

The Compass

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COMPASS

ARCADIA UNIVERSITY'S SCHOLARLY JOURNAL

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ABOUT

The Compass is an online scholarly journal edited and produced by students in the Arcadia University Honors Program. It is dedicated to providing a platform for undergraduate research and insight so that it may inspire, intrigue, and inform an audience. The journal's primary aim is to cultivate scholarly community and intellectual curiosity by featuring multidisciplinary perspectives, accepting articles from subjects including, but not limited to: Anthropology, Art, Biology, Business, Chemistry, Communications, Education, English, Modern Languages, Gender Studies, Sciences, Sociology, International Studies, Law, Mathematics, Philosophy, Psychology, and Religious Studies. *The Compass* endeavors to build an intellectual collaborative community that promotes the circulation of research and ideas.

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The Compass accepts scholarly works from current undergraduate students as well as scholarly work produced by recent alumni created during their schooling. The scholarly journal also accepts artistic works driven by research that are scholarly in nature. Painting, sculpture, and video theses are examples. These should be accompanied by a written component. Students from all colleges and universities are encouraged to submit.

All papers must be formatted in Chicago style with a bibliography. End notes should be included in place of footnotes.

1. Fill out the online Submission Form. Although it is not required, we highly encourage students to have their professor submit a Professor Approval Form to aid the editorial board during the selection and review process.

2. Email your submission as a word document attachment to thecompass@arcadia.edu.

The email format is as follows:

- The Subject line of the email start with APP: and should include applicant's name and paper's field of study. Ex. "APP: Hanna Lee, Psychology"
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*Please note: We will review submissions of any length, but we can only review one submission per applicant per issue.

THE APPLICATION PROCESS:

Submissions are accepted on a rolling basis. Each submission will be reviewed by a member of the Extended Review Board comprised primarily of current Arcadia faculty. Once a piece has been designated as scholarly by the extended review board, it is then reviewed by at least one member of the Editorial Board, comprised of Arcadia undergraduate students, who will recommend acceptance, acceptance with revisions, or rejection. The decision will then be communicated to the submitter along with any changes that may be required. Additional information may be requested after acceptance including a photo and a short biography.

Questions? Contact *The Compass* staff at thecompass@arcadia.edu.

FOREWORD

The Compass is an important testament to the high level of work that students complete. The Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) claims that the most important aspect of a liberal education is for students to complete, what AAC&U calls signature work. Signature work is characterized as a major project defined by the student in response to an open assignment. The work is completed by the student with some support or guidance by a faculty member. Projects might include reports of empirical research, library review papers, opinion pieces, creative writing. Each issue of *The Compass* composed of individual students' signature work reflects the wide arena of disciplines and topics in which students publish from the value of forest fires to pottery production in late Hellenistic times. The range of topics and the originality of the work show the value of a liberal education.

The publication of *The Compass* also serves an important role as an exemplar of what AAC&U calls an unscripted problem, a problem that cannot be solved through rote strategies. The selection of work to be published, the editing of that work and the compiling of each edition of *The Compass* is a remarkable example of work on an unscripted problem. Each issue also shows the capacity of student editors to work together on a project. Upon graduation, students will confront a world of unscripted problems and their success in implementation of solutions to unscripted problems will define their contribution to the their career, to our national economy and to our society.

We are proud of *The Compass*, its student editors and student writers, as examples of some of the best work done by students.

Dr. Barbara F. Nodine

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CERAMICS PRODUCTION IN LATE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN SYRACUSE: THE SEARCH FOR THE POTTERY QUARTER

By Stephan Hassam, *University of Loyola-Chicago*

Arcadia University offers a field school at the Catacombs of St. Lucy in Syracuse, Italy under the scientific direction of Dr. Davide Tanasi (The College of Global Studies, Arcadia Sicily Center). Apart from the didactic function of the excavation, it also brings to light important information on the archaeology of ancient Syracuse. Indeed, the excavation has yielded information not only about the early Christian use of the site (3rd to 6th century A.D.) but also Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Syracuse in the context of a pottery manufacturing quarter (3rd century B.C. – 1st century A.D.). Though largely ignored in the past, this period following the conquest of the island by the Romans has slowly become an increasingly popular period for the study of Sicily. Unfortunately, despite Syracuse's prominence in antiquity as a political, military and economic center¹, it has still been given remarkably little attention and many of the excavations in the area remain unpublished. The author took part in the 2013 and 2014 seasons of Arcadia University's aims to contextualize the university's excavation plans by summarizing the available data provided by previous excavations at the catacombs and to connect them with the current state of knowledge on Late Hellenistic and Roman Syracuse. Before discussing the excavation and finds, however, it is important to provide some general historical context for the city of Syracuse and the site.

Syracuse was founded in South Eastern Sicily by Corinthian colonists in the 8th century B.C. in the first wave of Greek colonization of the island that would come to dominate Eastern Sicily (figure 1). Over time Syracuse became the largest, most powerful, and arguably most aggressive city-state in Sicily. It is famed for its long history of tyranny, violent wars with the Phoenician, native, and Greek neighbors, and its defeat of Athens during the Peloponnesian war, bringing the naval empire to its knees. It was perhaps the most influential Greek city in the Western Mediterranean until its sack by the Arabs in 878 A.D., making its dominance over the island some 900 years long². Even after the sack of the city by the Romans captured in 212 B.C., during the Second Punic War, the city became the capital of Rome's *prima provincia* and enjoyed a great deal of wealth and success³. It is this period just after the Roman conquest that we are primarily interested in. Syracuse was a very Greek city for most of its existence and would remain so well into the Roman period and beyond⁴. This period of Syracuse's history thus receives the somewhat confusing, yet necessary, name 'Late Hellenistic - Early Roman period' in order to explain the persistence of Greek culture throughout centuries of Roman rule. In the 2nd and 1st century B.C., the city had recovered from its conquest by Rome, and though no longer completely a sovereign city-state, it was still an economic powerhouse, with the backing of many noble Romans who lived there⁵. While we know that Syracuse must have had a large scale pottery quarter, where ceramic production was centralized, somewhere in the northern suburb known as 'Akradina', its exact location is still unknown (see figure 2 for the layout of the ancient city). Though it is not currently possible to date the occurrence, the above-mentioned area of the city was eventually abandoned and was reutilized as funerary spaces⁶. As dictated by Roman law, burials could not occur

¹ Wescoat, Bonna D. *Syracuse, the fairest Greek city*. Roma: De Luca edizioni d'arte, 1989.

² Evans, R. J. *Syracuse in Antiquity*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2009.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Wilson, Roger. *Sicily Under the Roman Empire*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1990.

⁵ Cicero, Verrines 2.4.117-119

⁶ Wilson, *Sicily Under the Roman Empire*.

inside a city, so an extensive system of catacombs and hypogea were excavated in this part of the city from the 3rd to 6th centuries A.D., including the catacombs of St. Lucy⁷.

The catacombs of St. Lucy represent one of the most important and complex contexts of Christian ritual and cult practices in the province of Syracuse. The underground cemetery (3rd to 6th century A.D.) incorporates preexisting structures from the classical period of both cult functions (pagan shrines), as well as of a productive ones (pottery workshops) and it documents a continual use of the site through even the medieval period. Sometime after the catacombs cease to serve burial purposes, they became a place of pilgrimage and new cult spaces (oratories and *itineraria ad sanctos*) were created for the veneration of the Syracusan martyr Lucy and other saints, radically modifying the aspect of some of the cemeterial regions. A series of traumatic events in the site's history have rendered the explorations of the site, nearly at a standstill since the 1950s, particularly complex⁸. Much of the catacombs were filled by cave-ins and landslides caused by earthquakes. Some of the catacomb galleries were also gutted for use as air raid shelters during the Second World War. As of 2011, however, the Vatican Committee for Sacred Archaeology initiated new archaeological explorations of the site, first with the University of Catania, and then with Arcadia University in 2013. These explorations pertain particularly to region C of the catacombs, which was explored by the excavations of the 1950s but has remained in large part unpublished. The nearly total absence of documentation (written, drawn, or photographic) of the preceding excavations, the lack of ancient or post-ancient deposits, the survival of sporadic fragments of archaeological stratigraphy, and the abundance of decontextualized ceramic finds makes this site an exemplary case study for the process of recontextualization. The research strategy was devised with the purpose of uniting both the didactic and scientific needs of the excavation and the involved institutions. The systematic excavation of the floor level made it possible to recover precious information regarding the re-adaptation of preexisting classical structures in the Christian cemetery and to their relative phases of use. The excavation has also brought to light the difficulties of an anthropological excavation in looted and disturbed contexts while trying to form a realistic picture of the *status vivendi* of the community that the cemetery served.

The catacombs of St. Lucy are separated into four different regions (A, B, C, and D), and Arcadia University excavates in region C (figure 3). This region came into being sometime during 4th century A.D. when Christianity was well established in Syracuse. During the field school's excavations (2013-2014), our students were able to excavate a total of 17 tombs, finding, among the abundant skeletal remains, fragments of glass, ceramics, frescoes, as well as coins and metal remains.

Though this may seem to be the last place that one would find evidence for the 2nd and 1st century B.C. kilns, we have actually found a great deal of evidence suggesting a pottery workshop near our area of excavation, which affirms the findings of other Italian archaeologists that excavated nearby in the 1970s⁹. Our findings can also be directly comparable to a large complex of un-contextualized objects allegedly collected in the Catacombs of St. Lucy and stored for a long time in the *antiquarium* of Vigna Cassia in Syracuse. The recent reappraisal of these finds has shed light on the strategic importance of the ancient district of Akradina to our knowledge of the transition between the Greek and Roman periods, and suggests the presence of an important pottery production center in the area later occupied by the catacombs of St. Lucy¹⁰.

⁷ Sgarlata, Mariarita. "Dai Cimiteri ai Luoghi Santi: Le Trasformazioni del suburbio siracusano." *Atti del secondo seminario sul Tardo Antico a l'Alto Medioevo in Italia Meridionale, Foggia-Sant'Angelo, 27-28 Maggio 2006*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2010. 253-273.

⁸ Agnello, Santi Luigi. "Recenti esplorazioni nelle catacombe di Santa Lucia I." *Archeologia Christiana*, 1954, 7-60. Agnello, Santi Luigi. "Recenti esplorazioni nelle catacombe siracusane di Santa Lucia II." *Archeologia Christiana*, 1955, 7-50.

⁹ Malfitana, D. "The View from the Material Culture Assemblage of Late Republican Sicily." By Colivichi (ed.), 185-201. Rome, 2011.

¹⁰ Malfitana, D., and G. Cacciaguerra. *Archaeologia Classica in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo*. Catania, 2014.

We know that cave-ins were especially prone in Region C, according to the first explorations of the area, and that these often brought ancient pottery in with them¹¹.

These tombs, violated *ab antiquo* and thus no longer covered with the characteristic ceramic slab, contained pottery from cave-ins that bore with it a mix of ceramics from the 3rd century B.C. at the earliest to the 1st century A.D. at the latest (further study on the material needs to be carried out to specifically determine more exact dates). More importantly, among the mixed cave-in layers were found kiln wasters, i.e. over fired or poorly fired ceramics that would have been thrown away, and kiln spacers (figure 4)¹². These logically would not have been transported a great distance from the original site of the firing to be disposed of. In addition, this site has yielded a great deal of raw clay suggesting the existence of pottery quarter nearby. All that is missing now is the actual location of the kilns.

In addition to these suggestive finds, among the fine ware, several examples of Campanian pottery have been found. This class of pottery was a fine yet cheap tableware, generally simply-decorated or undecorated and slipped entirely in black¹³. The examples of the sub-type Campana C, pottery created in Sicily itself, found at the site, are directly comparable with those recently published from the same part of the city (figures 5-6)¹⁴.

The site yielded a complicated *mélange* of forms and ceramic fabrics and more study is required to draw conclusions from them. As most of the ceramics from this area of the city are from unknown contexts, our materials are especially important as they will supplement the relatively scarce published material on contextualized ceramics of this period. Among these, can be distinguished African Red Slip, plenty of examples of simple table and cookware, as well as examples of Arretine pottery, suggesting that there was trade with the suburbs of Rome in the early first century A.D., though much study remains to be done before further conclusions can be drawn. The results of the 2013-2014 excavations of Arcadia University at the Catacombs of St. Lucy have already contributed to the re-contextualization of the until recently forgotten complex of findings stored at Vigna Cassia and provided new data towards a probable identification of a Late Hellenistic-Early Roman pottery quarter later incorporated into the catacombs.

The excavation will continue to make field archaeology accessible to undergraduate students in the years to come and bring more material to light. There remains much work to be done to complete the qualitative analysis of the pottery found. For example, the more exact classification of the finds from layers below the Christian layer will provide a *terminus post quem* for the site prior to its cemeterial function. Just as importantly, however, the elaboration of this project will finally provide another vital contextualized source of materials for the research on the material culture of Sicily in the Late-Hellenistic period, a topic that has justly begun to receive much needed attention in recent years.

¹¹ Agnello, "Recenti esplorazioni nelle catacombe di Santa Lucia I."

¹² Amato, Paolo, and Alberto Branca. "Gli Scarti di Fornace e gli Strumenti per la produzione di ceramica." In *Archeologia Classica in Sicilian e nel Mediterraneo*, by D. Malfitana and Cacciaguerra G., 53-62. Catania, 2014.

¹³ Hayes, John W. *Handbook of Mediterranean Roman Pottery*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.

¹⁴ Gullotta, Valerio. "Le Ceramiche a Vernice Nera con Impasto Grigio Tipo "Campana C"." In *Archeologia Classica in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo*, by Malfitana D. and Cacciaguerra G., 71-72. Catania, 2014.

FIG. 1. Map of Roman Sicily (Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire, accessed 20th December 2014: <http://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/>)



FIG. 2. Map of Roman Syracuse (Wilson 1990).

134.1 (upper left) **Syracuse** (Syracusae): 1 sixth-century-B.C. temple of Apollo; 2 sixth-century-B.C. Ionic temple; 3 fifth-century-B.C. temple of Athena; 4 paleochristian church of S. Pietro, ?fourth century A.D.; 5 Fountain of Arethusa (Fig. 135); 6 Piazza Pancali (find-spot of statues of Hades and Hygieia); 7 Castello Maniace, whence the bronze rams (Fig. 289) came (?site of the provincial governor's palace); 8 agora/forum; 9 theatre-temple complex known as the 'Gymnasium'; 10 Hieronian theatre; 11 Altar of Hieron and adjacent piazza; 12 amphitheatre; 13 Piazza della Vittoria excavations (temple of Demeter); 14 square at Piazza Adda; 15 square near the amphitheatre; 16 honorific arch; 17 'Sessanta letti', ?Roman house or public building (Fig. 279); 18 via d'Arsenale, Roman house; 19 baths on Corso Gelone; 20 house near the railway station; 21 house where the Venus Landolina (Fig. 251) was discovered; 22 S. Nicolo reservoir; 23 aqueducts; 24 mithraeum; 25 S. Lucia catacombs; 26 Vigna Cassia catacombs; 27 S. Giovanni catacombs; 28 Villa Maria district; 29 Madonna delle Lacrime excavations; 30 Grotticelli necropolis; 31 late Roman tomb with frescoes (Politi or Landolina tomb). Ancient shoreline shown solid; modern shoreline, where it diverges, is shown dotted.

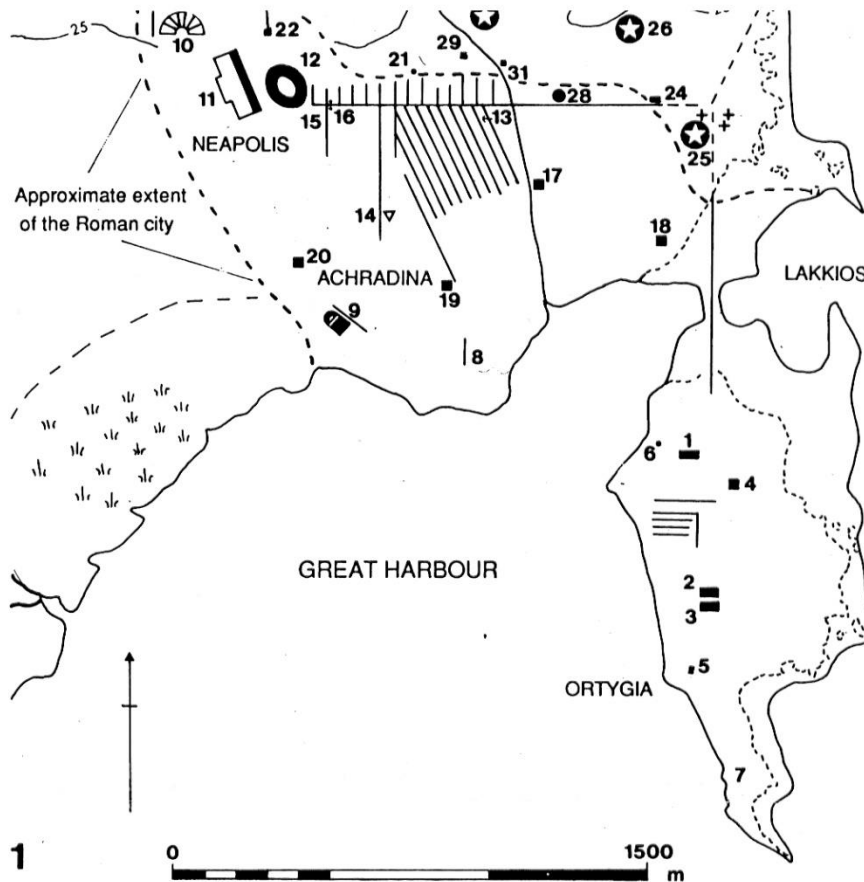


FIG. 3. Map of the Catacombs of St. Lucy, Region C. Excavation areas marked in red. Possible location of kiln marked in black (Sgarlata 2010).



FIG. 4. Kiln waster from the decontextualized complex of materials from Vigna Cassia (Amato and Branca 2014).



FIG. 5. Campana C plates from the decontextualized complex of materials at Vigna Cassia (Gullotta 2014).

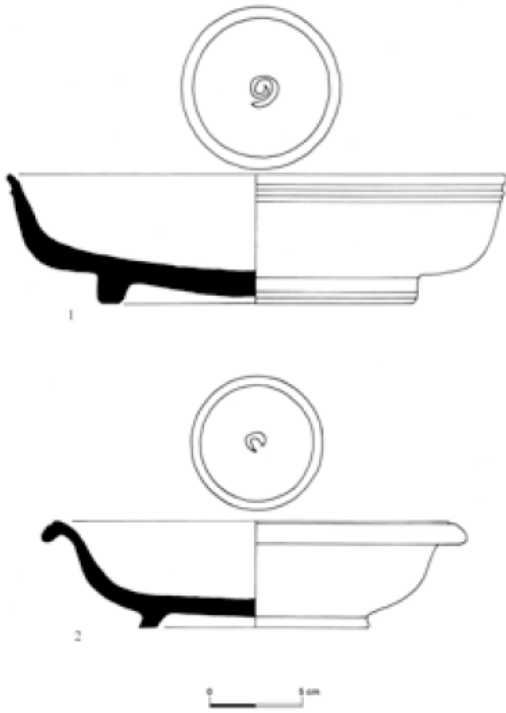
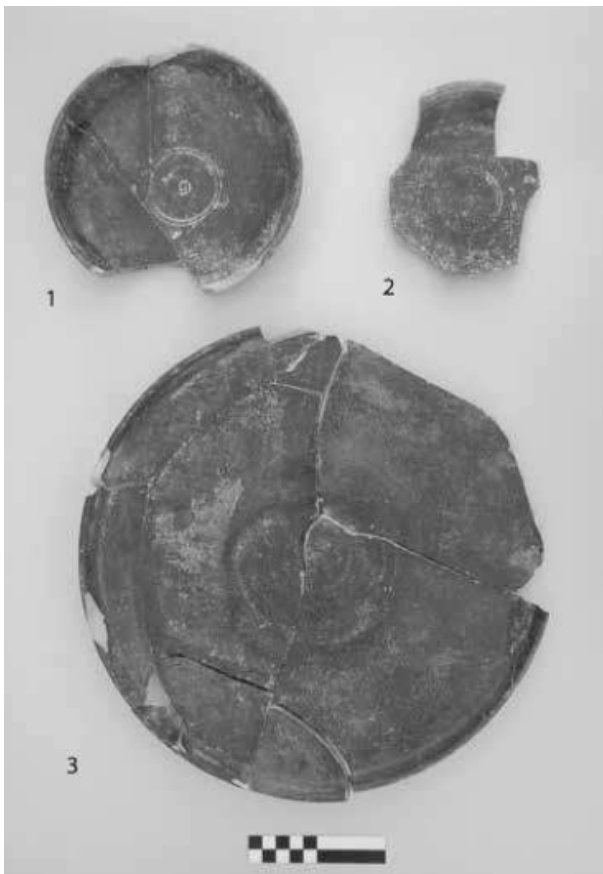


FIG. 6. Campana C plates from the decontextualized complex of materials at Vigna Cassia (Gullotta 2014).



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BEYOND THE VEIL: GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF ISLAMIC WOMEN

By Jackie Duncan, *Mount Vernon Nazarene University*

Few symbols have the ability to polarize public opinion as the image of the veil. It has long been stigmatized as a form of oppression or a “symbol of backwardness...a visual cue to bolster claims of the rise in Islamic militancy.”¹ The majority of work written on the practice of veiling view it through a lens of assimilation. From this perspective, the veil becomes a road block to acculturation. The ambiguity of the identity of Islamic woman compounds this issue, so interpretation relies largely on the visual symbol of the veil, or *hijab*, as it is more commonly referred. This interpretation is largely problematic because she is not allowed an identity beyond the superficial. This perspective is directly challenged in the graphic novel *Persepolis* and the comic *Qahera*. *Persepolis* is a memoir of Marjane Satrapi’s coming of age in Iran during the fundamentalist revolution of the 1980s. *Qahera* is an online comic created by nineteen year old art student and native Egyptian, Deena Mohamed, that focuses on confronting women’s rights issues within Egypt. Both texts use provocative images of the veil to articulate a new understanding of the practice. This understanding centers around key issues for the contemporary Islamic woman: freedom, identity, and otherness. To develop a concrete understanding of these issues the practice and purpose of veiling needs to be established.

