bled heavily afterwards and the clinic, unprepared for complications, was unable to stop her hemorrhaging. The clinic officials therefore told her husband to book his own ambulance to a nearby hospital where she could be taken care of. Unfortunately, Easwari died en route. Both the clinic and the intended parents of the baby who profited from her labor took no responsibilities for her death. Her loss only affected her family, not the parties involved nor the nature of the business itself.

International commercial surrogacy is at the roots of the tragic ending that Easwari had to encounter. A subsection of reproductive tourism, it is a trade that has gone through remarkable growth over the previous few years as wealthy individuals utilize the reproductive capabilities of poor women in transitional economies to bypass the physical and regulatory limitations placed on their fertility. It has become a new form of global consumerism in which the need to procreate, coupled with the need to overcome poverty barriers, have resulted in a market that intensifies the gap between the rich and the poor, and at the same time shifts social injustice to the global south where the poor women who contribute to the trade receive the lower weigh of its benefits. Surely, financial compensation is beneficial, but once this benefit is meshed with the risk of death, exploitation, trafficking, commodification and social exclusion, one wonders which direction, positive or negative, carries the greater magnitude. What then could reproductive tourism, sparked on every term by globalization, say about globalization itself?

Globalization overall is a term not quite easily defined, not only in terms of its characteristics, but also in terms of its effects. It could be characterized as a form of homogenization, westernization, and even as the diffusion of capitalism. Nevertheless, the power of globalization cannot be overlooked – with it there is a direct connection between technological innovations and the empowerment of certain groups that challenge traditional holders of power. Regardless of these many perceptions of globalization and its effects, a very critical piece of the puzzle is still often overlooked: disempowerment through social injustice. As globalization empowers some individuals through technological innovations, it may simultaneously disempower others through social injustice. Such effects of globalization define the nature of international commercial surrogacy. Empowered through technological innovations and their rapid diffusions, capitalism and westernization, wealthy individuals in the global north are given the power to bypass their own countries' regulations and meet their demands in other areas. With the empowerment of the rich, the poor encounter countless social injustice. Those in the global north face injustice as they find themselves financially limited to afford the exorbitant price of reproductive technologies and surrogacy while those in

the south who meet the demands of this market are subject to countless physical, psychological and social risks. By analyzing the trade in terms of social justice, the capitalistic nature of the trade definitely funnels its benefits more towards those who are more financially secure, indicating that globalization's overall effect could be seen as the intensification of the imbalance between the rich and the poor. For reproductive tourism, globalization produces a lopsided effect, favoring the rich while at the same time serving injustice to the poor.

A Selective Technological Empowerment

To better understand the effect of globalization on the reproductive industry, it is first necessary to give a background on infertility. Infertility, for the most part, is at the basis of seeking reproductive assistance. According to the World Health Organization, the medical definition of infertility is the failure to conceive following twelve months of unprotected intercourse. Going by this definition, the WHO estimates that more than 80 million people worldwide is affected by infertility. In general, about 10% of couples experience infertility, but with infertility linked to social, psychological and even economic problems, not everyone can effectively cope with their situation. About 55% of them seek medical care (Boivin et. al). The means through which each infertile individual procreate varies throughout history and is based on the infertile individual's economic status.

Traditionally, to "overcome" infertility, according to Debora L. Spar, infertile women either adopted the surplus children of a neighbor or friend or forced their maid to bear their husband's children, an act that is even apparent in the biblical book of Genesis when Abraham's wife, Sarah, relies on her maid, Hagar, to conceive Ishmael ("For Love and"). In this case, even though the child might not have a genetic link with the social mother, it still carried the father's genes, which is preferred over having no genetic link altogether. As the paradigms of the enlightenment, the industrial revolution, the emergence of the free market, the establishment of social justice and the ascertainment of individual freedom culminated in the 20th century, the motivational factor behind surrogacy completely changed. Money, in most cases, replaced force and altruism. With money as an incentive, legal complication prevailed as surrogates tried to acquire more money from the intended parents. Judging such cases legally was a challenge in itself since at this point of time the surrogate still contributed half of the child's genetic makeup. Furthermore, with the presence of the surrogate's genes within the DNA of the child, discrimination was apparent when accessing the quality of surrogates. Due to the fact that genes determine skin color, most surrogates were Caucasians, a selectivity that kept surrogacy at the national level.

But at end of the 20th century, medical advancements in the form of science technology provided a remedy for infertile couples and changed the nature of surrogacy. In 1969, the British physiologist, Sir Robert Geoffrey Edwards, published the first work on Artificial Insemination (AI). AI allowed infertile males to still obtain children with whom they have a genetic link and added a physical distance to impregnating a surrogate. Even more effective than AI, on July 25th, 1978, Louise Brown, the first test tube baby was born through a method known as In-Vitro fertilization (IVF), which was perfected by the gynecologist, Patrick Steptoe and Robert Edwards (Brinsden). IVF further solved the problems of many infertile couples even if both the man and woman had reproductive issues. It also completely cut off the genetic link to the surrogate mother while still maintaining the genetic link between the intended parents and the child. The eggs used did not even need to come from the surrogate mother anymore, thus racial selection of the surrogate mother was not so relevant, a factor that increased the suppliers of this market even at the national level as Caucasian surrogates stopped monopolizing the position of surrogate mother.

Besides removing the racial barriers to surrogacy, IVF and AI technology created an empowering force with unjust consequences. They empowered infertile individuals in the global north to overcome the barriers of infertility and to circumvent many of the legal issues related to

surrogacy. With IVF, many couples' infertility problems were solved, but there still remained a population of women with absent or malformed uterus, women who went through recurrent pregnancy loss and repeated IVF implantation failures who could still not produce their own children even after IVF (Sweet). This is the population that continued to rely on gestational surrogacy. However, in the process of helping this group, a system of social injustice was created due to the exorbitant price of a surrogacy package in the global north. For example, in the United States, a surrogacy package can cost from the Egg Bank Circle Surrogate industry cost about \$84,010 for the entire process, but medical and insurance expenses of \$31,615 and the gestational surrogate's related legal fees of about \$11,200 might also be added to the cost of the package ("cost of surrogacy").

In a country like the USA where the average family income stands at about \$49,445 a year, it is definitely unlikely that the poor would be able to afford such an excessive price for surrogacy (Cauchon and Hansen). As a matter of fact, individuals who are able to afford surrogacy are those in the middle and upper-middle class. Since infertility treatments are perceived as "elective" procedures, they are rarely covered in US health insurance policies. Consequently, low income individuals are subject to continuous childlessness due to economic limitation (Whittaker and Speier). This is a form of social injustice, indicating that "progress" does not necessarily affect everyone in quite the same way and that it is the rich that are fully empowered by the advance of science technology related to treating infertility.

A Disempowering Force of Governmental Regulations

Nonetheless, a limitation to the rich's empowerment came in the form of governmental regulations. As the human race becomes more technologically savvy, it tends to come up with innovations that breach unseen boundaries of morality. When it comes to the business of making babies, many individuals, as well as states, hold different views. According to Susan Markens in *Surrogate Motherhood and the politics of Reproduction*, "reproductive issues, practices, and policies are central to how nations view themselves and their prospects for the future." In the global north, surrogacy and other forms of Assisted Reproductive Technology (ART) are tightly regulated. Moreover, according to Hanlie Myburgh, an employee of the Consultancy African Intelligence, "these countries also have stringent laws that govern transactions between egg donors, surrogates and those who wish to become parents, as well as strict laws which determine eligibility." Such limitations further decrease the empowerment of the rich received through reproductive technologies.

In a publication sponsored by the City University of New York's School of Law, Richard F. Storrow, a professor of law at CUNY, states that regulations towards ARTs and surrogacy take different forms ranging from the prohibitive approach, the cautious regulatory approach, the liberal regulatory approach, and the laissez-faire approach. In most cases, especially in the global north, when it comes to ARTs, the prohibitive approach is applied to various sectors of reproductive technologies. For example, "egg donation is forbidden in Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Turkey. Sperm donation is also banned in Italy and Austria. One hundred and sixty million European citizens have no full access to donor procedures in their own country" (Ferrarretti et al. 262). Such barriers have therefore not only created a high demand in the global north, but have also created new barriers that have decreased or even eliminated the magnitude of the rich's empowerment.

Unlike in developed nations, in many developing countries and newly developed countries, the laissez-faire approach is mostly taken towards ARTs and there are barely any laws regulating surrogacy. Many former soviet nations, India and other developing countries are westernizing their medical sector through available medical technologies and procedures and even by changing the appearance of their hospitals. Their medical sectors are also being intellectually westernized due to the high degree of western trained doctors present in private hospitals. For example, a fertility clinic in Zlin, Czech Republic, was described by its foreign

patients as “any clinic, immaculate... manifestations of global biomedical techno culture, with similar clinical procedures and routines, roles and technology” (Whittaker and Speier). This is showing a high degree of homogenization caused by globalization.

Furthermore, developing nations also have a high number of poverty stricken women who are ready to meet the demand for eggs and become surrogates in order to break through poverty barriers. Consequently, wealthy individuals who cannot obtain reproductive services in their home country, travel to developing countries, where lack of regulation, cheap prices and a population of impoverished vulnerable women are ready to provide their services to escape the misfortunes of poverty. Once again the rich have been empowered, but this time both technology and the forces of globalization are responsible for their empowerment. The ever decreasing space between nations due to cheap, fast and easy air travels have allowed for the diffusion and outsourcing of medical knowledge to developing countries. As developing nations become savvier in the application of IVF and AI, they have taken huge advantage of the interchangeability of reproductive parts. With IVF and AI, components of reproduction have been disassociated. Eggs, sperms and wombs can now come from different packages, cross international borders and be assembled to produce a child. For example, “a gay couple from Israel used a mail order egg from Romania that after fertilization was shipped to India for transfer to a surrogate” (Anne Donchin). Now, the rich can bypass regulations in their home countries by simply choosing the governmental jurisdiction they find most fitting to meet their needs, a privilege that other poor infertile individuals do not have.

An International Leap and a New Form of Global Consumerism

Since it has been established that aspects of globalization have indeed helped move reproduction to the global level, what has the movement then created? The movement has created a huge market in developing countries for surrogacy, shifting the social injustice created by the reproductive industry from poor infertile people in the global north to the impoverished women in the global south. Countries like Thailand and the Czech Republic are major destinations for IVF treatments. The Czech Republic alone has a reproductive travel industry worth over \$182,000,000 and had about 23 centers of assisted reproduction in 2006 (Whittaker and Speier). On the other hand, egg donation industries are more prevalent in poor Eastern European countries due to the fact that it has a high number of fair-skinned women with phenotypes that match those of Western European and American buyers, the groups of people who make up the bulk of the demands side of this trade. As for surrogacy, some Eastern European nations, mainly Ukraine and many Asian nations, especially India offer the most services. After legalizing surrogacy in 2002, India now has a booming reproductive tourist industry, worth \$440 million, with more than 300 reproductive centers (Subramanian). With the creation of such huge market, Eastern European and Asian women are offered financial rewards far greater than they could earn through regular labor, but judging from the fact that they are providing their labor in countries where light-or completely absent-regulations fail to offer adequate protections, they face countless social injustices in the form of physical, psychological and social problems (Palattiyi et al).

An Expanding Force

After factors of globalization moved reproduction to the global level, aspects of globalization such as advances in information technologies, the media, and cheap transportation are expanding reproductive tourism. This is a trade that involves the translational movement of surrogates and egg donors, along with sperm donors. According to Andrea Whittaker, Associate Professor in Medical Anthropology at the School of Population Health, “countries such as India, Thailand, and the Czech Republic trade on their ready supply of ova and gamete donors and surrogates.” There are transnational companies present that allow for

the easy movement of these components of surrogacy: egg, sperm, and surrogate, establishing a global capitalistic trade in the process. These medical facilitating companies act as intermediaries for patients by organizing contacts with medical facilities, arranging travel, accommodating, providing concierge services, and supplying translation services for the patients (Whittaker and Speier). They are one of the key drivers of this new form of global consumerism. Moreover, to keep this trade alive, information technologies also play a major role. Anne Donchin states that “local women are often recruited by brokers who rely on communications technologies to publicize their services” (327). The primary source of communication used by medical reproductive transnational companies to publicize their services is the internet and also the media (Whittaker and Speier). Infertile western women also pick up recommendations from popular media and scour books such as *The Medical Tourism Travel Guide* (Donchin).

An Unjust Society

Since it has been established that globalization is the factor maintaining this trade, what can then be said about globalization based on the outcomes? When people look at commercial surrogacy, they see it as a holy act, an opportunity for poor women to earn the money that they make in five to ten years in only nine months of labor and also to financially help their family whom otherwise might be at the breach of starvation. Such image of commercial surrogacy has for the most part been projected on many Americans after viewing Oprah Winfrey praise it as a salvaging business (Pet). Looking at the reasons surrogates highlight as the incentive for contributing to the business, the trade could indeed be seen as salvaging. Reasons for joining the trade range from financing their children’s education to moving into a better house, feeding their family well, paying for their children’s health care or paying off debts (Hochschild). Why then would people not be happy with such “win-win” situation where the surrogate is not only getting a chance to improve her economic status but is also acting as a God by giving blessings to an infertile couple with the child they desire?

The truth is that the salvaging nature of international commercial surrogacy is masking its commodifying and exploitative one. Its commercial implications create a form of capitalism that commodifies human life. Commercial surrogacy commodifies women’s reproductive capabilities, for it is a form of labor – biological labor to be precise. In this trade, the pregnant body is, as stated by Kalindi Vora in the article Indian Transnational Surrogacy and the Commodification of Vital Energy, “more of a productive machine separate from the subject of the surrogate mother.” The child is simply a good that is produced and the surrogate is merely providing the labor. As in the market economy, the revenue brought in by the produce depends on the condition of the product itself, in this case whether the baby was delivered or not or even whether the baby is physically normal. As a result, the womb, which is an entity separate from the body and which is also the machine that morphs the product, is protected by the surrogate in order to maximize her profit. After conducting a participant observation field study in the reproductive clinic of Anand, Amrita Pande attests that surrogates are trained to be a subject similar to a trained factory worker but also one who is simultaneously a virtuous mother. This is so because as a mother, the surrogates can maximize the condition of their produce and as a factory worker, they have no difficulties relinquishing their produce to the market, which makes them a perfect surrogate. If the surrogate does not successfully complete her pregnancy or produces a dead child, it is analogous to making a product and then destroying it or to producing a misshapen or incomplete product. In this case, the surrogate barely gets paid since the produce did not fit the demand of the market.

Evaluating such occurrence from a social justice perspective, one can definitely say that it is not fair to have only the poor subjugated to a business where they are the only ones whose bodies are turned into objects for the pleasure of the rich. Globalization in this case has dehumanized the poor and turned them into machines of interchangeable parts used to produce

satisfactory goods for the wealthy. In the end, one can only say that international surrogacy is a form of market capitalism and as it has always been with market capitalism, some benefit while others are exploited, and in this case, the magnitude of the cost is directed more towards the poor, which is socially not fair.

In a free for grabs trade, devoid of regulation, but high in demand, individuals driven by the will to maximize their profits can easily breach moral and legal ethics to meet the demand of the market. Such situation, associated with capitalism can result in both exploitation and trafficking. International commercial surrogacy, with its high demands in eggs and surrogates has resulted in the trafficking of eggs and the exploitation of egg donors and surrogates. To obtain a child from a surrogate mother, the first step of the process is to obtain eggs from a donor if the intended mother is unable to use or make her own, which is prevalent in most cases. Due to their skin complexions and the relaxed laws in many Eastern European countries, poor Eastern European women have become the main target for egg donors (Nicolova). With money as the main incentive, their expression of autonomy is barely existent and the injustice they go through is nothing but apparent.

In fact the type of treatment the poor Eastern European women receive breaches all three pillars of medical ethics: autonomy, beneficence, and non-maleficence. According to the Blackwell Guide to Medical Ethics, "patients must have been informed about their diagnosis... and the risks and benefits of the alternative treatments. Physicians are responsible for providing this information to patients in an understandable form" (Rodhes et al. 7). Despite these guidelines, many poor Eastern European women are not told about the risk of donating eggs, which breaches their informed medical rights. Egg donation itself is a lengthy, painful, and potentially dangerous procedure involving the injection of a powerful drug known as follicle stimulating hormone. Most of the time, this drug cause hyper stimulation of the donor's follicle, which is dangerous since medical experts believe that 2% of women undergoing egg donation can suffer serious side-effects of hyper stimulation known as ovarian hyper-stimulation syndrome (OHSS) that can prove fatal (Donchin).

Furthermore, according to the physician, Jennifer Schneider, there is an increased risk of ovarian and breast cancer among egg donors due to the amount of estrogen they are given. A study of over 12,000 infertile women who had undergone ovarian stimulation in order to harvest their own eggs found a 1.8-fold increase in the risk of uterine cancer following ovarian stimulation (Schneider). Despite the dangers, the need to maximize profit prevents egg recruiters from protecting the physical health of the donors. Svetlana, a Ukrainian woman, donated her eggs three times and her follicles were stimulated about forty times. She was definitely being hyper stimulated, but the doctors that was giving the shots told her that the shots were meant to clean her blood (Barnett and Smith). In the end, exploitation is at the root of reproductive tourism as the need to expand the market creates a condition in which the rights of the egg donors are not even protected.

Besides Eastern European egg donors, the marketing of reproductive abilities can potentially lead to the exploitation of surrogates as well. Their bodily resources are constantly put at risk without their full comprehension of the process they are undertaking. They are subjugated to the depletion of their vital energy. First, almost all of the surrogates deliver through c-sections, a process whose effects are characterized by pain, a process that killed the poor surrogate, Easwari. Second, many surrogates undergo multiple pregnancies. According to Oztan Ozturk, the risk of multiple pregnancies is an exponential function of the number of fetuses with "first trimester bleeding rates of 12%, 53% and 80%...observed in twins, triplets and quadruplets, respectively." Furthermore, the incidence of preterm delivery and its clinical severity increases with the number of fetuses in utero and considering the fact that surrogates are undergoing an IVF pregnancy which in itself presents even higher risks, place surrogates at even higher risk of morbidity. Other problems associated with multiple pregnancies include hospitalization, increased symptoms of pregnancy, risk of operative delivery, anemia,

hypertension, polyhydramnios, antepartum and postpartum hemorrhage, the list goes on and on (Ozturk).

Besides multiple pregnancies, single pregnancies can also cause problems such as infections, high blood pressure and other complications. Even one of the surrogates interviewed by Amrita Pandie stated: “who would choose to do this? I have had a lifetime worth of injections pumped into me. Some big ones in my hips hurt so much. In the beginning I had about twenty to twenty-five pills almost every day. I feel bloated all the time. But I know I have to do it for my children's future. This is not a choice; this is *majhoori* [a necessity]. When we heard of surrogacy, we didn't have any clothes to wear after the rains—just one pair that used to get wet and our roof had fallen down. What were we to do? If your family is starving what will you do with respect? Prestige won't fill an empty stomach.” Evaluating her words, it can be said that even the ability to choose, is a luxury limited to the commissioners in this case. The poor women are financially compelled to join this trade, a compulsive force that eliminates their ability to choose. Even the absence of choice in this trade is proving that the benefit of globalization is lopsided since it is giving wealthier people more autonomy than the poor.

Besides health risks and an absence of choice, psychological and social problems follow for many surrogates. Indians value community approval, along with family and God (USAID). Women, in general, play a critical role in child bearing and rearing and contribute significantly to community building, which is an important social role that includes arranging social events (USAID). Surrogacy takes a woman away from all of these important roles they hold within their societies. Reproductive tourism socially ostracizes them from society, taking them from their family and alienating them from being the respectable figure they might have represented. Many are aware of the psychological issues that follow ostracism and disapproval, especially in a culture where society's approval is highly valued and is a vital part in one's evaluation of one's self-esteem. Therefore, the social effects of surrogacy is highly condensed on the side of the poor.

An Overlooked Judgment?

Supporters of the trade who see reproductive tourism as a win-win situation argue that even the wealthy are in turn subjugated to injustice. They believe that reproduction itself is a basic human right and that ethically, “the need to cross the border for assisted reproduction (due to legal restrictions or financial reasons) is considered a limitation of one's reproductive autonomy” (Ferraretti). Many commissioning parents see themselves as reproductive exiles, denied the right to mend a limitation that nature has imposed on them. True enough, even though wealthier individuals are subject to this injustice, unlike the poor, they can circumvent it because their governments still allow them to seek reproductive help elsewhere. In fact, according to Ferraretti, “this travel is tolerated by governments approving restrictive laws as a safety valve to reduce the internal conflict and thus to preserve the existing law against political attacks.” Therefore, the justice denied to some of the commissioners can be overcome by the alternative of seeking reproductive help elsewhere.

What alternatives do the suppliers of this market have? Maybe they could withdraw from the surrogacy business and let their family be subjugated to starvation? Maybe the international community could pass a policy that could regulate the business, but judging from the fact that the leaders of most IGOs such as the UN come from developed countries, it is unlikely that they would be willing to regulate this trade, an action that might definitely result in internal conflicts within their own nations. In the end, to bring justice to the rich, a solution is easily found, but when it comes to addressing the injustice experienced by the poor, one gets tangled into the intertwined roles played by the various parties involved within the trade, unable to come up with a solution that is capable of relieving the risks they are facing within this trade.

The Effects of Globalization

International commercial surrogacy is a new form of global consumerism initiated and maintained on every term by the phenomenon of globalization. The trade has created a huge schism between the rich and the poor as the rich gain more from the trade than the poor who are at risks in every aspect. Through this trade and its innumerable ethical implications, most of them directed towards the poor, a good analysis of globalization can be easily made. Globalization as a whole empowers and disempowers. Even though its net effect does not come to a definite zero, it is still composed of multiple vectors heading in different directions that every individual might experience differently. As a whole, globalization's effect is definitely lopsided, not only when addressing nations, but also when delving deep into the core of society and trying to find its effect at the individualistic level. One can only think of the eastern European woman undergoing a painful experience to keep bread on her family's table, the Indian surrogate mother ostracized by her society and waiting to relinquish her produce, the baby, to the market, and the British middle class couple sipping on champagne on their comfortable couch and waiting for a call to pick up their pre-ordered offspring. Indeed, different outcomes are attached to globalization, but one thing for sure is that the causes are interconnected to such a degree that changing their outcomes could only be near impossible. Consequently, when trying to balance out the benefits of reproductive tourism between the rich and poor, challenged with considering the states, infertile couples in the global north, elite and poor infertile couples in the global south, medical facilitation transnational companies, and egg donors and surrogates, it is near impossible to come up with a viable solution that would not shift the net effect of globalization as a whole and creating another imbalance.

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The Myth of Homogenization

by Viktoria Ivanova

Today one of the most highly debated and researched topics in the educational sphere is Globalization, described as the rate, speed, and volume at which interconnectivity is experienced amongst people, culture, and economic activity. Here loom many perspectives on whether this phenomenon is good or bad, but instead we stem away from ethics and explore the cultural consequences of globalization. Specifically we focus on the mechanics of our global connectivity and its effects on local cultures. Bear in mind that cultural change is inevitable since cultures are non static and constantly evolving, but whether that change is ethical can only be answered by the people experiencing the change themselves. Thus, in the case of cultural homogenization occurring, one cannot easily declare that through cultural globalization, cultural diversity will diminish and the world's cultures will all be the same one day. In fact, the fear of cultural homogenization may not be warranted and reveal that it is far more complicated than people think. The following cases will demonstrate the complexity of cultural globalization and expose the various ways cultures respond to outside influences.

Cultural globalization is understood as the process of world-wide connections of cultures. People view this phenomenon in several ways; one being that they fear the cultures of the wealthy and militarily powerful regions will become globally dominant displacing other traditions and local cultures. The possibility of a dominant global culture leads to cultural homogenization which is capable of threatening the existence of local cultures and their practices, further endangering the continuation of cultural diversity. Consequently, individuals feel "culturally threatened by, the frequency and intensity of contacts, leading individuals to firmly cling to what they believe are their traditional values" (Peoples and Bailey 26). Cultural homogenization is the leveling of the playing field for cultures; only one can win and dominate the spreading of cultural traits.

Americanization/ Westernization

Many people associate the possible global culture with the American/Western culture, which is described as the process of Americanization or Westernization. Here springs the notion of influence being pronounced in mass culture, "where American popular music, casual clothing, movies, advertising media, fast food, and sports (notably basketball) have become pervasive" (277) according to Lieber and Weisberg of the *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*. Louis Hebron and John F. Stack are two gentlemen mentioned in Lieber and Weisberg's writing who hold a pessimistic view of globalization of mass culture: "This foreign invasion and assimilation of cosmopolitan consumerism ... is a prescription of cultural genocide because of the process' potential to vulgarize and/or destroy the rich diversity of human civilizations" (281). Hebron and Stack's opinion can assist us in understanding how strongly various people believe foreign influences such as these are capable of extinguishing cultural diversity.

Others notice that there is an exchange of culture within all regions, and not just the United States or Europe dominating the cultural arena as expressed in fears of Americanization. In fact, the American culture itself is subject to outside influence from cultural globalization as much as any other culture and even more when described as the land of immigrants. When we explore the variety of cultural reactions to outside influence, it will reveal that things are not as black and white as presumed.

Nonetheless, the American/ Western culture is the one feared and fought mostly against. McDonaldization a similar process to Americanization is coined by Richard Pells to mean the

world wide homogenization of societies through the impact of multinational corporations. Jan Nederveen Pieterse author of *Globalization & Culture: Global Mélange* recalls the sociologist George Ritzer's idea that McDonalidization is a process where principles of fast food take over societies.

American culture was originally produced by immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Africa who brought with them their cultural practices and traditions, molding the American culture we know today. Lieber and Weisberg claim "'American' is as much a style as a point of origin" (282). Richard Pells hence states that "what Americans have done more brilliantly than their competitors overseas is repackage the cultural products we receive from abroad and then transmit them to the rest of the planet" (282). Perhaps this may leave us with a better understanding of why American products may be popular and widely used; originating from those cultures that are on the receiving end today.

The concept of cultural globalization is approached differently amongst cultures. Foreign influences are both embraced and used constructively or resisted and fought against in order to preserve the cultural identity passed down generations. Today, the latter approach dominates most cultural agendas, forcing the innovation of fruitful ways in dealing with outside influences. Take for example, the controversy surrounding the world-wide use of American English. American English precisely is referred to the international lingua franca that prevails German, French, Spanish, and Russian.

The wide spread use of English as a second language in many nations, drives nations with a strong sense of identity notably the French, insane. English is believed to be used as a first language by 380 million people and another 250 million people as their second language. For example, it is used as the official language for bilateral meetings by foreign leaders, the European Union, and 85% of international organizations (Lieber and Weisberg 278) (All the more reason for French cultural and political elites to be irritated).

In France, American English has had profound influence in their entertainment industry, corporate international communication, and the national French language. American influence is pervasive in the French entertainment industry, where 70% according to Lieber and Weisberg of the Western European audience is captured by Hollywood films. To control the influx of Hollywood influence, France has set regulations and subsidies as well as having a "cultural exception" in trade negotiations for international agreements where European Union countries can impose quotas on imported American movies, television programs, and music. France has set rules where 40% of TV and radio programs must be produced domestically and maintain "an elaborate system for subsidizing its movie industry" (Lieber and Weisberg 278).

France's top four international businesses (e.g. Alcatel, Total-FinaElf, Airbus, and Vivendi), dubbed English as their official language for international communication. French cultural and political elites have an annual expenditure of some \$1 billion per year to promote the country's language and culture, but to their irritation, the French language stands in ninth place to being the most widely spoken language.

To fight against the intruding outside influence over their native culture and language, the French have created laws that ban the use of certain English words to keep the native tongue pure and tradition alive such as: no more "fast-food" but "restauration rapide", "iPod" but "diffusion pour baladeur", and "Wi-Fi" but "acces sans fil a l'internet" (Mail Online). The Terminology Commission in France as we can see has take dire precaution in saving the native tongue of the French people and to promote its long cultural history.

There are cultural boundaries that exist and set internal regulations for foreign cultural influence that determine the level of acceptance of the foreign into the local. The French elites battle with English shows the pervasiveness of cultural globalization. The fear of homogenization is felt in many parts of the world today, with numerous cultures experiencing the side effects of cultural globalization and the influence of the believed global culture.

To our surprise this fear is not warranted and the process of homogenization is more complex than people think. The following cultural scenarios will introduce a new approach to

foreign influence all described by the names: appropriation (incorporation), localization, hybridization, all achieved through cultural diffusion. According to Charles A. Heatwole a professor at the Department of Geography at Hunter College, cultural diffusion concerns the spread of culture from a point of origin to another (culture). This movement of cultural traits from one society to another usually does not carry over the original cultural meaning, but rather reinvents its own to fit the new cultural society it has entered.

A Picture's worth a Thousand Words

Our first case of cultural diffusion, hybridization, and localization is bridal photos and the understanding of marriage amongst Taiwanese couples. In old Taiwan women viewed marriage as the beginning of a life of hard work and dedication to their husband's family and the welfare of their future children. Marriage was not viewed as fulfilling romantic dreams but rather the civic duties of being a mother and wife. This view still carries on into contemporary Taiwan with the exception that young couples give themselves time for intimacy before marriage and the responsibilities of parenthood. Young couples meet and date, fall in love, and then marry; carrying out luxurious and extravagant weddings familiar to the eyes of Westerners as Peoples and Bailey notice. Taiwanese weddings too include the white gowns, flowers, tuxedos, and of course lots of photos. The last part about the photos is something unique and local to Taiwanese couples.

Usually in *global weddings* or by *global* if we mean "modeled after those of the West" most of the photos are taken during the wedding, while in Taiwanese tradition they are taken before the wedding banquet at a professional photo salon. To be an extravagant and successful wedding, it is crucial to have plentiful pricy high quality photos for which the groom's family is responsible, demonstrating their wealth and standards. In addition, the food like the wedding photos must be up to normative expectations, or they are in line for scrutiny by the bride and the community. Losing face at the couple's wedding is unacceptable in Taiwanese culture, as is in American culture being referred to "keeping up with the Joneses" (256). It is an implicit competition, and this cultural practice can be seen to exist across borders, reflecting cultural diffusion as one cultural trait is introduced to another culture.

Regarding the photos, they are specifically designed for the bride. According to Bonnie Adrian a specialist of weddings in Taiwan, the bride receives a complete makeover from her eyebrows and lips to her hair and nails, similar to a Western bride's wedding day makeover. In contrast, Taiwanese brides leave the salon unrecognizable for their all day photo shoot.

Pictures are vigorously taken, some hundreds to thousands of photos and the couple leaves the salon with large prints, having paid the photographer several thousand dollars. Just as Western weddings have photos that capture the couple's special moments, so too do the photographs of a Taiwanese couple but more precisely they capture the bride's special moment. The purpose of "framing the bride" as Bonnie Adrian says is to commemorate the bride by building an image of her, so that after the marriage her family can see the idealized woman she once was. Consciously or not as Peoples and Bailey explain, Taiwanese take something from the global cultural realm and use it for their own purposes adding their own cultural meanings. They localize the foreign by shaping the photographs to their own traditions; mixing the outside with the ethnic custom, creating a hybrid cultural practice (hybridization).

McDonaldization

To further demonstrate the ways cultures react to outside influence we will examine the case of McDonald's, one of the most popular fast-food chain restaurants in the world that lurks in almost every continent, country, and city. McDonald's in Brazil, Russia, France, and the United States is a special case to each because we put them in different cultural contexts; each culture with its own traditions and practices. Every time McDonald's wants to expand to a new

nation it needs to devise a culturally appropriate strategy to fit into the new setting. For many people, solely seeing the McDonald chain in a street screams cultural globalization and homogenization. What I believe is being overlooked is the way the fast-food restaurant molds into the host culture to be successful and most importantly the response it gets from the locals. The complexity comes from the way locals perceive McDonald's and appropriate it accordingly into their lives.

The multinational corporation has successfully expanded throughout the Brazilian nation, and serves some 90 million middle class people who mostly live in densely packed cities that create a perfectly concentrated market for the business (Kottak, 433). Conrad Phillip Kottak author of *Window on Humanity* takes us on a journey to Rio de Janeiro where he visited and observed the impact McDonald's was having on Brazilians. He claims that the McDonald's in Brazil and the United States was basically identical; the menus were more or less the same, the quarter-pounder tasted about the same, and the take-away bags were white as always. Where was the difference you ask?

The advertising and marketing strategy McDonald's used to tailor to Brazilians was writing several messages on the take-away bags for how Brazilians can bring the fast-food restaurant into their lives. To Kottak's observation, the advertisement lacked important points when marketing to a culture that values large, leisurely lunches. McDonald's bags demonstrated several scenarios where Brazilians can eat the restaurant's food, such as "when you go out in the car with the kids", or when your "traveling to the country place" (434). These suggestions were ones more likely to occur in the North American culture rather than in Brazil, since people did not live in suburbia, drive affordable cars on highways, or even find McDonald's out of the city on the way to the country place. This advertisement was created based on the North American cultural practices rather than Brazilian ones, making it difficult for Brazilians to relate.

In addition, the ad creator suggested customers take McDonald's when they head to the beach specifically for cariocas (Rio natives) and eat it "after a dip in the ocean", "at a picnic at the beach", or "watching surfers" (434). These suggestions as well ignore the Brazilian custom of consuming only cold things like soft drinks, beer, and ham and cheese sandwiches, rather than a hot burger and fries. Brazilians, Kottak points out view the sea as "cold" and hamburgers as "hot", thus avoiding "hot" foods at the beach. This approach was unsuccessful to the ad creator's surprise. Another suggestion which was culturally off for Brazilians was eating McDonald's while "lunching at the office". Brazilians enjoy taking their two-hour lunch break and either head home to eat the biggest meal of the day with their family or sit at a restaurant with business associates. As we can see all of the suggestions were tailored towards the American lifestyle, ignoring the real Brazilian culture.

The two most appropriate suggestions to the Brazilian lifestyle are enjoying McDonald's on the "cook's day off" when middle-class families flock to the beach and have a midday snack around 3:00pm, and "while watching your favorite television program", which is something Brazilians consume of a lot. On Sundays, for the infamous midday snack families can head down to McDonald's, which has demonstrated to be the best fit for the company in a Brazilian's life. Today, the fast-food chain has expanded throughout Brazil, and can be found in urban neighborhoods where Brazilian teenagers can have their after-school snack and families can enjoy an evening meal. It turns out that the fast-food industry has not "revolutionized" Brazilian food and meal customs as Kottak mentions, but rather adapted to preexisting cultural patterns. McDonald's has found its niche in the Brazilian evening meal, realizing that it cannot Americanize Brazilian meal habits but instead use them to fit into the Brazilian lifestyle to be a successful business.

This example shows us that when a foreign trait, like McDonald's appears in a new culture, it has to tailor its ways to the local culture in order to triumph. The local matters most and people will rarely accept and incorporate something new unless it fits with their preexisting traditions, values, and practices. We can observe that merely having an outside cultural trait appear in a local culture does not mean that cultural take over is occurring. In actuality,

predicting a local culture's response to foreign influences is impossible because each one responds in their own unique making it harder for us to generalize processes like cultural homogenization.

Let's glance at McDonald's in Russia and France, and examine the ways the franchise tailors to locals and the way locals respond. Shannon Peters Talbott, examines the McDonaldization thesis of Moscow, Russia through ethnographic work. She concludes that the argument is inaccurate on every level, and here is why. McDonald's is believed to be successful as Pieterse concludes because it is "efficient (rapid service), calculable (fast and inexpensive), predictable (no surprises), and controls labor and customers" (51). These traits are believed to be homogenized and seen in every McDonald's system around the world which makes it the giant franchise it is known for.

On the contrary, Talbott claims that instead of efficiency she saw lingering and queuing, taking up to several hours. Instead of the food being inexpensive the average McDonald's meal costs more than a third of a Russian worker's average daily wage. Rather than predictability attracting customers, Russians enjoy uniqueness and difference; hence most of the standard menu items are not served in Moscow. Alternative to uniform management and customer control, Moscow's McDonald's "introduces variations in labor control ("extra fun motivations", fast service competitions, special hours for workers to bring their families to eat in the restaurant)" and allowing customers to linger "soaking up the environment" (52). These internal changes signify again a localization of the foreign rather than cultural homogenization on the angle of the corporation.

As regards to the global localization or "glocalization" (coined by Sony chairman Akio Morita "looking in both directions") of the attitudes of the Russian customers towards McDonald's, one finds them varying from American perceptions (Pieterse 52). Even though fast food restaurants in France, Russia, and Brazil outwardly resemble each other, they differ in the way locals incorporate them into their daily lives. Their perceptions vary and the meaning to each culture is different. In Russia, the McDonald's has modern and posh aesthetics that are desired by consumers where a variety of food is appreciated rather than standardization. Compared to American culture, the McDonald's is seen as a "down-market junk food" that is unhealthy but caters to middle-class and teenage tastes. McDonald's in US borders seems to be past its peak, experiencing declining shares and franchises closing. Pieterse mentions that obesity as a national disease has sparked the attention of consumers, leading to resistance and the changing of diets that all contribute to the company's decline in the United States. But as one nation may begin to question McDonald's purity, another embraces it with a twist.

France is the second largest market for McDonald's after the United States according to the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business. Fast food or "restauration rapide" in France varies from its counterpart the United States. The French being extreme nationalists enjoy the French extravagant cuisine and have their own type of "restauration rapide" like croissants and baguettes. Such items in fact, can be ordered at the French McDonald's in every street corner, revealing the continuation of corporations localizing their products to local tastes and standards. "MacDo" as the French call the fast-food restaurant serves consumers croissants, *grande crème* coffee, McBaguette, and *galette des rois* all local cultural foods and a new hybrid product with a McDonald's twist to the traditional baguette. The restaurant also understands the French standard of having only the best food served to customers, thus uses pure meat that is grass-fed, containing no hormones opposite to American McDonald's restaurants. The chain lives up to these standards and therefore serves high quality food that can be enjoyed by everyone like any other French restaurant as customary in French culture. The restaurant setting is posh and modern and allows customers to lounge and enjoy their traditional long eating breaks either indoors or outdoors.

Young teenagers as well as families can be observed eating lunch or hanging out at their local McDonald's in the French streets just as in Rio de Janeiro. You would think that the French people who earlier denounced English words by setting quotas on imported

entertainment and laws against the use of English in place of French would react fiercely against the McDonaldization of their cities and towns, but instead we observe a localizing of McDonald's and the acceptance of the American company by many. Perhaps the embracing of McDonald's, a widely accepted symbol of Americanization, is due to the way the company adapted and assimilated to the local French culture, making the foreign not as far away and alien as thought. On the contrary it is not alien for Parisians to lounge on the street facing wooden chairs surrounding the densely packed round tables eating their baguettes, sipping their grande crème coffee, and chatting with their friends, all the while under a McDonald's umbrella. The experience is quite the same as in a regular French café, therefore making it easier for the French people to accept the outside influence and perceive it as their own rather than alien because of the incorporation of the local cultural practices.

From all of the McDonald's examples in Brazil, Russia, France, and briefly the United States we can conclude that the foreign is no longer foreign once presented in a local way. The minute the fast-food giant assimilated to the local cultures, natives were more receptive of the outside influence and in fact adopted it into their everyday lives. Brazilians brought the burgers and fries into their ritual Sundays at the beach, Russians made their venues posh to fit their perception of how the foreign should look like, while the French turned McDonald's into their regular café for socializing, sipping coffee, and munching on a baguette or more precisely "McBaguette". As McDonald's underwent assimilation, the other nations underwent localization where they unconsciously molded the company to their standards, making it more appealing and comfortable to accept into their lifestyles. Here we see the complexity of affirming cultural homogenization; because adoption of the foreign depends on the native and we cannot predict how a culture will react each time it comes in contact with a foreign culture.

We have been examining the different ways local cultures have incorporated outside influences, as well as the ways companies have localized their methods and ways in order to fit into the lifestyles of the host society. Nonetheless, we will examine a case with the same concept but rather than looking at Western or American influence on local cultures, the American and Western culture itself will be experiencing cultural diffusion upon its own borders.

Japanese Popular Culture in the U.S.

The abundance of Japanese *manga*, *anime*, horror movies, and video games, to Hello Kitty merchandise and *Pokémon* in the United States and Europe, reveals the exportation of Japanese culture to these areas and their acceptance and localization of the foreign cultural products. As much as Japanese culture is influenced by outside cultures (British and American music a staple for youth), so too does she diffuse her practices and products upon foreign cultures. *Anime* the Japanese animation accompanied by *manga* its sequel and prelude are widely admired amongst teenagers in the States and Europe; mostly bought to complete fanatic collections (Johnson-Woods 236). In fact, manga has swept the U.S. market from 2000 to 2002 with a value of \$40-50 million, "accounting for one-third of the U.S graphic novel market".

Focusing primarily on Japanese *manga* and *anime*, we can witness the exchange of cultural ideas and practices noted by author of *Manga: An Anthology of Global and Cultural Perspectives* by Toni Johnson-Woods, between Disney comics and animation and Japanese versions. Disney provided manga producers stylistic ideas such as the large eyes and cute features of characters like Astro Boy. Later, we can notice the partnership between France and Japan in creating animation series based on manga and the arrival of Hollywood movies enlivening anime stories such as *Pokémon*, *Dragon Ball*, and *Akira* (Johnson-Woods 247). Americans therefore, played the role of distributors, while the Japanese produced the content, creating a relationship where exchange of ideas and values is necessary and important to the survival of *anime* entertainment.

Through this exchange one can assume that cultural differences were present and both cultures initially envisioned their product differently. The cultural diffusion of Japanese popular

culture to the United States as well as Europe encountered a degree of indigenization or localization of *anime*, *manga*, and video games which led to the final product changing (movies and series) because of cultural differences.

Thailand, Mexico, and Israel participating in Hybridization

Lastly, I propose we examine the way cultural hybridization (cultural practice created by mixing of two cultures) occurs in the local offices of Thailand, Mexico, and Israel of two global corporations, Solna from Sweden, and Communication from the United States by understanding cultural boundaries. This research was conducted in 2000 by Baruch Shimoni to later be published in the *Journal of Anthropological Research*. Shimoni notices that the Thai, Mexican, and Israeli offices of the global corporations follow the headquarters' management styles reflected from their own cultures, and additionally incorporate their own local management styles. A hybridization of the local and headquarters management styles occurs, but the new style produced is in accordance with the cultural boundaries imposed by the Thai, Mexican, and Israeli managers.

The Swedish and American management styles according to Shimoni include "full obedience to common systems of rules and regulations, punctuality, and planning", as well as valuing "equity, participation, and openness" (217). These styles are imposed upon the local managers, and in effect, they integrate them with their own. For example, Shimoni explains that through the local culture's sense of boundary they interact with the headquarters' imposed styles differently, Thai managers separating their local style from the foreign, Mexican managers emulating the foreign and Israeli managers competing with the foreign management style. To put the hybrid product of the mixing of local management styles and headquarters' style into perspective, we view the way the three ethnic managers dealt with cultural differences in conducting business.

Aran, from Thailand draws a clear line between corporate culture (work life) and Thai culture (personal life) where he acts more relaxed in his private life but more assertive in the corporation. His separation of local and headquarters management styles actually brings the private life into his work life whenever he needs support, thus joining both cultures of assertiveness and relaxation to manage the Communication company.

Daminico of Mexico instead emulates the corporate culture by following the management orders of Solna and diffusing them throughout the members of the organization. He accepts the managerial styles of "delegation of authority, responsibility, autonomy, and self-management", which vary from the Mexican core management practices (229).

Lastly, Tamir our local manager of Solna in Israel approaches hybridization by participating in competition between the two culturally different management styles. Tamir believes that his local culture has better assets than Solna but admits that the Swedish company has granted him the "opportunity to enrich his management style by adopting the practice of long-term planning in place of dynamic learning, common to Israelis" (229).

This case reveals that every culture and individual has a sense of cultural boundary that is affected by their age, national or ethnic culture, gender, education, personal experiences, political leadership, and class structure. These cultural boundaries can be understood as guards that decide which foreign influence enters and the way they enter and diffuse throughout the local culture. Individuals of course are the ultimate judges of how they will perceive an outside trait, meaning what significance it will hold for society, how much of it will be allowed to exist and ultimately allowing the foreign to mix and mold with the local.

The Future for Cultural Diversity

Culture gives a sense of identity to people and has an inevitable ability to change over time. It colors the worlds of individuals by allowing them to identify themselves by certain foods,

clothes, values, languages, beliefs, worldviews, music, and so much more. Culture connects a society and brings it together, sharing common traits and seeing themselves as one. Culture puts meaning to life and reveals what people used to think and how they think today. Traditions and customs are passed down generations, but cultures remain static with the evolution of ideas. In fact, they are always in a state of flux, because their creators, humans are always changing by figuring out new ways to put meaning to life and sharing it with the following generations.

Since cultures identify people, it is impossible to avoid fears of cultural globalization leading to possible homogenization or Americanization/ Westernization. People want to protect who they are and who their ancestors were, consequently they will strongly respond against any sense of cultural takeover, while others will choose to appropriate the outside influence to their desire. Cultures and their unique responses to outside influences are subjective creating the complexity of understanding and pinpointing the existence of cultural homogenization.

As we have seen fear of cultural homogenization exists amongst many scholars and elites but one has to contemplate if the sole existence of a McDonald's restaurant or an English word is capable of complete cultural takeover. What significance does it hold if a McDonald's is spotted several times on a Parisian street, if it is not observed through the eyes of the consumers and put into cultural context of the local culture? Do people use the word cultural homogenization as a means of expressing their fear of losing their identity?

I propose they do, and that it is inaccurate in assuming so if not observed through the eyes of the local. I used to think exactly what people fear, that the presence of a McDonald's in a foreign country meant Americanization and cultural takeover. However, through my inquiry of cultural globalization and homogenization I have discovered that it is more complex than I thought. Cultures experience globalization differently and respond to it differently, thus unless everywhere something has the same effect and influence in the world it is not really homogenization but cultural diversity which we witness. Even if a McDonald's or Hollywood movie is present in a host country that does not mean that locals will perceive the cultural trait as perceived in the trait's original culture (American).

What matters most and varies across borders is the way locals incorporate the outside influence and assign meaning to it. Societies are constantly changing, forcing cultures to change because they are the masters behind our identities. People and cultures are bound to alter with the flow of generations and the evolution of our ideas. Now, whether these changes are ethical is up to the culture to decide, but I believe that any change goes hand in hand with its society and it shines direct light on how they are thinking about life, making it impossible to decide whether change is good or bad if the person himself is understanding things that way.

Hence, we can conclude that cultural diversity will continue to color our world and that it is not probable for the world's cultures to all be the same one day if we the creators of our cultures decide what to let in and dwell on. On the micro-level cultures may share the same language, movies, food, and dress, but on the deep rooted macro-level cultures are unique to themselves carrying with them their values, world views, and beliefs; the building blocks of cultures, keeping a society together and putting meaning to life.

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I Am Not a Nike Sneaker: A Personal View on Existentialism

by Nicolette St. Lawrence

Every man is born under a green fig tree. As a gardener by birthright, it is his own to cultivate. The trees of some men are voluptuous and gorged, teeming with ripe fruit year after year (because it is simply always growing season); others, sparse and balding; the type one would be grateful is not their hope for an umbrella should they encounter April showers. The branches of our trees grow more elaborate with every passing spring, and by the age of maturity are as intricate as the map of arteries from the heart. Glittering from the tip of every branch, fat, wonderful, purple figs beckon and wink. I sit perched, very much hungry, gazing up at my own verdant ceiling. One fig: a husband, and a happy home, and dinner waiting a six o'clock; another fig: Europe and Asia and South America; and yet another, particularly flirtatious fig: a renowned author and beloved professor. From where I sit poised, I might reach toward heaven and harvest any one of these fruits—freeing, flinging forth into the atmosphere it's formerly caged juice— and be satiated.

There are however, men who starve under the sustenance of their own fig trees. Bliss, or maybe cowardice, make statues of their fingertips, and they starve themselves to death. It is a suicide of the sovereign. Man is nothing else but which he makes of himself: that is the first principle of existentialism. Your life— in doing this, in making that, in going there, in not going there, in marrying her— is your art, and experience is your muse. Until I have conjugated verbs upon verbs into the past tense: I am nothing: until I am my own thoughts and ambitions realized. There is such beauty in that; in knowing I can be anything that I will myself to be.

Yet, this beauty is frightening to some. Frightening, not like a ghost, but like having a dream about starving under a luscious fig tree— frightening in its surfeit of optimism. For, in short, existentialism is a doctrine that confronts man with choice. In placing the awesome burden of essence upon the individual's own, two shoulders, responsibility, too, is then placed adjacently. Man becomes his own religion. He, alone, possesses the deed on his life. He, alone, is accountable for what he is, and what he is not. Should he invent himself by "could have", "should have" and "meant to", then that is his own patent, and his choice. Indeed, this is heavy on the individual. Enter more bricks: in choosing for himself, man must choose for all of man. This is because the nature of choice is to ascribe value to one thing over another; and the other *not* chosen is rendered the worse. Thus, "in fashioning myself, I am creating a certain image of man as I would have him to be." My action becomes an editorial in a universal Vogue Magazine. Thus our responsibility is heavier than imagined.