At the very core of the practice of veiling lies a deep respect for modesty within the public sphere. Islamic etiquette dictates that “the interaction between the sexes are based on good manners, formal behavior, decent and temperate language, and modest clothing.”² Both men and women have specific codes of conduct, but the veil is the most obvious marker of such practices. In other words, “honor and reputation are thus considered sacrosanct in Islam.”³ The veil, in its most basic form, acts as a woman’s ticket to enter the public sphere while maintaining the form of modesty prescribed in the Qur’an. This is where interpretations can be gleaned that twist this context, and use veiling as a form of confinement and oppression for women. Modesty and the veil are ubiquitous terms within the Islamic. Within this sense of ubiquity, the practice of wearing a *hijab* resonates within a three-dimensional narrative: “The first dimension is a visual one: to hide something from sight...The second dimension is spatial: to separate, to mark a border, to establish a threshold. And finally, the third dimension is ethical: it belongs to the realm of the forbidden.”⁴ The *hijab* is more than merely a scarf. It is a symbol of both faith and piety. This symbol creates a dichotomy when analyzing the concept of freedom in regards to the female protagonists within these graphic texts.

The form of freedom that is most intriguing within these texts deals with a juxtaposition of mobility. In the comic *Qahera*, every time she thwarts a would be aggressor, it is by a specific means; the loss of mobility. In Mohamed’s first comic, *Qahera* takes a staff across the kneecaps of the four men who were on the verge of assaulting a young woman (see fig. 1). This is symbolic because of the vital nature of the kneecap to the fluidity of movement. The shattering of this crucial component handicaps the aggressor, simultaneously putting him in a position of weakness. The men are then suspended off the ground by means of a chain link fence (see fig. 2). Suspending the aggressor is a common theme among Mohamed’s work. All of the antagonists who cross the path of *Qahera* end up in a sort of stasis, suspended and helpless. This loss of mobility takes on a different form in *Persepolis*.

¹ Nayebzadah, Rahela. “Perceptions of the Veil: (Un)Veiling the Veiled Muslim Woman.” *MP Journal* 3, no. 1 (2010): 93-128. *MLA International Bibliography*, EBSCOhost (accessed Nov 4, 2013), 94.

² Hasan, Khola. “Hijab: A Symbol of Modesty or Seclusion?” *Islam and the Veil: Theoretical and Regional Contexts*. Ed. Theodore P. C. Gabriel and Rabiha Hannan. London: Continuum, 2011. 116-26. Print, 120.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mernissi, Fatima. “The Hijab, the Veil.” In *The veil and the male elite: a feminist interpretation of women’s rights in Islam*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1991, 93-94.

In one scene from the novel, after the fundamentalist regime has been founded, Marjane leaves her apartment, adhering to the new dress code by wearing a veil, but she is also wearing a denim jacket, jeans, sneakers, and a Michael Jackson button (see fig. 3). Each of these items are markers of western culture which potentially make her a target because of the divergent dress. She is stopped on the street by the women's branch of the Guardians of the Revolution and threatened to be taken to their headquarters for some type of punishment as described here: "They didn't have to inform my parents. I could be whipped. In short, anything could happen to me."⁵ Her freedom is threatened because of her westernized dress, which is seen as flagrant disregard for the agenda of the Iranian fundamentalist regime. Mobility goes hand in hand with freedom in this context. Her ability to be seen in the public sphere is threatened due the act of embracing a variant form of dress. Freedom, in terms of the veil, is constant in both texts, but presented in different contexts which is potentially problematic.

Mohamed's character adheres to the codes of modesty that give her both agency and freedom to act. This places her in a position of power that is both physical and moral. She flips the paradigm regarding the veil as a form of oppression, and places her protagonist in a position to have a tangible impact within her world while wearing a *hijab*. *Qahera* becomes a positive force for the betterment of her community while wearing the *hijab* with pride. In contrast, Satrapi's freedom is threatened because of her rebellion against the confines of the new regime she is now living under in Iran. She becomes a symbol of both rebellion and divergence that is brought to heel under the threat of violence. This fragmented representation of the practice of veiling reveals a greater issue that deals not with the *hijab*, but with the terms under which the practice is observed. This directly relates back to the power of interpretation, and the potential it has to warp an ideology. The veil can also be associated with protection in both texts due to the lack of retaliation against *Qahera* for her actions, and Satrapi's eventual adherence to the practice so that she can participate in her new environment. The freedom to choose whether to practice veiling or not is what both texts are essentially referring too. Satrapi uses her rebellious spirit to approach the issue, while *Qahera* is imbued with superpowers to become a visible symbol of power under a veil. This fragmented identity, present within the theme of freedom, can also be seen in the artwork of both texts.

Graphic representation of text does "not require less interpretation than prose but *more*."⁶ Scott McCloud put it rather eloquently when he stated that "cartooning as a form of amplification through simplification. When we abstract an image through cartooning, we are not so much eliminating details as we are focusing on specific details."⁷ This medium brings more gravity to the experiences being conveyed to the reader. A picture becomes a conduit that does not require text to understand meaning. These texts use "a complex strategy for the representation of events and perspectives that may be difficult to communicate only through words."⁸ This communication works within a forum of accessibility as well. The use of pictures over prose allows consumption by an audience that may not have access to the formal education that ensures literacy. The power of this medium lies within its accessibility and engagement.

The black and white imagery in both texts poses an interesting comparison. It could be argued that Satrapi's choice in using a black and white palette in her work was more a choice of expense over artistic expression. Yet Jan Baetens argues that "black and white is chosen for other reasons than just cost-effectiveness: particular artistic choices regarding form, line, and color play here an eminent role, and too strong an emphasis on financial

⁵ Satrapi, Marjane. *The Complete Persepolis*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2007. 134.

⁶ Darda, Joseph. "Graphic Ethics: Theorizing the Face in Marjane Satrapi's "Persepolis." *College Literature* 40, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 31-51. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed Nov 18, 2013). 33.

⁷ McCloud, Scott. "The Vocabulary of Comics." In *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1994. 30.

⁸ Davis, Rocío G. "A Graphic Self." *Prose Studies* 27, no. 3 (December 2005): 264-279. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed Nov 9, 2013). 268.

aspects would miss the point of this kind of work.”⁹ Using this context to structure an interpretation of Satrapi’s novel, the absence of color takes on a new role. The stark imagery, coupled with the simplicity of the drawings “reflects and resonates with the perspective of its child protagonist.”¹⁰ The simplicity of her work can also be attributed to a sense of equality as seen through the eyes of a child (see fig. 4). Every character has the same basic look, creating a palette of equality between the shifting faces of Satrapi’s narrative. This equality sets an interesting backdrop when looking at some of the issues that are faced within the novel. Satrapi encounters classicism, sexism, fundamentalism, tradition, war, and religion all while keeping the same simplistic interpretation of her surroundings. The equality she sees alive in her world can not be stripped from her and that resilience is evident visually to the reader. Khola Hasan makes it very clear how equality is represented within the Qur’an in the essay “*Hijab: A Symbol of Modesty or Seclusion*”:

*For there is no doubt the Qur’an sees women as equal members of the human race, with an equal spiritual presence, equal accountability before their Lord for their actions, equal free will and freedom of conscience, equal liability for their dealings with other human beings, and an equal responsibility to obey divine commandments.*¹¹

The repetitive use of equal brings attention to the imperative nature of changing this mindset. Satrapi’s work can be seen as a return to an interpretation of the Qur’an that is based on the teachings, rather than a fundamentalist interpretation. Where *Persepolis* approaches art with an uncomplicated air, Mohamed has a more nuanced approach to her comic.

Mohamed’s work relies on a similar palette of black and white, with the addition of grey. The use of grey is restricted to *Qahera* only (see fig. 5). Her robes and veil bear the only swipes of pewter throughout the series, except for the occasional use within a background. This use of grey intentionally sets the protagonist apart visually within her black and white landscape. It is visual evidence that this woman is set apart from her environment. Superpowers and a strong agenda for Islamic women’s rights are further affirmation of this fact. The grey also symbolizes something else far more complex. *Qahera* exists in a world of absolutes. Whether she is the battling some form of misogyny or white savior complex, her world is made up of polarized ideologies that are represented within the black and white palette of the comic. The introduction of grey symbolizes a new order or ideology. Her veiling is not a form of oppression or adherence to inequality. She is expressing her right to practice both her religion and tradition within the practice of veiling. *Qahera* represents a new form of the Islamic woman, one that does not bend to the constraints of outside sources. The same can be said of Satrapi in her struggle to establish her identity “between cultural, political, religious, linguistic and social demands and impositions.”¹² In her battle to establish her identity, she is providing a foundation for a complicated persona that can not be simplified by the aesthetic of veiling (see fig. 6). Instead, she poses an alternative formula presented in a hybrid nature that embodies elements of different ideologies. Both interpretations offer an understanding for a more complex interpretation of the Islamic women through their perceptions of the veil. A complexity that is compounded by veiling being stamped as an inherent symbol of otherness.

Women of Islam who choose to observe the custom of veiling “cannot escape being marked as other.”¹³ The

⁹ Baetens, Jan. “From Black & White to Color and Back: What Does It Mean (not) to Use Color?” *College Literature* 38, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 111-128. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed Nov 4, 2013). 112.

¹⁰ Davis. “A Graphic Self,” 271.

¹¹ Hasan. “Hijab,” 115-116.

¹² Davis. “A Graphic Self,” 273.

¹³ Abdurraqib, Samaa. “Hijab” Scenes: Muslim Women, Migration, and Hijab in Immigrant Muslim Literature.” *Melus* 31, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 55-70. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed Nov 18, 2013). 56.

veil acts a marker of otherness due to the dualism of the practice being both an inclusive and exclusive custom. *Qahera* embraces this otherness, and the veil becomes a resurrected symbol that she is wielding and redefining. In every comic, *Qahera* is hobbling some ideology that potentially oppresses or misrepresents Islamic women. Whether she is battling sexual harassment, white savior ideologies, or sexism, she is presenting a new perspective of Islamic women. A perspective that is rooted in strength and independence. *Qahera* states this fact much more eloquently when dealing with the FEMEN group who are trying to strip her of her veil to free her from oppression, “You seem unable to understand that we do not need your help.”¹⁴ *Qahera* is in direct opposition to those that think women of Islam have no voice. Samaa Abdurraqib posits that “Muslim women who choose to veil are constantly combating the discursive construction that labels them as always oppressed, it becomes difficult to hear voices that assert otherwise.”¹⁵ *Qahera* stands as a symbol of one voice that asserts otherwise. Satrapi’s voice on the matter forms a different interpretation of the practice through the lens of otherness and exclusion.

In *Persepolis*, Satrapi’s forced observation of veiling pushes her into a state of rebellion, which is ultimately exclusionary when her parents send her to Austria at the end of the novel, because they fear that she will eventually be killed for her outspoken ways. As Satrapi’s father states when he is breaking the news to a teenage Satrapi, “We feel it’s better for you to be far away and happy than close by and miserable. Judging by the situation here, you’ll be better off somewhere else.”¹⁶ She is purged from her homeland in order to save her life. This exclusion, coupled with the inclusive nature of *Qahera*, creates a fragmented identity associated with the Muslim woman. It breaks this one dimensional view of an entire culture and thwarts those who “attempt to read individual characters as representative of all Muslim women.”¹⁷

Persepolis and *Qahera* offer different interpretations of the contemporary Islamic women that coalesce into a multifaceted and complex identity that goes beyond the practice of veiling. The veil is an observance of faith that does not define the Islamic female as a subject of oppression. Instead it offers a forum to ask questions and try to understand another culture and faith. The veil should not cease a conversation, but facilitate an avenue of acceptance that promotes growth of both mind and soul. Both of these texts foster an environment that leads to this type of enlightenment by using provocative images of the veil to explore the issues of freedom, identity, and otherness.

¹⁴ Mohamed, Deena. “Qahera.” *Qahera*. <http://qahera.tumblr.com> (accessed November 23, 2013).

¹⁵ Abdurraqib. “Hijab” Scenes, 59.

¹⁶ Satrapi. *The Complete Persepolis*, 148.

¹⁷ Abdurraqib. “Hijab” Scenes, 63.

FIG. 1. Qahera thwarting men who engaged in sexual harassment.

(Mohamed, Deena. *Qahera*. Tumblr, Cairo. Sept 2, 2013. Graphic. <http://qahera.tumblr.com>)

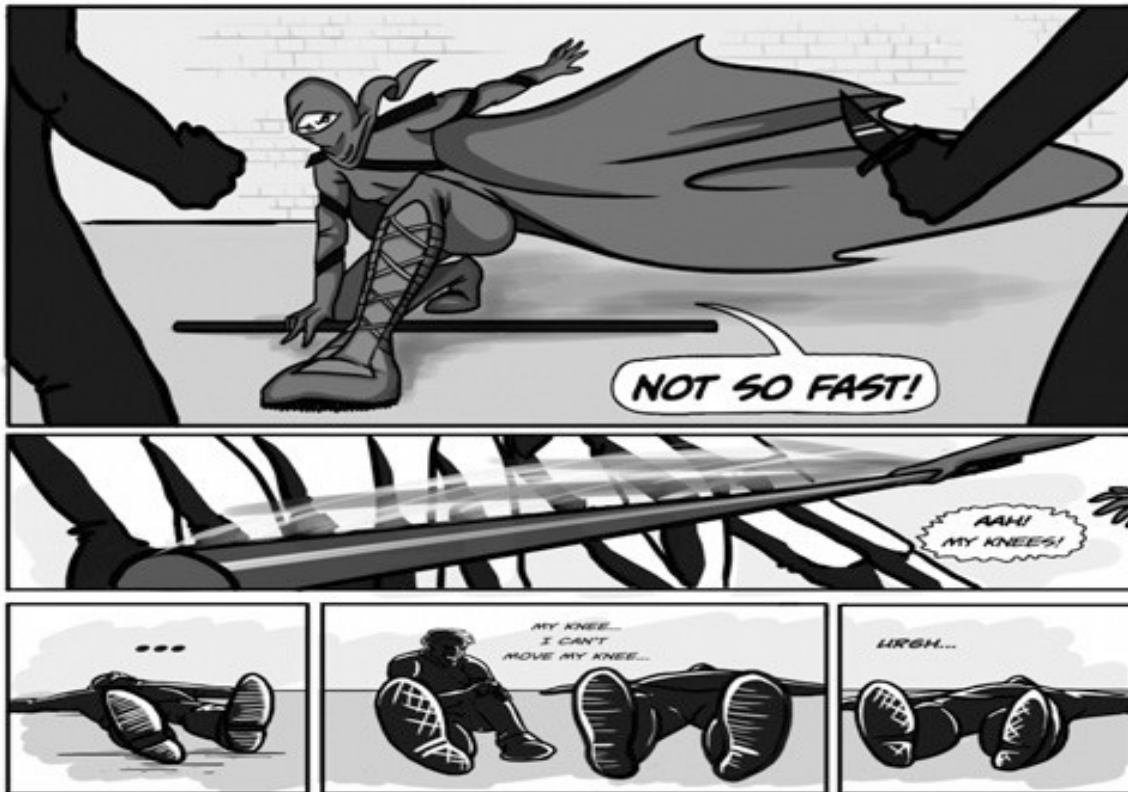


FIG. 2. Qahera disposing of the men who were sexually harassing a woman.

(Mohamed, Deena. *Qahera*. tumblr, Cairo. Sept 2, 2013. Graphic. <http://qahera.tumblr.com>)



FIG. 3. Marjane being accosted for wearing westernized dress in Persepolis. (Satrapi, Marjane. *The Complete Persepolis*. New York: Pantheon, 2007. 133. Print)



FIG. 4. The similarities between the characters can be equated to a child's perception of equality. (Satrapi, Marjane. *The Complete Persepolis*. New York: Pantheon, 2007. 147. Print)



FIG. 5. The use of grey to set apart Qahera is evident here.
(Mohamed, Deena. Qahera. tumblr, Cario. July 20, 2013. Graphic. <http://qahera.tumblr.com>)



FIG. 6. This scene shows the hybrid identity of Satrapi taking place.
(Satrapi, Marjane. The Complete Persepolis. New York: Pantheon Books, 2007. 6. Print.)



FIG. 7. This scene show the altercation between Qahera and FEMEN.
(Mohamed, Deena. Qahera. tumblr, Cario. July 20, 2013. Graphic. <http://qahera.tumblr.com>)



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THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN IN ANGLO-SAXON SOCIETY AS PORTRAYED THROUGH LITERATURE

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Many modern-day critics who study the writings of the Anglo-Saxon period have commented on the apparent mistreatment or exclusion of women from society. The issue of gender roles and stereotypes is one that is constantly debated, specifically as it pertains to the relationship between women and power. This includes both their physical power or strength, and their capacity to influence and cause change. Because Old English literature was mainly recorded by men and “focuses largely on [the] masculine”¹, it is easy to feel that women were less important, or that their experiences have been overlooked. However, after a close reading of both the epic *Beowulf* and the poem “Wulf and Edwacer,” it becomes clear that women bore a great deal of power and sway, often more than men and sometimes more than entire tribes or clans. First will be an exploration of the might of Grendel’s mother and her dominance inseparable from her femaleness; second will be an evaluation of the power over court and kingdom held by Queen Wealhtheow; and finally will be a consideration of the peaceweavers in both texts, and their strength and bravery when facing the almost-impossible task of uniting enemies.

Many readers of *Beowulf* agree that the story can be split up into multiple sections, each part focusing on the defeat of a major foe in battle. Some critics feel that the inclusion of Grendel’s mother is “extraneous, or [view it] as a transitional passage”², and split the epic into only two parts instead of three, grouping into one section the battles against Grendel and his mother. Other analysts view this grouping as an attempt to minimize the fight against a female foe. However, from a close reading of the text it becomes clear that the battles are inseparable, and for reasons other than female exclusion. It is not until after the celebration of Grendel’s defeat that the rise of “another threat”³ becomes apparent. Her existence is known to the locals, who have told stories of “two ...creatures ...from some other world”⁴. The demonic male they called Grendel, yet the other being was known only as “a woman”⁵, and was not considered a threat until her entry into Heorot⁶. Had it not been for Beowulf killing her son, Grendel’s mother would never have presented herself in a violent manner to the soldiers. Her attack is a direct result and avenging of Grendel’s death and therefore these two battles must be linked into one section.

Critics point out that Grendel’s mother “lack[s] any identity independent of her son’s even in name”⁷. However this attachment in name to Grendel should not be viewed as an attack on female individuality. Instead, it is the peaceful nature of the female creature before Grendel’s death that had left the locals ignorant of her. The text states that she and her son “dwel[t] apart”⁸ and that little was known of them or of their past. It is only because Grendel had made himself an enemy to the humans that they identified him by name: a name given by the people, not by his mother⁹. It is not that Grendel’s mother has no identity, then, but rather that she has not been identified or singled out for her acts against humans.

¹ Christopher Baswell and Anne Holland Schotter (Eds.) “Wulf and Eadwacer and The Wife’s Lament.” *The Longman Anthology of British Literature*. Vol. 1A. (New York, Longman, 2010).

² Christine Alfano, “The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity: A Reevaluation of Grendel’s Mother,” *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 23 No. 1. (Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA, 1992), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/39g6c6rm>, 8.

³ Seamus Heaney, *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000), 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 89

⁷ Alfano, “The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity,” 12.

⁸ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 95.

⁹ *Ibid.*

The discussion of Grendel's mother typically focuses on her physical strength, seemingly made possible only by her defeminisation. She displays "implications of gender transgression and ambiguity" when she, instead of merely grieving the loss of her son, steps up in the typically-masculine role to take revenge¹⁰. Critics may also choose to focus on the fact that Grendel's mother has to fight with a knife or a sword, both phallic symbols hinting at the dominance of the male. Linking this power to the masculine implies that "[women] may be not-weak as long as they are not-women"¹¹. However to choose only these examples is to exclude textual evidence of true strength and force clearly identified with women. First it is important to note that, despite this being her first battle, Grendel's mother is "a hardier opponent than her son was"¹². Beowulf, who so easily defeated Grendel with his bare hands, when faced with the monster's mother "...felt daunted,/ the strongest of warriors stumbled and fell"¹³. Also significant is that Beowulf approached the battle with Grendel's mother dressed in chain-mail and armed with weapons¹⁴, whereas he had met Grendel unshielded and in hand-to-hand combat¹⁵. Beowulf anticipates the forthcoming difficulty and does not consider the femaleness of his opponent as an indication of an easy victory. Grendel's mother, the "warrior-woman"¹⁶, then succeeds in emasculating the great warrior Beowulf. He had been "man enough" to face Grendel¹⁷, but against Grendel's mother, Beowulf's own masculinity and weaponry is insufficient. Had he not made use of the sword found in the woman's armory, the text leads readers to believe that Beowulf would have fallen in defeat¹⁸. This may be viewed as an implicit critique on the idea that women were considered weak and powerless, or that they must put on masculinity in order to be viewed as equals.

In her paper, Alfano presents the idea that the Old English terms used to describe Grendel's mother may be "an acknowledgment of [her] might as an adversary, not as an indication of her monstrous nature"¹⁹. The text likens her to the infamous—and female—"amazon warrior"²⁰, and it is clear that she was "physically capable of carrying out her desired vengeance"²¹. It must be noted that even with her physical might and the ease with which she broke into Heorot, until provoked Grendel's mother had been peaceful. Although "implicated in her child's monstrosity"²², the epic shows that this single instance of violence went against the passive mother's nature. Unlike Grendel who finds demonic glee in the torture and destruction of humans²³, his mother is motivated by grief and vengeance²⁴. Grendel who had spent each day "picturing the mayhem" that he would inflict by night is sharply contrasted by his mother²⁵, who quickly enacts her revenge and then is "desperate to get out, in mortal terror the moment she was found"²⁶. She does not take pleasure in the kill as Grendel did, but rather acts out

¹⁰ Alfano, "The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity," 5.

¹¹ Gillian Overing and Helen Bennett. "Anglo Saxon Studies: Gender and Power: Feminism in Old English Studies." *Medieval Feminist Forum*. Vol. 10 No. 1. Society for Medieval Feminist Scholarship, 1990, ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1563&context=mff, 18.

¹² Dorothy Carr Porter, "The Social Centrality of Women in *Beowulf*: A New Context." *The Heroic Age*. Issue 5. *The Heroic Age*, 2001-2. www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/5/porter1.html, 6.

¹³ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 107.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 101.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

¹⁶ Alfano, "The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity," 2.

¹⁷ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 103.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 109.

¹⁹ Alfano, "The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity," 8.

²⁰ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 91.

²¹ Porter, "The Social Centrality of Women," 6.

²² Alfano, "The Issue of Feminine Monstrosity," 12.

²³ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 49.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 91.

the customary obligation to avenge her fallen relative²⁷. Rather than abuse and terrorize with her superhuman strength she chooses to live peacefully: her power, then, is evident not only physically, but also in her restraint.