We are walking examples— a living, breathing City Upon a Hill. As I, a John Winthrop, blot this paper with the essence of me, I feel big. I know that I am not just a functioning cog in some great machinery. I know that I am not blindly serving the wind, or the moon, or any celestial body beyond myself. I know that I am no slave to my biology; I was born sans temperament; there is no formula that yields "Me" because I am not a Nike sneaker. I am a careful collection of handpicked nouns, and all mankind is me. The source of our freedom comes from our mind's ability to alter itself. \Our lives are but novels in progress—featuring inter-connected plots— writing ourselves into all corners of the world ad infinitum.

To the Existential eye, man starts out like the marble block before the David. He is empirical: while navigating, exploring, playing in the vast universe around him, he is confronted by a real situation. Weighted with the responsibility of choice, he is then obliged to resolve his attitude toward it. He must commit himself in a direction, and in doing so; commit the whole of humanity to that direction as well. Action, then, is unfathomably profound; so profound, that its image is only served by picturing the ocean, and every, individual atom of salt dwelling inside its vast, blueness. In establishing universal responsibility, mankind is bound more closely together than the idea of "universal human nature" ever rendered it (before it died). Such interconnectivity forces the question— "What would happen if everyone did so?"— to the

surface. At all times, (in the face of any decision, any size) man should act as though the calculating eyes of his seven billion peers were fixed upon his movements. Choices matter. Our choices become our truths... become our identities.

The verdict of choice and the construction of artwork are comparable. In understanding one, we can better understand the other. Maybe this is because they share genetic material; artwork, in one effect, is a decision. *Refraindre*: your life is your art, as well as the sum of your decisions. To understand the pair mutually is to run inside the halls of Existentialism. Neither artwork, nor decision, can be rightfully charged with caprice, for there lies method in both. Deliberateness lives inside each. Both are fueled by creation and invention— man's inexhaustible resources. Both are reactions. Furthermore, a work of art seeks to convey beauty; artwork and pronouncement of choice being related, the beauty in freedom of choice is unconditionally validated— a second cousin to Aphrodite.

In its natural form, the Existential philosophy manifests itself in real life portraits: novels, short stories, plays, poems, etc. As a doctrine of experience, it would only be paradoxical if it were otherwise. Life is nothing until it is lived; and catharsis through fiction is the closest a philosopher can take us to that action. The Existential being is concerned with truth— life as it really is. He condemns abstract theories written in the ink of the stars, deeming them too fragile to accommodate the diversity of action. Thus, another tenet of Existentialism is caked: the uniqueness and isolation of human experience.

In his play *Waiting for Godot*, Samuel Beckett captures Existentialism in its native habitat: two clowns— men— in bowlers, waiting for nothing. Philosopher's canons are usually typified by books of hard calculus: Plato's *The Republic*, Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, etc. Beckett's *Godot* is just that— the mantra of existentialism. But the letters "t h i s i s w h a t w e b e l i e v e" will not fall in line so neatly in his, particular manual. Beckett does not tell, he shows. Like a piece of fine art, Beckett's handbook will not spill its secrets with a quick glance in its direction. You must tease it out of his characters, extracting what you can from under the surface.

In the artwork of Bram van Velde, I not only see the passing footprints, but the telltale signs that the Existential philosophy decided to make his paintings a place of residence. Contemporaries and friends, van Velde and Beckett were artists of the same philosophical wavelength. Their products are not some gilded triumph over adversity, for they were not trying to "step over"; they did not fashion themselves Napoleons. Rather, their art was a harvest of the scattered seeds of inner frustration and misery, cultivated into tidy rows of premeditated life.

Van Velde's reality is splashed across the canvas in his oil painting "Sans Fin L'affanmè" [Figure 1]. His brushstrokes are an autobiography: a life of solace, a life that turned its back on the fallacies of jaded intellectualism. I feel the heartbeat of existentialism. Beckett's treatise, *Godot*, illuminates the uniqueness and isolation of individual experience— not as a guideline for living life, nor as a pillar for salvation, but simply as an unforgiving fact of the universe. Van Velde's "Sans Fin L'affanmè" is an enunciation of this principle. Even the most mathematically sound, calculated brushstrokes could never replicate, exactly, the painting as it is before us now; it was simply the artist's truth at that moment in space. Therefore, new truth is of a constant invention, and what is new is also adapted to the ever-changing environment. Van Velde's painting gives us access to his vault of truth.

Through his medium, the artist speaks in the Existential vernacular a second time. The painting's subject matter lends itself to the "encounter with nothingness." The human form, motley and miscellaneous under his fig tree, is cast aside and flouted for honest line segments. For the person alienated from God, from nature, from society, and from others, what is left but "nothingness?" Divorce the word from your preconceptions: hollow, black, emptiness; they are false notions. In the context of Existentialism, nothingness is like paper before the poem. Stripped of temperament and possibility of fate, man is left alone, naked, and without excuse. Nothingness is the recognition that everything is permitted. Bereft of justifications behind him and excuses in front of him, Van Velde's painting captures man in his forlorn state.

The next chapter of the “Sans Fin L’affanmè” declares Van Velde’s refusal to rest his head on the shoulders of The Acacacademy of Anthropopometry. In choosing to mediate in a style entirely his own, Van Velde forgoes the tantalizations of popular art in the 1950s: a genre that reached such an ascendancy as to be christened “Popular Art”. He rejects The Establishment.

Beckett shuns authority as well. In *Godot*, his “charleychaplin” men, Didi and Gogo, are characters in the strict construction of the word. Their lives span the seconds, minutes of two acts and a little over a hundred pages. The “character” Lucky, however, embodies the term in a more loose sense. In what I term a “vaudeville soliloquy” (because even though there are other players on stage, their overall stagnancy qualifies them as only half alive), Beckett allows Lucky to “think” out loud. Implying that his speech is “loquacious” would be a gross understatement.

Lucky’s speech pours forth from some uncorked region of his brain like water flinging itself off a waterfall— a steady stream of one, unpunctuated sentence, devoid of any clarifying conjunctions:

“Given the existence as uttered forth in the public works of Puncher and Wattmann of a personal God quaquaquaqua with white beard quaquaquaqua outside time without extension ho from the heights of divine athambia divine athambia divine aphasia loves us dearly with some exceptions for reasons unknown...”

This flume of melted thoughts cascades on for a hearty three pages in the text accompanied by a myriad of grey allusions. However, Beckett’s Lucky is about as flat as Shakespeare’s Hamlet: mountainous as the Pyrenees and the Alps stacked on top of each other. If ink through paper runs as deep as blood in the veins, then Beckett and Lucky are brothers. In allowing Lucky this moment of freedom “to think” on stage, Beckett writes in a part for himself. Therefore, Lucky’s parodies on authority are given the harmony, unity, euphony of absolute pitch between his on-stage speech and Beckett’s Existential philosophy: “Puncher and Wattmann, Essy-in-Possy, Testew and Cunard, Fartov and Belcher, Feckham Peckham Fulham Clapham”. As if taking the “long way” to mock intellectualism, Beckett veils his insults in batty sounding, uncomfortably crude, made up allusions. Laughter wields power. When you laugh at something, that something feels smaller in laughter’s wake. A note of mirth, purged from the body, released into the atmosphere, is a note of empathy. In reducing intellectualism to absurdity, Beckett successfully dethrones it from its aurous chair.

In what seems to be an especially difficult phrase for the Lucky/Beckett voice to rid the tongue of, the words “the” and “skull” meet exactly eight times within the parameters of Lucky’s speech. “The skull, the skull, the skull,” is repeated in a doomsday tone of voice unofficially reserved for the likes of pastor Johnathan Edwards. “The skull” is alluded to once more in the middle of Lucky’s liturgy: “in a word the dead loss per head since the death of Bishop Berkeley being to the tune of one inch four ounce per head approximately by and large more or less to the nearest decimal good measure...”⁷ In the final phrases he tosses away before his tongue completely ruptures, Lucky flings the words on stage as if he carries all the weight of the impending Earthly apocalypse on his lips: “the skull the skull the skull the skull in Connemara in spite of the tennis the labors of abandoned left unfinished graver still abode of stones in a word I resume alas alas abandoned unfinished the skull the skull in Connemara in spite of the tennis the skull...”⁷ He fixates on it, unable to move forward because he is unable to profess his message in a coherent way to the players on stage.

Lucky’s speech appears to be a regurgitation of oblique, apocalyptic innuendos that the man simply could not keep down. When reading through *Godot*, the sudden appearance in the text of this swollen, gorged paragraph is daunting next to the skeletal dialogue carried on by Didi and Gogo. Watching the speech played on stage is more daunting still. Daunting, in that Lucky so colorfully opposes the other characters on stage; he outshines their sepia-tone personalities. I deem his one, single line the most magnificent moment in all of the play. While the true meaning of Lucky’s speech rests six feet under the ground with Samuel Beckett, one is still able to penetrate the surface of its basic meaning. Decoded from whichever language one might call

it, Lucky's broken record speech affirms another facet of existentialism: that modern life is increasingly empty and devoid of meaning.

Sculptor Alberto Giacometti seems to have borrowed Lucky's record player and listened to its one, two lyrics incessantly throughout the later half of his art career. The lean, elongated figures represented by his statues suggest what he saw as an utter lack of substance to a man. They are but one step above primitive "stick figures" in the evolutionary timeline of fine art. Giacometti's Existential sentiments are easily discernable in his statue "Man Striding" [Figure 2]. I make the conjecture that the total amount of medium in his sculpture would not be enough to configure a single arm of Auguste Rodin's early twentieth century sculpture, "The Thinker" [Figure 3]. It seems that the "wastes and pines" prophesized in Lucky's speech are thoroughly realized in Giacometti's statue; as if corrosion ate "The Thinker" alive, and his skeleton—"Man Striding"—was all that remained afterwards. Completely isolated, the figure looks swallowed by his environment. He has lost himself while wandering the immensity of the universe and thus become engulfed in nothingness. Man fashioned from Giacometti's fingertips is "but a walking shadow". He does not look capable of profound thought and certainly does not look capable of movement. The subject's feet, scaled larger in size than any other part of his body (including his skull), appear as though they have been bogged down by weight of rotted figs; accumulating in miserable puddles around his extremities.

If you could somehow turn man inside out, and set him walking about the Earth as we saw his essence, then many a man would be long, black, and skinny; Didi and Gogo would be long, black, and skinny. I condemn their being in what they lack: substance and definition; "sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything."

Preamble to Van Velde and Giacometti was the famous and infamous Vincent van Gogh. Apt in the ability to see man under the cool shade of his fig tree, van Gogh captures, as he envisions, this same man when stripped of his life-giving fruit. "The Night Café" [Figure 4] depicts the interior of a pool hall in Arles' Place Lamartine. If one were looking for a more beautiful, atheistically pleasing van Gogh piece, one would not have to look for long. In the artist's own words, it is, "one of the ugliest I have ever done." I look at "The Night Café" once, and look away. I look back a second time, only to find the explanation behind the dreary reds, and greens and yellows. I can almost smell the musk and secondhand smoke permeating throughout the hall, blanketing everything. Lamps hover over the sad scenery, and illuminate the even sadder people in it. I see man confronted with the isolation of individual experience. Everything illuminated, I can see the horrors of loneliness: the loneliness of being unaccompanied, or even worse, the loneliness of being in a pair. The two men seated at the table, with sullen heads hung upon their elbows, are thoroughly *disengaged* in conversation. As I begin to animate the painting in my head, I hear one turn to the other and say, "You see, you feel worse when I'm with you. I feel better alone too."

Yet, Beckett's men in bowlers fear loneliness in definition: Loneliness—affected with, characterized by, or causing a depressing feeling of being alone; Alone—separate, apart, or isolated from others. Hung up on this classification as prescribed to them *a priori*, they are blind to their own empathy: Didi and Gogo are the loneliest men in the world. Each has yet to confront himself with his own essence. Blind to the freedom that is jailed within their own selves, they are doomed to stand on a wooden plank, waiting for nothing, forever. Time has proved stagnancy to be unshakably stable. It does not matter if Godot exists. His existence is an extraneous detail to Didi and Gogo's self-deception. I make the conjecture that the tree that fills the play's scenery was in fact, a fig tree. What Didi and Gogo need to do is invent themselves; to be their own saviors; to act—just as we must do. I extend a life saving fig to Beckett's charleychaplin men: reach into your own pockets and unlock the gates of heaven on Earth: unlimited choice of action.

[FIGURE 1]



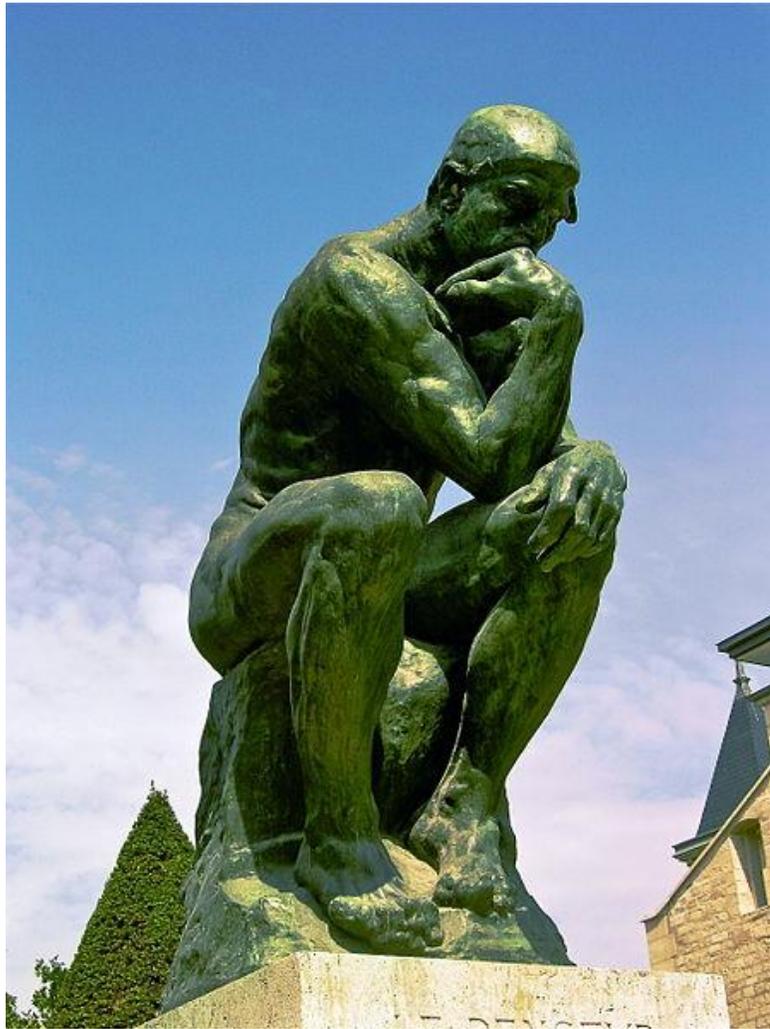
© Bram van Velde
Sans Fin L'affamé 1976.
Oil on canvas,
34 cm. x 24 cm.

[FIGURE 2]



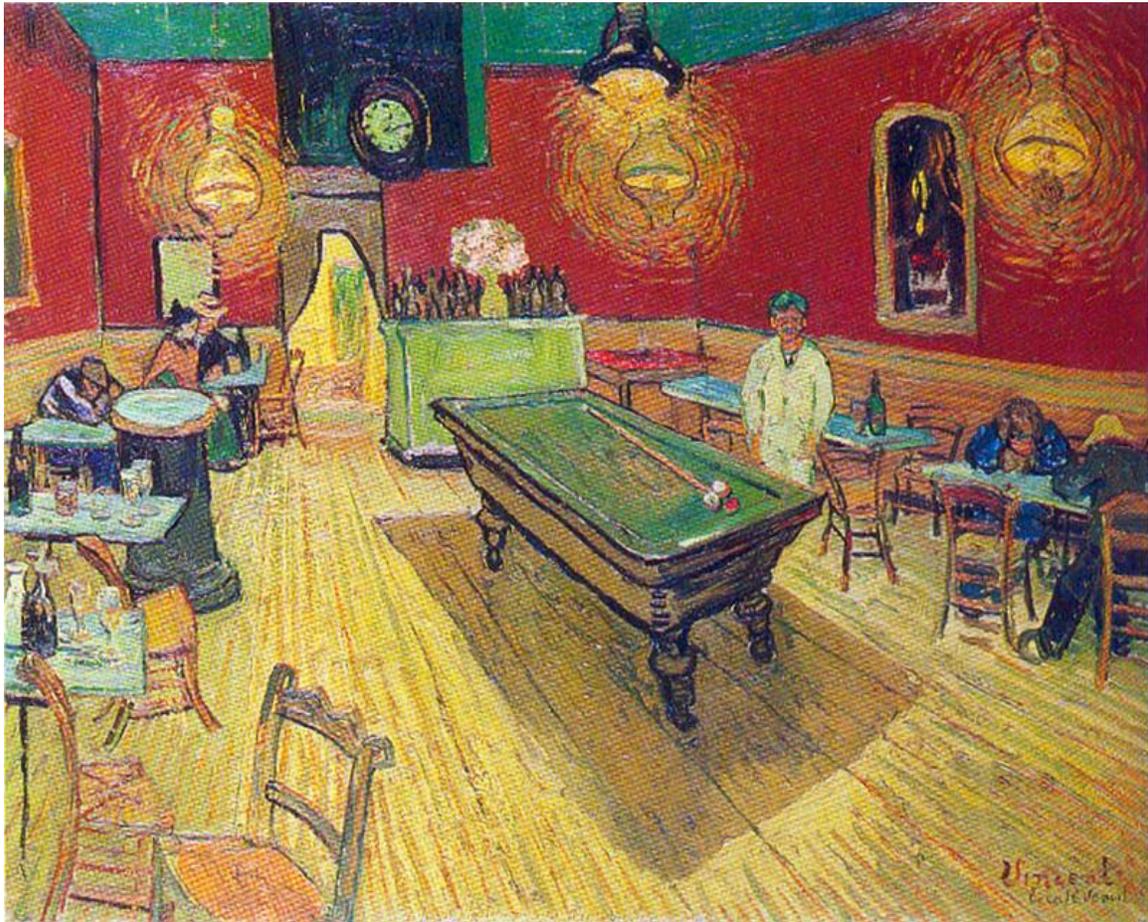
© Alberto Giacometti
Man Striding 1947.
Bronze,
76.5" x 33 x 32.4

[FIGURE 3]



© Auguste Rodin
The Thinker 1902.
Bronze and Marble,
71.5 x 36.4 x 59.5 cm

[FIGURE 4]



© Vincent van Gogh
The Night Café 1888.
Oil on canvas,
72.4 cm x 92.1 cm.

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Globalization and Americanization: The Cause and the Potential Future of Dollarization

by Silvia Argueta

The twenty-first century has seen the rate of interconnections among people, governments, and other groups grow exponentially. This phenomenon is known as globalization. One of the most predominant aspects of globalization deals with economics. As Gao Shangquan, a member of the UN's Committee for Development Policy, puts it, economic globalization is "the increasing interdependence of world economies as a result of the growing scale of cross-border trade of commodities and services, flow of international capital and wide and rapid spread of technologies. It reflects the continuing expansion and mutual integration of market frontiers, and is an irreversible trend for the economic development in the whole world at the turn of the millennium" (p. 1). When most people think of this phenomenon they tend to cite examples such as the increasing dependence of developed countries on the imported products manufactured primarily in Asia or they even point to the increasing integration of the European economies through the creation of the European Union, which among other things established a common currency for all member states. Yet among these examples of economic globalization is one that hits closer to home. For centuries, the American dollar has circulated alongside the national currencies of many independent, sovereign states. This phenomenon has been termed "dollarization" and until recently it only described the unofficial use of the U.S. dollar by the citizens of these independent states. In 1904 Panama became the first country to officially dollarize thereby replacing its national currency, the balboa, with the U.S. dollar. However, it was not until Ecuador officially replaced its national currency, the sucre, with the dollar that the debate among other countries as to whether they too should officially dollarize began. Dollarization in essence has emerged as a way of countering the negative impacts of economic globalization, on the one hand, and taking advantage of, as well as furthering, the increasing interdependence of world economies, on the other. Along with the role global factors such as rising oil prices have played in the decision to dollarize, this decision has also been influenced by a number of country-specific and regional factors such as political instability and regional integration. Furthermore, the expansion of this phenomenon to other regions of the world has sparked a number of concerns, most notably whether this phenomenon can become a form of U.S. imperialism or whether it already is. What this paper aims to do is determine what the key national, regional, and global factors are that have paved the road to dollarization. Ultimately, we will address some of the concerns that have been raised with the expansion of dollarization.

Before we can discuss the points outlined above, we must first give a detailed explanation of what dollarization is.

"What is Dollarization?"

The definition of dollarization given earlier is extremely general; in fact there are two types of dollarization: official (*de jure*) dollarization and unofficial (*de facto*) dollarization. Anil Hira and James Dean give a comprehensive definition of each type of dollarization. They define unofficial dollarization as the "spontaneous adoption of the dollar [...] by the general public without supporting government legislation" (Hira 462). Official dollarization, on the other hand, "entails government [legitimization], which may range from simply declaring the dollar to be legal tender, to withdrawing all domestic currency, to abolishing all other legal tender" (462). A country that has simply declared the dollar to be legal tender—meaning that this currency is a legal form of exchange and store of wealth—is said to be semi-officially dollarized. However, for a country to be considered fully dollarized, the U.S dollar must predominantly serve all three

functions of money—it must be used as a medium of exchange, as a store of wealth, and as a unit of account (Menon 228). Although unofficial dollarization is more common, it is official dollarization which provides the best look at how using a foreign currency impacts the economies and people of both the “adopting” country and the host country. Therefore our discussion will focus on officially dollarized countries but we will draw examples from unofficially dollarized countries in order to give a better picture of the phenomenon as a whole.

Incentives to dollarize

Regional Integration

Much of the literature on dollarization has focused on Latin America. In fact, Latin America is a great starting place in studying dollarization because not only is the majority of this region unofficially dollarized, but it is here where the only three fully dollarized countries in the world—Panama, Ecuador, and El Salvador—are located. To add to that, Latin America is a good example of the relationships that form as a result of economic globalization and the influence these ties play in the spread of dollarization. As Gao Shangquan tells us, economic globalization entails a mutual integration of market frontiers. This is exactly what has occurred in Latin America over the past two decades through the creation of regional trade agreements (RTAs) among sections of Latin American countries. Bringing the countries of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, and the Dominican Republic together in an economic, cultural, and political format is the Central American Integration System (“Central and South America”). Then there is the Andean Pact, a customs union among the South American countries of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Of the several RTAs formed in Latin America, the largest and most influential one is Mercosur which brings together the economies of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela. By becoming a member of Mercosur, all these countries have agreed to allow the free movement of goods, capital, services and people across their borders thus propagating the integration of these economies (“Mercosur”). Hence, when official dollarization was first openly proposed as a solution to the long history of macroeconomic instability in Latin America, the decision as to who would dollarize was greatly impacted by the degree of ties among nations.

In January 1999, Argentinean president, Carlos Menem, proposed to officially replace the national currency, the peso, with the U.S. dollar. Part of the reason for this proposal, as explained by Steve Hanke and Kurt Schuler, was due to the speculation that the peso would become devalued due to the rising rates of inflation (Hanke 406). At the time, the only fully dollarized country was Panama, which had been using the U.S. dollar as legal tender alongside the Panamanian balboa since the country’s independence in 1904. Official dollarization in Argentina, however, never happened partly due to the fact that it did not receive support from Brazil, its major trading partner, and the other members of Mercosur. In light of this outcome, Jeffrey A. Frieden points out that “just as [RTA] members that would not otherwise dollarize might do so as part of a concerted effort, so might a member of a [RTA] that would otherwise be a likely candidate for dollarization be less likely to dollarize on its own if fellow [RTA] members did not concur” (Frieden 325). In fact, at the time President Menem proposed official dollarization, Argentina was facing one of the worst cases of hyperinflation in Latin American history, with year-on-year inflation rising above 1000 per cent at the end of the 1980s (Minda 298). Although, Argentina did not go through with official dollarization, Ecuador and El Salvador took up the proposition and in 2000 and 2001, respectively, Ecuador and El Salvador became officially dollarized countries. Though the circumstances in both countries were different, they ultimately led to the same decision: official dollarization.

The case of dollarization in Ecuador and El Salvador

On January 9, 2000, the president of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, announced his decision to dollarize the economy thereby replacing the Ecuadorian sucre with the U.S. dollar (Berríos 60). Mahuad’s decision was made following two years of a huge economic crisis and a decade of

political instability. Politically, Ecuador had suffered from a series of resignations, fraud, corruption, emergency laws, strikes and farmer revolts (Minda 300). The degree of political instability in Ecuador was so high that in a period of 10 years, Ecuador had six different presidents (Berríos 57). Economically, the country was on the verge of total collapse. Information presented by Marcia Towers and Silvia Borzutzky shows that “inflation had increased from 25 to 30 percent in 1996-97 to 61 percent in 1999” (37). Stanley Fischer, First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, noted that “the proportion of Ecuador’s population in poverty reached almost 45 percent in 1999, up by a third since 1995” (Fisher). Furthermore, unemployment had doubled to 17 percent since the beginning of 1998, an alarming piece of information if one thinks of the panic generated in the United States when the U.S. Department of Labor reported that the national unemployment rate in October 2009 had reached 10.1 percent (“Labor Force Statistics”). President Mahuad’s decision to dollarize was a desperate one, considering the fact that he had dismissed dollarization only a few days earlier (Jameson 652). The president and his administration had come to believe that dollarization was the only way to save the nation from an economic collapse.

While Ecuador made the move towards dollarization with the goal of restoring economic stability amid a full-scale economic crisis, dollarization in El Salvador was undertaken during a period of relative economic stability. According to Marcia Towers and Silvia Borzutzky, “[c]ompared to other Latin American countries, total external debt was manageable, at about 23 percent of GDP in 2001.” Inflation and interest rates were also relatively low, with inflation averaging only about 5 percent (Towers 30). Nonetheless, only 39 days after President Francisco Flores announced his administration’s decision to dollarize the nation’s economy, dollarization went into effect (36). President Flores justified the move towards dollarization by claiming that along with lowering interest rates, fully dollarizing the economy could lead to an increase in foreign investment and a decrease in transaction costs thereby sparking greater economic growth (Towers 29). However, there also seems to have been socially driven reasons for dollarizing. The nation’s relatively stable economy was impacted by a high level of violence. A study by the Inter American Bank for Development revealed that the costs of direct and indirect violence represented 13 percent of El Salvador’s GDP in 1998 (Minda 300). Now a desire to further macroeconomic stability and deal with social and political instability is what in these countries partly led to dollarization.

Strength in numbers

We have discussed how certain national and regional factors may be incentives to dollarize yet the simple fact of knowing that there are already other countries that have undertaken the process may also be an incentive for more countries worldwide to dollarize. To begin with, the advantage this gives the potential dollarizing country is that they can learn from the experiences of those that have come before them. Take the case of Zimbabwe, which semi-officially dollarized in 2009. Zimbabwe’s main concern at the time was finding a solution to hyperinflation which in November of 2009 had reached an all-time high, 89.7 sextillion percent (Noko 347). In this respect, Zimbabwe could look to the case of Ecuador, which itself saw hyperinflation rise to 91 percent in early 2000 (Hira 471). A year after dollarization, that figure went down to 22.4 percent. Part of the reason for this is that associating with the U.S. dollar, one of the strongest and most stable currencies in the world, attracts foreign investment which could essentially lower inflation rates by using this inflow of capital to finance debts. This in turn may be one of the first steps toward economic recovery. A country with a stable economy is a more appealing trading partner than one that is persistently plagued by economic crisis.

Consequences of greater integration with the U.S. economy and world markets

When new countries emerge on the global stage, they naturally want to enjoy the benefits that result from a greater degree of interconnectedness but they also have to take into

consideration the potential costs. Official dollarization, as an example of the increasing integration of world economies, possesses certain benefits and costs for developing countries.

Economist Željko Bogetić mentions one of the benefits of dollarization which is the elimination of the transaction costs of exchanging one currency for another. This has proven to be very important in Latin America where the countries are extremely reliant on the exchange of goods, services, and remittances with the United States. For instance, the United States receives about \$1.6 billion, 60 percent of El Salvador's exports annually. In 2010, El Salvador received almost \$3.5 billion in worker's remittances which accounted for 16% of the country's GDP ("El Salvador"). Hence dollarizing countries can easily accept this inflow of capital without having to worry about having to pay extra transaction fees.

Secondly, official dollarization can be beneficial to those countries suffering from hyperinflation. This is probably one of the most important benefits that results from undergoing the dollarization process. When countries officially dollarize, they give up their power to issue their own currency. However, on several occasions it has precisely been a government's ability to print money that has led to hyperinflation. This is what occurred in Argentina and Zimbabwe. In order to finance their deficits, the governments of Argentina and Zimbabwe printed more and more money. Of course what resulted was a depreciation in the value of the peso and the Zimbabwean dollar and soon both countries were thrown into long periods of devastating hyperinflation. The scene became similar to that of Germany in the 1930s; citizens going to their local grocery store, for example, may have seen that the cost of one apple was ten thousand marks one day yet if they were to return the next day, they would find that the price of one apple had been raised to one billion marks. In fact, in Zimbabwe there were also political reasons behind the rise in hyperinflation. A month before the presidential election of 2008, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe proposed doubling salaries of the army and the police. Under normal circumstances such an announcement would be received with enthusiasm; however, the Zimbabwean public knew that these policies only fueled hyperinflation and that these benefits would be wiped out within weeks (Smith 3). For countries that make the decision, official dollarization serves as an alternative way of dealing with hyperinflation, which if it succeeds in lowering the inflation rate, may open the door to greater integration with the world market. Again, the use of a stable currency such as the U.S. dollar lowers the degree of currency risk making other economies more willing to work with newly dollarized countries.

Official dollarization, however, entails a great cost: the loss of independent monetary policy. This serves as a great comparison between dollarization and the European Union, which many people tend to think of as being the same. Although both do entail the loss of independent monetary policy, in a monetary union an entirely new currency is created for all member states to use and 'each member has the right to sit on the board where economic policy is decided' (Minda 305). Dollarization, however, magnifies the shock felt by this loss since a dollarized country is entirely subordinated to the decisions made by American Federal Reserve, which bases its decisions on factors affecting the United States, not taking into consideration the effects these factors have on dollarized countries (305). As we will discuss later, the subordination of economies to the monetary policies of the U.S. raises concerns of dollarization being a form of U.S. economic imperialism.

Furthermore, a country that dollarizes can no longer use its monetary policy as form of "counter-cyclical instrument" (Minda 307). This describes the attempt made by some governments to protect their citizens from world recessions or emergencies by deliberately spending more money than they receive ("government economic policy"). El Salvador could have used these policies, for example, following the earthquakes in 2001 which killed 844 people and left 4,723 injured, destroyed 108,226 houses and damaged more than 150,000 buildings ("Magnitude 7.7"). By the time the earthquakes hit, El Salvador had already made the move toward official dollarization. As Towers and Borzutzky note, "[w]ith no ability to influence monetary policy, the government had to choose between borrowing funds or cutting the budget. Lacking sufficient international financing, the government chose to cut ministerial budgets by 17

percent in 2002” (Towers 44). These cuts resulted in a reduction of social services and programs which had a negative impact on lower-income groups.

As more countries are brought into the global market, a negative result of the increasing level of cross-border trade is the greater competition and demand for commodities and services as countries become industrialized. It is this increasing competition and demand that can exacerbate the magnitude of external shocks felt around the world, even back in the dollarized countries. In their analysis of the link between external shocks and international inflation, Alessandro Galesi and Marco J. Lombardia discuss a typical external shock—rising oil prices. The following excerpt explains how oil price shocks affect macroeconomic performance namely through their effects on production costs and inflation rates:

- Higher costs of production. Since oil is a production factor, a price increase will raise the costs of production, while in the medium-long term there could be a substitution of oil with cheaper energy inputs [...]
- Inflationary effect. Since oil-based products are an important component of the Consumer Price Index, the first-round effect of higher oil prices is a sudden increase of the headline inflation. The degree of pass-through into domestic prices depends on the domestic response to the shock (Galesi 8-9).

One of the causes for the rise in oil prices is the increasing demand for it. In recent years, the rise in demand for oil has primarily come from developing Asia, particularly China and India. According to Frederic Mishkin, “the region accounted for about 40% of the global growth in demand for oil” during the 2004-2006 period (Mishkin 189).

How do external shocks relate to the issue of dollarization? On the one hand, these same external shocks may be what drive countries to dollarize in the first place. As we discussed previously, national and regional factors may propagate macroeconomic instability or simply serve as an incentive to dollarize, but these factors mixed with negative external pressures only increases a country’s likelihood of dollarization, either officially or unofficially. Ironically enough, officially dollarizing leaves a country vulnerable to future negative external shocks since by then the dollarized country will not have its independent monetary policy to serve as a “counter-cyclical instrument.” Looking back to El Salvador’s case following the earthquakes that hit in 2001, the government had to make decisions that were socially costly because it did not have this power.

Ultimately, it is up to each individual country to weigh the benefits and costs of official dollarization to see whether in its particular case, the benefits outweigh the risks. What these countries need to keep in mind is that this economic change may also bring about a shift in its political power and cultural integrity.

American Economic Imperialism?

In the 1990s, following the end of the Cold War, the United States emerged as the sole superpower. Since that time, many have argued that a new period and new form of imperialism has ensued. To some, rather than solidifying its power through territorial expansion, the U.S. has done so primarily through its influence over the world market.

To begin with, supporters of dollarization have come to see it as a way to solidify the United States’ status as a superpower and as a way for the U.S. to exercise that power. After all, as Robert Mundell once said, “[g]reat powers have great currencies” (Cohen 70). In fact, a better way for the United States to exercise its power and create an international environment that, according to Ivo Daalder and James Lindsay, will be “conducive to its interests and values” is through the use of economic, military, or political coercion (“The Globalization of Politics”).

Officially dollarized Panama is an excellent example of a country that is extremely vulnerable to US political and military domination. Benjamin Cohen explains how in March 1988, Panamanian assets in US banks were frozen, and all payments and dollar transfers to Panama were prohibited. What the US government hoped to achieve with these economic sanctions was the removal of General Manuel Noriega from power following accusations of corruption and

drug smuggling against the General. It did not take long for the effects of this campaign to be felt all across Panama. Eventually local banks were forced to close, a liquidity shortage—a lack of assets that can be easily converted to cash—ensued, and over the course of one year, the country saw domestic output fall by one-fifth. Despite efforts by Panamanian authorities to create a substitute currency, mainly by issuing cheques in standardized denominations which they hoped recipients would then use as cash, the effects on the economy were still devastating. To add to the already deteriorating situation, in 1989, after the initial attempts to remove Noriega from power failed, the Reagan administration mounted a military invasion that led to a temporary occupation of the country. U.S. military forces did not leave until after the U.S. government felt that a new, friendlier government had been put in place (Cohen 69).

It is cases such as these that have instilled a fear in many people that it could happen again, anyplace where the US government holds a considerable amount of influence whether it is economic, political, or even social. These fears increase as the United States' sphere of influence increases with the more countries that officially dollarize. This brings up another significant point. The increased use of the U.S. dollar around the world has further increased the United States' tangible power or what economist Joseph Nye calls 'soft power'—"the ability to exercise influence by shaping beliefs and perceptions" (Cohen 70). As the number of countries using the dollar increases, it reinforces the general belief in the U.S. dollar as a powerful and stable currency and in the position of the U.S. as a global superpower. Hence, whereas "hard power" requires the use of force, in a way, in order to maintain the United States' position on the global stage, "soft power" accomplishes the same feat but through more subtle forms.

Of course, increasing American hegemony does not always have a good connotation. In fact at times, U.S. political and cultural power makes the U.S. a target for those who blame it for their problems. This is how populist parties are able to gain power in a country. By convincing the general population that the rising costs of basic goods and services is a result of dollarization and U.S. domination of the local economy and not a result of corruption or inefficiency on the part of local governments, for example, may spur anti-American sentiments and encourage violence against anything associated with the superpower. Because the phenomenon of official dollarization is relatively new, one of the only examples that exists of resentment toward U.S. power, in particular 'soft power,' is in regards to the loss of a country's national symbol—the domestic currency.

For many emerging countries or existing developing nations their national currency is what sets them apart from all other nation-states. A particular country may share a lot in common with another, especially if one country was dominated by another other at some point in history. As a result, we may also see a greater degree of similarity in terms of the systems of government used and we may even see the use of the same language. Let's take France as an example. During the age of imperialism, France took over many parts of Africa. In the process, the French imposed their political system and language on the indigenous populations. When these territories became independent in the 20th century, the first thing they did was establish a national currency that represented who they were as a people, as a culture. Tepei Hayashi explains how all currencies share one specific function:

...they all represent, in one way or another, the countries in which they are used. Many bills and coins are decorated with images of important historical figures from the country, such as kings, political leaders, scientists, authors and national heroes. Buildings and monuments that show different styles of architecture are commonly used designs on bills in many countries. Animals and plants that are unique to the country or represent its regions are also designs that can be found on many currencies (Hayashi 24).

So what happens in cases such as official dollarization? Because of official dollarization, a country must now let go of its national currency indefinitely. The new bills and coins they have to use have the faces of important figures in American history thus making the currency culturally meaningless in countries where the people do not share the same history with the United States. Hence, a country's unique sense of national identity is lost. This is why whenever official

dollarization has been publicly endorsed by a national government, the streets become filled with citizens in protest. We saw these events take place in Argentina in 1999 when the president proposed officially replacing the peso with the U.S. dollar; we also saw it in Ecuador in 2000 which actually led to a military coup that overthrew President Jamil Mahuad.

Dollarization impact on the U.S. and future policy changes

At the moment, the United States is following a policy of “benign neglect” towards countries that have officially adopted the dollar. While the government does not actively encourage or discourage dollarization in another country, it does give technical assistance to those countries that have made the decision to officially dollarize (Cohen 73). However, this policy is likely to change over the following decades. The official dollarization of larger countries will first off, show the American public that this phenomenon is expanding. Secondly, we take up Alexandre Minda’s argument that this phenomenon will force the American government to re-examine its position on dollarization on the basis of the costs and benefits it may bring to the US.

Apart from the political advantages that official dollarization brings to the United States, as previously discussed, there are also four economic advantages that the United States gains as a result of dollarization expanding to other countries:

- First, it strengthens the role of the US dollar in international finance and trade.
- Second, it increases the seigniorage revenue—the profit a government makes by issuing its currency—that the American Federal Reserve receives by becoming the sole issuer of the official currency of a dollarized country.
- Third, it eliminates the cost of exchanging U.S. dollars into the former currency of a dollarized country.
- Finally, the creation of a more stable environment stimulates the export of US commodities and American investment (Minda 311).

Some of the potential benefits, just outlined, for the United States were also noted as being potential benefits for dollarizing countries. This is an interesting observation as it shows that benefits do not flow in a unilateral way, but are exchanged or shared in the globalized world today.

Another thing to keep in mind is that with any potential advantages, there are costs associated. For the United States, the same factor that leads to more political and economic power—the greater circulation of the dollar in foreign countries—may bring some negative changes to the public sector as well as inflict potential constraints on American monetary policy.

One of the concerns in the world today involves the expansion of businesses outside their home countries in search of cheap labor to produce commodities in high demand in industrialized countries. The potential problem with dollarization is that it may encourage US corporations to locate more production south of the border (where most of the dollarized countries are) thus leading to the sudden unemployment of blue-collar workers in the United States (Cohen 77).

On another note, as mentioned, dollarization may introduce new problems for the U.S. For instance, how will the U.S. be impacted if one or more countries decide to go through the process known as “de-dollarization,” which is when countries stop using the dollar and reintroduce their former currencies? After benefitting from the increased seigniorage revenues generated from selling the U.S. dollar to dollarized countries, could the sudden move toward de-dollarization by a number of countries provoke a monetary shock that could cause the dollar to plunge?

One the other hand, we can ask ourselves if the US would be forced to participate more directly in resolving issues that arise in dollarized countries since these countries no longer have the tools they had previously to address these issues. At the moment, because the countries that have dollarized are relatively small, the United States has been able to avoid getting involved, but what if more countries and bigger countries dollarize? It is possible that these

changes will eventually bring about some form of action from the United States. What that will be remains to be seen (Minda 312).

Conclusion

The issue of dollarization is not going away anytime soon. In fact, the recent semi-official dollarization of the Zimbabwean economy has showed that this phenomenon is expanding past the boundaries of the region where it began—Latin America.

Though the decision to officially dollarize obviously has a great impact on the economy and the people of a country, we have shown in this paper that the phenomenon has influenced the way the world has come to see the United States; as a superpower that at any moment may use the power it has acquired to create an environment “conducive to its interests and values.” What remains to be seen is what significant impact the expansion of this phenomenon may have on the US economy and on the American people. With the help of globalization, we may not have to wait long for that answer.

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Demand of Green Public Space in Urban Design

by Yasuyo Tatebe

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations (UN) states, “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (Article 1, 1948). However, global society faces inequalities and is unable to satisfy people’s basic needs. According to *If the world were a village of 100 people*, “50 would be malnourished and 1 dying of starvation, 33 would be without access to a safe water supply, 39 would lack access to improved sanitation, 24 would not have any electricity (and of the 76 that do have electricity, most would only use it for light at night) 48 would live on less than US\$ 2 a day, 20 would live on less than US\$ 1 a day” (“If the world,” 2011). McHale and McHale (1977) have stated in their book, *Basic human needs: A framework for action*, that basic human needs consist of equal access to food, health, education, shelter, and clothing. Housing or living conditions, therefore, is a significant element of this idea and contributes to improve human rights.

The UN (1948) states the importance of human habitation: “Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care...” (Article 25). However, the statistics show that most people are living under minimal living conditions today. According to *If the world were a village of 100 people*, 80% of the world’s population lives in substandard housing. In particular, this inequality of environmental conditions occurs in urban poor areas. Moreover, in most cases, children are the greatest victims of these inequalities. Their rights are neglected, not respected. For example, children in Mongolia live underground to keep warm in the winter, children in the Philippines live on the street and survive by collecting garbage, children in Africa have to travel by foot to get water for their families, children in India live in prostitution areas called “red light” districts, and children in South Los Angeles live in gang territories. The neighborhood environment affects a child’s development both physically and psychologically. Those who live in urban poor areas experience stress, and it affects their developmental process negatively. These communities need functions to make them healthier and livable. Evidence is emerging that Active Living Infrastructure (ALI), integrating public space, can contribute to their goal. It can create or strengthen social ties, reduce negative factors, such as dysfunction of public space in underprivileged urban communities, and promote quality of life for children.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to show how the neighborhood environment affects a child’s development, how public space functions in communities, and how to apply ALI in urban design.

Humans and Their Environments

“Good” and “Bad” Neighborhood

Environment is defined as the surroundings that include physical, biological or social conditions in humans’ activities in daily lives. A neighborhood can be considered the physical environment in which people live. The quality of a neighborhood plays an important role in the lives of humans because the physical environment influences the health of the people who live in it. Thus, bad conditions of a neighborhood can be considered a violation against basic human rights. In particular, urban cities face physical environmental challenges such as overpopulation, environmental pollution, and a high crime rate caused by poverty.

According to the New York City Department of City Planning (2010), the population of New York City was over 8 million (8,391,881) in 2009 with 4.8% growth since 2000. This residential crowding caused a high number of demands for “space”, such as living space, parks, and parking lots. A particular important need can be seen in the lack of parks. Families with

children are particularly affected. One professor told the story of when she lived in the Bronx with her little kids. If she wants to hold a birthday party for her children in the park around noon, she has to save a place at 7am in the morning. Otherwise, there is no space in the park to have a picnic.

Factors of Environmental Inequality

Agyemang et al. (2007) in their study have defined environmental toxins in urban areas as “nuisance from neighbors, drug misuse, youngsters frequently hanging around, rubbish on the streets, feeling unsafe and dissatisfaction with green space.” In particular, individual economic status, race and urbanization cause these problematic environments.

An individual’s economic status prevents him from choosing a proper neighborhood environment and causes separation between the poor and rich: rich people tend to live in safe, green, clean, commutable suburbs, while the poor live in dangerous, dry, harsh urban areas. This situation can be seen in urban cities and is called the “doughnut effect”, a situation in which “a sugary ring with an empty centre, is a fine metaphor for the rich suburbs around a collapsed inner city” (“The Doughnut effect”, 2002). According to Evans & Marcynyszyn (2004), the children from low-income households face 5 times more environmental inequality, such as crowding and noisy living conditions, than those who are in middle-income families.

Day & Wager (2010) have discovered that the children who are ethnic minorities face disproportionate environmental risks and they are more exposed to toxins than the children from wealthy white households. Abercrombie et al. (2008) have found that the combination of income and ethnic identity prevent children from access to public space: “Low- and middle-income groups living in mostly-white block groups and high-income groups living in mostly-minority block groups had the lowest access to public parks.”

Today, 3.5 billion people (a half of the world’s population) live in urban areas, and it is estimated to increase by 84% by 2050 (UN, 2010). It is clear that the rapid urbanization accelerates urban problems, and in particular, the impact on the environment is serious. The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) (2010) has defined the environmental toxins of urbanization as “water supply, sewage, solid waste, energy, loss of green and natural spaces, urban sprawl, land contamination, traffic, transport, air pollution and noise.” Under the rapid urbanization, green space is shrinking and urban areas face a lack of green residential environment (Groenewegen et al., 2006), and it affects people’s lives. Irvine et al. (2009) have found “people in the city-center green space heard no natural sounds and a large number of mechanical sounds.”

Thus, economic status, racial identity and urbanization cause environmental inequalities among people and affect their basic human rights. In particular, children are the greatest victims mostly due to the fact that their rights are ignored in the global society (The Family Foundation, 2011). Qvortrup, Corsaro, and Hoing (2009) have emphasized children’s vulnerability in certain circumstances or environment toxins (p. 51). Those who are brought up in the highest risk areas have no access to equal rights. The Academy Award- winning documentary film, *Born into brothels: Calcutta's red light kids* (2004), tells a story about the children who grow up in Red Light districts, prostitution nests in India. Their tragic reality shows the importance of environment for children, how easily the environment affects children, and how much children are violated in an adult’s world.

Humans and Nature

Beneficial Effects of Green Space

The human relationship with nature has been studied for many years. Researchers have discovered a positive relationship between the amount of green space and human mental health. According to Nisbet & GickCan (2008), “People who are more ‘nature related’ are more likely to act environmentally and report better psychological health.” One of reasons may come

from human instinct. Evans & Marcynyszyn (2004) have shown that “63% of park users recognize natural sounds such as birds, wind, and trees as pleasant.” Nature promotes a feeling of safety and reduces stress, improves mood, and curbs anger, frustration, and aggression (Irvine et al., 2009). According to Groenewegen et al. (2006), people who see urban scenes mark higher levels of stress; however, when they see images of nature, their stress level dropped. Nature also affects a person’s values and actions. Professor Richard Ryan, psychologist at University of Rochester has reported in his experiment that a natural environment gives people the sense of value in community and relationships, and makes them more generous with their money (Hagen, 2009).

Children’s Environment and Their Development

The quality of the physical environment surrounding children is greatly responsible for the formation of their identities: how they feel, how they recognize themselves, and how they see the world (Qvortrup, Corsaro & Honig, 2009, p. 203). According to Day & Wager (2010):

Local environments have the potential to affect physical fitness and development, socialization, psychological well-being and self-identity... Social skills and culture are developed through interactions with others; creativity through opportunities to adapt and shape surroundings; confidence and competence by the negotiation of limited risks.

Parks and streets are important for children both physically and mentally. Most children spend their free-time in parks and on the streets, and those memories of childhood playing in parks and nature promote children’s physical activities level, independence, and social skills. According to Veitch, Salmon & Ball (2007), children’s playtime in parks and their physical activity levels are correlated. Day & Wager (2010) have found out “lower BMI in 11-12 year old girls was associated with access to specific facilities, seeing other children play outdoors and the presence of bike and walking trails in their neighborhood.” Moreover, physical activity promotes not only physical health but also mental health (Veitch et al., 2007). Parks also contribute to children’s independence. Parks are the places where children can be free from parental observations. Under this condition, children can learn to be independent and to be socialized (Day & Wager, 2010). Notation: Children also consider streets as an important space. Compared to parks, streets are more disorganized and function as connecting locations; however, children also spend a lot of time on the street with their friends (Day & Wager, 2010). However, an unhealthy neighborhood environment contributes to negative development:

Lower perceptions of safety and trustworthiness of neighbors have been associated with emotional disorder, prevalent among children and perceived neighborhood disorder with lowered hope for the future among 11-14 year olds (Day & Wager, 2010).

Absence of public space blunts the benefits of a child’s physical and mental development. It leads to lack of socialization, losing self-identity, decreasing physical activity, and promotes dependency on TV or computer games. *National youth risk behavior survey* (2003) has reported that about 38% of high school students watch TV three or more hours on a daily basis. The interview for youth about spending their free time also has shown that 98% of them watching TV an average of 11.2 hours a week as their leisure (Doak, 2005). The interview conducted by Veitch et al. (2009) asked “Would you like to go to parks more often than you do?” A child answered, “No, I’d rather play the X-box.” Obesity or overweight is co-related to an inactive lifestyle caused by watching TV or TV games. According to Doak (2005), the percentage of overweight children living in the US has increased since 1970, and it has almost tripled between 1999 and 2002 (p. 59). O’Brien (2008) has reported that the absence of cycling lanes, paths and pleasant or safe sidewalks (auto-dependent neighborhoods) contributes to the physical activity level. Moreover, less experience in nature contributes to a narrow sense of space. A Japanese psychiatrist, Masaaki Noda (1988), has discovered that different living conditions affect a child’s sense of the world in his book *Bleached children*. He has conducted an experiment with pictures of 100 children who live in different urban settings, and found out that children living in tall buildings have less interest in nature.