The Danish queen Wealhtheow is another neglected example of a woman with power, this time in a political sense. When the Geats first arrive on shore, Beowulf is forced to explain the intent of his arrival first to the coastal guards²⁸, and then to a warrior messenger²⁹, before being brought before the king and court³⁰. It is only after passing these three levels of security and scrutiny that the queen enters, and it is she who gives the final approval of the Geat warrior. Beowulf once again explains his intent, and this “pleased the lady well”³¹. The tension between the two clans in Heorot remains until the queen, satisfied with the valor of the newcomer, takes her seat at the table. Only then can the soldiers fall at ease, “the people happy, loud and excited”³².

Another example of Wealhtheow’s executive power is displayed in the mead cup tradition. When the Geats first arrive and are feasting in Heorot, Beowulf, as the newcomer, is the last to be served³³. Then when the mead cup is passed after Grendel’s defeat, Beowulf is served second only to the king³⁴. In her paper on *The Social Centrality of Women in Beowulf*, Dorothy Porter speculates that “[t]he difference may show that Beowulf has risen in status in the court since he kept his promise to kill Grendel”³⁵. This gesture is another demonstration of female power, the text indicating firstly that it is the queen who makes the decision to promote Beowulf, and secondly, that it is only after she serves him is the promotion confirmed.

During the same celebration while the warriors are being served, Wealhtheow makes two different addresses, first to the king and then to Beowulf. Previously, Hrothgar had made clear his intention to adopt Beowulf as heir to the Danish kingdom³⁶. The queen, however, while encouraging the generosity and alliance between the Danes and the Geats, advises the king to “...bequeath/ kingdom and nation to your kith and kin”³⁷. It is as though Hrothgar is acting rashly, emotionally—behaviour usually associated with women—and that it is the queen who intervenes to prevent the dismissal of her sons as heirs. As in the battle between Beowulf and Grendel’s mother, the man has been emasculated, yet without the masculinisation of their female counterparts. Throughout the entire epic Wealhtheow is held in the highest regard, referred to as “queenly and dignified”³⁸, with no indication that anyone views her as anything less than an idealized woman and a perfect hostess. Later at the end of her thanks and praise for Beowulf, the queen again asserts herself by saying that “...the ranks do as I bid”³⁹. In each case, “the poet gives [us] no reason to believe that her demands will go unheeded”⁴⁰. It is not only in the passing of the cup, then, but also in the speeches made by Wealhtheow that signify the importance of the queen and her role in the court, with power able to override even that of the king.

²⁷ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 93.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

³⁵ Porter, “The Social Centrality of Women”, 2.

³⁶ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 63.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴⁰ Porter, “The Social Centrality of Women”, 3.

These examples are clear indications that the females do possess both physical and political strength and power. There are also instances in which responsibility is placed on the female to change things which no single person, man or woman, is able to change. This, of course, relates to the role of the peaceweaver, or “freothuwebbe”⁴¹ In this period, women were often given away in marriage in order to “secure peace among enemy or rival peoples”⁴². Those women whose marriage did not end the fighting between nations are frequently viewed as failures by modern critics⁴³. There is a strong and explicit criticism of this in *Beowulf* when he comments on the proposed marriage of Freawaru. Speaking to his king, Beowulf comments that “...generally the spear/ is prompt to retaliate when a prince is killed,/ no matter how admirable the bride may be”⁴⁴. The men of that society, then, were aware of the high potential for failure that existed in the role of the peaceweavers. They were also aware that the failure came from the actions of hotheaded men, and not as a result of female ineptitude.

Feminist critics focus mainly on the hardships endured by these women. Given away by their families they were forced out of their home, only to live with another tribe that would never fully accept them: Christopher Baswell writes that, “They are in a sense twice exiled”⁴⁵. A clear example of this is seen in the poet’s song about the Danish princess Hildeburh⁴⁶. This woman finds herself “pulled...between two loyalties”⁴⁷, with her family on one side, her husband and son on the other. Although Hildeburh “succeeded in her duty” by having children with the man to whom she was married⁴⁸, this did not stop the fighting between the two tribes and in the end she ended up losing husband, son and brother⁴⁹. Again in *Wulf and Eadwacer*, the speaker laments her fate in being exiled from her home through forced marriage, and her inability to love the man she views not as a husband, but as an eadwacer⁵⁰, or “property-watcher”⁵¹.

In her paper on *Wulf and Eadwacer*, Dolores Frese makes the argument that the “emotional crux resides in the maternal rather than in the more narrowly erotic anguish”⁵². This makes the suffering of the speaker comparable to the motherly grief experienced by Hildeburh when she loses her son in battle⁵³. Taking Wulf as son and the speaker as his mother is the attempt by the critic to empower the female, as an “amorous woman” leaves the perceived power and dominance in the hands of the men between whom she is torn⁵⁴. It is as though the suffering of a mother is considered nobler than that of a “sexually tormented woman”⁵⁵. Rather than elevating the female, however, this view diminishes her true courage and the importance of her role in and for her tribe. Obligated by duty to leave her family and the man she loves, to marry a stranger for the sake of peace, her life is the gift she gives to her people. The debate over whether Wulf should be read as son or as lover serves only to distract from the true power and bravery of the peaceweavers. While it is evident that these women suffered immensely, what

⁴¹ Porter, “The Social Centrality of Women”.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁴⁴ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 139.

⁴⁵ Baswell, “Wulf and Edwacer,” 176.

⁴⁶ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 71.

⁴⁷ Porter, “The Social Centrality of Women,” 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 81.

⁵⁰ Baswell, “Wulf and Edwacer,” 177.

⁵¹ Dolores Warwick Frese, “*Wulf and Eadwacer*: The Adulterous Woman Reconsidered,” *Notre Dame English Journal*. Vol. 15 No. 1 The University of Notre Dame, 1983, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40063294>, 14.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵³ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 73.

⁵⁴ Frese, “The Adulterous Woman Reconsidered,” 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

should be commended is their ability to maintain dignity and composure despite the hardships. Even though the marriage of Hildeburh did not prevent the death of her son or brother, she remained steadfast in her role as peacekeeper and continued to try to unite the two families, through death if not by life⁵⁶. Despite still feeling connected to their own people, both Hildeburh and Wulf's estranged lover hold true to their commitment and stay with their unloved husbands⁵⁷. This is the real sacrifice that is offered for the women's tribes: the resolution of strong women to do their part to rectify the wrongs committed by men.

Because much of Anglo-Saxon history was recorded by and about males, it is easy for critics to believe that women were "marginal, excluded figures" in society⁵⁸. However close readings of *Beowulf* and *Wulf and Eadwacer* show that, far from being sidelined, women held considerable power, both in physical strength as well as influence. Male figures are shown to act rashly and violently, out of strong emotion, with lack of thought for the future of themselves or their clan. Seeking only glory, the men are unable to bring about or maintain peace. It was the queen who was invested in the security and continuance of the kingdom; the female who proved the worthier opponent in battle; and the woman, whether lover or mother, who sacrificed herself to try to bring peace to her people. More than just a "matrilineal undercurrent"⁵⁹, then, it becomes clear that it is women who hold the power and the responsibility to hold society together.

⁵⁶ Heaney, *Beowulf*, 77.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁵⁸ Porter, "The Social Centrality of Women", 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

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NEGOTIATING SELFHOOD AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY IN THOREAU'S *WALDEN*

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Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* is many things: an account of a man's solitary retreat from society, a testament to the threat of modernity, a call for autonomy and mental awakening, and a sheer appreciation of life's simplicities. While some of the text is devoted to his daily life on Walden Pond, much of it is highly political and dialectical, advocating strongly for social change in nineteenth-century society rife with increasing industrialization, capitalism, and slavery. His withdrawal from this society was intended to show all the flaws of social organization and obsequious citizenship and the benefits of living simply, independently, and with a goal of improving oneself before one's society.

Thoreau's cultural longevity proves his mental and physical independence as clearly endearing to some, but he is often criticized for being hypocritical: calling for so much social change while he sat happily secluded from his struggling society. This essay will explore what civic responsibility Thoreau had to his society, and whether attending to his duty of self-preservation excuses his lack of social action. Even though he had many ideas regarding social reform, Thoreau's goals and gains from his experiment were firmly based in personal growth and reflection. I will argue that Thoreau's social withdrawal as seen in *Walden* was in fact his most poignant expression of civic duty, as it allowed him to become a more conscious, morally sound, and autonomous human being. This personal growth, in turn, fortified his society, and many societies thenceforward, to prosper as a whole.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

In order to fairly judge Thoreau's impact on his society, we must first examine that society and establish a clear picture of the social climate of nineteenth-century America. In the several decades leading up to the Civil War, Thoreau's New England, and America in general, underwent drastic changes in production, going from colonial agriculture to industrial capitalism. With the advent of canals, railroads, and macadam roads, local and regional markets dwindled in the face of the growing national economic capabilities. Subsistence farming fell away to the new mass production equipment in order to foster business and sales. The owners of commercial capital began to reap all the wealth of communities, launching many workers and families into the beginnings of poverty. Many New England farmers had no choice but to send their children to work in town factories to produce family income¹. This produced a mass migration to cities and a drastic transformation of lifestyles for many Americans. Between 1800 and 1860, the percentage of the national population working for wages increased from 10 to 40 percent².

These social changes prompted a very strong opposition from some, who were disgusted by the "parasitic" capitalists who fed off the labor of others³. The emerging capitalist society meant people stopped reaping the direct benefits of their labor. Instead, most of the benefits went straight to their employers, and workers were expected to be satisfied with meager and meaningless wages as compensation. Thus began the system of economic dependency Thoreau condemns throughout the whole of *Walden*. In addition to their dependency on external compensation, the labor itself was also controlled by the whims of the employers and the market for which they were producing, forcing the workers to perform duties lacking personal meaning or synchronicity with nature. As Benjamin Reiss says, work was "subject to the precise temporal monitoring of the employers rather than the

¹ Lance Newman, *Our Common Dwelling: Henry Thoreau, Transcendentalism, and the Class Politics of Nature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 25.

² *Ibid.*, 26.

³ *Ibid.*, 28.

demands of the task at hand or the rhythms of the season”⁴. In other words, labor became unnatural and extraneous and this led to unmotivated and exhausted workers dependent upon capitalists to survive.

While Thoreau wrote about these injustices in *Walden*, others took more proactive steps to change their treatment and compensation on the job, and regain their sense of purpose. Many workers across the Northeast conducted strikes in which they fought for shorter hours, increased wages, and better working conditions. To foster a stronger community, workers also formed over 200 trade and craft unions, whose collective membership was around 300,000⁵. Even Thoreau was not entirely idle; he was a strong opponent of slavery and participated actively in the Underground Railroad by using his parents’ home in Concord as an overnight fugitive hiding place⁶. He also refused to pay his federal taxes one year, knowing they would go to the government and therefore support the slave industry; for this breach of civic duty he was sent to prison⁷.

Despite this, Thoreau was certainly not a leader of social uprising, at least in an active, physical sense. He chose to live alone and socially excluded for two years, two months and two days on his friend Ralph Waldo Emerson’s property in the woods outside of Concord, Massachusetts. His experiment at Walden Pond was introspective and personal, and though his book has reached many minds, the experience targeted mainly his own. With a clear picture of the society from which Thoreau seceded, it is now appropriate to shift our study towards the kind of existence he sought. Thoreau’s interest in the cabin at Walden Pond was founded in its ability to enlighten him; it was a space he thought would allow him to become a more whole and fulfilled human being. In other words, it was an ultimately personal project of inward exploration in which he entertained three major values: solitude, natural and simple living, and self-reliance.

SOLITUDE

Thoreau’s experience is most poignantly one of isolation. True, he only lives a few miles out of the city and he does have occasional visitors, but Thoreau does not experience significant human companionship in any form. Bankston quotes Thoreau as saying in one of his journals, “If I had known how to name them [...] I should have signed off in detail from all the societies which I never signed on to; but I did not know where to find a complete list”⁸. In his solitary experience he aims to show others the benefits of taking time to fully discover themselves and their surroundings. According to him, this highly cognizant and reflective experience is far more valuable than living ignorantly in luxury, especially since such lifestyles are usually borne from excessive and spiritually damaging labor.

In his conclusion, Thoreau states, “Rather than love, than money, than fame, give me truth”⁹. By this, he means one’s personal truth, the truth of one’s individual senses and judgment. He feels that in modern, social existence humans do not know the truth of themselves or others but only what accidentally seeps through the cracks of our mechanical exteriors. Under the throes of industrialization and social pressures “we are mortal,”¹⁰ incapacitated from properly attending to our personal needs, feelings, and thoughts; “but in dealing with the truth we are

⁴ Benjamin Reiss, “Sleeping at Walden Pond: Thoreau, Abnormal Temporality, and the Modern Body,” *American Literature* 85, no. 1 (2013): 8.

⁵ Newman, *Our Common Dwelling*, 31.

⁶ Walter Harding, “Thoreau’s reputation” in *The Cambridge Companion to Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Joel Myerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3.

⁷ Robert D. Richardson Jr., “Thoreau and Concord” in *The Cambridge Companion to Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Joel Myerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 15.

⁸ Carl L. Bankston III, “Thoreau’s Case for Political Disengagement” in *Modern Age* 52, no. 1 (2010): 8.

⁹ Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (New York: Fall River Press, 2008), 311.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 94.

immortal”¹¹. Solitude for Thoreau is a major requirement for finding one’s inner truth buried deep beneath the rubble of their broken social identities.

In *Walden’s* conclusion, Thoreau talks about a hawk he witnesses in the sky: “It appeared to have no companion in the universe—sporting there alone—and to need none but the morning and the ether with which it played. It was not lonely, but made all the earth lonely beneath it”¹². His purpose in telling of this hawk is to praise its apparent approach to life; it finds fulfillment in its individual journey, and regards the business of others as irrelevant. Although it is alone, it is not lonely. It finds company in its self-reliance, and since it not only survives but thrives on its own, it makes the rest of the world seem weak in comparison.

In his *The Metaphysics of Morals*, philosopher Immanuel Kant discusses man’s duties to himself, categorizing them into two groups: “negative” and “positive”. He states, “The negative duties *forbid* man to act contrary to the end of his nature and so have to do merely with his moral *self-preservation*; the positive duties, which *command* him to make a certain object of choice his end, concern his *perfecting* of himself”¹³. Thoreau performs his negative duties when he helps fugitive slaves and refuses to pay his taxes, and his positive duties when he moves out to Walden Pond in hopes of self-betterment. Both of these duties clearly revolve around caring for the self, both nourishing and preserving what is already part of him, and cultivating his best possible self. Thoreau argues throughout *Walden* the only way to achieve this is by detaching oneself from the rest of society, which can be seen as the anti-self, and for Kant, antithetical to one’s duties.

One of the major allowances of a solitary lifestyle for Thoreau is the ability to think and exist deeply. In order to do this, one must undergo an awakening of sorts; rise from his hypnotic slumber in which he unconsciously enslaves his spirit and demeans his labor as a part of capitalist society. Thoreau says, “The millions are awake enough for physical labor; but only one in a million is awake enough for effective intellectual exertion, only one in a hundred million to a poetic or divine life. To be awake is to be alive”¹⁴. He feels that “we live thick and are in each other’s way, and stumble over one another, and I think that we thus lose some respect for one another”¹⁵. We “stumble” over each other because we are not really awake, but have been lulled into a waking sleep and tricked to believe such an empty and exploitive life is the only path to success.

Even though he does take in some visitors, Thoreau is adamant that his preferred lifestyle is that of isolation from other people. Newman criticizes this aspect of the Transcendentalist’s mindset, because he sees it as avoiding the root of his discontent: “Perfection of the kind Thoreau sought is only possible under tightly controlled conditions, that moral absolutism is based on an erasure of the social context within which alone such choices become meaningful”¹⁶. From this perspective *Walden* is most definitely a misguided and poorly executed experiment, because it is impossible for Thoreau to correct social insufficiencies if he is totally separated from his society.

However, Thoreau did not believe he was inherently responsible for correcting the social problems of his time. In his famous political essay entitled “Resistance to Civil Government,” he writes, “It is not a man’s duty, as a matter of course, to devote himself to the eradication of any, even the most enormous wrong”¹⁷. He believes one’s only

¹¹ Thoreau, *Walden*.

¹² *Ibid.*, 298.

¹³ Immanuel Kant, *The Doctrine of Virtue: Part II of The Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. Mary J. Gregor. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 82.

¹⁴ Thoreau, *Walden*, 84-5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁶ Newman, *Our Common Dwelling*, 135.

¹⁷ Henry David Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government” in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature: Shorter Eighth Edition*, ed. Nina Baym (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013), 847.

duty in response to such wrongs is to “wash his hands of it”¹⁸ and pursue a separate individual course. As he puts it, “The only obligation which I have a right to assume, is to do at any time what I think is right”¹⁹. Therefore, being a public figure does not bind him to a philanthropic lifestyle; but being a good human being requires that he follow his own moral truths above all else.

NATURE AND SIMPLICITY

In his “Solitude” in *Walden*, Thoreau momentarily laments his state of seclusion in the woods, stating, “To be alone was something unpleasant”²⁰. However, he concludes that he is not really alone because nature is his constant company: “Yet I experienced sometimes that the most sweet and tender, the most innocent and encouraging society may be found in any natural object”²¹. Thoreau was a fiercely observant man. As Richardson says, “He taught himself how to see things, how to give to every leaf and twig a separate intention of the eye”²². This was part of his delight in living simply away from the rest of society; without the many distractions of industrialism and modernity, he had the energy and peace of mind to wholly perceive and appreciate his surroundings, often taking four hours walks each day. Thoreau realizes he does not have to do something to be content; in fact, he believes man’s preoccupation with acting, and not reflecting, is his downfall. At Walden Pond, he is content to sit and watch the seasons pass.

Thoreau’s relationship with nature is supported by Immanuel Kant, who theorized the autonomy of nature inspired the same in people²³. According to his ideas, when people are immersed in unchartered and untamable environments, they discover the joy of freedom and importance of self-governance. Guyer says, “From the start of his mature thought [...] Kant insisted that the free choice to do what morality requires of us is not unrelated to the natural world, but imposes objectives on us that can only be realized in the natural world”²⁴. The laws of nature, he asserts, align with the laws of the self, because both act independently of any other force. Nature inspires such autonomy of spirit, while the unnatural spaces on Earth-epitomized by social culture and government- aim to disable it.

In addition to fortifying our strength as individuals, Thoreau also argues that nature makes us realize our relative weakness in the grand scheme of life. In *Walden’s* conclusion, he writes, “At the same time that we are earnest to explore and learn all things, we require that all things be mysterious and unexplorable, that land and sea be infinitely wild, unsurveyed, and unfathomed by us because unfathomable[...] We need to witness our own limits transgressed, and some life pasturing freely where we never wander”²⁵. In other words, witnessing nature’s grandeur awakens us to our human vulnerability and limited scope of perception and experience. It imbues us with a sense of humility and smallness that is essential for our cultivation into moral beings.

During his time at the cabin, he spends much time farming in order to feed himself. He realizes he must rely on the workings of the seasons to sustain his survival, since he no longer wishes to associate with mass means of production and distribution. Discussing this, he writes, “The gentle rain which waters my beans and keeps me in the house today is not drear and melancholy, but good for me too. Though it prevents my hoeing them, it is of far

¹⁸ Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government,” 844.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Thoreau, *Walden*, 124.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Richardson, “Thoreau and Concord,” 17.

²³ Paul Guyer, *Kant*, ed. Brian Leiter (New York: Routledge, 2006), 6.

²⁴ Ibid., 7.

²⁵ Thoreau, *Walden*, 299.

more worth than my hoeing”²⁶. This could be interpreted to mean moisture is more valuable to the crops than his maintenance, but a second meaning could be his experience of the rain is more beneficial than his working. This is the sort of simple lifestyle Thoreau sought in his retreat, because he believed the spiritual benefits of being able to do things like sit and listen to the rain far surpass the rewards gained from excessive laboring.

Thoreau wished to “live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life”²⁷ because so many things are neither essential nor valuable, and detract our sensibilities from determining the truly meaningful aspects of life. In Thoreau’s time of the Industrial Revolution, mass production of goods was seen to be of utmost importance, so human lives were sacrificed and defiled to meet its demands, such as with slavery. He called these modern developments “hindrances to the elevation of mankind”²⁸. Thoreau was concerned about the deterioration of society, and recognized that the process begins with the slow corrosion of individual vitality. Through his writings, he urges people to realize they have a choice in how they live; they do not have to be mentally under-stimulated and physically over-worked, deprived of recreation for but one day a week. This is the system modern civilization has come to accept as “normal,” so people forget they have a choice to decline such means of living if they wish.

SELF-RELIANCE

Newman says, “*Walden* is not a book that is mainly about the woods. It is about earning a living there”²⁹. Thoreau asks, what do we labor for? It is not out of necessity, but a “blind obedience to a blundering oracle”³⁰ that is society. Man “has no time to be anything but a machine”³¹. We no longer care for self-maintenance or treat ourselves gently— only about making a product, laboring to produce commodities. Thoreau recognized that the reason people do not rest and take care of themselves is because of their need to support themselves financially—you work, you get paid, you survive. However, he thinks people have a skewed idea of what they need to survive. He proposes lowering our standards of living in order to be able to lower our standards of labor. He promotes working for oneself so people can lead lives of independence; only this will lead to peace, he argues, because if we depend on one another we try to take advantage of one another. People no longer think for themselves, but submit their bodies and minds to the reins of the system, to the puppeteers of society who are powered solely by their ignorance.

In his chapter “The Ponds” in *Walden*, he speaks to the incomparable joy which can only come of self-producing goods:

The fruits do not yield their true flavor to the purchaser of them, nor to him who raises them for the market. There is but one way to obtain it, yet few take it that way[...] It is a vulgar error to suppose that you have tasted huckleberries who never plucked them[...] The ambrosial and essential part of the fruit is lost with the bloom which is rubbed off in the market cart, and they become mere provender.³²

This passage shows how Thoreau feels vulgarized and corrupted even thinking of the impure processes of production, and scorns those who believe their mass-produced, chemically-enhanced food are truly their own. Something is lost from that fruit that is picked in vain, not for survival or subsistence, but for profit and greed.

²⁶ Thoreau, *Walden*, 124.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁹ Newman, *Our Common Dwelling*, 137.

³⁰ Thoreau, *Walden*, 4.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, 165.

Bankston remarks of Thoreau, “In his mind, the walls between himself and his fellow townsmen simply made him freer than others, since he was acting in accord with his own moral directions”³³. As a self-reliant man at Walden Pond, he was free to do whatever he wanted without worrying about the repercussions. In his mentality, he could do nothing wrong if his actions matched his morals. Similarly, of his night spent at the Concord Jail, he says:

I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through, before they could get to be as free as I was. I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. I felt as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax.³⁴

The tax to which he refers is the one he paid to himself by standing up for his morals. This, in turn, is recycled back into society through his enriched personhood as an individual, which enables him to have a more positive influence on the world around him.