Public Space in Communities

Functions of Public Space

The presence of public space is not only beneficial for a child's psychological development but also influences urban areas positively. Public space operates as a function, a community "intersection" in physical and social communication, and a shelter. The Mayor of Bogota, Enrique Peñalosa, mentions how public space contributes to realizing a livable community. He said in his interview:

Public spaces are not a frivolity. They are just as important as hospitals and schools. They create a sense of belonging. This creates a different type of society – a society where people of all income levels meet in public space is a more integrated, socially healthier one ("*Enrique Peñalosa*").

Public space promotes social ties among residents. Prezza & Pacilli (2007) have found "more autonomy and play in public areas during childhood influences more intense neighborhood relations, a stronger sense of community and less fear of crime." An Individual's experience in green public space enhances the sense of community and enforces social ties (Irvine et al., 2009). According to Prezza & Pacilli (2007), the sense of community consists of belonging, influence, integration, fulfillment of needs, and emotional connection. This psychological "connection" reduces feelings of loneliness (Prezza & Pacilli, 2007) and strengthens bonding among community members (Townley & Bret, 2011). In the community, the actual crime rate is reduced (Groenewegen et al., 2006). Townley & Bret (2011) have mentioned "feeling less lonely in the neighborhood was related to the presence of friends, to greater perceived safety, and to the availability of activities..." Thus, the quality of the neighborhood is significant to a healthy community.

Public space contributes to physically connecting place to place, and it creates accessibility in the community. Bogota, Colombia succeeded in enhancing city accessibility using a function of public space. The Mayor of Bogota, Enrique Penalosa, designed the city, which has "access" to green public space for all citizens by introducing a new bus system, 1200 parks, sidewalks, a 17km pedestrian street (the world's longest), a 45km greenway, and 100,000 trees ("*Enrique peñalosa*"). 1200 new parks create equal access for all citizens and planting 100,000 trees may help ease the harsh atmosphere in Bogota. This strategy was used in a recent New York City re-development project, "PlaNYC". The New York City administration (2008) and the public space design firm, Gelh Architects (2007), aim to re-create New York City so that all citizens can access public space within 10 minutes. To realize this goal, they plan to establish several parks, implement 300km of cycle lanes, plant 1 million trees, and expand the bicycle network. Since the project started in 2007, the bicycle network has reached 725km in 2009 ("*World class streets*," 2008). As a result, New York City became a livable community for all: 84% of Madison Square Park users approve the park renovation, 4.5 times more pedestrians use the open space in Times Square than cars, the traffic in Broadway was cut by a half, 63% of traffic injuries and 35% of pedestrian injuries were reduced respectively (Gehl Architects, 2007).

Parks and streets also function as a shelter. Day & Wager (2010) have mentioned that "parks were an important social space; however and also for some of the younger a valued quiet space away from the hassles of home and school." The children who do not have enough private space in their home tend to hang out in parks and on streets. This tendency can be seen especially in low-income households. For the children who are not wealthy, public spaces let them escape and in the parks they can have more freedom than they do at home (Day & Wager, 2010).

Healthy Community

Public space contributes to people's quality of life. People who live in a healthy and livable community with access to public space and a safe environment tend to reach a high level of satisfaction (O'Brien, 2008). O'Brien has reported that "workers who walk or cycle to work are more likely to enjoy commuting than those who use motorized transportation." Enrique Penalosa, the Mayor of Bogota, Columbia says, "Green public space makes the community healthy which helps people increase their happiness or quality of life" ("*Enrique Peñalosa*"). An eight-year-old girl says, "I love going to the park just because I love the slide and I love going up and down and my dad tries to catch me" (Veitch et al. 2007). Gehl, Gemzoe, Kirknaes and Sondergaard (2006) have shown in their book *New city life*, a good park:

fulfills many needs with a versatility that makes room for an old woman who feeds the ducks every morning, a homeless person sitting on a bench and talking to a pensioner walking his dog, joggers, children, strolling couples, and all the others.

Kongens Have, the Denmark's oldest royal park, has had great success in promoting citizens' quality of life. It has rich natural features such as herbs, rose gardens, trees, open grass fields, and attractions such as a puppet theater, a café, and a restaurant. The study discussed how on any summer weekday, around 750 people may visit the park and enjoy their time by picnicking with their friends, playing games and sports, reading, and talking. The park has children-friendly options so families visit often (Gehl, Gemzoe, Kirknaes & Sondergaard, 2006).

Active Living Infrastructure (ALI)

Design Community for All

The urban design, which promotes residents' involvements in their community, is called "Active Living Infrastructure". The Active Living by Design Organization (2010) aims to realize an active living infrastructure, as "all communities are healthy communities where routine physical activity and healthy eating are accessible, easy and affordable to everyone." The American Society of Landscape Association (2011) has explained Designing for Active Living as:

A new approach to community design that aims to design communities for all users... (it) involves creating safe access to transit; 'Complete Streets,' which offer wider sidewalks and bike lanes; bike share networks and stations; community trail networks; parks with exercise equipment; and community gardens -- anything that gets people outdoors.

Thus, public space plays a significant role in ALI. The South Bronx Active Living Campaign successfully shows that "Active Living Infrastructure" is reasonable when applied to an urban area.

Hunts Point, which has 360,000 residents, is located in the South Bronx, New York, and has four miles of waterfront area. Fifty percent of children in this area are under the national level of poverty, and 33% of its residents are under 18 years old (Active Living by Design, 2010). Their living environment is polluted and has a high rate of crime and unemployment. The South Bronx Active Living Campaign aims to encourage residents to participate and empower the community to ease inequality of environmental experiences by working with many other administrations in NY State and local non-profit organizations. They explain "This project aims to create 'third place' in the Hunts Point neighborhood. It explains third place as "not home and not work — where people meet and interact, and where physical activity is natural and fun" (Active Living by Design, 2010).

As a result of their campaign, Hunts Point recently became a popular place for middle-income families and artists. This project built greenways, sports parks, two waterfront parks, and bikeways. Residents who saw a dramatic change in their community commented that "by helping to create the new parks in the area, street crime has gone down. People are outside more and taking it upon themselves to help beautify their neighborhood." A resident who has

children said: “I run a day-care center from my home and I know that the greenway and new parks will provide a healthy place for my kids to grow up” (Active Living by Design, 2010).

There are two factors that contribute to increase environmental toxins in urban areas: poverty and population density. According to a report from the United Nations, “Most of the expected urban growth will take place in developing countries, where the urban population is expected to double, from 2.6 billion in 2010 to 5.2 billion in 2050” (UN, 2010). Urban areas will experience greater population density due to urbanization, making residents less active. Ohunleye, Barton, Pretty & Sandercock (2011) have discovered that children living in urban areas are less active than the children in rural areas.

Poverty also contributes to the creation of environmental inequality. Groenewegen, Van den Berg, De Vries & Verheij (2006) have discovered that Socio-Economic Status (SES) differences contribute to people’s well-being. Also the poor children in urban area face toxins more than the children in rural areas (Day & Wager, 2010). Nisbet & Gick (2008) have found: “Poorer people are also more vulnerable to health hazard that can also be environment, SES and city infra hinders pro-environment activity and health behavior.” People in low-income households tend to lack green space because of urbanization and have higher risk of aggressive behavior. Vietch et al. (2007) have found that fighting and intimidation was mentioned in nearly every low-SES group; however, it was not reported as an issue in the high SES groups.

Even when these two factors are present, green space can reduce negatives such as aggression and stress. Groenewegen et al. (2006) have suggested that green public space is necessary in over-populated urban areas to minimize these urban toxins. Therefore, ALI is most valuable when it applies in toxic urban conditions such as the South Bronx, or cities such as Bogota in the Third World.

ALI in Reconstruction Process

ALI contributes to the re-construction process from war or natural disaster. A tsunami disaster area in Japan shows how reasonable public space is used in a recovery process as Active Living Infrastructure. Since a historical magnitude 9.0 earthquake hit the northern part of Japan on March 11, 2011, more than 337,819 people still live in temporary housing (“図録・東日本大震災の地域別被害状況,” 2011). Those who live in refugee camps feel unsafe, fear, and anxiety for their life. The Media has reported heightened stress for refugees in temporary lodging: no privacy, lack of basic infrastructure, poor community ties. Some criticize that housing firms and the government just built temporary houses without considering “community design”, and so some camps face difficulty establishing social ties among residents (Kaneno, 2011). However, in one temporary camp, a revolutionary movement occurred. In an empty space in the camp, people put a “surviving flowerpot” from the earthquake. The number of pots increased day by day and filled in the empty space among temporary houses. Shortly after, children gathered and started to play in the space. Following these events, adult residents began to go outside and started to have conversations with each other. A previously empty space is now an important community space for residents. It functions for all: a park for children and a spiritual space for seniors to prevent loneliness at home (Site from mother’s story on TV program in Japan). This example shows that one flowerpot can make a change by turning an empty space into an intersection of community, and creating social ties among residents.

Discussion

Designing communities by creating functional public space makes a huge impact on both human and community development. Green spaces promote physical activities, reduce stress, and curb aggressive behaviors. Also, green public spaces reduce negative elements in urban areas and create or strengthen social ties in communities. Findings suggest that urban design should utilize elements of ALI in underprivileged urban communities. Veitch et al. (2007) says “It is important to further explore the impact of the neighborhood physical environment on

the day-to-day experience of children's lives. Future research may need to examine ways in which children can have the opportunity to more freely explore their local neighborhood. For example, providing safer road crossings to local parks, alternative spaces and activities for teenagers, as well as installing more age-appropriate and challenging playground equipment. " Irvine, et al. (2009) says "people's opportunity to access quiet, natural places in urban areas can be enhanced by improving the ecological quality of urban green spaces through targeted planning and design...Our research suggests that decisions to increase biodiversity in urban green space can generate ecological and psychological benefits through enhanced soundscape quality, contributing to urban sustainability." Day & Wager (2010) explain that environmental inequality occurs because of less access to environmental experiences with nature in urban areas. "More research with attention to such inequalities is warranted, with approaches that examine the experiences of children and young people themselves, and also potentially with designs that are able to make comparisons across a number of locales in order to explore the extent and causes of inequalities." Groenewegen et al. (2006) say "Policy makers tend to view green space more as a luxury good than as a basic necessity, and appear to overlook the potentially important effects of green space on health, well-being, and safety. It is vital that these findings become implemented in urban planning and design." Elsley (2004) says "This research reveals that there has been inadequate attention paid to the needs of children and young people for high quality public space in one urban community."

My research concludes that functional green public space in urban settings improves communities "livability" and increases the quality of life of its people. Valuable public space requires five key qualities: accessibility, safety, cleanliness (aesthetics), facilities, and greenness.

- Public place should be accessible for all community families. Some children said that they cannot go to the park often because it is far away from their house and they need adults help to get there. However, their parents were too busy (esp, low-income), so they did not take their children to the park (Groenewegen et al, 2006). If the park is located near a busy main road, it may hinder children's' access to park also. "The park's across the street and I have to cross the street, so I need someone to take me" (Veitch et al., 2007).
- Public space should be safe. Safety in parks may be maintained if the park is open and flat (sight barrier-free). It may protect children from kidnapping or attacks in hidden places by adults. Also operational hours may avoid adult related problems such as alcohol and drug use during nighttime. These are great threats to children's safety. According to Day & Wager (2010), they asked children who play in parks that "Do you feel safe to go to the park?" And one child responded "I don't know, like drunk people coming out of the pub and everything."
- Public space should be designed for all ages. The facilities of parks are one of many important elements. For example, if the park has facilities only for elementary school children, other older children get bored. Children requested that there be a variety of facilities in their park which are more physically challenging and also that there be a variety of age appropriate facilities for children. A 10 year-old girl answered in Day & Wager's interview:

The parks are pretty boring cause it's all baby stuff there. I reckon they should have a park where the older kids can go and muck around and have big slides and big things. Not like the little ones that you can't event fit your bum in (2010).

Therefore, parks have to carefully choose appropriate facilities for all age. At the same time, parks should consider other users. If there is no bench for rest, gardens for enjoying flowers, and shade for reading a book in the park, it limits park users and minimizes their opportunities to have a better quality of life.
- Public space should be clean and green. Irvine et al. (2009) have proved that "urban open spaces with trees and grass are more positively perceived by residents and that

the presence, number and location of trees predict the frequency with which local people use green space.” In Veitch et al. (2007), children who use parks strongly desire cleanness and greenness and say “The park doesn’t look very nice because there are no flowers around it. It would look really good with a garden, maybe the council could make someone come down and water and make sure it’s done. “, and “if there wasn’t any graffiti or broken glass or syringes on the ground. If the Council cleaned that up I’d probably go more.”

People can receive benefits from green public space, and these benefits enhance both their individual lives and the health of their communities. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states in Article 1, “They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” Therefore, someone who is or is going to engage with city planning has a responsibility for equal access to high quality of life to contribute to their neighborhood experience. Smith C. E., the curator of the exhibition *Design with the Other 90% Cities* says “it’s easy to build a house, much harder to build a community” (Kimmelman, 2011). However, when urban design meets the needs and demands of residents and involves them in design process, the community can become a healthy and livable environment. Smith continues that “cities are very complex, and what the best designers illustrate is how to give form to sometimes very simple ideas. Good design involves bringing not just a fresh eye to problems but, most of all, listening to the people who live in those communities” (Kimmelman, 2011). Similarly, Enrique Peñalosa, the Mayor of Bogota, Columbia states “In Bogotá, our goal was to make a city for all the children. The measure of a good city is one where a child on a tricycle or bicycle can safely go anywhere. If a city is good for children, it will be good for everybody else.” Children are our future. A society that takes care of its children well ensures future success.

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No 'Techno Logic': Why Reducing Information Barriers Is Not Helping the Poorest of the Poor

by Sairam Nagulapalli

Introduction

A 2011 report by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) estimates there are around 3 billion people living in rural areas in developing countries today ("Rural Poverty" 3). That is nearly half the population of the earth. Over the next decade, this number is expected to increase even more. IFAD's report states small-scale agriculture and fishing remain the principal source of livelihood for people in rural areas. Over 80 percent of the rural residents rely on farming – either as holders of small land or as agricultural labor working for wages ("Rural Poverty" 3). So it goes without saying that the rural poor rely disproportionately on income derived from agricultural practices.

This disproportionate reliance on agriculture has proven troublesome for rural farmers, as the agriculture sector has lagged economically despite the economic progress in which many developing countries have taken part in recent years. The Republic of India is one such country to experience rapid economic progress. In the 12 years between 1997 and 2009, India's Gross Domestic Product more than tripled from \$410 billion to over \$1.38 trillion ("World Bank"). But neither did India's farmers drive this economic progress nor did they benefit from the progress. A BBC article states that between 1997 and 2009 alone, nearly 200,000 farmers have committed citing the Indian government's statistics (Bagchi). The very same report cites Indian government numbers and notes that, "about 12% of marginal and small farmers have left farming". Small farmers, finding agriculture no longer profitable, are increasingly leaving farming to find alternate sources of livelihood. Though some have left, many farmers still languish in their country's respective agriculture sector. In India alone, more than half of country's 1.2 billion people are employed in agriculture, even as the agriculture sector makes up a meager 15 percent of the Indian economy (Bajaj).

India of course is just one example of a global trend where the agriculture sector is increasingly ignored in developing countries as countries focus on improving their manufacturing and information technology services. Rural farmers in developing countries, for the most part, remain isolated from the rest of the world. For many years, they have not had access to some of technological advances that have become commonplace in the developed world. These technological and geographic barriers have erected significant information barriers for farmers that are preventing farmers from improving their livelihood.

Increased Optimism

Amid the gloom and doom analysis however, there has been great optimism lately about the future of rural farmers. New technologies driven by the forces of globalization, particularly in communication, have made the world more tightly knit by making time and space irrelevant. One technology that has become widely adopted is the cellular phone. Once bulky and expensive and only the prerogative of business executives and Wall Street moguls, cell phones have become ubiquitous in everyone's lives. Their utility lies in their size and power – cell phones can be carried everywhere and allow a user to keep in touch with the rest of the world. Cell phones have become so widely adopted that it is estimated "the next *billion* new phone users" will be primarily cell phone users (Donner 3). This growth is driven primarily by developing countries. According to *The New York Times*' Heather Timmons, "mobile phone usage is rising faster in India than anywhere else in the world". According to the Telecom

Regulatory Authority of India, there were 894 million cell phones in India as of December 2011. *The Wall Street Journal's* Eric Bellman corroborates this rapid increase in cell phones among Indians, especially those in rural areas. Since only 40 million landline phones exist in India according to the article, cell phones are the first connection rural Indians have to the modern world. Bellman's article highlights the contrast between rural India and such a modern technology as a cell phone:

Farmer K.T. Srinivasa doesn't have a toilet for his home or a tractor for his field. But...he splurged on a cellphone. While the way his family threshes rice...hasn't changed for generations, his phone has changed the way he farms. He uses it to decide when to plant and harvest by calling other farmers, to get the best prices for his rice, coconuts and jasmine by calling wholesalers, and to save hours of time waiting on the road for deliveries and pickups that rarely come on time.

This rapid adoption of cell phones coupled with the ability of cell phones to keep its user connected with the world has led many to conclude that cell phones, by reducing information barriers, can potentially transform rural agriculture. *The Atlantic's* Niraj Chokshi claims, "mobile phones are transforming Indian agriculture". Chokshi writes about how services provided through mobile phones saved a 40-year-old Indian farmer from "losing half his crop". The farmer "acted on timely weather information received through [his cell phone] to protect a harvested crop...that was lying on the ground exposed to the rains". Chokshi also states that the farmer's annual earnings increased by 25 percent because of this information.

India is not the only country to witness this explosive growth in cell phone subscriptions. Cell phone adoption rates have grown in rest of the developing world. Laura MacInnis, a reporter for Reuters, reports, "two thirds of the world's cell phone subscriptions are in developing nations". Just over a decade ago, only 2% of Africans had access to cell phones but as of 2009 that number had shot up to 28% according to the International Telecommunications Union, a United Nations' agency that tracks communication technologies (MacInnis). Africa in fact is the fastest-growing market for cellular phones in the world according to a *BBC News* article ("Africa's Mobile Phone"). The same article quotes Peter Lyons, a cell phones industry insider responsible for cell phone spectrum policy in Africa and the Middle East, saying nearly 735 millions Africans will own cell phones by the end of 2012. As in India's case, one of the main reasons for this explosive growth in cell phones in India is the poor accessibility of landline phones (LaFraniere).

The forces of globalization largely drive this increased access to technology. Thomas Friedman, a frequent commenter about globalization, talks about the power of technology to transform the world in *States of Discord*. Friedman states when it comes to technology, "capabilities create intentions" (64). Therefore, when a farmer has a cell phone that has the potential to overcome information barriers and allows the farmer to gain better information, the farmer will use it. Friedman also states that globalization, "entirely driven by technology", has allowed people "to reach around the world farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before" (64). Armed with powerful technology like the cellular phone, the farmer can connect to the world "farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before" as well. Because of the ability of cell phones to bridge the information gap between farmers and traders, they can become very empowering for rural farmers.

Academics also lend credence for this notion. Economists Karen Eggleston, Robert Jensen, and Richard Zeckhauser argue, "farmers produce the wrong mixture of crops, often [use] inefficient technologies" because pertinent information is limited in rural areas (64). Rural farmers in many developing countries lack information about "market prices and other production-related information". Any such information is "poor, scarce, maldistributed, inefficiently communicated, and intensely valued" (Geertz, 29). Cell phones as a communication tool can help distribute the information widely and a cheaper cost.

There are three ways in which more information helps farmers:

First, relative prices allow the farmer to make decisions on the mixture of crops to

produce...its price tells him how much to produce...Second, he is able to purchase [fertilizer, and irrigation equipment] when and where they are cheapest...Third, price information allows him to know where to sell his output and the appropriate price to accept (67).

Eggleton, Jensen, and Zeckhauser conclude, "greater access to...basic communications infrastructure, could significantly improve the living standards of the world's rural poor" (71). However, their optimism in the power of information and communications technologies, like cellular phones, is misplaced. Reducing information barriers alone will not inevitably improve the lives of the rural poor. It is an oversimplification to suggest that globalization and greater use of technology leads to individual empowerment. For individual empowerment, particularly in rural areas, to occur multiple factors need to be taken into account; technology alone cannot do it.

Contemporary Literature

According to research, the use of cell phones by rural farmers has not had a large impact on their economic condition. Marcel Fafchamps, and Bart Minten, economists at the University of Oxford, studied the economic effect of farmers using cell phones in Indian villages. Fafchamps and Minten provided people in some villages access to "Reuters Market Light" – an SMS-based service that provides information about the weather, market prices and new farming techniques to farmers. In other words, information is delivered to farmers' cell phones through a text message. The economic data from these villages was then compared with data from villages where people had no access to Reuters Market Light. Fafchamps and Minten found "no statistically significant [...effect...] on the price received by farmers, crop value added, crop losses resulting from rainstorms, or the likelihood of changing crop varieties and cultivation practices" (1). Similarly, a study assessing the impact of "empowering small farmers with price information" through similar cell phone based services found no consistent benefits for these small farmers across rural India (Mittal, Gandhi, Tripathi 14).

Research on African farmers using cell phones has borne out similar results. One research study set in Rwanda introduced low-cost phones to isolated, rural villages. The study found "absolutely no impact of the phones on trading activity [of farmers]" (Futch and McIntosh 3). A study on the impact of cell phones on rural Ugandan farmers by Megumi Muto concluded that while some farmers who produced perishable crops saw economic gains, everyone else did not. A study conducted on Indian fishermen by Robert Jensen, a development economist at Harvard, revealed that cell phones have had a positive impact in the state of Kerala. As fish too are a perishable commodity, this result mirrors Muto's study. Despite this positive development for fishermen and farmers producing perishable crops, these results unfortunately remain largely the exception rather than the rule.

Lack of Literacy

One of the major impediments to implementing information and communication technologies in rural areas relates to the question of access. Because of the widespread adoption of cellular phones, many rural residents are physically close to the technologies. However, there is a much more important question that relates to the *actual* access of the technologies for rural residents. This means, can the residents understand how the technology works and can they use it to their advantage? And this question of *actual* access has manifested itself in many research studies. One of the major obstacles farmers faced in utilizing the information from their cell phones in the Fafchamps and Minten study was illiteracy. Only 59% of the farmers in Fafchamps' and Minten's study were able to understand the information presented through their cell phones. The others were largely "illiterate households who could not read SMS messages" (18). For these illiterate farmers, the information might have as well been gibberish. If farmers cannot understand the information provided by services through cell

phones, using cell phones makes no difference to them.

But for even some literate farmers, the SMS messages were still gibberish, as their phones did not have the capability to display the SMS in the native scripts. These phones were cheap, Chinese-made phones that “could not display the Marathi script,” that farmers could read (Fafchamps and Minten 18). Aside from this, many farmers also lack the knowledge to effectively use the technology. One study discovered that only 21% of farmers in Ghana knew how to use SMS (Elder and Rashid 7). The same study revealed that in Kenya that number was a paltry 9% (7). This study reveals that the majority of farmers in these countries do not have the actual access and knowledge that is needed for them to successfully use the technology.

Proponents of the view that technology automatically empowers the poor might point to a study that claimed farmers in the Indian state of Maharashtra accrued “yield improvements [in their crops], [higher] price realization and increased revenues” after using cell phones (Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi 19). In analyzing the results of this study, it is important to remember the rural poor are not a homogenous group. Maharashtra’s farmers are different from rest of the farmers in India in one important way. Maharashtra has a relatively high literacy rate at nearly 83%, according to the Indian’s governments 2011 Census estimates (“State of Literacy” 114). Though it is common to see near-universal literacy in the developed world, 83% literacy is a relatively high number for an Indian state. This number is 12 percent higher than India’s average literacy rate. That represents many more farmers who can access the information provided by the SMS-based services like Reuters Market Light. Similarly, in Kerala where studies have shown significant economic gains for fishermen who have used cell phones, the literacy rate is the highest of any other Indian state. At 93.91%, Kerala’s literacy rate is substantially higher than that of rest of India (“State of Literacy” 114).

In this case of Maharashtra’s farmers or Kerala’s fishermen, technology alone has not led to individual empowerment. For anyone to access information and use it, they need to understand. Though we might take this for granted, research reveals there are still many people who cannot read or write. For them, any information communicated through text is inaccessible. Farmers in Maharashtra and fishermen in Kerala were able to utilize the information delivered through cell phones because they had capabilities, like literacy, to make sense of the information.

The Trust Barrier

Another obstacle preventing rural farmers from leveraging information is a trust barrier. Farmers simply do not trust the information they receive through their cell phones. A study by Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi reports that some farmers express “reluctance to try new approaches [or sell to distant markets] even when they had access to relevant information” (27). Farmers trust the information they receive from the traders for whom the farmers sell produce. Since the trader is focused on obtaining the maximum profit from his transaction with the farmer, the trader has no incentive to provide accurate information to the farmer. So trusting the trader over information received through cell phones is obviously disadvantageous to the farmer.

One explanation for this strange phenomenon lies in a 1978 study on the behaviors of farmers when they sell crops. The American anthropologist responsible for the study, Clifford Geertz, called this phenomenon “clientelization” and defined it as “the tendency...for repetitive purchasers of particular goods and services to establish continuing relationships with particular purveyors of them, rather than search widely through the market at each occasion of need” (30). In other words, after years of business dealings with traders, farmers maintain “continuing relationships” and rely on traders for information rather than take advantage of other sources of information, particularly cell phones. This belief is also shared by Eggleston, Jensen, and Zeckhauser who state that a farmer feels he cannot “independently assess the integrity” of the information gained through anyone, or anything, who does not share a long-term relationship with the farmer (67).

Geertz's theory gains credence when we explore the different attitudes about price information received through cell phones among farmers of different age groups. Younger farmers do not establish the same type of relationships with traders as older farmers, since the younger farmers have not been farming for as long. Because of fewer business dealings with traders, it would make sense for these younger farmers to be less susceptible to clientelization. And research supports this notion as well. According to economists Fafchamps and Minten, younger farmers delay sales or speed up harvests based on the price information they receive from their cell phones (21). Unlike older farmers, younger farmers also "sell at a different" market if they know they will receive a better price for their produce (31). This trend was also found in a research study conducted in Uganda (Muto 18).

Another explanation for the lack of trust farmers place in cell phones lies in the value farmers place in face-to-face communication. This type of interactive communication is currently impossible through cell phones' text-messaging services. Rural farmers go out of their way to find information through face-to-face interaction, even when it is overwhelmingly disadvantageous to do so. In a study on Sri Lankan farmers by development economists de Silva and Ratnadiwakara, the researchers found that "information search costs" contribute to 11% of farmers' total expenses (11). These expenses, if replaced by phone calls, would drop to a paltry 0.2% (14). And these savings do not even include the time saved by the farmer. Farmers however choose travel over using their cell phones overwhelmingly (de Silva and Ratnadiwakara 11).

This trust barrier also ensures that if farmers do not know traders in a distant market that offers them a higher price for their produce, the farmers do not sell there. In essence, they forego an opportunity to make a higher profit. This tendency of farmers to act against their overwhelming economic interest reveals that it is an oversimplification to suggest that cell phones empower rural farmers by making information more readily accessible to them. Even when the information is accessible, many rural farmers are opting not to utilize that information. That is because, rural farmers, like many other demographic groups, have complex relationships with the people around them. Information and communication technologies, like cellular phones, cannot automatically supplant these complex relationships.

No Proper Access to Credit

Another factor that prevents technology from empowering rural farmers relates to access to credit. Banks in many developing countries do not lend money to rural farmers, because the farmers have little they can offer in collateral. Without money, farmers cannot utilize the information about "improved seeds, fertilisers and modern technical know how" that have become more readily accessible to farmers through cell phones (Mittal, Gandhi, Tripathi 27). The farmers are in a position where despite knowing what to do, they cannot do it because they do not have the money to take advantage of this information. This sad state of affairs is certainly not empowerment.

Even when presented with the relevant information, rural farmers do not have access to proper mechanisms, like well functioning credit markets, to utilize that information. Without easy access to credit, many rural farmers rely on alternative sources of credit, like their local traders. This role of traders as the source of credit coupled with farmers' reliance on traders for price related and other agricultural information ensures traders play a very central role in the life of small farmers (Mittal, Gandhi, Tripathi 16).

Farmers restrict themselves in selling their produce to familiar traders. Because traders play such a central role in the lives of small farmers, farmers do not sell their crops at other markets offering higher prices for two reasons. One, since traders are the only source of credit for rural farmers, if a farmer sold at other markets the relationship between the farmer and his local trader would be upset. This could potentially prevent the trader from lending money to the farmer at a future date. Two, farmers could be "bonded" and thus be forced to "sell to a specific

trader" as part of the credit relationship (Mittal, Gandhi, Tripathi 27). Though the research on this has been mixed, the fact that "majority of small farmers" in Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi's study raised this idea with the researchers indicates being bonded to a specific trader is a significant problem. Therefore, even when farmers have access to proper price information, they are prevented from realizing economic gains by selling for higher prices because they lack access to credit.

Farmers in Maharashtra were only able to benefit from price information by selling their produce for higher prices, because "farmers...in Maharashtra [are] significantly wealthier" than their fellow farmers in other regions of India (Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi 19). As farmers in Maharashtra are wealthier, they do not have the challenges in accessing credit that other rural farmers do. Therefore, farmers in Maharashtra are not reliant on traders in the same way that other farmers are. So Maharashtra's farmers are not restricted in selling their produce at other markets, many of which higher prices. In Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi's study, the farmers in Maharashtra stated the same. They claimed they faced "[no] particular constraints on their ability to act on information received...affording them greater than greater opportunities" for selling their produce for higher prices (22). The ease of farmers in Maharashtra in obtaining higher prices for their produce contrasted with the failure of farmers elsewhere to do the same highlights the role proper mechanisms have to play if information is to be leveraged. The lack of proper mechanisms prevents farmers from leveraging price-related information for their economic gain.

Those who disagree with the importance of the need for proper mechanisms might point to Jensen's study on Indian fishermen in Kerala, where fishermen were successful in leveraging price-related information. The success of the fishermen is explained by the different relationship they share with their creditors. The creditor to a fishermen acts as a "commission agent" who presides over the final sale of the fishermen's catch according to Reuben Abraham, a researcher at the Indian School of Business (9). According to Abraham, the creditors take a 5-10% cut of the total sale the fishermen make (9). Therefore it is in the best interest of the creditor to ensure that the fishermen get the best price for the catch. The incentives of the creditor are aligned with the incentives of the fishermen as the creditor makes a commission from the fishermen's sale.

This commission is dependent on the creditor's pre-existing relationship with the buying agents (12). If the creditor does not gain a hefty commission from the sale, he restricts the ability of fishermen to sell their catch. If the fishermen were to go to a market with higher prices, where the creditor had no prior relationships with the buyers, the creditor would make a smaller commission. Abraham reports that creditors often force the fishermen to sell in markets "where [the creditor] can extract the highest commission, rather than at markets with the highest prices" (13). Even if the fishermen knew of a market with a higher price and had access to it, the creditors prevent the fishermen from leveraging this information to make higher profits. If the fishermen had access to organized credit markets, like banks, they could realize the true potential of having access to price-related information by selling their catch for higher prices instead of depending on creditors who restrict their ability to do so. The study on Kerala's fishermen underscores the importance of pairing proper mechanisms, like access to credit, with technological capabilities to truly empower people. Without these mechanisms, no amount of information is useful.

Poor Infrastructure

For people to benefit from any information, they need the proper tools to leverage that information to their advantage. A lack of proper access to credit is not the only mechanism that is preventing farmers from doing so. Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi in their study on rural India, suggest infrastructure problems are a major obstacle preventing farmers from fully using the information provided by cell phones to their advantage. The authors of the study state that even

when farmers know there is a market that will fetch them a higher price, the farmers are unable to exploit this information for their gain. The main reason for this inability to act is rooted in infrastructure. Farmers say they cannot "transport their produce to markets with higher prices" because it is too expensive to do so (Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi 9). Since, rural farmers still largely depend on "small carts powered by [domesticated] animals" or vehicles with "small engines", the poor condition of roads make it too expensive to travel and sell their produce at distant markets (25). Therefore, it is no surprise that farmers commonly cite "poor road infrastructure" as one of the biggest hurdle in their ability to sell their produce (25).

The poor roads make it expensive for the farmers to transport their goods. So "transport costs" become a "prohibitive barrier" for many small farmers (25). This prevents small farmers for using the information and selling their produce to more distant markets and making a higher profit. So despite knowing they can get higher prices for their crops at distant markets, farmers choose to sell their crops locally for a lower price because of the poor roads. Another infrastructure concern raised by farmers was lack of storage facilities (Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi 30). The farmers contend, faced with the choice of their crops perishing, because of inadequate storage facilities, they are forced to sell their crops to local commission agents (30). If affordable storage facilities were present, farmers could afford to wait and negotiate the sale with multiple sellers without the fear of their crops perishing. This is not empowerment as farmers are left powerless because of poor infrastructure. It is not just theory that states better infrastructure and roads leads to farmers benefitting. There is some evidence to suggest farmers take advantage of information better if better infrastructure is in place. Megumi Muto's research in Uganda demonstrates that, after increasing access to price information for farmers through cell phones, farmers in areas that had "[better] road accessibility" sold their produce in distant markets in areas (3).

The few instances in which the use of cell phones has resulted in rural residents achieving a significant economic gain has occurred in situations where there are no significant infrastructure constraints like that outlined above. One such instance was the study on Indian fishermen. Reuben Abraham states since "fresh fish is a highly perishable commodity" it also has the "shortest possible supply chain" (8). This means fishermen do not have to travel long distances to sell their catch. The economist behind the original research, Robert Jensen, on the impact of cell phones on Kerala's fishermen agrees with this idea. Jensen states, "that the perishability of fish is an important reason why...better information has such a large impact" on the lives of fishermen (920). Jensen states that "perishable commodities" have local markets, often times "within [the same] villages" (920). Therefore, the condition of the roads is irrelevant to many of these fishermen. Since these fishermen do not face the same infrastructure challenges that farmers deal with, the fishermen are able to leverage price the information by selling their catch for higher prices and making economic gains as a result.

The notion that perishable commodities with local markets can supersede infrastructure concerns is backed up by other research as well. Economists Fafchamps and Minten state that their research suggests farmers who grew tomato – a highly perishable commodity – and used Reuters Market Light sold their produce for 75% more than farmers who did not use Reuters Market Light (24). Since the markets for perishable commodities like tomato are largely local, tomato farmers are not held back by the same infrastructure constraints that frustrate other farmers. Maharashtra's farmers in Mittal, Gandhi, and Tripathi's study benefitted from price information because they were "significantly wealthier... [and] reported substantially fewer challenges in terms of infrastructure gaps." (19). Robert Jensen also acknowledges the importance of infrastructure by noting that "improvements in roads" in Kerala has helped the poor to better take advantage of information and communication technologies (920).

The success of fishermen and farmers producing perishable crops in benefitting from price information highlights how big a constraint poor infrastructure has truly become. Since, one of the most important functions of a cell phone for a farmer is easy access to price information. Farmers call markets and shop for the best prices for their crops. If poor

infrastructure prevents farmers from using this price information, one of the most important functions of a cell phone for a farmer is essentially negated. The farmer is left helpless and forced to sell the crops for substantially lower prices. Information alone cannot empower the farmer, and neither can technology. The proper mechanisms, like better roads and storage facilities, need to be in place for a farmer to take advantage of the technology.

An Oversimplified Problem

The issue of empowering rural farmers has been vastly oversimplified. The poor economic condition of the rural farmers cannot be fixed by simply providing them with information and communication technologies like cellular phones. The reasons for the plight of rural farmers are complex. The obstacles that are preventing them from fully leveraging information are far too entrenched. They cannot be solved by a few phone calls. The reality is in stark contrast to the rosy picture painted by the media about the potential of cellular phones on rural agriculture. This rosy picture has been driven by anecdotal evidence and insufficient examination of the obstacles in rural areas that prevent farmers from taking advantage of cellular phones. Technology has the potential to empower farmers, but only when paired with the proper mechanisms. Only then can farmers use that information and leverage it to improve their economic condition.

The forces of globalization have not automatically created empowered the poor despite the hype. Thomas Friedman might suggest that globalization allows the poor to “reach around the world, farther, faster, deeper, and cheaper than ever before” (64). Despite having the potential to “reach around the world”, rural farmers remain isolated from the world because of poor roads. There is nothing cheap about the exorbitant interest rates farmers pay because the organized credit markets have decided they are unworthy of credit. Despite the capabilities of cell phones allowing them an opportunity to improve their condition, farmers remain mired by institutional obstacles. Their plight cannot be addressed by a few simple phone calls or theoretical examinations about the benefits of reducing information barriers.

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The Women of *Beowulf*: Power and Duty in Anglo-Saxon Society by Robert Harris

"Hwæt wē Gār-Dena in geār-dagum / þēod-cyninga þrym gefrūnon, / hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon," translated as, "So. The Spear-Danes in days gone by / and the kings who ruled them had courage and greatness. / We have heard of those princes' heroic campaigns" (*Beowulf*, lines 1-3). Thus begins the Old English poem *Beowulf*, which offers one of the few remaining glimpses of Anglo-Saxon culture. Oral poetry, perhaps even more so than the written word, shows a clear picture of the expectations and values of a culture; Plato, in theorizing his Utopia, proposed to ban all storytellers, as he felt they influenced society too greatly. Eric A. Havelock calls oral verse "...[an] instrument of a cultural indoctrination, the ultimate purpose of which was the preservation of group identity." Even Freud found that another's story may have a serious impact on a person's identity if it is seen as a model upon which to base one's own actions (Osborn 49). It would not be incorrect, therefore, to look at *Beowulf* as not just a story of mighty deeds and monsters, but as part of a template to show others how to act in Anglo-Saxon society. *Beowulf* is a tale of violence and vengeance, feats of strength and acts of mercy, and, perhaps accordingly, few women. Outside of tales and boasts told within the framework of the poem (which is not an insubstantial part of the poem), there are only two major women who have a real impact on *Beowulf's* central narrative: Queen Wealhtheow, Hrothgar's wife, and Grendel's dam, or mother; the rest, such as Hildeburh, Hygd, Frewawaru and Modhryth, are relegated mainly to side stories and cautionary tales. Given this lack of female presence, and the dearth of lines and segments given to them, one might be excused for believing that women were trivialized in Anglo-Saxon society much as they are trivialized in the story, with the women shouldered out of the spotlight to make way for the big, burly heroes who must invariably kill something. A closer and more analytical look, however, reveals a far deeper and more layered treatment of its subjects, both in regards to the characters of Wealhtheow and Grendel's mother as well as the titular hero, Beowulf.

In order to examine the depictions of Wealhtheow and Grendel's mother, one must first gain some understanding of the context they are being portrayed in as well as the usual roles of women in similar literature of the time, which includes both other Old English writing as well as the thematically and linguistically similar Icelandic sagas. While it may be tempting to label all women depicted in such literature as helpless, marginalized maidens pushed to the outside of the narrative, this is rarely the case. Despite being a highly patriarchal society, Old English culture shows that women are often depicted in roles which, while far from the equality sought for today, are invested with more importance and capability than more modern texts. In the essay "Vows, Boasts And Taunts, And The Role Of Women In Some Medieval Literature," Michael Murphy claims that, "it is, in every respect, a long way from Wealhtheow to Isabella [of Castile]. Not the least ironic of the contrasts between their two positions is the real possibility of female influence in the predominantly male world of the Epic, and the joke that such an idea has become in the "feminized" world of Romance." Murphy is referring to the popular European legend that the term isabelline was created during the siege of Granada; so sure was she in her husband Ferdinand's ability, Isabella of Castile vowed not to remove her shift until the city was taken. The siege, however, lasted longer than expected, and by the time Ferdinand stood victorious, it is said her shift was a sort of yellow-gray, or isabelline, color. While only a popular legend, it illustrates the somewhat farcical view of vows and women in a more modern society, contrasted with the depiction of both in the earlier, more 'barbaric' age of *Beowulf* (Murphy 112).

The most common of these duties is the role of peacemaker; indeed, women are most often found in Old English and Icelandic lore as peacemakers, both within and without. Within their families (and courts, in the case of noblewomen), women engendered peaceful relations between fathers and sons, lords and retainers, and even visiting royalty (Morey). The *Beowulf* poet states this explicitly in the tale of Queen Modthryth, proclaiming "A queen should weave peace, not punish the innocent / with loss of life for imagined insults" (lines 1942-43). In *Beowulf* this peacemaking role is aptly played by Wealhtheow as she greets Beowulf and his entourage, then serves as cup-bearer for those present, ensuring the diplomatic relations amongst all present (lines 612-630). Wealhtheow performs a similar service a second time after she listens to the story of Finnsburg, and once more offers a goblet with splendid gifts as a sort of talisman to protect her family from the fate shared by Queen Hildeburh in the story (lines 1167-1231).

Equally important is the noblewoman's duty of ensuring peace between tribes through intermarriage. Political marriages to settle disputes and put a stop to feuds was perhaps the most important role a woman could play in Old English poems. Many of the women mentioned in *Beowulf*, from Hildeburh and Wealhtheow to Freawaru, are from foreign tribes, married to their husbands in an attempt to broker peace (Morey). Though it may prove somewhat offensive to modern views, such betrothals afforded women one of the only true methods of ensuring an end to the seemingly endless cycles of violence and revenge which are so prevalent in literature from this period. This role carried such importance, it seems, that the poem itself seems to imply, according to Alaric Hall, that Hygelac, Beowulf's lord and king of the Geats, was foolish to give his only daughter to his retainer Eofor as a reward for killing the Swedish king Ongentheow. By using his daughter as a reward for further violence rather than as a peace offering to the Swedes to end their feud, Hygelac has perpetuated the cycle of vengeance that modern literary analysis has painted as such a major theme in *Beowulf* (Hall 81).

This cycle of vengeance is an important aspect of the culture, and is key in understanding the woman's role in Anglo-Saxon society. In addition to their aspect as peace-weavers, women are often shown in another light: that of the inciter. Vow-making and boast-making is an integral part of early English literature, the distinction being that boasts are made of past events while vows are pledges for the future. Women are often the 'unofficial' taunters in these situations, spurring the hero on to action (Murphy 105). Looking back to these sagas, particularly those focused on family such as [example example], the women are the ones most frequently found to insist on or cultivate the act of revenge. Thus it is seen that while inciting vengeance is considered women's work, the act itself is reserved for men (Acker 705). Murphy supports this stance, writing that "the strong-willed and forceful women of the [Icelandic] sagas have been much written about, for they are strikingly different from the women in most other medieval literature. Nevertheless, we can see traces of such female influence even in a poem as unfeminine as *Beowulf*". Though Wealhtheow does not serve as the 'taunter' per se in *Beowulf*, it is worth noting that it is only after she has spoken to Beowulf and he has made his vow to her that Beowulf is definitively set as Hrothgar's champion (Murphy 111). Accepting the cup from Wealhtheow, Beowulf says to her:

I meant to perform to the uttermost
what your people wanted or perish in the attempt,
in the fiend's clutches. And I shall fulfil that purpose,
prove myself with a proud deed
or meet my death here in the mead-hall. (*Beowulf*, lines 634-638)

Helen Damico goes further, and argues that Wealhtheow's act of presenting a cup for Beowulf to drink from represents a "symbolic incitement and [is] a reflex of typical Valkyrie behavior" (Acker 706). With such an ingrained sense of revenge and use of violence, one can see the dual roles of both peace-keeper and inciter are powerful

responsibilities. This sense of "an eye for an eye" is so accepted in the culture of *Beowulf* that neither the narrator of *Beowulf* nor its characters ever condemn Grendel's mother for her actions, which may have well seemed not only logical, but expected after the death of her son (Hennequin 516). So the role of women in Anglo-Saxon society, at least according to *Beowulf*, is far from simple or marginalized; from brokering peace to reminding the men of their vows and pledges, women are the "'mortar that cements the bricks;' they facilitate relationships among men" (Morey).

One aspect of *Beowulf* which more specifically separates the women from the men is the presence of monologue, or the lack thereof. As an oral piece that was later transcribed, inner monologues and deliberations in *Beowulf* are illustrated through soliloquies and not silent thought. This technique is to be expected given the difficulties of conveying unspoken inner monologues through verbal speech. Twice in *Beowulf*, however, information is heard that results in deliberation which is, uncharacteristically, not conveyed directly to the reader. Both instances are focused on women considering stories about other women (Osborn 56). The first instance is after Wealhtheow hears the story of the Finnsburg conflict. In lines 1167 to 1231, Wealhtheow clearly takes stock of the tale of Hildeburh, and immediately afterwards, without showing any obvious signs of processing the poem, takes extra precautions to ensure her children do not share the fate of Hildeburh's loved ones. This must be a reaction to the poem as it is recited, otherwise it would make little to no sense to be placed directly afterwards (Osborn 56). The second occasion for such thought through action is in the case of Queen Hygd, who is married to Beowulf's lord, Hygelac. Initially portrayed as a generous and wise queen, the reader later learns that she has most probably based her behavior on the second half of the story of Queen Modthryth, who was wicked and vengeful before she was married to Offa, and then became just and beloved. Both of these examples show that while the inner monologue is never portrayed to the reader, the presence of these stories clearly altered the behavior of the women who saw in them a mirroring of their own situations and sought to emulate them (Osborn 56-7). Thus, the women in *Beowulf* are portrayed not only as the foundation of Anglo-Saxon society, but intelligent, decisive characters, fully ready to interpret information and change their approaches without waffling or seeking aid from others.

Queen Wealhtheow, as the poem's largest, non-monstrous female presence, deserves special consideration. Traditionally she is seen as a marginal player in *Beowulf*, an extension of Hrothgar's power and little more. In *Lady with a Mead Cup*, Michael J. Enright argues that Wealhtheow and other noblewomen of her status have little impact on politics, with their only real power being limited to within the tribe. Wealhtheow's speech after Grendel is defeated, however, disputes this claim. Here she requests that Hrothgar honor Beowulf but not make him heir to the Danish throne (Porter). Rather than worrying needlessly, this is something Hrothgar has considered, as in her speech Wealhtheow states "and now the word is that you want to adopt / this warrior as a son" (*Beowulf*, lines 1175-76). She asks Hrothgar instead to take Hrothulf, his nephew, as an heir, and according to Dorothy Carr Porter in her paper, "The Social Centrality of Women in *Beowulf*: A New Context," "In this act, Wealhtheow is actively protecting her own interests, and the poet gives no indication that her words were ignored or not accepted into consideration by Hrothgar." Her closing words here do not imply a weakened or unsure woman either, as she ends with the lines, "The thanes have one purpose, the people are ready: / having drunk and pledged, the ranks do as I bid" (*Beowulf*, lines 1230-31).

Wealhtheow's second speech, issued soon after the hall is regaled with the tragedy of Finnsburg, deserves careful attention, as it is a key instrument in understanding her character. While in her paper, Porter pairs Wealhtheow with Hygd as a "Hostess" Queen, other scholars have paired her with Hildeburh, the Queen in the Finnsburg story. In the story, Hildeburh finds her son and brother both lying dead on the

field of battle, likely members of different warring factions engaged in an old feud. This outbreak of violence results in the death of those Hildeburh loves the most. She arranges her son and brother on a pyre side-by-side as companions, and later her Frisian husband is also slain when old promises are broken (Osborn 57). It seems clear that Wealhtheow takes this lesson to heart, and understands that the fate of Hildeburh may yet befall her and her family, with an ailing husband and sons too young to take the throne. As stated previously, there can be little doubt that her following speech, where she tries to clarify the lines of succession and enforce peace in the coming upheaval, are a direct response to Hildeburh's tale of woe. W.W. Lawrence goes so far as to ask, "May it not be, too, that the story of Queen Hildeburh was here designedly brought into connection with the tragedy in store for Queen Wealhtheow, which must have been well-known to the people for whom the poet of *Beowulf* wrote?" Adrian Bonjour replies to this question by answering, "...the parallel between Hildeburh and Wealhtheow is unmistakable" (Osborn 57). Marijane Osborn, in her paper "The Wealth They Left Us: Two Women Author Themselves Through Others' Lives," goes a step further, suggesting that the tale of Finnsburg as it is presented in *Beowulf* is not what the scop, or poet, is actually reciting to the assembly, but rather is filtered through Wealhtheow's concerns. Osborn claims the reader is hearing the story colored by the direct application it has to Wealhtheow's own situation, and this is why Hildeburh's tale of woe seems so applicable to Wealhtheow's current situation (59).

Though Porter classifies Hildeburh as a *freothuwebbe*, or peace-weaver, and Wealhtheow as a hostess, it is not a stretch to consider Wealhtheow as fulfilling both roles at once. Though never explicitly stated, it may be gathered from contextual evidence that she was, most likely, married to Hrothgar from her own people, the Helmingas, as a way to brook peace between them and the Danes. In this aspect Wealhtheow is among the most successful of the poem, as many of the other peace-weaver Queens have failed to ensure peace between the tribes. John M. Hill feels that Wealhtheow is a strong counter-example to the flawed marriages and relationships of both Hildeburh and Freawaru. He writes that in the poem, "there is no suggestion that her own marriage to Hrothgar has been anything but a success." It also should be mentioned that when these other marriages fail to foster peace, it is obviously due to the flaws of men, not of the women or marriages themselves (Hall 85).