In another passage of “Resistance to Civil Government,” Thoreau says man mistakenly “ventures to live only by the aid of the mutual insurance company, which has promised to bury him decently”³⁵. By this he means that people enter into binding contracts with the government and with capitalist employers in order to protect themselves. The promise of burial is not only meant physically, but Thoreau implies the laborer’s mind and spirit become metaphorically buried deeper each day he chooses to sell his work to other people. Thoreau says what we actually need to be protected from are those same insurance companies, which pretend to be our benefactors but really attempt to steal away our freedom. As long as we remain self-reliant beings, no one has any control over us, and therein lies our true protection.

His Critics

As previously alluded to many times, Thoreau’s experiment in the woods has attracted much criticism. Addressing Thoreau’s stance on slavery, Bankston notes that while he was openly opposed to it, and turned away from his society because of it, such actions did not end the war. Slavery ended because of years of warfare and political action, not Thoreau’s “individual conscientious objection”³⁶. Bankston goes on to criticize his lack of a “blueprint” for fixing his unsatisfactory society, other than withdrawing his support for it. Creating a modern day analogy, he compares Thoreau’s solution to our withdrawal into the “solipsism of our suburban homes,”³⁷ where our white picket fences ostracize the outside world so we can live in happy ignorance of its ugly toils. Under the theory of solipsism, embodied for Thoreau by a secluded woods and cabin, the self is all that can be known to exist. His final critique is of Thoreau’s dependence on conscience to guide all decisions. He asks where conscience itself finds guidance and how that can be trusted to serve a stable social order.

Paul Guyer discusses the ideas of Immanuel Kant, who thought moral law to be different for each person, because it is created by each person as an individual³⁸. Therefore, how can we criticize a man’s character when we are not governed by the same moral law? He also offers critical ideas against Thoreau’s social withdrawal. He says:

³³ Bankston, “Thoreau’s Case for Political Disengagement,” 8.

³⁴ Thoreau, “Resistance to Civil Government,” 852.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 847.

³⁶ Bankston, “Thoreau’s Case for Political Disengagement,” 9.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁸ Guyer, Kant, 3.

It is a duty both to ourselves and to others not to isolate ourselves but to bring our moral perfection into social intercourse; while we should make ourselves a fixed center of our principles, we should regard the circle thus drawn around us as one that also forms a part of the all-inclusive circle of those who, in their attitude, are citizens of the world.³⁹

He would regard Thoreau's experiment as harmfully exclusive, and defiant of one's identity and responsibility as a world citizen.

Even his long-time friend and fellow Transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson criticized Thoreau's inaction when delivering a eulogy at his funeral. He obviously discussed many favorable things about his friend, such as his uniquely deep connection to nature and the nobility of his spirit. Yet, even in a speech meant to honor him, Emerson could not resist commenting on Thoreau's bizarrely dichotomous passion for social change and disinterest in its facilitation. He called for the abolition of slavery and taxes, but remained unrepresented in politics and was quite verbal about his distaste for reformists. Emerson is quoted":

Had his genius been only contemplative, he had been fitted to his life, but with his energy and practical ability he seemed born for great enterprise and for command; and I so much regret the loss of his rare powers of action, that I cannot help counting it a fault in him that he had no ambition. Wanting this, instead of engineering for all America, he was the captain of a huckleberry party. Pounding beans is good to the end of pounding empires one of these days; but if, at the end of years, it is still only beans!⁴⁰

Here he addresses Thoreau's preoccupation with seemingly trifling matters of existence, such as gathering fruit and farming beans. Emerson does not seem to understand, like much of Thoreau's audience, why a man of such intellectual prowess and political influence would waste his time out in fields and forests. He felt Thoreau had within him "rare powers of action," and it was shameful that his genius was merely used for contemplation.

Some other critics take issue with Thoreau's time in the woods not because of the experiment itself, but the fact that he sold his experience in the form of *Walden*. For instance, Schneider notes the irony of a man bemoaning capitalism when writing a book in the hopes of making a profit and sustaining a literary career⁴¹. Neufeldt calls this Thoreau's "personal agenda," which he believes is inevitable in any autobiographical project⁴². He discusses Thoreau's "private enterprise of self-culture,"⁴³ by which he partly means his dedication to his literary craft even during his allegedly reflective and anti-business experiment. In Neufeldt's words, he "drive[s] his vocational ideals into a corner in order to determine whether his art of life could be secured by terms tolerable to his society yet compatible with his aspirations as a writer"⁴⁴. Thoreau wanted the best of both worlds, and even though he denied his concern for social approval or financial stability, Neufeldt argues he really wanted both, which is why *Walden* was written.

Elaborating on his point, Neufeldt states, "He speaks with the aplomb and calculated idiom of a shrewd entrepreneur who has evaluated his market, his circumstances, and his career interests. He will not jeopardize his best interests; he will merely reject popular interpretations of enterprise and reward"⁴⁵. He recognizes that while Thoreau feigns

³⁹ Kant, *The Doctrine of Virtue*, 145.

⁴⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Thoreau – Part 1 and 2," *Atlantic Monthly*, August 1862, 14.

⁴¹ Richard J. Schneider, "Walden" in *The Cambridge Companion to Henry David Thoreau*, ed. Joel Myerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 104.

⁴² Leonard N. Neufeldt, "Thoreau's Enterprise of Self-Culture in a Culture of Enterprise," *American Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1987): 231.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 244.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 231..

disinterest in market economics, he is actually very business-savvy and exercises capitalist behavior inasmuch as he works mainly toward his own success. As he notes, however, Thoreau does not agree with traditional definitions of success, which is what sets him apart from other businessmen of his time.

Abbott contributes further criticism in this vein, arguing that Thoreau's experiment is a plea for redemption in the eyes of the middle class. In *Walden* he says he can do nothing for the poor, and does not promote a charitable lifestyle. Rather, he specifically writes to the middle class and attempts to convince them "bourgeois life can be cleansed"⁴⁶. Abbott says, "Thoreau hopes to redeem himself in the eyes of Concord by retrieving the principles of bourgeois life itself"⁴⁷. He argues his physical alienation is actually an attempt to reconnect himself mentally to his society; he aims to affirm the virtues of their lifestyle while also suggesting subtle improvements. Therefore, his criticism of Thoreau is that he was too intentional about his experiment and its inspired text, and catered obsequiously to his middle class audience when his whole text derided such external dependence.

THOREAU'S DEFENSE

In "Resistance to Civil Government," Thoreau states, "I came into this world, not chiefly to make this a good place to live in, but to live in it, be it good or bad... This may seem harsh and stubborn and unconciliatory; but it is to treat with the utmost kindness and consideration the only spirit that can appreciate or deserves it"⁴⁸. This is the basis of Thoreau's defense in response to the many criticisms made against his experiment at Walden Pond. Thoreau does not assume responsibility for improving the state of his society, and he believes he should not have to: "I am not responsible for the successful working of the machinery of society. I am not the son of the engineer"⁴⁹. He is merely one discontented citizen whose stay in the woods is an attempt to treat himself with the respect and tender attention he feels every man owes to himself.

Much of Kant's philosophy agrees with Thoreau's notion of attending first and foremost to the self. He says, "man considered in terms of his *personality*, i.e. as a being endowed with *inner freedom*, is susceptible of obligation and, indeed, of obligation to himself (to humanity in his own person)"⁵⁰. Each individual constitutes a part of humanity, and Kant argues if every man works primarily on improving himself, the collective whole will come out stronger, because its individual parts will be stronger. Abbott agrees, stating in his essay that despite the oft-perceived narcissism of Thoreau's project, it poses important socio-political questions about what kind of individuals we should be⁵¹.

The idea that every individual has a right to live for themselves and tend to their own growth and happiness is relatively basic. The argument is taken further, however, by Bankston, who despite his critiques of Thoreau's credibility and sincerity, agrees with his priority of personal development over social responsibility:

Individuals are prior to any particular form of civil society and have the right to exist for themselves. This right to live for oneself and for one's own purposes is not a repudiation of responsibility toward others, but the foundation of this responsibility. To the extent that people live for the sake of their governments or communities, they give up the power to think independently and to make moral decisions [...] The

⁴⁵ Neufeldt, "Thoreau's Enterprise of Self-Culture," 243.

⁴⁶ Philip Abbott, "Henry David Thoreau, the State of Nature, and the Redemption of Liberalism," *The Journal of Politics* 47, no. 1 (1985): 194.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Thoreau, "Resistance to Civil Government," 849.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 853.

⁵⁰ Kant, *The Doctrine of Virtue*, 80-1.

⁵¹ Abbott, "Henry David Thoreau," 184.

individual's detachment from the web of commitment is precisely what makes conscientious reasoning possible.⁵²

With this passage, Bankston transcends the argument of one's basic right to care for oneself above others. He suggests that only when people detach from their external commitments can they develop their individual strength, like a baby weaning off its mother's breast milk. At this point only can the individual be said to contribute to the greater good; for if he remains suckling at the teat of society, living only off of its strength and vitality, how can it ever contribute new innovations and developments? As Bankston later says, "Paradoxically, only those who resist the state serve it with their consciences, and only those who hold themselves apart from civic cooperation can improve the political order"⁵³. He is mentally and spiritually trapped in infancy who does not make the effort to develop his full self.

CONCLUSIONS

In the very first chapter of *Walden*, Thoreau says, "In making the life of a civilized people an *institution* [...] the life of the individual is to a great extent absorbed, in order to preserve and perfect that of the race"⁵⁴. His experiment at Walden Pond is his response to feeling as though his most valuable and sacred individual qualities were being swallowed up by the institutions of capitalism and industrialization. But what does his personal statement mean for the rest of society, and what does he owe to others? A famed figure though he was, he was still an individual with every right to undergo *Walden* (the text and experience) as a personal project for self-enrichment. As Bankston says, "The essay reminds us that we are not here to build the perfect world, but to live according to conscience"⁵⁵. Thoreau believed each person's duty belonged first to the maintenance of his self, or else all other efforts would prove futile.

Near the end of *Walden*, Thoreau tells the story of an artist who was so resolute and singular in his purpose of finding the right materials to make a staff, his friends deserted him and his city continued without him and eventually fell. The artist, however, was endowed with "perennial youth." Initially seeming like a tragic tale, the story turns around: "He had made a new system in making a staff, a world with full and fair proportions; in which, though the old cities and dynasties has passed away, fairer and more glorious ones had taken their places"⁵⁶. The moral of this story is that the concentrated power of individual will and passion can completely transform societies. The social effect of individual development is unparalleled innovation and progress.

Thoreau says of his own conclusions, "I learned this, at least, by my experiment: that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours"⁵⁷. Thoreau's two-year departure from society communicates to audiences of both his time and ours that success is a personal determination, and self-care a birthright of all human beings. As long as the individual is allowed to "step to the music which he hears"⁵⁸ without judgment, his society will resound with the symphonies of success.

⁵² Bankston, "Thoreau's Case for Political Disengagement," 11.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Thoreau, *Walden*, 28.

⁵⁵ Bankston, "Thoreau's Case for Political Disengagement," 13.

⁵⁶ Thoreau, *Walden*, 308.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 304.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 307.

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DRINKING AND GAME DAY: THE EXPANSION AND SOLUTION TO ALCOHOL ABUSE IN COLLEGIATE SPORTING EVENTS

By Karan Arul, *University of Rochester*

For the typical American sports fans, a night out to watch a college sporting event involves a celebration of athleticism, spirit, and teamwork. However, as of the 21st century, the act of purchasing and consuming alcohol has become increasingly complimentary to “enjoying the game” in a collegiate sports stadium. In the United States, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) is the frontrunner in proliferating collegiate athletics. Yet, the NCAA and its over 1200 member schools “enjoy great profitability from selling and advertising alcohol.”¹ As college sporting events continue to rival their professional counterparts in popularity and allegiance, attending a college stadium to view a game has developed its own attractive culture. Although this culture is known for its conviviality, the acceptance, sale, and consumption of alcoholic beverages during high-profile sporting events has become synonymous with the “college game day experience.” This trend is alarming because high risk drinking, defined as having five or more drinks in one sitting, is correlated to consequences from unintentional injury to poor academic performance among university students.² Unfortunately, past actions to completely outlaw drinking in stadiums have been unsuccessful in determining the role of alcohol. Therefore, the best course of action for fans and lawmakers to end alcohol abuse begins with understanding why the stadium setting glorifies alcohol consumption. Through education, it is then possible to provide practical alcohol regulations that will make sports fans more inclined to casual – rather than excessive – drinking.

The debate concerning alcohol consumption in sports settings has become further polarized due to past failures in ending the stubborn relationship between excessive drinking and “enjoying the game.” Correlations between drinking and spectator sports result from the collegiate atmosphere and economic media that propagate stadium drinking. For example, if children grow up viewing their parents freely using alcohol in college tailgating events, they may develop a more open mindset to drinking on campus.³ On the other hand, the American media trend of combining million-dollar alcohol advertisements with high-profile college sports has created an influential, albeit hypocritical, relationship of drinking and sports. Since the 1990’s, the NCAA has benefited economically from alcohol advertising despite pressure from the White House, hundreds of college presidents, and the American Medical Society.⁴ An end to excessive spectator sport drinking cannot be fixed by merely banning alcohol in all college stadiums - a popular route of action taken in the early 21st century in states with stringent liquor laws. The act of completely outlawing alcohol in sports venues presents an impossible task that creates grounds for increased criminal behavior. The prevalence of excessive drinking prior to actually entering a sports stadium (known as “pre-game drinking”) is a complex alcohol-related issue because it is often not subject to stadium laws. Equally complicated, luxury “skyboxes” within major stadiums are “leased private property” and legally support alcohol consumption.⁵ To effectively address the drinking culture of collegiate sporting events, fans *and* lawmakers must be held responsible. Initially, sports legislators should look to the campus and media-related factors that have created an infatuation between drinking and college sports. Afterward, stadiums will be able

¹ Marc Edelman and David L. Rosenthal, *A Sobering Conflict: A Call for Consistency in the Messages Colleges Send About Alcohol*. New York City, NY: Fordham Intellectual Property, 2010, 1417.

² Travis Glassman et al., *Alcohol-related fan behavior on college football game day*. Gainesville, FL: Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group, 2007.

³ Caitlin Abar et al., *Brief report: Tailgating as a unique context for parental modeling on college student alcohol use*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier, 2010, 1103.

⁴ Edelman and Rosenthal, 1417.

⁵ Warwick Saban, *Our Drinking Problem*. Little Rock, AR: Arkansas Times, 2004, 7.

to introduce the solutions of moderated alcohol sales, increased security, and alcohol-free alternatives that will create a sports environment devoid of excessive drinking and its negative behavioral consequences.

Turning on the television during the NCAA Final Four or Collegiate Baseball World Series, one may find it apparent that alcohol advertisements hold a great position in collegiate sports media. Similarly, stadiums of Division I sports schools, such as Syracuse University, are known for their “eight dollar beers” and alcohol signs adorning mega-sized viewing screens. However, the relationship between alcohol and college campuses presents a peculiar situation. Traditional collegiate undergraduates will spend the majority of their time on campus below the legal U.S. drinking age. Why, then, is drinking within a college stadium a cultural trend if alcohol consumption is “one of the leading risks of death among American college students?”⁶ The social setting of a college campus provides various opportunities for students to model drinking behaviors. On a larger degree, the economics required to broadcast college sports throughout the country create a subtle connection between stadiums and drinking. Ironically, the social and economic trends that have contributed to the massive appeal of college sporting events in America have also glorified excessive drinking.

Understanding why a significant number of college fans choose to openly abuse alcohol begins with the collegiate atmosphere inherent in the stadium setting. As students begin a new phase of their lives in college, they are placed in an atmosphere that encourages free thinking and decision making. However, the independent actions of students on campus are often affected by social pressures. College students, in particular, may develop an interest in high-risk drinking from exposure to similar behavior. Contrary to popular belief, parents may be the most responsible for creating dangerous drinking trends in their students. According to a study from the *Journal of Adolescence*, the drinking psychologies of students are directly related to the drinking behaviors of their parents during tailgating events on college campuses. Tailgating involves consuming alcohol and food in a social setting prior to viewing a sporting event. As demonstrated by the Social Learning Theory, students observing parental alcohol use imitate this behavior in a similar context. In other words, college students were more likely to engage in high risk drinking if they had previously been exposed to “parental drunkenness” in a collegiate setting. When compared to other occasions of parental heavy drinking, tailgating events proved to be the best indicator of future student drinking.⁷ University students also tend to overestimate typical alcoholic consumption at tailgating events, a likely effect of constant exposure to drunkenness in this setting.⁸

In addition to encouraging excessive drinking at tailgating parties, the college atmosphere promotes a yearly schedule of sporting events that create weekly opportunities to abuse alcohol. Unlike “once-in-a-year events” that are guilty of high-risk drinking (such as St. Patrick’s Day, Spring Break and New Year’s Eve), university-related sporting events occur throughout the academic year. As noted in an *Addictive Behaviors* study from 2007 labeled “Hook’em Horns and Heavy Drinking,” the heavy drinking consistent with university-related sporting events can be attributed to the year-long athletic schedule *and* the social context shrouding it. College students commit to heavy drinking during sporting events as a way to “celebrate important victories as well as to express solidarity and enhance group cohesion” with fellow fans. Furthermore, it is noted that sports enthusiasts who identified as “light drinkers” were more likely to abuse alcohol if placed into a “game day” environment.⁹ The collegiate sports atmosphere holds a responsibility in promoting alcohol use if a casual drinking fan becomes more inclined to excessive drinking when inside a stadium.

⁶ United States Congress, *Introduction of Resolution Expressing Sense of Congress that Alcohol Advertising during Broadcasts of Collegiate Sporting Events Should be Terminated*. Washington, D.C.: 2004, 1613-1614.

⁷ Abar et al., 1103-1106.

⁸ Clayton Neighbors et al., *Event-and context-specific normative misperceptions and high-risk drinking: 21st birthday celebrations and football tailgating*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006, 282.

⁹ Neal et al., *Hook’em horns and heavy drinking: Alcohol use and collegiate sports*. Elsevier, 2007, 2682-2690.

An argument against this claim may be that excessive drinking during collegiate sporting events results from the natural tendency for enthusiastic fans to celebrate with their family and friends. This argument discounts the importance of the “stadium setting” in glorifying alcohol abuse by focusing on the conviviality inherent in viewing sports rather than the physical experiences of “game day.” However, past decisions to completely remove alcohol from stadiums demonstrate the relevance and tradition of drinking on “game day.” According to an article from the *Arkansas Times*, a complete outlaw of alcohol in the University of Arkansas has only further exacerbated the issue. The parking lot of these stadiums which outlaw alcohol consumption tend to be prevalent with the “biggest crime scene” - a sea of tailgaters accustomed to public intoxication. This shows that drinking prior to the start of a game is the result of the game environment as opposed to merely gathering with friends. Within the stadium, luxury “skyboxes” are free from campus policies that forbid drinking. This case of “selective enforcement and curious exception” within the University of Arkansas stadium is reminiscent of alcohol policy throughout the state. As of 2004, Arkansas consisted of 32 “wet” counties and 43 “dry” counties which differed in alcohol policy. The “dry” counties have been effective in limiting alcohol sales since liquor businesses reported decreased business. Although the stadium setting has adopted a parallel approach in regulating alcohol policy, the tradition of “game day” drinking has prevented an end to alcohol-abuse.¹⁰ Scholars have also noted that “game days” brew “disinhibited social [atmospheres]” that result in a “large percentage of alcohol-related violations.”¹¹

This reliance between alcohol and spectator sports is more apparent when compared with other public settings such as movie theaters. Unlike people viewing a movie, fans attending college sports have come to expect that beer will be involved to supplement their experience. As a result, actions taken to outlaw alcohol in sporting events have created criminal environments similar to prohibition era America, which was accustomed to unenforceable laws and high crime rate. This demonstrates that the social context associated with the stadium setting is more influential in fostering an alcohol-friendly environment than the mere aspect of spending time with one’s peers.

The successful movement toward a casual drinking culture in collegiate sports also requires understanding of economic factors which promote alcohol abuse. In general, the development of American spectator sports to attractive 21st century status is due to the media trend of displaying alcohol advertisements in the context of games. As of 2004, alcohol advertising accounted “for more than one-half of college sports advertising revenue.” Although the NCAA has a century-old mission of “preparing student athletes for lifetime leadership,” the revenue benefits generated from mega-alcohol advertising have adversely affected collegiate alcohol culture. Typical advertisements contain celebrating young adults and the occasional hint of “adolescent humor.” According to U.S. Representative and former University of Nebraska football coach, Tom Osborne, alcohol advertisements geared toward college students tend to make alcohol more acceptable in stadium settings. Although social stigmas and learned behaviors that encourage college students to drink are difficult to change, alcohol advertisements present a fixable problem. Studies on popular opinion of alcohol have shown that around “seventy-one percent of Americans support a total ban of alcohol ads” during collegiate sporting events.¹² An end to alcohol advertisements in the presence of high-profile games will effectively deal with the college sports industry’s “double standard about alcohol use in higher education.”¹³ It is unjust and hypocritical that the NCAA, which promises to instill lifetime values to its young athletes, also thrives on alcohol advertisements which generate millions of dollars in revenue.

Critics may argue that the outlaw of alcohol advertisements surrounding collegiate sporting events only prolongs

¹⁰ Saban, 7.

¹¹ Coons et al., *College sports and fan aggression: Implications for residence hall discipline*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, 587.

¹² United States Congress, 1613-1614.