Why, then, is Wealhtheow traditionally considered a weak, minor character in *Beowulf*, when she seems to yield substantial power both as a peace-weaver and in her role as Hrothgar's queen? While one may place the blame on her name, which can be literally translated as "foreign servant/slave," this seems more a product of denoting her status as a foreigner in Hrothgar's court (Hall 85). One may be well served in more closely examining the English translation of *Beowulf* by Frederick Klaeber, a German philologist who, for almost a century, was responsible for the only canonical version of the *Beowulf* manuscript. As Josephine Bloomfield asserts in her article, "Diminished by kindness: Frederick Klaeber's Rewriting of Wealhtheow," while Wealhtheow's appearance in *Beowulf* may be limited, "it is also powerful and revealing..." Bloomfield later points out the significance "...that in the fifty-five-line passage describing Wealhtheow's motivations and exhortations during the victory celebration for Beowulf, Klaeber glosses five separate words (*milde*, *glaed*, *freondlapu*, *lide*, *gedefe*) in seven occurrences as "kind" or "kindness." This translation shifts Wealhtheow "from peace weaver and power broker to tender maternal care-giver...by this series of uniform glosses to emphasize personal affection over tribal necessity." Many of these words which Klaeber translated to "kind" or "kindness" have more logical and powerful translations based on not just *Beowulf* but other Old English literature as we know it. It is telling that, rather than represent the patriarchal view of Anglo-Saxon society, the character of Wealhtheow may very well illustrate the views of the more modern societies which have studied and translated her (Bloomfield). Rather than simply an extension of

Hrothgar's influence in Heorot, Wealhtheow proves herself to be a clever, intelligent woman, who is not only adept at maintaining peace in the violence-soaked world of *Beowulf*, but also at preparing for the future and learning from the mistakes of others. She is the voice of wisdom, of peace, and of welcome, and for a woman in Anglo-Saxon society, she serves as an ideal to be admired.

So far relatively little has been said of Grendel's mother, and for good cause; set up as one of three antagonists, she is far removed from the other women of *Beowulf*. Jane Chance claims that Grendel's mother is actually "a sort of anti-queen, an inversion of the peace-weaver and *ides*..." (Hennequin 503-4). Rather than perform a peacekeeping or diplomatic function, Grendel's mother plays the part of the avenger and ruler. This is notable for, in Old English and Icelandic verse, these are almost solely male domains. Though often peace-weavers, and sometimes inciters, women are rarely if ever seen as the avenging force. The aggressiveness of Grendel's mother is seen by Jane Chance as an act of "masculine aggression" contrasted against the more passive, feminine methods of Hildeburh and Wealhtheow. This sense of wrongness may be what makes Grendel's mother so terrifying; in an age where women were empowered primarily through their sons, a situation where the son is slain and the mother seeks revenge must have seemed horrifyingly alien. Paul Acker writes, "That a female creature and more particularly a maternal one takes this revenge may have highlighted its monstrousness. Unlike Hildeburh and Wealhtheow, Grendel's mother acts aggressively, arguably in a fashion reserved for men" (704-5). Acker later highlights the sheer wrongness of the situation, comparing the relationship between Grendel and his mother to something so far removed as the animal kingdom: "...such a figure could only be a monster from the frontiers of the human world, on the borders of the animal world, in which for instance a mother bear might come roaring from her den to protect her cub" (707). Though it may seem strange to modern audiences, the notion that a female would play the role of an avenging kinsman, and thereby assume the mantle of masculinity (and a sense of noble masculinity at that), must have made the Anglo-Saxon listeners very uncomfortable, and this was no accident. The link between Grendel's mother and masculinity was no mistake or subtle reference. The poem twice labels Grendel's mother's vengeance as masculine; first, the narrative refers to her as a "wrecend", which is a masculine form of "avenger"; second, *Beowulf* refers to her as Grendel's 'kinsman', and uses masculine pronouns to refer to her in that passage (Hennequin 512).

In addition to assuming a masculine role in seeking vengeance for her son, Grendel's mother also takes on the role of male nobility in that she, not Grendel is the ruler of her realm, the mere. Notably, it is said that she has ruled her realm for the fifty years, which happens to be the same amount of time both Hrothgar and, later, *Beowulf*, rule their respective kingdoms (Hennequin 511). She is not a noble woman, meant to maintain peace among both her own family and neighboring tribes, but a nobleman, of the business of shattering that peace and managing aggression. By serving as a ruler, Grendel's mother assumes yet another masculine stereotype, and as a ruler, when she returns to Heorot to take revenge, she is not committing murder, nor even seeking justice; she is "þa fæhðe wræc" - "avenging the feud" (Hennequin 512).

This is really where Grendel's mother becomes most terrifying, and not simply in the story, but as a message to Anglo-Saxon society. Grendel's mother is the horrible but inevitable pinnacle of a society built of feuding tribes and uneasy peace: a mother so fiercely protective of her son, so empowered with rage and a drive for revenge, that she's capable of threatening "not just an individual man's dominance but the whole system of male dominance... she does not 'respect borders, positions, rules'" (Acker 708). This is the true source of her power, both in the narrative and as a cautionary tale to Anglo-Saxon society. Her threat to male dominance is very real in her fight with *Beowulf*; if he embodies the masculine ideal, it is here when, for once, that ideal fails him. His battle with Grendel is presented simply, as Grendel is "out-manned" by

someone with greater strength than his own; the battle with his mother, however, takes a different form, as she refuses to face Beowulf in such a basic contest of strength and instead lures him into her den, where his armor is torn from his body and his sword proves ineffective for the first time in his life (Acker 708). Indeed, one could see undertones of a reversed sense of sexuality in the battle: Beowulf is disarmed and then wrestled to the ground, where Grendel's mother sits on him and attempts to skewer him with a large knife. Though she is eventually defeated, the encounter is perhaps the most memorable of Beowulf's three battles, the instance when the fury of a mother seeking revenge threatens to overwhelm the male ideal and, possibly, the gender roles of their society.

The fight with Grendel's mother is not the only time Beowulf's masculine role in the story may be called into question. In Robert Morey's essay, "Beowulf's androgynous heroism," he posits that "when he crosses tribal lines to aid Hrothgar's Danes, however--even though his conduct there includes some sweaty brutality--Beowulf becomes distinctly feminized." Morey's argument is that, by killing Grendel and ensuring the peaceful existence of Hrothgar's mead-hall, Beowulf is forging a bond between Geats and Danes, one which shares many similarities to the previously mentioned bonds forged through marriage. This relationship is perhaps even stronger, as Hrothgar proclaims, "So now, Beowulf / I adopt you in my heart as a dear son" (Beowulf, lines 945-946). Beowulf seems to echo this sense of kinship, as before he dives into the mere he asks if Hrothgar "would act like a father to [him] afterwards" if he is slain (line 1479). In this case, establishing a bond that can be seen as a blood relationship, Beowulf is acting almost as, to quote Morey, a "commodified bride" (Morey).

This can serve as a precursor to the fight with Grendel's mother, which is certainly the most obvious instance of gender swapping in *Beowulf*. Grendel's mother, who as previously mentioned acts with a characteristically male drive and intensity, temporarily manages to subdue Beowulf and inverse their positions. As he lays on his back and attempts to avoid being stabbed by Grendel's *dam*, the roles have obviously been reversed. It is only after this, when Beowulf manages to break free and regain his "manhood," in this case a sword "from the days of the giants," that he manages to prevail (Beowulf, line 1559). The language which follows, proclaiming the sword "one that any warrior would envy" and closing the fight with the line, "The sword dripped blood, the swordsman was elated," is highly suggestive of the sexual act; the poet seems almost amused at the similarities (lines 1560, 1569). This is the moment where Beowulf is shown, as Morey puts it, "...the feminized object of his antagonist's male-imagined sexual violence."

It is important to note, at the end of the poem, it is not Beowulf's violent antics the Geats speak of in mourning their great king. Never is the subject of Grendel or his mother, or his battle against the sea serpents, or even the fight with the dragon mentioned as they say farewell to him, except to regret the tragedy of that encounter. Rather, Beowulf is remembered as "the man most gracious and fair-minded, / kindest to his people and keenest to win fame" (Beowulf, lines 3182-83). Even in his fierceness, he can be seen as a peace-weaver; the messenger who delivers the news of Beowulf's death predicts that soon, without Beowulf to stop them, the Geats shall be at war with the Franks and the Frisians, and even the Swedes will want their revenge from Hygelac's actions. So the warning of feuds comes full circle, as without Beowulf as a balancing chip to keep the peace, the Geats shall be overrun by their enemies in a culmination of the feuds he had helped to deter with his very presence. It is perhaps, then, no coincidence that a cluster of the words spoken to eulogize Beowulf in the final two lines of the poem had been placed together in only one other instance - the speeches of Wealhtheow. One can only guess that this is done purposefully, and Robert Morey claims "the image of the hero that closes the poem hearkens back to what is arguably the most sublimely peaceful scene of the poem, and the image links Beowulf

with the poem's finest female peace-weaver, Wealhtheow." In doing so, the Geats look not to the violence and heroic exploits of Beowulf, but to the aspects of his character which make him a great king: his kindness, his fairness, and his ability to broker peace -- aspects that he shares with the women of *Beowulf*.

The traditional view of the women in *Beowulf* as weak, extraneous characters used only to pass mead and worry about their children is patently false. Wealhtheow is a strong, intelligent character, shown to be both shrewd and competent in her duties as peace-weaver and hostess, and plays a pivotal role in the narrative. Grendel's mother, on the other hand, is far from the mindless monster modern reader may think of her as, and serves as both an amalgamation of gender roles and, perhaps more importantly, a grim warning to society if feuding remains unchecked. On the other hand, Beowulf is not nearly the unrestrained image of masculinity that he is often depicted as; never marrying, often coming in peace, he is perhaps one of the most successful "females" in the poem (Morey). If one is to understand Anglo-Saxon culture from *Beowulf*, it is necessary to avoid superficial analysis of both its women and men. An oversimplified rendering of the themes of *Beowulf* into an easy-to-swallow pill of "men are powerful, women are weak" is a disservice both to *Beowulf* as a piece of literature and Anglo-Saxon society as a whole. The characters and themes of the poem are far too complex, even those who appear for only a handful of lines, to be accurately reduced to simple caricatures. The women of *Beowulf* have had their legacy damaged by biased translators and surface-level analysis. Hopefully one day new translations and literary analysis will return them to a position of respect, and by extension, the position of *Beowulf* as a whole.

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Examining Homosexuality in Three Cultures

by Leah Sweeney

Pretend an invisible alien is watching people interact in what is known as a typical classroom. The alien sees that every morning, a student continuously blinks one eye at the professor, whenever they make eye contact. The alien might conclude that the student has an eye twitch because his assessment is solely based on behavior. However, to the people in the classroom, it has a different meaning, and meaning is key for understanding people. The student is winking at the teacher, flirtatiously. In the United States culture, that is a taboo and risky thing to do. Students are expected to conduct themselves appropriately in a classroom and around a professor. The alien only understands half of the picture; he sees a gesture, but does not know its meaning (Geertz, 1973). Like the invisible alien, we can examine a specific act in different cultures, to better understand how it ties into that specific culture. Unlike the invisible alien, through observing behavior and examining it further, we can also understand the meanings attached to specific behaviors.

While humans globally engage in male homosexual behavior, the meanings attached vary by culture. Focusing on three different case studies from Papua New Guinea, Brazil, and the United States allows for the exploration of meanings that arise from male behaviors.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines **homosexual** as, "involving, related to, or characterized by a sexual propensity for one's own sex; of or involving sexual activity with a member of one's own sex, or between individuals of the same sex." **Homosexuality** is "the quality of being homosexual, homosexual character or nature; also homosexual behavior or activity." The OED defines **sexual** as, "of or pertaining to sex, or the attribute of being either male or female; existing or predicted with regard to sex" and "relative to the physical intercourse between the sexes or the gratification of sexual appetites." **Sex** refers to "determining the sex of by anatomical examination; to label as male or female." **Gender**, defined grammatically, means "corresponding more or less to distinctions of sex and absence of sex in the objects denoted, into which substantives are discriminated according to the nature of the modification they require in words syntactically associated with them." Other words that are important to consider denotatively are: **erotic**: "of or pertaining to the passion of love concerned with or treating of love;" and **eroticize**: "to make erotic; to stimulate sexually" (OED). Still being aware that dictionaries are culturally specific, and sometimes show bias is important. Clarifying terms is important to avoid confusion caused by applying Western definitions.

For the purposes of this paper, unless otherwise noted, the term "homosexual behavior" refers to the physical sexual activity with another member of the same sex, specifically males. This can include oral and anal penetration between the two males actively participating, but is not limited to penetration. Westerners often view homosexuality as an erotic or romantic act; in other cultures, the term often has nothing to do with romantic interest or eroticism. Rather, the meanings are part of the construction of gender systems, and identification of self in a specific way.

United States of America

The United States consists of many diverse groups, each with an important role in individualizing one's self to other people socially and culturally. One of these groups includes gays. In the United States, the word "homosexual" is used to refer to sexual acts explicitly (Boxer & Herdt, 1992); these sexual acts include, but are not limited to anal penetration, oral penetration and "manual stimulation." Many sources do not describe

specific sexual acts but just combine them together. This suggests that all the sexual acts mean the same thing. Unlike in other cultures, genitals are an essential part of the gender system, and determining sexuality (Nanda, 2000). Some sources argue that in the United States, homosexuality is a culture, an erotic tropism (White, 2000). However, other scholars suggest that "homosexuality" is not a culture, but a separate entity from "gay culture" (Boxer & Herdt, 1992, p.5). This stresses the differences in the words "homosexual" and "gay."

"Gay culture" can be compared to an umbrella that combines a number of acts into one. It represents and signifies identity, roles, and distinctive systems of rules, norms and attitudes; this also includes beliefs from which the culture of gay men is made (Boxer & Herdt, 1992). Especially in modern times, "gay culture," is often defined by the way one laughs, where one spends money, in what order one prioritizes life, and how things such as song lyrics are encoded (White, 2000). This does not mean that the sexual behaviors associated with "homosexuality" are not part of how a gay man should live. "Gay culture" is the lifestyle and "homosexuality" the physical acts a male performs with another male. Gay culture includes a wide range of behaviors.

As John D'Emilio (1983) states, there is a universal acceptance of the myth of the "eternal homosexual"; the idea that gay men always have and always will exist. In America, people tried to understand "homosexuality" through medical and psychological explanations. The word "homosexual" wasn't coined until 1869 by Benkert; it slowly moved into medical and historical literature, where it was viewed pathologically as a disease. Not until 1972 was homosexuality reclassified as a life-style rather than a disease. However, "gay" as a category was not prominent until the early 1960s. Often, people are confused by the different concepts of "homosexual" and "gay." Much of this confusion is caused by the American preoccupation with its causes (Boxer & Herdt, 1992 p. 5-6).

D'Emilio (1983) argues that gay men have not always existed, but instead, are a product of history, and with their emergence being associated with the relations of capitalism. He says that the expanse of capitalism transformed the structure and functions of the nuclear families. People were no longer dependent on the family business, but could spread out and create a life for themselves. This allowed gays to branch out and establish themselves in the public sphere (D'Emilio, 1983). The focus here is to note the importance of the development of gay culture as it did not always exist.

Gay has become an identity to be celebrated, especially since Stonewall. Stonewall Inn, a homosexual bar located in Greenwich Village, was raided by police on June 27, 1969. Police raids of homosexual establishments were common in the 1960s, but on that night, people had had enough. They decided to fight back instead of passively enduring the treatment of police (Armstrong & Cragg, 2006). This riot, which lasted long into the night, became a milestone in gay liberation, and created a reason for gays to celebrate who they were publically. The time of oppression was over; they would no longer be invisible.

One of the most important rites of passage that defines gay culture is "coming out"; it is a social development of the "gay" lifestyle (Boxer & Herdt, 1992). "Coming out" can be viewed as a ritual; it is an expression that is directly related to the identity of a gay man; "Coming out is not only the key ritual of gay culture: it is a particularly powerful cultural domain in which to refine the study of *rites de passage* in complex societies" (Herdt, 1992). Boxer and Herdt claim that in the process of coming out, "being gay is not the same thing as living one's life openly as a gay person and a member of the gay community" (Boxer & Herdt, 1992). For Americans, it is essential to be who you are, and to express that publically. Herdt (1992) calls "coming out" an American folk idiom that refers to a single act when someone declares his identity as "homosexual" or "gay" to someone who assumed him to be "straight" or "heterosexual." In America, it can best be

interpreted as a "life-crisis" event that resembles other rites of passage studied globally (Herdt, 1992).

In the past, the process of coming out was from the secret world of gays into a covert social network of an oppressed society. Herdt (1992) argues that it was originally a highly individualized act. More recently, the process of coming out has become dual-level. The first one is a very personal and private act of revealing one's self to close family and friends. At the second level, certain events allow coming out to be done publically within a group. This is done through symbolic rituals, such as gay pride parades (Herdt, 1992). These parades, held in locations across the country, celebrate the anniversary of the Stonewall riots. In Chicago, a group known as Horizons Community Services, one of the main supporters for gays and lesbians, leads that city's Gay Pride Parade. Many participants describe the parade as a "peak experience" in their own coming out process (Herdt, 1992 p.54). Participating in the parade is a specific example of a smaller ritual that illustrates part of the larger rite of passage: coming out.

The parades are the blending and unity of personal behaviors, teaching participants how to express them publically (Herdt, 1992). However, the fact that gays see themselves as a separate culture, needing to be represented and announced, re-enforces the idea that heterosexuality is the default human sexuality, unless another alternative reason presents itself (Herrel, 1992).

At first, the pride parade were intended to prevent gays and lesbians from being invisible to the dominant culture of the United States (Herrel, 1992). Over the years, the parades have come to represent a number of events, affecting gay culture. Varied groups are represented in the parade; gays in drag, lesbians on motorcycles, Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) and others (Herdt, 1992). These groups symbolize diversity as a key theme in gay society and allows identification with the larger culture as well, furthering the idea that all gays are not alike (Herdt, 1992). The parades provide a safe environment for gays to let the public know their authentic selves.

Papua New Guinea- Sambia

The Sambia are a fringe-area Highlands people, who number about 2,300. They participate in cultural traditions with other nearby tribes, which they also trade with. They live in hamlets that are based on defense on high mountain ridges where they are also located. Their social organization and economy revolve around these hamlets. Within each hamlet is a separate hut where all the initiated, unmarried males live. The men are responsible for all the hunting. The sexes are highly polarized and the males must participate in various rituals to become strong men (Herdt, 1984).

In Sambia, sexual contacts "distinguish kin from nonkin, and friendly from hostile persons" (Herdt, 1984). Sexual contacts are highly regulated and only allowed between unrelated people. Role reversals are never permitted (Herdt, 1984). These rituals include semen transactions and homosexual behaviors. Semen transactions involve transferring semen to another human, for a specific person; it is usually done orally. Homosexual behaviors refer to sexual acts that may have no specific reasons to be performed. In Sambia, the focus of homosexual behavior is on oral contact and fellatio. However, the latter act is secret and occurs in the first stage of initiations for boys. Men must go through six stages of initiation, occurring over the span of ten to fifteen years, sequentially (Herdt, 1984). This initiation takes place within the men's secret cult, which is held responsible for male development after childhood. The secret cult is "ideally organized as a social hierarchical system according to the ritual rank" (Herdt, 1984, p.172-173). The older boys teach the younger youth to ingest semen through oral sexual contacts. The roles are not reversible and every man, at one point or another, is either a fellator or fellated (Herdt, 1984).

To the people of Sambia, semen is symbolic; according to Herdt, its "transactions may be understood as a special language, a kind of symbolic discourse for signifying the value and identities of persons, groups, and social and religious entities"(Herdt,1984). These symbols define and represent the meanings of their behaviors. Understanding how the people of Sambia understand or view the nature of the sexes, and how they function is important. From an early age, the females and males of the society are separated, though not completely. Each gender plays very specific roles in this society. The male is the "socially preferred and valued sex" (Herdt,1984). According to Sambian beliefs, males don't "'naturally' mature as fast or as competently." A male cannot achieve puberty or secondary sex traits, such as facial hair, or a "mature" penis (Herdt,1984). Sambians don't believe that boys internally produce semen; therefore they must ingest it and participate in "magical ritual treatments of various kinds over many years to 'catch up' with females" to become strong men (Herdt,1984). Also, as semen is believed to be a rare resource, specific values are placed upon it that actively constructs masculine gender.

Sambians organize the value of semen into five main cultural categories: erotic play, procreation, growth, strength and spiritual behavior (Herdt,1984). However, sex in their culture is viewed very specifically. Sexual pleasures are only in relation to another person, meaning that the sex that one participates in usually has a specific reason for happening, such as procreation. No equivalent exists to the western term, sex. In Sambia, acts of homosexuality are symbolic and cannot truly be understood objectively or subjectively (Herdt,1984). The semen is not just an object; it has value, which explains why men engage in what may seem to be homosexual behaviors.

Among the five categories of semen value, Sambians consider procreation at the top. Procreation is defined as "genital-to-genital heterosexual contacts that lead to the birth of offspring." Sambians believe that when a woman is orally inseminated, it prepares her body for procreating and "strengthens" her (Herdt, 1984). As it is not an act between two males, its inclusion in this paper is brief, only to demonstrate the importance of semen.

The next category of semen transactions is erotic play. Typically, erotic play represents male/male sexual contacts, which are normally and "culturally defined as behaviorally promiscuous" (Herdt, 1984). Erotic play refers to a male achieving orgasm. The majority of male/female contacts are to procreate, which means that most contacts are considered work. Because only male/female acts result in procreation, all other sexual contacts fulfill other reproductive functions, such as the growth of a spouse. Because semen is seen as a scarce resource, homoerotic play fits unevenly into its expenditure. The Sambians believe a lot of semen is required to procreate, so when a boy participates in homoerotic play, it is an unequal exchange. The recipients acquire semen and the donors receive sexual services; this is viewed as unequal because the donor's semen is being depleted, while he gains only pleasure in return (Herdt,1984). The view in Sambia is women and boys receive semen, while men get erotic pleasure; most men are not concerned about the arousal of boys or women. However, the younger men are in "need" of the semen.

For Sambians, biological growth in males is a direct result from the ingestion of semen and other substances. This correlates to the category of strength as a semen value. Strength is a key concept in the development of men and is directly related to semen because it masculinizes a person's body, and has no substitute (Herdt,1984). When semen is orally ingested, it applies to the boy's "maturing skin, bones, skull and producing changes" that would occur from puberty. When the semen is applied externally, it goes to the boy's semen organ, to aid the development of a mature penis and the growth of hair. It helps the boy to provide semen for later sexual contacts (Herdt,1984). Additionally, "Sym-bolically, homosexual fellatio provides the key ritualized strengthening of boys' postpartum bodies" (Herdt,1984). Physical and

psychosocial outcomes are “large size, attractiveness, valor, forceful speech, sexual potency, and many social achievements, including progeny” (Herdt, 1984). Though the semen contributes the physical growth of a boy, it contributes even more to psychological growth. Semen ingestion is crucial to the development of a baby as women are “biological transformers,” changing semen into a fetus. Though the act applies to both male/male and male/female sexual contacts, women are believed to grow naturally without any aid (Herdt, 1984).

The last but not least category of semen value is spirituality. In fact, “the most significant semen valuation for spirituality is the child's inheritance of spirit familiars” (Herdt, 1984). The males receive these traits through the semen that creates a son's body tissue. Acts of homosexual inseminations do not transmit familiars to the recipients. Familiars are mostly transmitted through semen to males. Familiars can be personal and clan-related, and they ensure longevity, strength or spiritual protection. It is also believed that semen holds the souls of the deceased, and that genealogy is transmitted through male/female transactions. Homosexual inseminations are not believed to transmit familiars to the recipient (Schieffelin 1976, 1977; Herdt, 1984).

The values attached to semen are “highly valued as a means to valuable social ends,” such as personal strength, marriage, personhood and offspring (Herdt, 1984). Men believe that women and boys “desire their semen” for those social ends only (Herdt, 1984). If a man wished to receive semen after his third stage initiation, he would be heavily stigmatized as unmanly, and to do so with a boy is “morally unconscionable [sic]” (Herdt, 1984). However, one conflict that arises in achieving orgasm is that “individual sexual impulses are stronger than the social need for semen constraint in heterosexual versus homosexual contacts” (Herdt, 1984). Though males cannot become pregnant, semen ingestion later aids with the ability to reproduce as adults. Homosexual insemination is less depleting than heterosexual insemination because homosexual practices are placed within a spiritual framework (Herdt, 1984).

In Herdt's books on homosexual behavior in New Guinea, he claims that “ritualized homosexuality” is a better term to define and understand the behaviors committed in these cultures. Though most males go on to marry women and have children, they are not considered bisexual, for no psychosexual involvement occurs between the males performing the act. This is not to say that bisexual males do not exist in New Guinea. The men become more masculine and strengthen their manliness by becoming less like women.