¹³ Edelman et al., 1417.

the eventual outlaw of all alcohol in campus stadiums. As shown by the actions of the University of Arkansas, outlawing alcohol sales is ineffective in quelling alcohol-fueled crimes. Recent decisions by U.S. universities to *sell* alcohol during sporting events have proven that alcohol sales are *needed* to create a casual drinking environment. In 2014, West Virginia University and the University of Texas began sale of alcohol during all Division I athletic contests, joining a list of twenty-nine other campuses nationwide. Although this measure may be viewed as a means of increasing revenue like alcohol advertisements, alcohol sales only account for a fraction of a university's total sports-related income. According to University of Texas President, Bill Powers, the sale of alcohol would only generate “marginal revenue.” Instead, he cited improving the viewing experiences of alumni and fans who are open to casual drinking as the main reason for alcohol sales.¹⁴

The regulation and sale of alcohol had a beneficial effect for West Virginia University. Coupled with other tactics such as prevention of “in-game tailgating,” sales lead to a “35% decrease of alcohol related altercations.” By actually providing beer and wine merchants on game day, fans will not feel the need to binge drink in a parking lot since they can legally drink inside the stadium. A Harvard School of Public Health study found that “53 percent of sports fans usually engage in binge drinking” prior to the beginning of a game.¹⁵ As Bill Powers notes, people tailgating believe “they’ve got to polish off [their alcohol] sort of in a binge” prior to walking into a stadium.¹⁶

If a moderate drinking fan has access to alcohol during the phase of a game, they will be less likely to participate in pre-game binge drinking and instead choose to drink within the stadium. More importantly, increased security and the enforcement of underage drinking will have the effect of making stadiums devoid of alcohol-abuse and its negative behaviors. Once stadiums have made the decision to sell alcohol during collegiate sporting events, policymakers will be required to implement stadium laws that can be viewed as safety initiatives. According to an experiment from the *Journal of American College Health*, non-drinking and moderate drinking fans showed high support for increased law enforcement. The college community surveyed showed the most public support for restricted alcohol policy in order to reduce occasions of drunkenness and underage drinking. This degree of public opinion is noted as “fundamental to shaping the policymaking process.”¹⁷ Prolonged alcohol consumption has been labeled a prime factor of fan aggression and its financial consequences. In addition to diminishing the stadium experience, violent fans can cost stadiums hefty sums in restoration and cleanup fees. Equally pressing, the mixture of intoxicated individuals and high-density crowds has shown to have a direct effect on innocent fans. A survey in the *Daily Texan* looking at “14,000 college students at 119 nationally representative four-year colleges” concluded that students who identified themselves as fans were more likely to become victims of secondhand effects of others’ binge drinking. Possible effects included “disruption of sleep, property damage, and verbal abuse.”¹⁸

Interestingly, in order to lower the abuse of current stadium drinking culture without completely outlawing alcohol, fans choosing not to drink must be equally represented. By limiting tailgating hours and addressing security concerns, fans who choose to drink will be addressed while lowering the chance of alcohol-abuse. However, fans who do not choose to drink may wish to further lower the influence of alcohol on their “game day” environment. By incorporating specific alcohol free areas and pre-game events within sports venues, policymakers will create stadiums that accommodate collegiate fans who decide to stay sober. Of importance, alcohol free areas can be implemented to separate college students from alcohol-tolerable environments due to the prevalence of heavy

¹⁴ Brian Davis, *Texas to Begin Selling Alcohol at Longhorns Games Friday*. Chicago, IL: Tribune Content Agency, 2014.

¹⁵ Jasmine Johnson, *Alcohol Ruins Game Environment*. Austin, TX: Texas Student Media, 2014.

¹⁶ Davis.

¹⁷ Glassman et al., 255-260.

¹⁸ Johnson.

drinking among this demographic. Since college students “consume considerably more alcohol than their non-college peers,” they are more likely to experience the physical consequences of drunkenness.¹⁹

An experiment aimed to prevent high risk drinking among college students at the 2006 NCAA Championship Football Game cites useful measures that can prevent high risk drinking. By incorporating “pre-planned prevention efforts” such as alcohol-free venues and “celebration zones,” students were less than three and a half times likely to engage in high-risk drinking. The success of the celebration zone may be attributed to its setup as a police patrolled and barricaded refuge for fans to celebrate their team’s victory. Similarly, prior of the start of a game, the inclusion of nonalcoholic pre-game events to counteract tailgating parties garnered highest support from non-drinkers.²⁰ By combining preventions to accommodate casual drinking sports fans and non-drinkers, stadium officials will find grounds to lower the previously elusive problem of tailgating. While the sale of alcohol will make fans more inclined to purchase alcohol within a stadium, the further inclusion of sober pre-game events will provide an attractive alternative to binge drinking. Ironically, these scientific studies indicate that it is possible to provide a safe atmosphere for non-drinking collegiate sports fans without completely outlawing alcohol sales. The incorporation of alcohol-free venues and events creates an attainable atmosphere that can separate at-risk college students from older fans who wish to enjoy a beer on the sidelines.

The prevalent counterargument against the use of fan support of alcohol-related measures of intervention focuses on the quality of the gathered data. The majority of studies have been largely based on data provided by large, public universities that have a tradition of devoted college sporting fans and high revenue from athletic departments. In fact, the *Journal of American College Health* cites the limitation of using a sample “from a large school in the southeast,” as a misrepresentation of the drinking patterns of other universities.²¹ For example, the University of Texas, which is noted for recently allowing alcohol sales, actually generated one-hundred and sixty-five million dollars in athletic revenue in 2013.²² Therefore, the glorification of alcohol and “drinking culture” of large public schools may not reflect the patterns of alcohol abuse in less glamorized college towns. However, policies aimed at making stadiums open to casual drinking can be created that work for large public schools and small private schools. Although traditionally less-populated private schools experience a lower degree of tailgating events and sports-related revenue, students are actually “more likely to experience behavioral risks” from alcohol in a “small-party setting.” The proposed measures to reduce the prevalence of tailgating such as alcohol sales within stadiums and non-alcoholic pre-game events would therefore be useful in private schools even though they share in a nontraditional “game day” experience.²³ By advancing policies that are created from an understanding of the collegiate atmosphere, students nationwide who share in an at-risk demographic will be accounted for. Although drinking cultures are unique for every school, college students, as a group, attend sporting events to “feel a sense of camaraderie that helps to build positive feelings” about the overall college experience.²⁴ Unrelated to size or following, stadiums throughout the U.S. may benefit from policies to lower the grasp of alcohol on spectator sports while enhancing the attractiveness of collegiate athletics.

As more sports fans in the United States continue to engage in the collegiate athletic experience instead of the professional industry, greater light will be shed on the state of alcohol abuse in stadiums. If unruly, drunk college fans continue to perpetrate increased crime and behavioral disputes, stadium policymakers will need to prescribe

¹⁹ Neal et al., 2007.

²⁰ Travis Glassman et al., *Winning isn’t Everything: A Case Study of High-Risk Drinking the Night of the 2006 National Championship Football Game*. Lansing, MI: Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education, 2008, 31.47 Ibid.

²¹ Glassman et al., 258-260.

²² Davis.

²³ Neal et al., 2691.

²⁴ Edelman et al., 1417.

measures to lower the presence of alcohol on “game day.” Modern reliance between drinking and college spectator sports is a product of a social background and economic foreground. Unlike the professional setting of a “big league” contest, college atmospheres thrive on a sense of open decision making that may be affected by social pressures from peers. In fact, sometimes these peers are actually tailgating parents whose negative actions influence future college students.²⁵ Similarly, the relevance of alcohol advertisements during high-profile sporting games works to create a public image that endorses drinking in stadiums.

According to former U.S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Joseph A. Califano, alcohol and drug use has lost “thousands of our nation’s best and brightest” and significantly affected the future and global standing of the United States.²⁶ Past attempts to completely outlaw alcohol sales in stadiums has shown to further amplify the presence of drinking via binge drinking. As public discussions concerning alcohol consumption in stadiums grow, policymakers and concerned fans hurry to change the “wet culture” of college sports.

The most effective way to cater to all fans requires making stadiums open to casual drinking and the sale of alcohol. Simultaneously, fans and college students who will benefit from a sober viewing experience should be placed in alcohol-free alternatives that thrive on safe practices. When collegiate sports begin to adopt a casual drinking atmosphere, fans and policymakers will shift their attention to the most important people in the stadium – the athletes.

²⁵ Abar et al.

²⁶ Edelman et al., 1394.

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OAK REGENERATION IN AN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA FOREST: IS PRESCRIBED FIRE NEEDED?

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ABSTRACT

Fire has shaped the American landscape as much as any other natural or anthropogenic disturbance such as flooding, glaciers, and tornadoes, or logging. Native Americans used fire for thousand of years to facilitate farming, travel, and hunting. Since the 1930s, the United States Forest Service has instituted and maintained a policy of fire suppression. This has changed the composition of American forests allowing shade- tolerant later successional species to thrive, but fire-adapted species are declining. This study establishes a baseline of tree composition of State Game Lands 210 in Dauphin County in Eastern Pennsylvania forest in preparation for the proposed controlled burning by the Pennsylvania Game Commission and Nature Conservancy. Thirteen 5376.76ft² plots within the forest were surveyed and all trees >4 inches in diameter were identified, measured, and tallied as living, dead, or dying. Seedlings and saplings were recorded in smaller nested plots. Oaks composed 46.7% of the basal area of trees, while maples composed 21.8%. We found 243.0 maple saplings and 291.7 seedlings per acre, but no oak saplings and only 72.9 seedlings per acre. We concluded that there was little oak regeneration present. By utilizing controlled burning, the fire adapted oak species would be more likely to regenerate.

OVERVIEW

The American landscape has been shaped and changed by natural and anthropogenic forces. Everything from flooding, glaciers, and landslides have impacted not only the geography of Pennsylvania, but the communities that live there now. Human forces such as pollution, infrastructure, and fire have also contributed to the scenery. This thesis will focus on the way that fire, or the lack there of, has altered the forest composition in the eastern United States.

Before settlers arrived in the United States, the Native Americans utilized fire to clear the forests surrounding their villages to cultivate crops and wild blueberries and to clear the understory for effective hunting and travel. The European settlers brought their own fire for land clearing and logging and cooking. Railroads, industrialization, and recreational campfires all contribute to the fire shaped landscape. In the 1930s, the United States Forest Service instituted a policy of overall fire suppression. This lead to a change in forest composition from disturbance-adapted and early successional species to that of later successional species. In the eastern United States, this meant a switch from oak- dominated (Genus *Quercus*) forests to more of a maple- dominated (Genus *Acer*) forest.

Oak trees are an important source of mast for deer, bear, turkeys, grouse, and others, which are all game for Pennsylvania hunters. Also, oak wood has great strength and hardness, which is perfect for furniture making and flooring. Wine, sherry, whiskey, and brandy are all aged in oak barrels. Without periodic disturbance, oak trees can be outcompeted by later successional species. This study establishes a baseline of tree composition in the State Game Lands 210 of Eastern Pennsylvania forest in preparation for proposed controlled burning in order to measure the change in forest structure.

This study took place during the summer of 2013 with a group of three Arcadia University students and Dr. Lauren Howard in collaboration with the Pennsylvania Game Commission and Nature Conservancy. The team performed a forest composition study of State Game Lands 210 and recorded all of the seedlings, saplings, and trees in a specified area. The trees (>4 inches at diameter breast height) were recorded by species with a status of living, standing dead, or dead in a circle with a radius of 41.37 feet. Seedlings and saplings were sampled from subsets of that circle and recorded by species.

It was found that of the 425 trees recorded, 390 were living and 35 were standing dead. The trees were also separated into classes by diameter breast height and it was found that the majority of the trees (296 trees) were between 4 and 7.9 inches at diameter breast height, but only 38 were greater than 12 inches at diameter breast height. This shows that there are few trees surviving to adult stages and reaching the canopy level. The occurrence of each tree was recorded and it was found that red maple, a later successional species, composed 39.6% of all trees recorded, while oak trees (all species) composed only 20.3% of all trees.

If lack of disturbance continues, the oaks will decline as succession progresses and larger individuals die. For the most part, oak saplings cannot persist in shaded understories and cannot grow into the canopy level, unless a gap forms above.¹ Prescribed fire is an effective tool to limit competing vegetation and improve the growth and form of oak regeneration. These fires encourage plentiful sprouting of oak trees while limiting the growth of many oak competitors such as red maple.

This study is a small sample size of a much larger area and the results may not be applicable to all Pennsylvania forests. A larger sample size of similar forests would make increase the application of the results. This study is only a small subset of a much larger study of several Pennsylvania forests with data collected during the same summer. The cumulative data from the entire study could be more appropriate for generalization.

INTRODUCTION

Fire, whether natural or man-made has shaped the American landscape. Pre-colonization fires in the United States facilitated by the Native Americans and natural occurrences have molded the forests we see today. The Native Americans relied on the earth for everything they needed to survive. They set what may have been some of the first controlled burns to forests to be able to hunt game such as deer, bear, and turkey, and to cultivate things like blueberries. This also allowed for easier travel through the forests to communicate with other tribes. Several studies have cited that although the scope of Native American burning is unclear, the importance of the continuing presence of pre-colonization fire in the region is clear.^{2 3 4}

Early settlers in the Americas adopted fire to clear land for cultivating farmlands, buildings and pastures for livestock. By the mid 1700s European immigrants began to settle in West Virginia and Pennsylvania, as well as many smaller coastal areas.⁵ According to witness tree data, oak was the dominant genus before European settlement, especially white oak, in the Eastern United States.⁶



Figure 1. A 1940s advertisement released by the United States Forest Service to encourage proper campfire management.

¹ Brose, Patrick H.; Dey, Daniel C.; Phillips, Ross J.; Waldrop, Thomas A. 2013. "A Meta-analysis of the Fire-Oak Hypothesis: Does Prescribed Burning Promote Oak Reproduction in Eastern North America." *Forest Science*. 59(3): 322-334.

² Howard, L., Lupo, P., Stone, B., & Bearer, S. (2013). "Interim Report for Pre-burn Monitoring Project, Dec 31, 2013." Arcadia University, Pennsylvania Game Commission, PA Chapter of The Nature Conservancy.

³ Lafon, C.W. and H.D. Grissino-Mayer. 2006. *Fire Regimes and Successional Dynamics of Yellow Pine (Pinus) Stands in the Central Appalachian Mountains*. Joint Fire Science Program, USFS.

⁴ Lafon, C.W. and H.D. Grissino-Mayer. 2007. "Spatial Patterns of Fire Occurrence in the Central Appalachian Mountains and Implications for Wildland Fire Management." *Physical Geography* 28(1): 1-20.

⁵ Schuler, T.M. and W.R. McClain. 2003. "Fire History of a Ridge and Valley Oak Forest." USDA Forest Service Research Paper NE-724. Northeastern Research Station, Newtown Square, PA. 9 pp.

⁶ Abrams, M.D. 2003. "Where has all the white oak gone?" *Bioscience* 53(10): 927-939.

What is classified as the most intense period of burning in recent history comes with the logging industry between 1880 and 1920.⁷ During this time, it is estimated that more than 90% of central Appalachian forests burned following clear-cut logging.⁸ The Pennsylvania Forest Fire Museum states that 60% of Pennsylvania land area today is forested, while in 1920, only 17% was considered forest due to the logging that took place.⁹

In the 1930s, because of the mass clear-cut logging, followed by burning of forests and the availability of fire fighting technologies, the United States Forest Service instituted a policy of overall fire suppression.¹⁰ A child-friendly character, “Smokey the Bear,” and media publications using his now famous tag line “Only you can prevent forest fires,” were released in order to encourage people to be careful when maintaining campfires.

For the purpose of protecting communities and other resources, this was an effective system. But now, even the U.S. Forest Service has recognized the use of fire to “make forests and grasslands healthier and to protect communities and natural resources, especially clean, abundant water.”¹¹ Over time, the national policy of fire suppression has altered the fire- adapted forest communities, which is threatening plant and animals that rely on an environment of early successional and post- disturbance habitats. Oak forests have developed dense understories of shade tolerant species, such as maples and beech, which may be capable of displacing oaks.¹² Fire can burn oak seedlings and saplings, but mature oak trees are resistant to the quick heat of grassland fires and controlled burns. The seedlings and saplings that emerge the next year will grow faster and as such will be less vulnerable to browsing.

There has been very little recruitment of new white oak trees occurred during the 20th century, and there is evidence of a dramatic decline in white oak forests from pre-settlement to the present day.¹³ White oak was arguably North America’s most valuable hardwood species based on quality and quantity of saw timber. It was used extensively for construction, flooring, and cabinetry. Because it is impervious to liquids, it was also widely used in barrel making. By the early 1900s, white oak was one of the primary furniture making woods in the United States.¹⁴

A 2009 article by Schuler et al. published in a 2009 issue of *Fire Science Brief* studied the effectiveness of prescribed burns for the purpose of regenerating oak species. It notes that prescribed burning is still in its “infancy” in eastern mixed-oak forests, primarily because fuel build-up, such as leaf litter and downed trees, is less of a problem in the East than in the drier West, managers have been slow to look into using prescribed burning.¹⁵ They also note that Forest managers need more information on how to characterize fuels for prescribed burns in this area of the country. Patrick Brose, a research forester at the USDA Forest Service’s Northeastern Research Station in Irvine, Pennsylvania, says this uncertainty about fuel characterization has delayed the employment of prescribed burning in eastern mixed-oak forests.¹⁶

⁷ Clarkson, 1964 Clarkson, R.B. 1964. “Tumult on the mountains: lumbering in West Virginia - 1770-1920.” (c) 1998 McClain Printing Company, Parsons, WV. 410 pp.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ PA Forest Fire Museum Association. Retrieved from <http://paforestfiremuseum.org/paffma-history.html>

¹⁰ Van Lear, D.H. and T.A. Waldrop. 1989. “History, uses and effects of fire in the Appalachians.” USDA Forest Service General Technical Report SE-54. 21 pp.

¹¹ USDA Forest Service, Fire and Aviation Management, 2013 <http://www.fs.fed.us/fire/>

¹² Lorimer, C. G., & White, A. S. (2003). “Scale and frequency of natural disturbances in the northeastern US: implications for early successional forest habitats and regional age distributions.” *Forest Ecology and Management*, 185(1), 41-64.

¹³ Abrams, M.D., Ruffner C.M. 1995. “Physiographic analysis of witness-tree distribution (1765–1798) and present forest cover through north central Pennsylvania.” *Canadian Journal of Forest Research*. 25: 659-668.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Schuler, J.L. and D.J. Robison. 2009. Response of reproduction and residual overstory trees to even-aged regeneration methods in southern hardwoods. P. 71-86 in Columbus, F. (ed.), *Forest Regeneration: Ecology, Management and Economics*. Nova Publishers. 198

¹⁶ Ibid.

The study observed the pre- and post- prescribed burn forest site composition, especially the sprouting of oak and competing species. “In many eastern mixed-oak forests, oak succession is blocked by dense understory growth,” which could be decreased via prescribed burns.¹⁷ They concluded that their research projects reinforced “the viability of prescribed burning as a tool for eastern mixed-oak forest managers to promote oak regeneration from sprouts, and to thin out understory and reduce fuel loads.”¹⁸

Forestry professionals identify occasional fire as an important factor in creating the historical incidence of mixed-oak forests in eastern North America and the suppression of that fire in the early 20th century as one of the significant factors in the current, widespread oak regeneration problem.^{19 20 21} In a more recent study, a meta-analysis of thirty- two prescribed fire studies, composed by Brose in 2012 found that in even-aged stand management, prescribed fire can contribute to sustaining oak forests in some situations.²² They cautioned that single fires had little impact in the short term however, multiple burns benefited oaks in the long term.²³

Because of fire suppression, fire-adapted habitats and species are declining. These locations support a countless number of plant and animal species that depend on the continued presence of early-successional, post-disturbance habitat elements. Reintroduction of fire into forests where it has been unnaturally excluded has the potential to recreate habitat elements such as gaps and standing dead trees that are required for fire-adapted plants and their associated animal species to persist. It also has the potential to enhance game animal populations, as oaks are an important source of mast for deer, bear, turkeys, grouse, and others. Controlled burning that increases oak regeneration and acorn production has the capability of benefiting Pennsylvania hunters and could help boost the state’s economy.^{24 25} In order to measure the change in forest structure from the proposed controlled burning, a current assessment of the forest composition is needed for comparison. This study will establish a baseline of tree composition in the Doc Jones Forest (State Game Lands 210) of Dauphin County in Eastern Pennsylvania forest in preparation for the proposed controlled burning.

METHODS

The research team established 13 plots on State Game Lands 210 in Dauphin County, PA (Figure 2). The locations were determined in advance using a restricted random technique, and plots were located in the field using the GPS. The team permanently marked plot centers using 6-foot tall metal fence posts painted yellow at the top.

RECORD KEEPING

To record data, a plot location sheet (developed by the PA Game Commission and Nature Conservancy) was utilized for each individual burn unit, because this expedites data entry and analysis. We record the site name as

¹⁷ Schuler and Robison. Response of reproduction and residual overstory trees.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Abrams, M.D. 1992. “Fire and the development of oak forests.” *Bioscience* 42: 346-353.

²⁰ Brose, P.H., Schuler, T., Van Lear, D., & Berst, J. (2001). “Bringing fire back: the changing regimes of the Appalachian mixed-oak forests.” *Journal of Forestry*, 99.11, 30-35.

²¹ Nowacki, G. J., & Abrams, M. D. (2008). “The demise of fire and “mesophication” of forests in the eastern United States.” *BioScience*, 58(2), 123-138.

²² Brose et al., 2012 Brose, P. H. (2012). “A comparison of the effects of different shelterwood harvest methods on the survival and growth of acorn-origin oak seedlings.” *Canadian Journal of Forest Research*, 41.12, 2359-2374.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Creighton, J., & Norman, G. (2013, November 18). “Acorn Crop Very Light This Year. Virginia Department of Game and Inland Fisheries (VDGIF)- The Outdoor Report.” Retrieved from <http://www.dgif.virginia.gov/outdoor-report/2013/11/27/#acorn-crop-very-light-this-year>

indicated on the map provided. The full names of the crewmembers taking the measurements are to be recorded at the top of the page, beginning with the note taker's name. The plot number and date of data collection should also be noted.

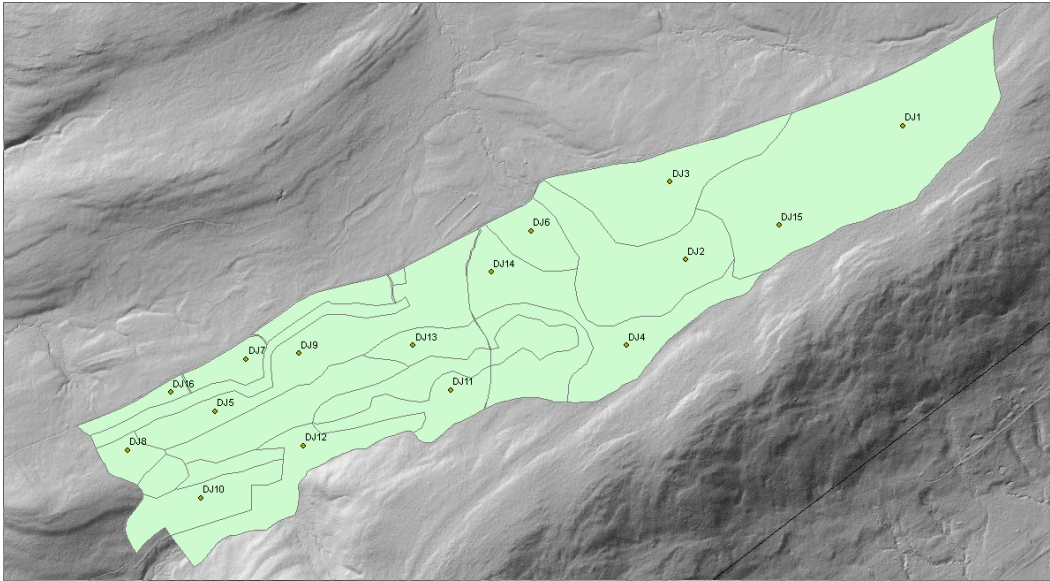


Figure 2. State Game Lands 210 identified by plot numbers. This study includes results from plots DJ1, DJ4, DJ5, DJ6, DJ7, DJ8, DJ9, DJ11, DJ12, DJ13, DJ14, and DJ15.

To recall the exact location of the site, record the latitude and longitude using World Geodetic System (WGS) 1984 format on the data sheet and on the GPS device if applicable. Record the forest type, site and size for the principal plot area. Note that the surrounding stand may be a different forest type, site or size. It is important to designate individual plot forest types for the analysis. The Pennsylvania State Game Commission recommends that the document, “Terrestrial & Palustrine Plant Communities of Pennsylvania” by Jean Fike, Pennsylvania Natural Diversity Inventory, PA Department of Conservation and Natural Resources 1999 or the “Manual of Procedure for State Game Land Cover Typing” be used for descriptions of forest types and definitions of site, size and stocking. Documentation the deer impact using the key at the bottom of the page; this key is similar to how Silviculture of Allegheny Hardwoods documents deer impact.

Using a clinometer, the team determined the topography over the plot and record the appropriate aspect in degrees using 360 for due north. The percent slope was recorded in the direction of the aspect using the clinometer; the ground distance over which this is measured is from the one side of the over story plot to the opposite side, which is about eighty-two feet. Disturbance was recorded using one (or more when applicable) of the codes listed on the location sheet to characterize any disturbance that has occurred on the plot. The area affected by natural or human-caused disturbance must be greater than or equal to one acre and have occurred in the past 5 years.

At minimum, one picture was taken in each direction (north, east, south, and west) from six feet behind the center of the plot at eye level and the number of each picture was recorded. The team also included a fifth picture of the canopy from the same location to use in future visual comparisons and photos of any unique disturbance (such as rattlesnakes, excessive deer browsing, or bear markings).

Plot stakes should either be treated wood or metal rebar. The team chose to use six-foot long metal fence posts. It is suggested that if using a wood stake, label the stake using either a permanent marker or paint stick with the plot number and if using metal rebar, it should be labeled with an aluminum tag if possible. The bars were spray



Figure 3. Pennsylvania State Game Lands 210 Site #DJ7, Northern Aspect. Photo by Dr. Lauren Howard.

painted orange and labeled with a permanent marker before leaving the site, allowing for the paint to dry while performing data collection. The leaf litter and duff were cleared away from the stake before it was hammered into the ground, leaving the top four to five feet exposed. A healthy tree proximate to the plot stake was selected as the reference tree. A forestry marker was used to mark the tree just above diameter at breast height (DBH) (see below for instructions to properly measure DBH). Record the DBH and species on the plot sheet. As this was the first set of plots surveyed, the Doc Jones study site did not have reference tree information recorded.

OVERSTORY TREES

Once the basics about our site and location recorded, the team moved on to surveying the overstory trees. Using a circular plot with a radius of 41.37 feet, all trees that are upright were tallied; live, dying and standing dead trees taller than or equal to 4.5 feet tall and greater than or exactly 4 inches in diameter at breast height. It was easiest to have an assistant with a measuring tape in hand with the stationary end attached to the center rebar. Trees are considered alive if they have any living parts (leaves, buds or cambium) at or above the point of diameter measurement, including trees that have been temporarily defoliated. Broken portions of trees completely separated from their base are not separate trees. Whether live or dead, standing trees do not have to be self-supporting; other trees may support them. Cut trees do not qualify as standing dead trees unless they are 4.5 feet in height or higher and have a measurable point at DBH.

Each tree was numbered with a forestry crayon, beginning with the tree to the right of 0° azimuth and work clockwise from there. The status of the tree (living “L”, dying “DY”, and standing dead “SD”), DBH, and species using Forest Industry and Analysis (FIA) species codes should be recorded on the data sheet. To find the diameter at breast height, measure the diameter of the tree 4.5 feet above the ground on the high side to the nearest 1/10th in. (rounding down). For specific examples of where to measure diameters in unusual situations, the Pennsylvania

State Game Commission suggested the Special DBH Situations in the “Manual of Procedure For The Continuous Forest Inventory of Forest Wildlife Habitat Resources.” Any comments about insect, disease, or other evident damage were noted in the comments section.

SAPLING & SEEDLING DATA

This study also recorded sapling data in order to get a snapshot at the succession of the forest. The sapling plots were smaller, only having a radius of 13.2 feet or (4 m) from the center of the plot. Trees that were measured were taller than or exactly 4.5 feet tall and less than 4 inches in diameter at breast height.

The methods for measuring sapling data are similar to than of the overstory, except each individual tree is not numbered, rather each species abundance is tallied based on DBH class. A key to the DBH classes is found at the bottom of the sapling data sheet.

Similarly, seedlings were recorded among the ground flora in 1 meter by 1 meter subplots oriented at north, south, east and west of the sapling subplot. Figure 4 shows a layout of each sampling area.

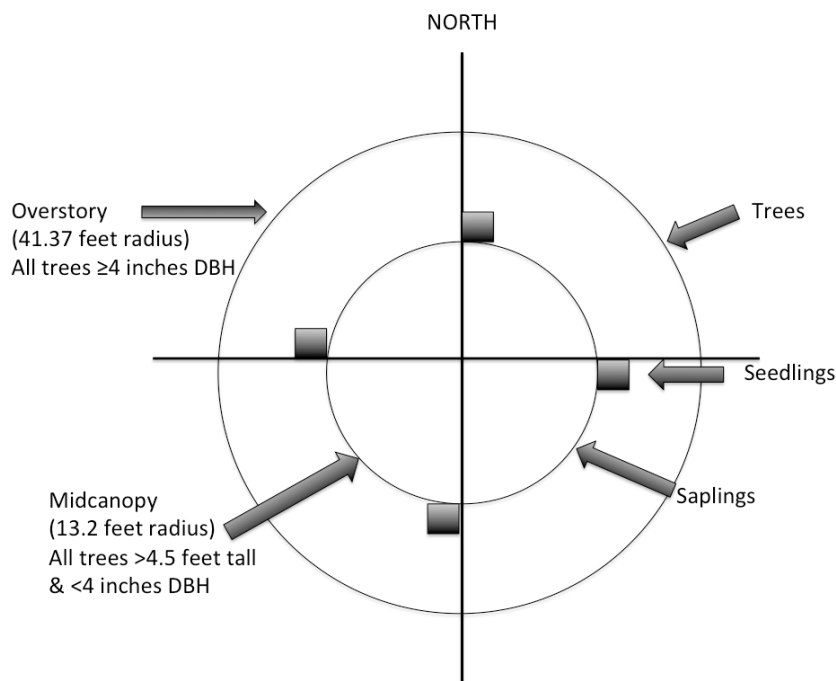


Figure 4. Shows the layout of sampling areas for each plot within State Game Lands 210. This is adapted from the original datasheets provided by the PA Game Commission and Nature Conservancy.

RESULTS

In order to understand the current composition of State Game Lands 210, the team looked at the status of all of the trees in the 13 sites (Figure 5). Of the 425 trees with some recorded information, 390 trees were classified as living, 35 as standing dead, and none were classified as dead. Of the 425 trees, 16 did not have complete information (mostly species name due to the tree being too degraded to properly identify).

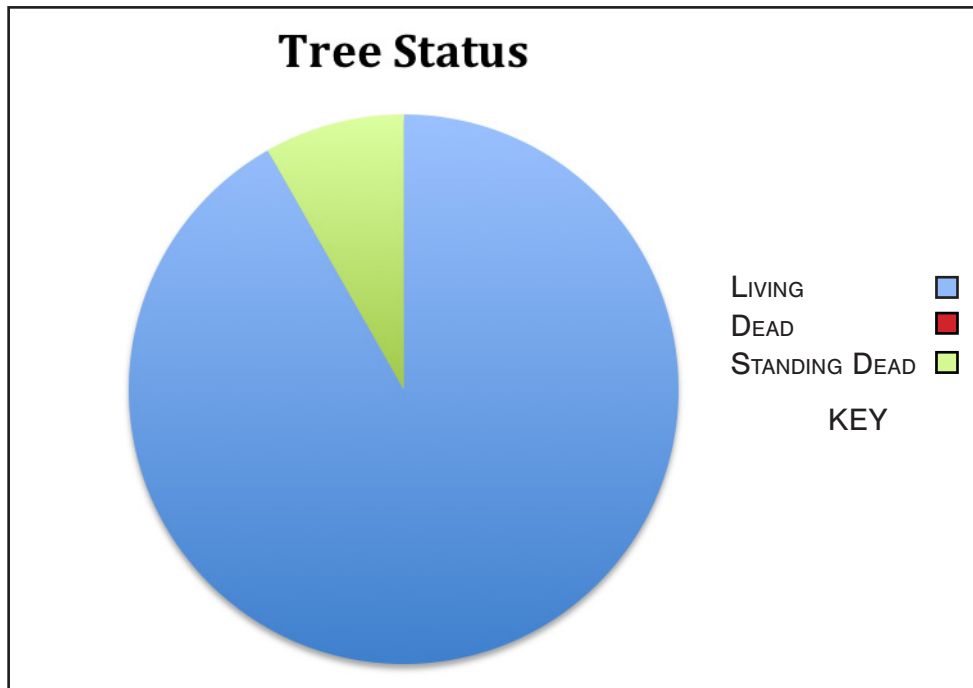


Figure 5. Shows the status of the 425 overstory trees (>4 inches DBH) surveyed as living (390 trees), dead (0 trees), or standing dead (35 trees) in all of the plots.

The distribution of diameter at breast height (DBH) seen in Figure 6A shows a greater number of medium sized (4-11.9 inch) trees than small trees (<4 inches) and large trees (>12 inches). Figure 6B shows the DBH distribution over the same size classes (<4 inches, between 4-7.9 inches, 8-11.9, 12-15.9 inches and >16 inches at diameter breast height), however it is broken down by tree species. In Figure 6B, red maple and black gum trees have the most regeneration, or trees between 4 and 7.9 inches at diameter breast height with 144 and 70 trees, respectively. The oak species, including northern red oak, black oak, white oak and chestnut oak, has a total of 33 trees between 4 and 7.9 inches at diameter breast height.

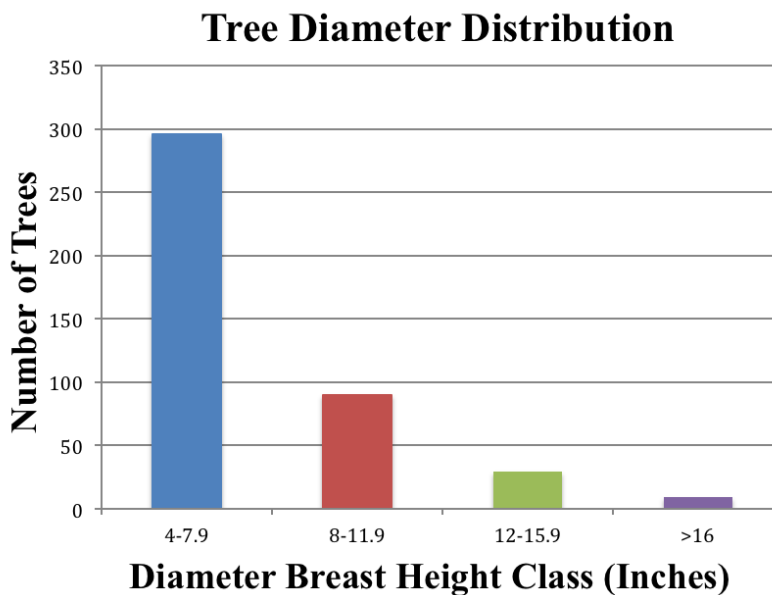


Figure 6A. Shows the distribution of overstory trees in the site. Of the trees surveyed, there were 296 trees with a DBH of 4-7.9 inches, 90 trees 8-11.9 inches, 29 trees 12-15.9 inches, and 9 that are >16 inches.

Tree Diameter Distribution by Species

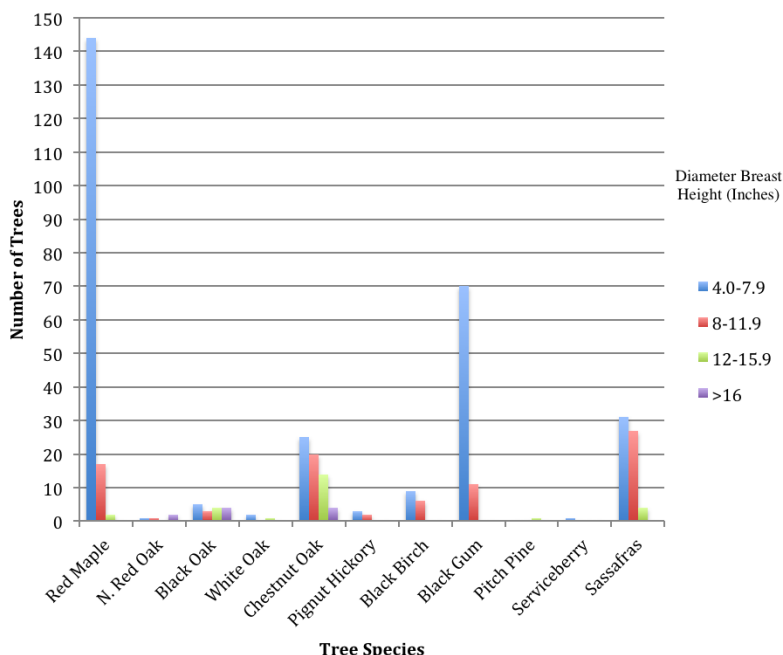


Figure 6B. Shows the tree diameter distribution of each individual species. The tree species with the most trees with a DBH between 4.0 and 7.9 is the red maple (144 trees) and the black gum (70) trees.

The frequency, or how many trees were encountered within the thirteen plots in State Game Lands 210 can be seen in Figure 7. The majority of the 409 identified trees (>4 inches DBH) were red maple, composing 39.6% of the plot areas. The oak species (northern red oak, black oak, white oak, and chestnut oak) accounted for 20.3% of the trees recorded in the plots.

| SPECIES | FREQUENCY | PERCENT |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------|
| RED MAPLE (21) | 162 | 39.6 |
| N. RED OAK (30) | 4 | 1.0 |
| BLACK OAK (31) | 16 | 3.9 |
| WHITE OAK (40) | 3 | .7 |
| CHESTNUT OAK (48) | 60 | 14.7 |
| HICKORY (49) | 5 | 1.2 |
| BLACK BIRCH (51) | 15 | 3.7 |
| BLACK GUM (66) | 81 | 19.8 |
| PITCH PINE (9) | 1 | .2 |
| SERVICEBERRY (91) | 1 | .2 |
| SASSAFRAS (96) | 61 | 14.9 |
| TOTAL | 409 | 100.0 |

Figure 7. The left- hand column shows the species with the species code in parentheses. The right- hand columns show the frequency of each species (>4 inches DBH) and percent of total trees surveyed in the Doc Jones sites. The red maples account for the largest percentage of all trees surveyed, and the pitch pine and serviceberry species being the least frequent.

In order to find the total basal area of each tree species, the formula for the area of a circle was utilized (πr^2). The diameter at breast height of each tree was divided by two in order to find the radius, then squared and multiplied by pi using Microsoft Excel 2013. The results of the area formula were summed by species divided by the area of the plot (5376.76 feet²) and converted from feet² to acres using the ideas that there are 43560 feet² in an acre. The results of his could be seen in Figure 8 on the row entitled “Total Basal Area”. These results were then summed and each divided by the sum to obtain the relative basal area. The numbers were converted to percentages by multiplying by one hundred.

Total density was found by using the same acreage principle- multiplying the total number of trees by the number of feet² per acre (43560 feet²/acre) and dividing that total by the area of the plot (5376.76 feet²). These figures (seen on Figure 8 row entitled “Total Density” were summed and each

total density was divided by the sum of the total to find the relative density. These numbers were multiplied by one hundred to obtain a percentage value.

Relative importance value was found by summing the relative basal area and relative densities of each species, then dividing that sum by two.

| SPECIES | RED MAPLE (21) | N. RED OAK (30) | BLACK OAK (31) | WHITE OAK (40) | CHESTNUT OAK (48) | HICKORY (49) | BLACK BIRCH (51) | BLACK GUM (66) | PITCH PINE (9) | SERVICE- BERRY (91) | SASSAFRAS (96) |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| TOTAL BASAL AREA (FEET ² OF WOOD/ACRE) | 279.6 | 60.0 | 138.4 | 12.5 | 389.5 | 11.7 | 40.4 | 149.1 | 7.5 | 0.8 | 195.5 |
| TOTAL DENSITY (TREES/ACRE) | 1312.4 | 32.4 | 129.6 | 24.3 | 486.1 | 40.5 | 121.5 | 656.2 | 8.1 | 8.1 | 494.2 |
| RELATIVE BASAL AREA (PERCENT) | 21.8 | 4.7 | 10.8 | 1.0 | 30.3 | 0.9 | 3.1 | 11.6 | 0.6 | 0.1 | 15.2 |
| RELATIVE DENSITY (PERCENT) | 39.6 | 1.0 | 3.9 | 0.7 | 14.7 | 1.2 | 3.7 | 19.8 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 14.9 |
| RELATIVE IMPORTANCE VALUE | 26.20 | 2.85 | 7.35 | 0.85 | 22.5 | 1.05 | 3.4 | 15.7 | 0.4 | 0.15 | 15.05 |

Figure 8. Total Basal Area (BA) was found for each species using the formula for a circle (πr^2) using the DBH of each tree surveyed. Total density was calculated by adding up the number of trees of each species (Figure 5.) and dividing by the area of the plot size (5376.76 using the formula for area πr^2 with the radius of the plot being 41.37 feet).

DISCUSSION

The tree status found that the majority or the recorded trees, 390, were classified as living, while 35 were classified as standing dead and none were classified as dead. The lack of dead trees recorded may be due to misclassification, as they were recorded as part of a Brown's Transect that was performed at the sites.

The trees were classified by their diameter distribution, and it was found that 72.4% of the trees had a diameter at breast height (DBH) of 4.0-7.9 inches, while only 9.3% had a DBH greater than or exactly 12 inches (Figure 6A). The diameter at breast height was also categorized by species, as seen in Figure 6B. It was found that red maples have the most regeneration with 144 trees with a DBH between 4.0 and 7.9, followed by black gum with 70 trees in the same DBH class. Both red maple and black gum are late successional trees.^{26 27} With regard to red maples, Abrams has said "It will probably continue to increase in dominance in the overstory during the next century, causing widespread replacement of the historically dominant trees of the forests of the eastern United States."²⁸

The occurrence of each tree among the 13 sites was also noted, again with red maple surpassing all other species and composing 39.6% of the trees with all information recorded. In this habitat that has gone without fire disturbance, the red maple has out competed the oak species, which accounted for only 20.3% of the total composition (Figure 7).

Figure 8 shows the total and relative density and basal area for each species and the relative importance based on those calculations. Surprisingly, chestnut oak had the highest total basal area with 56094.3 feet² of wood per acre, followed by red maple with 40262.4 feet² of wood per acre. This is because although red maple had the most trees, the majority of those trees (144) were between 4.0- 7.9 inches at diameter breast height, 17 had a DBH of 8.0- 11.9 inches, 2 with between 12.0 and 15.9 inches and none had a DBH larger than 16 inches. Chestnut oak

²⁶ Nesom, G. (2006). "Red Maple Plant Guide." USDA NRCS. Retrieved from https://plants.usda.gov/plantguide/pdf/pg_acru.pdf

²⁷ Abrams, M. D. 2007. "Tales from the blackgum, a consummate subordinate tree." *BioScience*, 57(4), 347-359.

²⁸ Abrams, M.D. 1998. The red maple paradox. *BioScience*. 48: 355-364.

had fewer trees, but more of those trees had a larger DBH. There were 25 trees between 4.0 and 7.9 inches at DBH, 20 between 8.0 and 11.9 inches, 14 between 12.0 and 15.9 inches, and 4 had a DBH greater than 16 inches.

Fire is an important tool in maintaining certain habitats, including barrens, forests and grasslands, and for species in need of conservation. There is little oak regeneration in this forest, and periodic controlled burning may increase the oak population. Oak trees were found as seedlings and saplings, however the numbers decline as the trees increases in size. Abrams referred to this as a one- generation phenomenon.²⁹ If lack of disturbance continues, the oaks will decline as succession progresses and larger individuals die. For the most part, oak saplings cannot persist in shaded understories and cannot not grow into the canopy level unless a gap forms above.³⁰ Disturbance that causes gap formation, such as fire, would expedite the growth of oak regeneration. Increased light improves growth of oak species but it also encourages the growth of competing vegetation. Prescribed fire is an effective tool to limit competing vegetation and improve the growth and form of oak regeneration.

These fires encourage plentiful sprouting of oak trees while limiting the growth of many oak competitors such as red maple (*Acer rubrum*) which was observed in these sites, as well as, sugar maple (*Acer saccharum*), American beech (*Fagus grandifolia*), yellow-poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), and black cherry (*Prunus serotina*). The oak regeneration problem can be attributed to a myriad of factors, including soil composition, deer browsing, the extinction of passenger pigeons, and climate change. The historical significance of fire on the oak populations in Pennsylvania cannot be ignored. The periodic, controlled burning of the sites in State Game Lands 210 could increase oak regeneration and at minimum, clear the understory and ground flora to increase hunter visibility.

The data from this study could be used for comparison after controlled burning is performed. The permanent plots will be resampled using the same methods and create a cumulative comparison. These samples will be taken one year after a controlled burn is performed and again five years after the burn.

This study is a small sample size of a much larger area and the results may not be applicable to all Pennsylvania forests. A larger sample size of similar forests would make increase the application of the results. This study is only a small subset of a much larger study of several Pennsylvania forests with data collected in the same summer. The cumulative data from the entire study could be more appropriate for generalization.

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²⁹ Abrams, M.D. 1998. The red maple paradox. *BioScience*. 48: 355-364.

³⁰ Brose, Patrick H.; Dey, Daniel C.; Phillips, Ross J.; Waldrop, Thomas A. 2013. "A meta-analysis of the fire-oak hypothesis: Does prescribed burning promote oak reproduction in eastern North America." *Forest Science*. 59(3): 322-334.