Latin America- Brazil

In Brazil, the diversity of sex and gender is illustrated by alternative roles of *travesti*. *Travesti* is a male transgendered role in Brazil that is a theme which can be characterized in most of Latin America (Nanda, 2000). Like in Papua New Guinea, the male is considered the superior sex (Brandes, 1981; Gilmore 1996; Nanda 2000). The foundation of the gender system is based on the dichotomy between man and woman, or what is known as man and not-man according to Kulick. However, these ideas are opposing in every way (Nanda, 2000).

The homosexual behavior that takes place most often in Brazil is anal penetration. Oral sex is only given to men, who are not considered homosexual, as *travestis*. These people are considered homosexual and provide these services, but do not want their genitalia to be recognized by their clients. Many *travesti* come from poor backgrounds, and are often victims of police brutality and, in some cases, even murder. Most have drug abuse problems and severe health issues. While in some areas, *travestis* are becoming icons in Brazil, they are still treated poorly in most areas.

In modern America, gender classification is based on the biological sex of a child, but in Brazil, gender is based on sexuality, but refers to the position in sexual

intercourse. The ideology is based on who penetrates, the active, which is defined as masculine, and those who are penetrated, the passive, defined as feminine (Nanda, 2000). These distinctions shape the meaning of sexual relationships between individuals of the same sex, as well as the opposite.

In different areas, a male homosexual is referred to with different terms such as *bicha*, meaning literally a bug or female animal; they may also be referred to as *viado*, literally a deer. Most are referred to as *travesti*, deriving from the verb to cross-dress (Nanda, 2000). For the remainder of the paper, male homosexuals of Brazil are referred to as *travesti*. Though the gender variants of Brazil, in most cases, readily identify themselves as homosexual, the term is not applied to the penetrating partner in the same-sex relationship.

The man who is the active or sexually penetrating partner, is not placed in any special category, nor viewed as homosexual. When in these relationships, the sexually receptive partner is expected to acquire other aspects of the feminine gender role: they are to behave, sound, and dress in ways that mimic women. However, once a male assumes this role, his masculinity is severely damaged: he ultimately becomes a "symbolic female through his sexual role" (Nanda, 2000).

Not only do most *travestis* dress and act like women, but they also take measures to transform their bodies (Kulick; Nanda, 2000). Boys as early as ten years of age, who identify as *travestis*, may begin to take, or inject female hormones, in order to develop breasts and give their bodies more feminine contours (Nanda, 2000). In Brazil, these hormones are cheap and easily attainable. Many *travestis* also use silicone for implants, especially in their thighs, hips and buttocks. Most do not implant silicone into the breasts, because they believe that it will cause cancer: however, anywhere else is acceptable (Kulick, 1997). These are the focus for Brazilians in terms of the ideal female (Kulick, Nanda, 2000).

No matter how many body changes *travestis* undergo, they can never be women, nor do they want to be, because "God created them male and their sex can never be changed" (Kulick, Nanda, 2000). Unlike other cultures, such as the Hijras of India, *travestis* do not believe in removing their penises. Hijras, defined by culture, are "neither man nor woman." They are born biological male, and through a ritual, they surgically become an alternative gender group (Nanda, 2000). The elimination of their penis reinforces the "not-men" aspect of their gender, as their ability to penetrate is taken away because of their physical defect (Nanda ms). This surgical operation is a key component in becoming a Hijra. *Travestis* believe that sex change operations castrate homosexuals, and that they do not produce women (Nanda, 2000). *Travestis* also believe that without a penis, no exit is available for semen, and if it is trapped within, it will eventually travel to the brain and cause madness (Nanda, 2000).

In the west, transsexuals modify their bodies to become women, in the very literal sense; in Brazil, *travestis* modify their bodies to be "like women". They also modify their behavior, appearance, and relationships with men (Nanda, 2000). Though *travestis* want a feminine body, the thought of losing their penises is unheard of. Instead they hide their genitals between their legs. This is an important practice in daily appearance, in their work as prostitutes and in deference to their boyfriends' masculine identity. *Travesti* prostitutes are a subculture of a larger culture. A crucial element of *travesti* identity is the connection with their sexual attraction to men, especially their desire for and participation in anal penetration (Nanda, 2000).

In Brazil, the relationships between *travesti* and men are not characterized as homosexual but as "heterogenderal" (Nanda, 2000). The relationship is "culturally defined by the social/sexual differences in gender, not by the sameness of (male) bodies and sexual orientation (Nanda, 2000). Men who are attracted to *travesti* consider themselves men, as do their *travesti* girlfriends; they can maintain their manhood by

penetrating *travestis*. Sexual relationships that do not distinguish between who gives and receives is looked down upon heavily.

Unlike in other cultures, travesties are neither men nor women; they are also not considered to be a third gender or an in-between group. Kulick, an anthropologist, explained *travestis* in the categories of men and not-men, as they are not viewed as women by themselves or others, which ultimately explains the whole gender system as well. The definition of gender depends on the use of genitals, not possession of them. However, this does not mean that biological difference are ignored (Nanda, 2000). *Travestis* are classified with but not as women, because they enjoy penetration, and want to be "like" them. Being attractive is vital, as women are viewed in a highly physical manner in Brazil. In Brazil, being homosexual or a *travesti* is becoming more acceptable and open. Carnaval, the "annual pre-Lenten period of revelry similar to the American Mardi Gras" thrives on gender diversity, as cross-dressing and gender inversion are prominent (Nanda, 2000). Like the United States, it is a very public demonstration of identity. While *travestis* can be cultural icons, the majority of them are treated very poorly. Many view them as failed men, from both social and biological perspectives, unable to recognize their potential as men because of "inappropriate sexual behavior" (Nanda, 2000).

Kulick asked the *travesti* he examined in Brazil about why they wanted to be feminine. Most said they were attracted to men, and that in addition to that attraction, looking more feminine helped them earn more money as prostitutes (Kulick, 1997). During and outside of sex, a *travesti* doesn't want her boyfriend to touch, notice or comment on her penis. Physical touching of the *travesti* is generally limited to caressing her breasts and some kissing. Kulick (1997) reports that most *travesti* do not achieve orgasm during sex with their boyfriends. The people most adamant about these standards were the *travestis* themselves. They will terminate a relationship if their boyfriend deviates from what is considered "proper manly sexuality" (Kulick, 1997).

However, the unwillingness to use their own penises while engaging in sex with their own boyfriends is in stark contrast to what *travestis* are willing to do with their penises when they are engaging with a client. On the street, *travestis* are valued for their penises, and clients often request to see or feel them before agreeing to pay for sex (Kulick, 1997). Most clients prefer larger penises, so some *travestis* stopped taking hormones to maintain their penis size to prevent losing clients when they couldn't perform. One of the most common sexual behaviors is anal penetration of their clients. Most *travestis* enjoy this penetration and generally enjoy sex with their clients. Kulick notes his own struggle in understanding the language the *travestis* used when talking about people: "Males, in other words, can shift gender depending on the context and the actions they perform" (Kulick, 1997). This is not the same for females though; the gender of females in language among the *travestis* remains fixed.

Men, who enjoy being penetrated by other men, but do not behave "like" women, are perceived to be gay. However, *travestis* look down upon them because they are seen as deceitful, pretending to be men (Kulick, 1997). *Travestis*, as well as other people, re-enforce gender structures, and the guidelines attached to them.

Discussion

As the above discussions show, people in the United States, Papua New Guinea, and Brazil view sexuality in and gender in startlingly different ways. In the U.S., the acts that they engage in reflect physical attraction. Every detail of a gay man's life is believed to correlate to the fact he is attracted to someone of the same sex. In Papua New Guinea, on the other hand, all men are believed to be capable of engaging in sexual acts with both sexes, but those acts have very specific and different functions; contrary to

both is Brazil, where the importance and identification is based on the role in sexual intercourse, rather than the genitals they possess.

The homosexual behaviors in each area have a specific function for that culture. In the U.S., it is about freely identifying one's self to the public. Among the Sambians, homosexual acts through rituals eventually lead to the development of men. Though they engage in homosexual acts, they do not believe themselves to be homosexual, for all males go through these rituals at one point. In Brazil, it is more about being one's self, especially for *travestis*. They are neither men, nor women, but an entirely different entity.

These three distinctions demonstrate that sexuality and gender are culturally determined. The labeling of these behaviors further enforces gender stratifications within each society. Western perspectives tend to dominate the perspectives of other cultures, as do their views on homosexuality.

As US citizens combine numerous acts and behaviors into certain categories, the same applies for same-sex contacts. If a male acts a certain way in a specific situation, people assume he is gay. We apply these views to other cultures, especially non-Western. As the Sambians engage in fellatio, they must be homosexual. This is not true; in their culture, the act has a completely different functional meaning. In Brazil, the key markers to being homosexual are the roles played during sexual intercourse, which is similar to the United States. Though the roles are not the defining factor in determining if someone is gay or not in the U.S., it plays a part in the stereotypical classification of people.

Conclusion

These different meanings show people that other forms of gender systems exist, and one's structure is not better than another. Instead, each structure meets the needs of the society it originates in, and reflects the values and assumptions inherent in that culture. This allows for change in the construction of social organization globally. Meanings attached to any behavior are not set in stone, and cannot be viewed in the same way. Humans need to recognize that everyone is not the same just because they engage in similar acts.

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Japanese Citizenship and the Zainichi

by Alexis G. Martinez

Presently Japan is one of the world's top leaders in economics, technology, and culture. The Japanese are known as "world leaders and world loners" (Reischauer 395). Defining Japanese identity is particularly challenging because of two competing influences--cosmopolitanism and communitarianism. Ultimately these conflicting ideas stem from Japan's desire to be recognized by the international community and to formulate its own concept of Japanese 'uniqueness.' Balancing global norms embracing pluralism with a mono-ethnic self-definition has led Japan to debate the answer to this fundamental question: "What constitutes being Japanese?" Japaneseness is a contested identity, shaped by ethnic nationhood, race, historical power, global position, and political relationships. These discourses on Japanese identity have led to discrimination against non-Japanese ethnic groups, particularly the *Zainichi* community and put Japan in conflict with global norms.

Japaneseness is an ambiguous term. On one hand it can be considered a way to mold what constitutes being Japanese into a racial, ethnic, political, and cultural form. Essentially, Japaneseness is a cluster of beliefs that emphasizes the uniqueness of the Japanese people and culture. It is a discourse centered on three key assumptions: a classless society, cultural superiority and ethnic homogeneity. Scholars like Chikako Kashiwazaki argue that ethnic nationalism, which led into discourses of Japaneseness, are not what affected Japan's overall position as a *jus sanguinis* (a policy that determines citizenship by descent, rather than place of birth) state (Kashiwazaki 279). Rather she argues that Japanese identity was redefined as a means to deal with the fear of foreign penetration in the last years of the 1890s (288). From this perspective, Japanese 'uniqueness' was a façade to promote stricter codifications of naturalization, instead of a proponent that influenced Japanese legislation. Kashiwazaki also argues that the origin of *jus sanguinis* in Japan is as an illustration of the emergence of membership criteria in the modern state. Most notably was her comparison of Japan's rising nationalism and membership criteria to that of Britain, France and Germany's. Overall, Kashiwazaki explains that Japanese identity is a part, but not the major force, behind the idea of the *jus sanguinis* state.

Richard Siddle notes that Japaneseness is a "racialized" concept that encompasses the belief of the 'Japanese blood' (Siddle 448). According to Amy Chua, Japanese nationalist thinkers focused on their image of the Japanese as not only the "purest of peoples, but physically white" (Chua 276). A convenient myth, race and the elaborate idea of a mystical history served to instill a cultural superiority among the Japanese people. Deriving from the Western model of Social Darwinism, Japanese racism and their ideas of a pureblooded people became the centrifuge of a 'unique' worldview (276). In addition to the idea of a Japanese uniqueness, the biological reality of being Japanese was brought into the picture.

The notion that 'being Japanese' was not just a matter of being born in Japan; knowing the language further served to justify racialization in terms of defining citizenship. Catherine Lu notes that as modernization under the Meiji Restoration generated a project to build a modern statehood it began to validate strong ideological principles that supported Japanese cultural superiority over other Asian societies (Lu, Menju, and Williams 101). Japanese uniqueness at this point contributes to thoughts of 'cultural superiority' and the necessity to assimilate non-ethnic Japanese as a condition for citizenship. Overall, the impression of an exclusive Japanese ethnic nature is the backbone of what Lu calls the "Japanese conception of nationality, identity and citizenship" that "has been influenced by external ideas, especially from the West" (111).

According to Paul Spickard, in the late nineteenth-century the imperialistic competition for supremacy involving the European nations, the United States, and Japan is what emphasized the aforementioned principle of Social Darwinism (Spickard 125). The idea that hierarchies of wealth, power, and status were products of natural selection, and not moral or

policy issues became key arguments for Japanese intellectuals (125). Japan as part of the competition was considered heavily on the factor of race. Charles Kupchan notes that after World War I, racial considerations considered to “loom large” as the dominions and the United States pressed Britain to drop the alliance with Japan (Kupchan 155). Kupchan points out that a British Foreign Office memo in 1921 stated: “In every respect, except the racial one, Japan stands on par with the great governing nations of the world. But however powerful Japan may eventually become, the white race will never be able to admit her equality” (155). In this regard, Social Darwinism had the potential of changing Japan into an imperialist nation, while also maintaining the ‘uniqueness’ of Japan in the competition against the Western world.

Coupled with Japan’s desire to break away from two centuries of isolation and the increasing imperialistic competition, Japan’s efforts to bring Korea under her influence intensified after 1868. During Tokugawa Japan, the Japanese had maintained a hesitant attitude when dealing with Korea. It was not until the start of the Meiji period that two distinct views of Korea arose. Kazuhiro Abe notes that on one hand, “Koreans had been regarded as transmitters of Chinese culture” and as such were treated “with respect for their advanced Confucian scholarship;” on the other hand, there was the “view of Korea as a tributary state of Japan” (42). These views alongside the increasing expansionist efforts swayed the Japanese to the latter belief of Korea being a tributary state. The necessity to legitimize the “alleged conquest of Korea” and the developing racist ideas are what led up to the “Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910” (Abe 42). As a result of the annexation, Japan undertook land reforms in Korea that led to the dispossession of several farmers, some of which were left with no other option but to emigrate to Japan to find work.

Coinciding with the historical understandings of racial purity in Japanese history the rise to descent-based citizenship policies can be regarded as inevitable to Japan’s citizenship politics. Established in 1899 and characterized by its strict naturalization rules and number of legal restrictions on naturalized persons, Japan’s first nationality law according to Kashiwazaki, “coincided with the growth of nationalism, particularly of the kind that can be labeled ‘ethnic’” (Kashiwazaki 282). The 1899 System, which defined Japanese citizenship as being based on the *jus sanguinis* social policy also introduced several other policies that later impacted the concept of Japaneseness. Tessa Morris-Suzuki notes that among the policies the “Former Natives Protection Act, which formed the mainstay of assimilationist policies” was one in particular that influenced the definitions of Japaneseness (Morris-Suzuki 165).

After the Second World War Japan compromised with the Allied Powers to contain human rights provisions within their new constitution. Nevertheless, according to Lu, “Throughout the drafting process, the latter consistently attempted to restrict legal protections for non-Japanese and other ‘disfavored’ groups” (112). Specifically, the revised Nationality Law of 1950, a close model to the 1899 System, stripped all non-ethnic Japanese citizens of their citizenship status while maintaining a deeply rooted patrilineal *jus sanguinis* policy. Even so, it is important to note that the gender construction of the Nationality Law underwent a momentous revision in 1985, where membership was not only rooted in the power of men but also of women. This change, according to Petrice Flowers effectively modified “who is Japanese” and increasingly restricted to exclude non-Japanese national membership (Flowers 86).

To go into depth, Japan’s Nationality Law determines the conditions needed for being a Japanese national. In fact, this specific condition is written as the Law’s first article: the Purpose of this Law. Composed of twenty articles, the Nationality Law comprises of eight specific parts. The most telling of the Law is the second article that strictly defines the bases of Japanese citizenship by blood--the acquisition of nationality by birth. The second article as such highlights three situations where a child would be a Japanese national:

- 1) “When, at the time of its birth, the father or the mother is a Japanese national;
- 2) When the father who died prior to the birth of the child was a Japanese national at the time of his death;
- 3) When both parents are unknown or have no nationality in a case where the child is born in Japan” (Nationality Law).

However, while the principle of *jus sanguinis* has affected the entirety of Japanese citizenship policies, it has been the naturalization process that has created further discriminatory issues with the non-ethnic Japanese groups.

Although not as diverse as Europe and the United States, Japan *has* become more diverse throughout the years. Noted by Jeff Kingston that Japan is a multiethnic society in denial, the Japanese still maintain a mono-ethnic and homogenous perception of their society (Kingston 166). With the labor shortage of the 1970s and 1980s a new wave of immigration was generated (Lu 106). On this note, according to Kingston, it has “raised anxiety among Japanese about the future of their country, national identity, and how to manage the influx” (Kingston 166). Specifically, Japan’s population consists of 98.5% Japanese, 0.5% Japan-born ethnic Koreans, 0.4% Chinese, and 0.6% *nikkeijin*, who are Japanese descendants (167). Overall, immigrants are distinguished into two expansive classes of foreign residents in Japan: “the oldcomers’ who arrived before World War II, and the newcomers” who are a diverse people (Lu 107). The first class is a group that came in as laborers and were granted limited Japanese nationality until the end of the war. Most stayed illegally, beyond the term of their visas and continued to work while integrating themselves unnoticeably into Japanese society (107). Even though the oldcomers are a class of foreign residents that are fluent in Japanese and knowledgeable of Japanese customs they still face assimilationist pressures. One of the biggest issues for foreign residents, assimilationist pressure is highlighted in the second portion of Naturalization article fourteen which states:

2) “Choice of Japanese nationality shall be made either by depriving himself or herself of the foreign nationality or by the declaration for in the Family Registration Law in which he or she swears that he or she chooses to be a Japanese national and that he or she renounces the foreign nationality” (Nationality Law)

Because there has to be the intention to renounce current citizenship from another nation, the naturalization process *only* allows dual citizenship for children up to twenty-two years of age. At this point the individual must ultimately choose between nationalities for otherwise becoming a Japanese national.

The largest minority sub-ethnic group within Japan is the *Zainichi* community, which refers to the ethnic Korean permanent residents. Most current resident Koreans came to Japan between 1910 and 1945 when Korea was still Japan’s colony. Specifically, Louis Hayes points out that Koreans were brought in as laborers, numbered 650,000 and most of them worked in factories and mines as the Second World War was draining Japanese labor power (Hayes 150). During this time, Koreans were entitled to the basic rights that came along with being a Japanese national. However, even with their residency, in practice, Kiyoteru Tsutsui states, “they were discriminated against and disadvantaged” (Shin and Tsutsui 396). Ultimately, at the end of the Second World War the government had stripped several Korean residents of their Japanese nationality and designated them as aliens (Kingston 168). In the midst of all the brutality and discrimination that the Koreans had faced, organizations representing them became momentous presences in post-war Japanese society. Among these organizations were the *Mindan*, which represented the South Korean residents and the *Chongryon* who represented the resident North Koreans.

According to Tsutsui and Shin, because the “unstable legal status and wide-spread poverty presented many obstacles to effective political mobilization in this period” it was particularly the deep division between the latter two groups that forestalled potential cohesive mobilizations for *all* resident Koreans (Shin 396). In general, the division between the two groups was not only a matter of *whom* they represented but *what* they represented. The *Mindan* was a group that tended to favor complete assimilation. On the other hand, it was the *Chongryon* that supported repatriation. Even with the gap that undercut collaborative social movements there was still activism present so to prevent further deterioration of the resident Korean rights situation (397).

In 1951 the Japanese Diet permitted fingerprinting foreign residents and this practice has drawn the most active social movements from the *Zainichi* community. Japan’s Bureau of

Immigration and Emigration's request for permission from the Japanese Diet to fingerprint foreign residents was a policy supposedly intended to prevent fraud. According to Michael Strausz, the request had the bureau specifically invoke the example of the US policy of fingerprinting residents (Strausz 641). The practice started officially with the enactment of the Alien Registration Law in 1952, which Tsutsui and Shin note, "required all aliens age fourteen and above to register all of their fingerprints every three year by the "rotating" method, which was the method reserved for criminal suspects" (Shin 399). A significant symbol of civil rights discrimination against resident Koreans it implied that all of them were potential criminals to the state.

The political rights discrimination that the *Zainichi* community faced came with the loss of their suffrage at the end of World War II. Resident Koreans deemed suffrage "as acceptance of the Japanese sovereignty and denouncement of their Korean identity" (Shin 402). They sought suffrage in local elections and framed it as a human right, which they thought they deserved because of their "fulfillment of civic duties such as taxation" (402). As such, internal and international protests were the catalyst for reforms to even occur. However, according to Lu, "The issue of political, civil, and social equality for minorities in Japan is more complicated" than just "eliminating discriminatory identification policies" (Lu 115). The fact that more *Zainichi* Koreans and foreign residents as a whole have to completely assimilate into Japanese society but still lack any sort of political rights is an increasing issue.

Understanding of ethnicity in Japan plays a major part in confirming why there is so much discrimination against *Zainichi* Koreans and other ethnic minorities. Masaru Tamamoto explains that the difficulty in defining Japanese identity lies in this "gap between the pride shared by the Japanese in their postwar accomplishments" to the "uncertainty they feel regarding their country's place in the international arena" (Tamamoto, par. 5). The idea of multiculturalism as a way to stand on the same ground as several other international leaders has led many Japanese to accept (if rather reluctantly) the fact that Japan is indeed a 'multicultural society.' Despite the efforts to accommodate multiculturalism within the nation, Japan still faces criticism from human rights organizations regarding the blatantly unequal treatment of the *Zainichi* and non-ethnic Japanese communities as a whole. According to Lu, "[A]ccession to human rights conventions and support for the internationalization movement, were consciously embraced by the national government as measures that would strengthen Japan's membership in international society" (123).

Japan has faced a turbulent year since the disastrous aftermath of a 9.0-magnitude earthquake and subsequent tsunami of March 11, 2011. While many *Zainichi* have been willing to help the Japanese in their stretch for recovery the issue of discrimination still focuses on the Japanese perception of national identity. The results of such consistent views have been numerous human rights violations against non-Japanese ethnic groups throughout the decades. In the past, Japan clung to a racialized perception of national identity and the superiority of being Japanese because she was never seen as an equal in the Western world. Left with no other option but to use racial ideologies to compete with Western states, race became a driving force behind Japan's expansionist desires. Currently, Japan must adjust to global norms and recover a sense of national unity. Thus the idea of becoming a non-racialized collective is starting to undermine the older belief of the societal "other," such as the *Zainichi* community.

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THE BEACON CONFERENCE

20 YEARS AT A GLANCE

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1994	Rockland Community College, NY	Neil Raisman	Libby Bay, Bob Kahn, & Nancy Hazelton
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1996	Harford Community College, MD	Claudia Chiesi	Sheila Allen & Lilly Downs
1997	Westchester Community College, NY	Joseph N. Hankin	Carol Klein & Mira Sakrajda
1998	Bergen Community College, NJ	Judith Winn	George Skau, Geoffrey Sadock & Bob Kahn
1999	Dutchess Community College, NY	D. David Conklin	John Desmond and Seemi Ahmad
2000	Rockland Community College, NY	George Hamada	Libby Bay, Nancy Hazelton & Wilma Frank
2001	Lehigh Carbon Community College, PA	Donald W. Snyder	Ned Schillow & Carrie Myers
2002	Westchester Community College, NY	Joseph N. Hankin	Carol Klein & Mira Sakrajda
2003	Ulster County Community College, NY	Donald C. Katt	Michelle Rodden & Miho Kawai
2004	Northampton Community College, PA	Arthur Scott	Nancy Trautmann & Elizabeth Bodien
2005	Montgomery College, MD	Charlene R. Nunley	Dedee Aleccia & Tom Anderson
2006	Dutchess Community College, NY	D. David Conklin	Seemi Ahmad, Mark Condon & Keith O'Neill
2007	Rockland Community College, NY	Cliff L. Wood	Elaine Toia & Thomas Butler
2008	Bergen Community College, NJ	Jeremiah Ryan	Dorothy Altman, Alan Kaufman & Maria Makowiecka
2009	Montgomery College, MD	Brian Johnson	Roxanne Davidson, Lucy Laufe, Bette Petrides & Carole Wolin
2010	Orange County Community College, NY	Bill Richards	Mary Ann Van Benschoten & Melissa Browne
2011	Lehigh Carbon Community College, PA	Donald W. Snyder	Ned Schillow & Christine Bowditch
2012	Westchester Community College, NY	Joseph N. Hankin	Mira Sakrajda & Lori Maida

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