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STRATEGIES FOR LEADERS TO COUNTER SOCIAL LOAFING THROUGH THE USE OF ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

Social loafing (SL) is a counterintuitive phenomenon that describes a decrease of efficiency observed in both small groups and large organizations. Research over the past century has increased our understanding of SL and identified antecedent factors that appear to reduce or exacerbate its effect. Subsequent organizational models have been conceived and evolved, starting with organizational citizenship behavior (OCB), which led toward contextual performance (CP), and recently to contextual and citizenship performance (CCP). Each type of model can provide valuable insight explaining employee behavior and under which contexts SL occurs. Research shows that OCB has improved organizational productivity and competitiveness, due to organizational management fostering an environment where employees can exceed workplace expectations by volunteering and improving worker cooperation. Similarly, research on CP models focus on the voluntary aspects of employee's prosocial behaviors that improve the organization's social and psychological core. CCP, the most recent model, combines both OCB and CP to form a more comprehensive and flexible model that can be leveraged by those in leadership positions who epitomize specific characteristics to be exemplified by employees for optimal job performance.

There are several confounding factors involved in attempting to reduce SL: the bystander effect; deindividuation; and ineffective performance appraisals. Organizational leaders interested in optimizing job performance must be aware of these factors as well as the use of citizenship models, being willing to modify their communication styles, and investigating the use of a modified motivational reward system. The idea of replacing monetary goals with psychological ones have been shown to be effective countermeasures that can be implemented in larger organizations to enhance effectiveness. Last, the United States Air Force is explored as a case study that has implemented many of these concepts, exemplifying methods leaders can apply to influence worker efficiency and job satisfaction.

BACKGROUND ON SOCIAL LOAFING

Beginning with a rope-pulling experiment, Ringelmann identified that individuals would exert less effort to pull a rope when placed in larger groups.¹ An individual pulling alone would pull harder compared to when the same individual was placed in a group of five pulling together. This was calculated by looking at the total force observed divided by the amount of individual's force.² Ingham, Levinger, Graves, and Peckham, conducted the same experiment in 1974, suspecting a confounding factor of coordination loss that each person could have been pulling at sub-optimal points of time differing from other participants. Each individual was blind-folded and simply told how many people were pulling alongside them, regardless of if there were additional participants, or not. Ringelmann's results were replicated, reemphasizing that there was the same loss of effort as before.³ Latané et al, in 1979 conducted an experiment with participants shouting as loudly as they could while blindfolded and wearing noise-canceling headphones to prevent them from knowing that they were alone, rather than in a group

¹ Ringelmann, Max. "Recherches sur les moteurs animés." *Travail de l'homme, Annales de l'Institut National Agronomique* 12 (1913): 1-40.

² Steiner, Ivan. D. *Group process and productivity*. San Diego: Academic Press. 1972

³ Ingham, Alan G., Levinger, George, Graves, James, and Peckham, Vaughn. "The Ringelmann effect: Studies of group size and group performance." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 10 (1974): 371-384. doi:10.1016/0022-1031(74)90033-X

as they were told. Importantly, in these pseudo-groups of various sizes, the level of effort exerted decreased as the size of the perceived groups increased, documenting Social Loafing (SL) as a natural behavioral occurrence.⁴

In an attempt to explain SL more holistically, Latané developed the Social Impact Theory in 1981 that attempted to explain with three rules how people became targets of social impact. Social impact was defined as the pressure to act in a social context. First, the overall perceived need to act in a given situation depended on social pressure, its immediacy, and the number of sources involved. Second, the strength of the impact on the individual grows as the amount of sources increase. Third, the more targets of a desired social action affected each individual disproportionately due to diffusion of responsibility. In other words the bystander effect, where fewer actions are taken, despite the availability of individuals as each member assumes another would act.⁵

Research continued in 1983 when Kerr expanded on the idea that groups of an increasing amount of people would work less efficiently. Kerr examined the dispensability of effort within groups and determined that there were “free-rider” and “sucker” effects. Using shared tasks that were graded for each group as a whole instead of the individual, Kerr identified that some participants had a significant tendency to allow other members in the group to conduct the majority of the work, acting as “free-riders.” He also noticed some participants would perceive that others did not appear to work as hard and, not wanting to be “suckers”, they reduced their effort as well, avoiding the feeling of doing more work than average.⁶ In another study, Bond observed that social facilitation, a similar phenomenon, increased the level of effort during simple tasks, such as when there was an audience watching the participant. Conversely, the level of effort significantly decreased when the task was complex with an audience present. These effects may have been due to evaluator apprehension and anxiety.⁷

Research throughout the 1980s attempted to further identify variables related to SL. These studies identified that the complexity of the task was relevant to the “free-riding” effect,⁸ that the mere perception of SL in others was enough to increase SL in participants,⁹ that feeling like a contributing member of a group reduced SL,¹⁰ and that increased accountability in being attributed to a final product reduced SL.¹¹ Attempting to reconcile the multitude of studies researching the topic of SL, the Collective Effort Model was later developed and reached a conclusion that there was a tendency to expend less effort when working collectively. Further, this model highlighted that SL occurred in physical, cognitive, evaluative, and perceptual tasks. The main components involved in this model were: Expectancy, which is the performance expected by effort; instrumentality, which is the degree of performance perceived as directly instrumental to the outcome; and valence, which is the degree to which the outcome of performance was perceived as desirable. All of these variables combine to determine the effort an individual exerts

⁴ Latané, Bibb., Williams, Kipling., and Harkins, Steven. “Many Hands Make Light Work: The Causes and Consequences of Social Loafing.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37 (1979): 822-832.

⁵ Latané, Bibb. “The Psychology of Social Impact.” *American Psychologist*, 36 (1981): 343-356.

⁶ Kerr, Norbert. “Motivation Losses in Small Groups: A Social Dilemma Analysis.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45(4) (1983): 819-828. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.45.4.819.

⁷ Bond, Charles F., and Titus, Linda J. “Social facilitation: A meta-analysis of 241 studies.” *Psychological Bulletin*, 94(2) (1983): 265-292. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.94.2.265.

⁸ Jackson, Jeffrey, and Williams, Kipling. “Social Loafing on Difficult Tasks: Working Collectively Can Improve Performance.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49 (1985): 937-942.

⁹ Jackson, Jeffrey M. and Harkins, Steven G. “Equity in effort: An explanation of the social loafing effect.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49, (1985): 1199-1206.

¹⁰ Levine, John, and Moreland, Richard. *Social Comparison and Outcome Evaluation in Group Contexts. Social Comparison, Social Justice, and Relative Deprivation: Theoretical, Empirical, and Policy Perspectives*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum, 105-127. 1987.

¹¹ Harkins, Stephen, and Szymanski, Kate. “Social Loafing and Group Evaluation.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56 (1989):934-941.

for a given task. The perception of the individual on how their performance impacts the end product significantly influences their motivation and even how outcomes for either the individual or group are determined.¹²

In 1996, Latané returned to his Social Impact Theory and changed it to the Dynamic Social Impact Theory, which observes that situations are not static but, rather, dynamic. The model was updated to comprise four aspects of task performance: *consolidation*, which states that time was as equally relevant as uniform actions, attitudes, and opinions; *clustering*, which indicates that clusters of people will interact more frequently and improve cooperation; *correlation*, which indicates that the opinions of group members will eventually converge and correlate with each other over time even without discussion; and *continuing diversity*, which highlights that diversity in a group can exist if minorities form and if the majority does not overwhelm them. This model was adapted to be less specific to small, temporary groups but to reflect on the factors involved in SL in larger, long-standing organizations, such as those in the public and private sector.¹³

ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIOR

Whereas the models and theories mentioned above were involved directly with SL observed in smaller groups, Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) focuses on those behaviors desired for employees in larger organizations so that they go above the minimum job requirements. The desirable behaviors in this model are essential for the understanding of SL in the larger context, one that focuses on organizational efficiency. OCB, as it was originally defined by Organ in 1988, is the voluntary helping and assisting in the workplace that promotes its excellence with little or no expected compensation for its employees. OCB comprises five dimensions: *Altruism*, which is applied in this context as voluntary behavior for the cooperation of workers for tasks and problems; *conscientiousness*, which is the significant exceeding of job requirements; *sportsmanship*, which is the concept of not complaining on perceived trivial matters; *courtesy*, which is the undertaking of the obligation to cooperate with others and of being aware of others in the organization; and *civic virtue*, which is being aware of events and changes in the organization. These components are desired in model employees in any organization and has been shown to improve job satisfaction^{14 15}. Of note is that OCB has been identified to be stronger in public sector rather than in private sector organizations, likely due to the difference of an organization's mission of serving the public or earning revenue. Strong OCB not only correlates well with job satisfaction but also contributes to overall productivity and competitiveness¹⁶. From the new perspective of the OCB model, there are several antecedents that are related to SL, such as: a lack of identification in an organization; a lack of challenge; a perceived low contribution to overall outcomes; having lower intrinsic motivational to be involved; low group cohesiveness; and a lack of peer appraisals for accountability¹⁷. These confounding factors are at times visible to organizational leadership as significant challenges to overcome.

With regards to personality, the Five-Factor Theory focuses on personality traits that slowly change over time, and are composed of openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. These traits

¹² Karau, Steven, and Williams, Kipling. "Social Loafing: A Meta-Analytic Review and Theoretical Integration." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65 (1993): 4,681-706.

¹³ Latané, Bibb. "Dynamic social impact: The creation of culture by communication." *Journal of Communication*, 46(4) (1996): 13-25.

¹⁴ Noruzy, Ali, Shatery, Karim, Rezazadeh, Aliasghar, and Hatami-Shirkouhi, Loghman. "Investigation the Relationship between Organizational Justice, and Organizational Citizenship Behavior: the Mediating Role of Perceived Organizational Support." *Indian Journal of Science and Technology*. (2011).

¹⁵ Organ, Dennis W. *Organizational Citizenship behavior: The Good Soldier Syndrome*. Lexington: Lexington Books. 1988.

¹⁶ Sharma, Jai, Bajpai, Naval, and Holani, Umesh. "Organizational Citizenship Behavior in Public and Private Sector and Its Impact on Job Satisfaction: A Comparative Study in Indian Perspective." *International Journal of Business and Management*, 6 (2011): 1.

¹⁷ Karadal, Himmet, and Saygin, Muhammet. "Investigation of the Relationship between Social Loafing and Organizational Citizenship Behavior." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 99 (2013): 206-214.

were studied by Tan and Tan in 2008 as it relates to both OCB and SL, and it was discovered that conscientiousness, desiring to do a task well, was negatively correlated with SL but positively correlated with OCB, although conscientiousness is one of the identified components of OCB^{18,19}. They also discovered that perceived responsibility in an employee was related to SL and that there was an even closer relationship between OCB and SL. On top of this, counterproductive work behavior, which is employee behavior that is intentionally contrary to the requirements of the organization, is negatively correlated with OCB²⁰. Counterproductive behavior includes the production, property, political deviance, and personal aggression that are toxic and wasteful in organizations²¹. Even though OCB is related to both counterproductive work and with SL, counterproductive work differs from SL as it is intentional disruption, whereas SL is merely a reduction of effort. Finally, confounding factors of OCB as it relates to SL include variables such as mandatory OCB, work process problems, rater perceptions and attributions, and aggravated job stress processes²².

CONTEXTUAL AND CITIZENSHIP PERFORMANCE

Similar to OCB, Contextual Performance (CP) asserts that job performance is not the same as task performance, but rather includes behaviors that go beyond the minimum for the social and psychological foundation of an organization. CP focuses more on prosocial behaviors such as helping, organizational endorsing, and dedication to the job²³. Working on this model, Goffin in 2013 combined the prosocial aspects of CP with the organizationally-related behavior of OCB to determine nine dimensions of a proposed model called Contextual and Citizenship Performance (CCP). These empirically sound nine dimensions are: *endorsing*, which is the demonstrating of organizational loyalty by endorsing, supporting, and defending organizational objectives; *following*, which is following organizational rules, procedures and leadership decisions, regardless of circumstances; *persisting*, which is persisting in successful task completion with above average enthusiasm or effort despite negative circumstances (e.g. grit); *volunteering*, which is voluntarily engaging in task activities that go beyond what is formally expected; *altruism and helping*, which are positive behaviors aimed at directly and intentionally helping and cooperating with others; *courtesy*, which includes behaviors aimed toward aiding others for the prevention of workplace problems; *sportsmanship*, the tolerating of inconveniences at work without complaint; *civic virtue*, acting as a citizen of an organization by actively participating in its governance; and *conscientiousness*, displaying a pattern of behavior related to exceeding minimal requirements at work. This comprehensive model captures both the prosocial behavior and voluntary work necessary to create a healthy and competitive organization. Its implementation, when successful, can reduce accounts of SL, albeit not entirely²⁴.

CONFOUNDING FACTORS AND MOTIVATION

As have been mentioned above, many confounding variables complicate a complete comprehension and mitigation

¹⁸ Tan, Hwee Hoon, and Tan, Min Li. "Organizational citizenship behaviors and social loafing: Personality, motives and contextual factors." *Journal of Psychology*, 142(1) (2008): 89-108.

¹⁹ Srivastava, Sanjay, John, Oliver, Gosling, Samuel, and Potter, Jeff. "Development of personality in early and middle adulthood: Set like plaster or persistent change?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84(5) (2003): 1041-1053. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1041.

²⁰ Fox, Suzy, Spector, Paul E., Goh, Angeline, Bruursema, Kari, and Kessler, Stacy R. "The deviant citizen: Measuring potential positive relations between counterproductive work behaviour and organizational citizenship behaviour." *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 85(1) (2012): 199-220. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8325.2011.02032.x.

²¹ Robinson, Sandra L.; Bennett, Rebecca J. "A typology of deviant workplace behaviors: A multidimensional scaling study." *Academy of Management Journal*, 38 (2) (1995): 555-572. doi:10.2307/256693.

²² Fox et al., "The deviant citizen".

²³ Borman, Walter, and Motowild, Stephan. "Task performance and contextual performance: The meaning for personnel selection research." *Human Performance*, 10(2) (1997): 99-109.

²⁴ Goffin, Richard D., Woycheshin, David E., Hoffman, Brian J., and George, Kerrin. "The dimensionality of contextual and citizenship performance in military recruits: Support for nine dimensions using self-, peer, and supervisor ratings." *Military Psychology*, 25(5) (2013): 478-488. doi:10.1037/mil0000012.

of SL. Initially, the size of the group was determined to be the principal factor involved. This was then hampered by perceptions of unequal accountability in peers, facilitating individuals to further perceive that their work may go unnoticed or that they may be working harder than those who are not. Fortunately, job satisfaction was identified to be potentially improved with greater OCB but, just as easily, negative job satisfaction could influence SL. Problems with work processes, rater perceptions and attributions as well as workplace aggression further complicate the topic of SL.

Organizational justice, the perception of an organization's behavior through superiors onto subordinates, is another confound that may positively impact worker performance if perceived as equal and fair, or negatively if perceived as unequal²⁵. Perceived organizational support, where the employees believe the organization values the worker's contributions and cares for their well-being, becomes relevant to the topic of SL by also improving job satisfaction²⁶. In 2011, a study was conducted looking into both organizational justice and perceived organizational support with regards to their effects on OCB, finding that they correlate significantly with SL. Noruzy et al., observed that organizational justice significantly influenced both perceived organizational support and OCB They also noticed that perceived organizational support directly correlated with OCB. When an organization is perceived as fair, supports its members, and fosters a citizenship culture through OCB is one that will likely reduce a significant amount of SL, as well as counterproductive work behavior, which is just a hypothesis until shown differently²⁷.

The bystander effect is a social phenomenon that has been identified as when individuals in a group observe a critical emergency or non-emergency situation and are less likely to act. In a recent meta-analytic study, similar to SL research, positive correlations were identified showing that the greater the amount of people present, the less likely an individual would take action in a given, unexpected critical situation²⁸. This was identified as partly due to diffusion of responsibility, as had been identified in the social impact theory with regards to SL. Deindividuation theory, when individuals feel extricated from responsibility of their actions, can occur when they have no awareness of their identities and their environment is able to provide the proper context, such that the focus is on the organization, rather than the individual. This deindividuation reduces accountability and loosens constraints on behavior^{29 30}, potentially leading toward additional SL. Groupthink, ineffective decision making brought on by loyalty to a real or perceived group that takes precedence over the individual, as well as critical judgment can prevent the efficiency of programs intended to counter SL and improve OCB/CCP and job satisfaction³¹. Excessive groupthink has the potential to erode positive efforts made by organizational leadership by removing critical thought and analysis to ensure programs and tasks are being conducted as expected.

ORGANIZATIONAL MOTIVATION

The direct actions of leaders have been shown to improve employee self-efficacy, motivation, and CCP while addressing various aspects on the employer/employee relationship. These actions include expressing confidence

²⁵ Greenberg, Jerald. "A taxonomy of organizational justice theories." *Academy of Management Review*, 12 (1987): 9–22.

²⁶ Eisenberger, Robert, Huntington, Robin, Hutchison, Steven, and Sowa, Deborah. "Perceived organizational support." *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71 (1986) 500–507. 10.1037/0021-9010.71.3.500

²⁷ Noruzy et al., "Investigation the Relationship."

²⁸ Fischer, Peter, Krueger, Joachim. I., Greitemeyer, Tobias, Vogrincic, Claudia, Kastenmuller, Andreas, Frey, Dieter, and Heene, Moritz, Wicher Magdalena, Kainbacher, Martina. "The Bystander-Effect: A Meta-Analytic Review on Bystander Intervention in Dangerous and Non-Dangerous Emergencies." *Psychological Bulletin*, 137(4) (2011): 517-537. 10.1037/a0023304

²⁹ Mullen, Brian. "Atrocity as a Function for of Lynch Mob Composition: A Self-Attention Perspective." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 12 (1986): 187-197.

³⁰ Hinduja, Sameer. "Deindividuation and Internet software piracy." *Cyberpsychology and Behavior: The Impact Of The Internet, Multimedia And Virtual Reality On Behavior And Society*, 11(4) (2008): 391-398. doi:10.1089/cpb.2007.0048.

³¹ Redd, Steven, and Mintz, Alex. "Policy Perspectives on National Security and Foreign Policy Decision Making." *Policy Studies Journal*, 41 (2013): S1.

in the organization and its personnel³². At the same time, having a properly configured appraisal and evaluation system has been shown to increase accountability in task performance, facilitate communications, promote setting goals, and identify training needs³⁴. Conscientiousness, and its three facets of order, industriousness, and self-control, have been shown to be positively correlated with performance criteria, including overall job performance, task performance, and orderliness³⁴. These have been shown to improve organizational involvement, group cohesiveness, and the prosocial behavior that enhances work satisfaction for members throughout the organization. More specifically, reward systems, such as with direct compensation, promotions or through award recognition, can supplement an evaluation system to properly incentivize a workforce. Conversely, research has indicated that direct compensation for task performance, the classic economic model of the carrot and stick, can be entirely and severely ineffective when done ineffectively. With regards to general pay, once an individual receives sufficient income to meet the needs and to live comfortably, additional income is no longer tied as strongly to performance³⁵. Similar to the previously mentioned studies involving evaluator apprehension, task performance on simple challenges were improved as previously expected with financial incentives, but when tasks became complicated, the amount of compensation negatively correlated with performance. In other words, incentives such as bonuses work well for less cognitively taxing tasks where the goal is speed, and those same incentives work poorly for cognitively complex skills requiring creativity³⁶. Instead, Pink provided a model of psychological, rather than financial, incentives that begins with the establishing of a satisfactory amount of base pay so that personal financial necessities are adequately covered. Then, the focus becomes on fostering a healthy environment that allows for the flourishing of intrinsic motivators, such as task enjoyment and satisfaction, which can occur with the idea of choice task persistence, the ability or perception of choosing which tasks to accomplish³⁷. Job enjoyment and employee engagement have also been shown to be significant predictors in improving job performance³⁸. These intrinsic motivators can be fostered by an organization that allows the employee to become more: autonomous, that is to be self-directed yet engaged; mastered, that is the motivation to become better at their job skills; and purposeful, that is the ability to feel as though their work truly contributes to both the goals of the organization and to their fellow citizen, writ large³⁹. Individuals who derive personal satisfaction and enjoyment from a particular task rarely perform poorly⁴⁰ and providing for these externally-controlled factors are expected to improve both job enjoyment as well as task performance.

EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION EXAMPLE

As an example of what an effective organization can look like, the United States Air Force has implemented many of these countermeasures. The final product of an organization, or in this case the providing for the common defense of a nation, can influence job performance and satisfaction by providing purpose, so long as the individual perceives their effort is going toward that end⁴¹. In the Air Force, there are two sets of describable requirements;

³² Organ et al., *Organizational Citizenship Behavior*, 360.

³³ Schraeder, Mike. Becton, J. Bret, and Portis, Ron. "A critical examination of performance appraisals." *The Journal for Quality and Participation*, (2007): 20-25.

³⁴ Salgado, Jesus F., Moscoso, Silvia, and Berges, Alfredo. "Conscientiousness, Its Facets, and the Prediction of Job Performance Ratings: Evidence against the narrow measures." *International Journal Of Selection and Assessment*, 21(1) (2013): 74-84. doi:10.1111/ijsa.12018.

³⁵ Pink, Dan. *Drive: The Surprising Truth about What Motivates Us*. Penguin Group. 2009.

³⁶ Pink, Dan. *Dan Pink: The Puzzle of Motivation*. 2009, TED.com.

³⁷ Deci, Edward. "The Effects of Contingent and Noncontingent Rewards and Controls on Intrinsic Motivation." *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 4 (1972): 61-72. doi:10.1016/0030-5073(72)90047-5.

³⁸ Cerasoli, Christopher P., Nicklin, Jessica M., and Ford, Michael T. "Intrinsic Motivation and Extrinsic Incentives Jointly Predict Performance: A 40-Year Meta-Analysis." *Psychological Bulletin* (2014). doi:10.1037/a0035661.

³⁹ Pink. *Dan Pink*.

⁴⁰ Cerasoli et al., "Intrinsic Motivation and Extrinsic Incentives"

⁴¹ Sharma et al., "Organizational Citizenship Behavior in Public"

Duty performance requirements as well as organizational performance and leadership. The Air Force's annual enlisted and officer performance reports (EPR/OPR) are the appraisal system used to identify performance for the purposes of promotion and job placement consideration. Generally, the lower ranking members of the military will have their appraisals focus on their demonstrable job performance as well as their CCP. To emphasize CCP, sections of the lower enlisted EPR include: standards, conduct, character and military bearing, which are equivalent to CCP's volunteering, altruism and helping, or civic virtue. It also includes training requirements, which allows for CCP's civic virtue and conscientiousness. Last, it includes teamwork and followership, or CCP's following, altruism and helping, and courtesy. At the same time, these annual reports provide the source for the awards process, which ranges from smaller tokens of recognition to medals, rewarding hard work and consistent positive behavior^{43 44}. As rank increases, emphasis is placed more on leadership, resource management, and mentorship duties. Additionally, feedback sessions are emplaced reflecting the EPR/OPR requirement, by emphasizing to a subordinate what is expected of them to perform their duties as well as grow as individuals. After all, a psychologically healthy individual engaging in prosocial behavior is expected to become a greater employee. These feedback sessions and performance reports provide a reliable, long-term, cumulative record of performance and expectations to ensure promotions are rightfully awarded and to highlight those of higher caliber for unique special duties⁴⁵.

Although these annual appraisals include aspects of the CCP, the *Whole Airman concept* or the *Wingman* is the model citizen of the Air Force, which serves as an easy to express profile that aims to improve the wellbeing of the individual, encourage them to become a better citizen, as well as to ensure the Air Force organization runs well. The Whole Airman Concept does this by using the same concepts established by OCB as well as CCP; endorsing, following, persisting, altruism, courtesy, sportsmanship, civic virtue, and conscientiousness^{46 47}. These concepts are desired and emphasized throughout the organization to ensure not only the efficient completion of the mission, but to increase job satisfaction as well as establish and retain the enigmatic idea of the military culture. This is accomplished by ensuring each Airman engages in prosocial behaviors that support other Airmen, ranging from training each other at work, ensuring they have a safe ride home after a night of drinking, and that they set each other up for success in and out of the workplace. At the same time, the model of organizational justice is exemplified by the application of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, to which all members of the military, regardless of rank are subjected. Perceived organizational support exists in the plethora of military-related institutions, support agencies, and military support commands on each military base, all of which supporting soldiers, marines, sailors, airmen, and coast guardsmen in personal and professional settings. Several examples of which are the commissaries, housing facilities, and recreational facilities. Simultaneously, many non-profit organizations seek to improve the quality of life for members of the military as well as their families by providing tax services, legal representation, or a place to stay while traveling around the world. Last, with regards to Pink's motivational theories, pay is taken care of by a clear and organized method designated by time and rank with additional financial incentives based off less popular careers or more dangerous jobs⁴⁸. The amount of pay offered is calculated to be sufficient in order to remove the problems of having insufficient finances at different stages of a service member's life. Providing an adequate amount of pay promotes the opportunity for intrinsic motivators to flourish, especially when combined with the performance appraisals, which allow the individual to focus on self-improvement in the workplace and also allow for inner growth. The Air Force has been able to establish many tools, methods,

⁴² United States. "Officer and Enlisted Evaluation Systems." *Air Force Instruction*, 26-2406 (2013).

⁴³ Goffin et al., "The dimensionality of contextual and citizenship performance in military recruits".

⁴⁴ United States. "Officer and Enlisted Evaluation Systems."

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Goffin et al., "The dimensionality of contextual and citizenship performance in military recruits".

⁴⁷ United States. "The Enlisted Force Structure." *Air Force Instruction*, 36-2618 (2009).

⁴⁸ United States. *Military Pay Table 2014*. Defense Finance and Accounting Services. <http://www.dfas.mil/dms/dfas/militarymembers/pdf/MilPayTable2014.pdf> 2014

and concepts to foster the right environment for the flourishing of its members not only in the workplace, but for their personal lives as well. While paramount in creating a healthy population of citizens by providing these resources, the Air Force and the rest of the U.S. military ensure that their members are able to focus as much as possible on their task at hand with as few preventable, negative aspects of their personal lives impacting the mission.

DISCUSSION

The concept of social loafing has grown from an observation of behavior in small groups and influenced the research of multiple models of how organizational behavior can be optimized. Leaders of organizations big or small can employ various methods to address the issue of social loafing. Although a full understanding of the models discussed in this paper, including dynamic social impact theory, organizational citizenship behavior, contextual performance, and contextual citizenship performance, would certainly improve the performance of any organization, utilizing specific portions of these should generate positive results as well. Due to the panoply of confounding and mitigating factors, additional research remains necessary; however, enough research has been conducted to highlight methods that leaders of organizations can use to improve worker efficiency as well as improve their job satisfaction. These models can help identify and exemplify those behaviors that are vital toward the overall success of an organization. These models can be thoughtfully implemented, aiming to create model employees who aide in the facilitation of the organization and who may be more willing to work harder.

There are at least three ways that this research can be used to implement organizational change; focusing on worker perspectives; looking at leadership behavior; and codifying it with organizational policy. The foundation of fostering work performance must include a continuous dialogue between a supervisor and their subordinates on their perceptions, motivation, and performance. These worker perspectives ought to address issues related to how members of the organization assess how strongly, or not, they feel that they are members of the group, if they feel that they are “suckers” or “free-riders,” or if they perceive SL in their peers’ actions. At the same time, it would be necessary to identify if any deindividuation has taken place and if the individual perceives a lack of focus or accountability of their actions within the organization. Addressing these directly may be sufficient in resolving SL, depending on its source and if these perceptions can be properly addressed^{49 50 51 52 53}. Apart from looking at a member’s perceptions of their peers, the perceptions towards the organization and leadership may identify other SL antecedents. Such antecedents include if there have been instances of groupthink where the individual feels their voice has not been heard, if they have received ineffective performance appraisals in the past, or even if they perceive that there is sufficient organizational support with regards to the organization caring and supporting workers or fostering a sense of organizational citizenship^{54 55 56}. Such a continuous dialogue could also address intrinsic motivation within members, such as identifying if an individual has a sense of choice task performance, of having a sense of mastery of their work, if they have a perception of being autonomous enough to make their own decisions, if they feel any personal satisfaction in their work, or even if they feel that their work makes any contribution to an organization’s mission or product. Finding out the motivations of an individual and in a sense getting out of their way while giving them direction, accountability, and the proper tools and

⁴⁹ Hinduja. “*Deindividuation and Internet software piracy.*”

⁵⁰ Jackson and Harkins, “*Equity in effort*”

⁵¹ Jackson and Williams, “*Social Loafing on Difficult Tasks*”

⁵² Levine and Moreland, *Social Comparison and Outcome Evaluation.*

⁵³ Mullen. “*Atrocity as a Function*”.

⁵⁴ Eisenberger et al., “*Perceived organizational support.*”

⁵⁵ Noruzy et al., “*Investigation the Relationship*”

⁵⁶ Redd and Mintz. “*Policy Perspectives on National Security*”.

training needed in the position may be sufficient to reduce SL while improving performance in complex and creative tasks. By understanding their motivations and channeling them, their performance may increase more significantly than by addressing other issues, such as coworker perceptions^{57 58 59}. Finally, a continuous dialogue must also address negative and counterproductive behaviors that affect an organization's performance, production and property. By still maintaining a level of accountability a leader ought to be able to identify issues creating interpersonal conflict, personal aggression, political deviances, and an individual's general psychological health, all of which can contribute to behavior that can be toxic and wasteful in organizations^{60 61}.

Conversely, leadership at all levels must ensure that their own behavior is healthy and contributes positively to the health of an organization, its performance, and its members. To facilitate perceptions of employees, a leader must have a sufficient level of accountability and provide that an organization has enough transparency to help attribute each worker to the final products of the organization. By looking at the collective effort model, a leader should convey expected outcomes to subordinates, as well as a member's instrumentality or how they are tied to overall outcomes as well as specify which roles and tasks are desirable^{62 63}. By looking at the organizational citizenship behavior model, a leader can emphasize those prosocial behaviors that work to support the organization's overall psychological core, creating an atmosphere of a caring and supporting organization with regards to the needs of the employees. The identified values of altruism, conscientiousness, sportsmanship, courtesy, and civic virtue all can improve job satisfaction and performance when employers emphasize them regularly and recognize those who do. This can be accomplished by creating and marketing an organizational identity and can help mitigate perceptions of having a low contribution, involvement, and cohesion within teams^{64 65}. Looking at the contextual and citizenship performance model leadership has the option of focusing on similar but different virtues in an organization, to include encouraging that members are willing to endorse the organization to others by demonstrating loyalty, by following procedures, by showing persistence and grit, by exceeding the minimum requirements through volunteering, by cooperating with others through altruism and helping, by showing courtesy, by embracing sportsmanship behavior, by having civic virtue and by being consciousness enough to exceed their minimum requirements⁶⁶.

Finally, leadership should also be concerned with how organizational policy is laid out and enforced. Task performance is affected by multiple variables demonstrated above as well as by organizational policy which reflects and supports the ideals of the organization and its leadership. Written policy helps ensure continuity of best practices that have demonstrated success within the organization. These policies range widely from expectation management of an individual's duties and responsibilities, on having a strong appraisal system, and on how there should be fair and equitable organizational justice. Ensuring that an organization is fair, transparent and equitable can help prevent an individual to assume SL as well as help prevent counterproductive work behavior identified earlier⁶⁷. Looking at the dynamic social impact theory, task performance is affected by the consolidation of actions and attitudes, by the physical clustering of individuals for optimal interaction, by having a natural correlation of opinions which

⁵⁷ Cerasoli et al., "*Intrinsic Motivation and Extrinsic Incentives*".

⁵⁸ Deci. "*The Effects of Contingent and Noncontingent Rewards*".

⁵⁹ Pink. *Dan Pink*.

⁶⁰ Fox et al., "*The deviant citizen*"

⁶¹ Robinson and Bennett, "*A typology of deviant workplace behaviors*"

⁶² Harkins et al., "*Social Loafing and Group Evaluation*."

⁶³ Karau and Williams, "*Social Loafing*"

⁶⁴ Karadal and Saygin. "*Investigation of the Relationship*"

⁶⁵ Noruzi et al., "*Investigation the Relationship*"

⁶⁶ Goffin et al., "*The dimensionality of contextual and citizenship performance*"

⁶⁷ Greenberg. "*A taxonomy of organizational justice theories.*".

permits multiple points of view, and by supporting diversity of individuals within groups⁶⁸. As such, organizations should be concerned with group makeup and should be attuned to the interpersonal relationship dynamics present in them. Overall, policy should be written, maintained, and updated to codify the results of the continual dialogue between an organization's workforce and its leadership. Written policy reflects an organization's view toward managing itself and facilitates transparency among those who read them.

SL is a phenomenon that can occur unintentionally or through negligence on the part of the individual and their supervisors. Through critical analysis and the isolation of the many variables involved, leadership at any level should be able to determine ways to mitigate its natural occurrence while also determining methods to increase a worker's task and job performance. By channeling the motivations that already exist in employees, leadership can improve work performance simply by redirection rather than significant changes within an entire system. Additional industrial and organizational psychological research will further hone the efficacy of these models while almost certainly developing novel ones. Follow-up research will help determine which aspects of these models and values are most effective in increasing performance while also determining which are most frequently neglected in the private and public sectors, highlighting where others should focus their attention in reducing SL. Comparisons between the private and public sectors have already shown differences of individual perceptions and being more aware of these and other differences grant those in leadership positions additional tools to reframe, if necessary, an organization's mission, vision, and priorities that reflect its end product while also focusing on the workforce itself. An organization is only as effective as its workforce and investing in it will result in significant returns of investment in organizational of different types and sizes.

⁶⁸ Latané. "Dynamic social impact."

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COURTSHIP IN THE BORDERLANDS: HOLLISTIC INTIMATE SPACE CREATION WITHIN COURTSHIP IDEAOLOGIES

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While telling me the story of how she met her husband, Mrs. Aguilar told me “I really feel bad for your generation, they are missing out on falling in love.” She was referring to the courtship practices, or the social regulation and cultural markers between two individuals who create a social relation developing a “relationship.”¹ She was comparing the courtship practices of her generation to that of mine and her statement is reflective of the changes in the cultural environment. From courting, a “relationship” can develop. Its dimensions are defined by the mediation between cultural norms and the agent, and can lead to *noviazgo*, or an explicit relationship describing the accompany of the two individuals to social and recreational activities, or in a conjugational union.² From the elderly lady fragmented views toward the courtship practices, I decided to conduct ethnographic research on cross generational courtship. I analyzed heterosexual courtship processes by focusing on what one of my interviewees calls a *pretendiente* or suitor, who is “someone who beseeches you, for example, someone who likes you...you’re not a couple but you’re also no friends” as stated by Pinky (18). I call the *pretendiente* a courtship system as it outlines the cultural interaction and norms followed by the agents in their courting.

In this essay, I will argue that the *pretendiente* courtship system entitles the agents in courtship process to a mutual interest in each other that is explored through the creation of a holistic intimate space (in terms of social, cultural, and physical space); yet the wide variety of courtship ideologies and values, which can be exclusive while at other times intersect, alter the experience of the individuals in the courtship environment. The courtship process was explored with consideration to the following themes: behavior of the agents, environmental factors, and the duration legitimized through cultural markers, labels, and regulations used to identify the “relationship.”

Within the *pretendiente* courtship system, space is created for the agents to engage in courtship. Edward T. Hall describes the space in terms of physical interaction. He describes the physical space in terms of what he calls *intimate distance* as:

distance between the acts of love and contestation, of protection, and comfort. In the phase with maximum physical contact, the muscles and skin communicate [...] The presence or absence of the sensation of heat created by the body of another body points to the line that separation between intimate space to that which is not.³

Within the first interview I conducted, the female interviewee Laura (19) told me she did not initiate a conversation with someone she is “interested” in (attracted to) because of what her mother and grandmother told her. Laura summarized her family’s advice as, “if they were interested they would come otherwise not.” Her family was entering the intimate space as their advice resonated within Laura altering her interaction with a *pretendiente*. Through this and other interviews were college students mentioned the influence of their parents and family in their decision making within courting, I decided to expand upon Hall’s intimate space to propose a holistic intimate space. Holistic intimate space is defined as the physical, social, and cultural space created by the two agents throughout their courting; it serves to create and define the dynamics of the “relationship” in adherence to the

¹ Gabriela Rodriguez and Benno De Keijzer, *La noche se hizo para los hombres: Sexualidad en los procesos de cortejo entre jóvenes campesinos y campesinas* (D.F., México: Population Council, 2002), 42.

² Rodriguez and De Keijzer, *La noche se hizo*, 42.

³ Edward T. Hall, *La dimensión oculta de la sexualidad* (D.F., México: Siglo XXI, 1994), 143.

courtship ideologies. It is mediated by external variables such as traditions, morals, religion, cultural norms, and media among others that are internalized and negotiated within the agent.

Intimate space is cited by Gabriela Rodriguez and Benno de Keijer in their ethnography *La noche se hizo para los hombres*. The ethnography focuses on three families from rural Puebla, Mexico who are the informants due to their knowledge of courtship patterns occurring cross generationally. The project took an applied approach as in Mexico, 31.6% of the cases gathered of VIH/SIDA are within the ages of twenty to twenty-nine.⁴ Rates, furthermore, are higher among the rural cities than urban ones. The study was conducted for a year and a half in which the researchers would make visit the families twice a week and accompany them in their day to day lives. Doing so established rapport, allowing the researchers eight months after the investigation began to gain insight in the sexual transformations and current sexual practices of the younger generation.⁵ Such information was gathered through focused groups and individual interviews.

My methodology consisted of seven interviews. The criteria used to select the interviewees was based on sharing an established relation with them whether it was a friendship for college students interviewed, or mentorship for the parent and grandparent generation interviewed. In addition, I interviewed my parents. Place of upbringing was in addition part of my criteria, as the interviewees currently live within the border region. Among the upper generations, all of them migrated to the United States from border towns such as Matamoros or Monterrey. Only one interviewee, el señor Jorge (50), was raised in the town of Edinburg. The college student generation was interviewed at the Border Studies Archive found in the library of the University of Texas-Pan American (UTPA). The interviews for the upper generations were performed at the interviewee's home. The interviews of the college student generation were exploratory composed of the question: "how did you meet [name of pretendiente]?" Based on their stories shared, the interview became in-depth seeking to understand the interactions during key moments of the courtship process such as the legitimizing of a *noviazgo* in the case of Laura (19), or when first engaging in sexual relations as in the case of Juan (23). For the rest generations, the interviewee were conducted in couples and commenced exploratory, with the same question asked. They became in-depth when I asked what changes they have seen in the courtship patterns with today's generation. The age for UTPA students interviewed is as follow: 18, 19, and 23. For the parent generation the ages were: 47, 50, 54, and 55. The ages for the grandparent generation were: 61 and 69. Ethnographic data was also extracted through informal conversations between friends of mine at the UTPA or at my work also at UTPA.

In addition, observations were performed at three fieldsite visits; one including a confrontation at UTPA with the male partner of the one of the interviewees after my research partner asked her if she was a virgin during her interview. Two fieldsite visits were performed in Downtown McAllen at the following clubs: Tribar, 201, and La Rouge. The clubs appeared the ideal scenario to observe the college student generation as it was mentioned early on the project by fellow college students especially when the research topic was mentioned to them. One those fieldsite visits was conducted on a Thursday when the clubs were not pouring with customers. The second fieldsite visit was conducted on a Saturday when the individuals are literally standing shoulder to shoulder in the bar area and dance floor.

Within the *pretendiente* courtship system and its creation of holistic intimate space, the courtship system follows a cycle of personal views of the agents to interaction between them. The agents and their personal views will initially determine how they will begin courting; later in conjunction with what I call courtship ideologies, the agents then will strategically address one another. The personal views will guide the agent's behavior in the

⁴ Hall, *La dimensión oculta*, 16.

⁵ Ibid, 30.

courtship. The personal views were explored through interviews by the college generation. Among them included “not looking for a relationship right now” as stated by Juan, preventing reliving emotional damage by passed courtship attempts as was the case with Laura, and being independent yet requiring and longing for emotional support as Pinky who said “I did needed the support of a men especially because I’m alone, and I don’t have family with me...only God, but there is something in me that wants somebody.” These views establish the atmosphere for holistic intimate space that does not solidify until contact is made by the agents whether through school, Facebook (among the college student generation), dances, or other form of social and cultural gathering. Within the courting atmosphere that legitimizes and ensures holistic intimate space, courtship ideologies and courtship values make a presence remaining even after the “relationship” has been established.

Two courtship values were encountered aside from the pretendiente system: *honestidad* and *respeto*. *Honestidad* is used to establish the limits of the behavior when courting and justifies it between the agents, while *respeto* serves to create a connection or flow of courtship information and knowledge between the agents and their family. *Honestidad* was mentioned to me by Mario (21) while having lunch at UTPA. Mario believes in the value because by being *honesto*, “you always get an answer when you’re honest.” He also stated the results of being *honesto* as “you always get what you want.” This, he mentions with the agent’s consensus. Mario uses *honesto* so he may receive what he wants whether a kiss, sexual interaction, or a “relationship.” By being honest of his intentions it prevents emotional damage:

Mario: For example, a friend will make a move (a physical advance such as kiss or sexual touch), and they stop talking; how is she gonna feel? How will I feel? I might as well let the girl know and I might get slapped, kicked out, or kissed.

Respeto merges with *honestidad* as the previous quote demonstrates. Mario, carrying for the mental and social well-being of the girl he is *pretendiendo* (wooing), takes her into consideration by giving her decision making power over his desires. Ultimately, she decides whether she concedes to his invitation. Such negotiation is elaborated with el Señor Jorge’s (50) definition of *respeto*:

Señor Jorge: Respect is first loving myself, because if I love myself I will behave with you and will respect you so you don’t get a bad impression of me and you won’t want to talk to me no more.

Both *honestidad* and *respeto* seek to establish an understanding of the boundaries permitted between agents as they decide whether or not to begin a “relationship.” The space generated by the values will be negotiated with variables outside of the intimate physical space (e.g. parents and friends).

Working alongside courtship values in the pretendiente system are the different courtship ideologies. These ideologies define the attitudes of the agents, the dimensions within they can function, and reflection toward the events within courtship such as the first date or kiss.⁶ In the college student generation, three ideologies were identified: *especial* (special), *traditional rant*, *attraction*, and *liking*. The first two ideologies make allusion to “traditional” courtship practices while the latter differentiates between physical attraction to emotional attraction. Within the parent generation, the following ideologies were identified: *puercospine* (porcupine), and *agase pa’ca* (come over). *Agase pa’ca* ideology places an emphasis on the family and the interaction between agents, while *puercospine* ideology focuses on the discovery of qualities between the agents. In the grandparent generation, the following ideology was identified: *coincidiendo* (concurring). It focuses on having a consensus in core beliefs. I will now elaborate on the different ideologies for the remaining of the ethnography.

⁶ John Gerring, “Ideology: A Definitional Analysis,” *Political Research Quarterly* 50, no. 4 (December 1997): 958, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/448995>

Especial uses “traditional” courtship practices as a reference to create social and emotional capital. The social capital is derived from the sharing of how the agents met within the social circle of the individual. Emotional capital is created by the sense of personal satisfaction from the reiteration of actions and appreciation of the opposing courtship agent. The ideology was derived from Pinky (18) who believes:

Pinky: Now in days people don't talk much on the phone... and how many say that is something of the old times, when they would write letters, like that is something very nice. I want something like that something special, something different.

Special would not be satisfied by telling Pinky she was the most beautiful girl in the universe, since Pinky acknowledges she is not. The complements do not create a capital for the pretendiente. Instead, as Pinky says, “it will take time (variation still exists as she acknowledges).” Ricardo (19), her pretendiente, converse with her through Facebook, and during the past Valentine's Day proposed Pinky to be his girlfriend. Pinky, Ricardo, and some of their friends attended Club Havana, a nightclub commonly known for playing salsa and other Latin America sounds. The singer called Ricardo to the stage. He hesitated for a few second staying at the far end of the stage, but later shook his hand as he got on stage. The singer emphasized his “niervos, (nervousness)” and mentioned his “great heart.” Ricardo began by saying he was thankful to god for the love of his life, and called her on to stage. Pinky arrived to the stage with her hands covering her mouth of the surprise. The singer helped her on stage, Pinky still surprised, hugs him. They embrace and kiss.

The event certified the courtship process beyond the *pretendiente* stage into the *noviazgo* (couple). To reiterate, Rodriguez and Keijzer define *noviazgo* as a “social relation explicitly agreed by the two individuals accompanied with recreational and social activity where loving and sentimental emotions are expressed through word and physical contact.” Before Ricardo's request, for example, a kiss on the lips was not permitted because “a mi no me gusta hacer eso (I don't like to do that).” Doing so would create uncertainty in terms of the identity of the relationship because a kiss is permitted in a *noviazgo* although not among friends. For Pinky, kissing outside of the *noviazgo*, even if the other is her *pretendiente* is not an option.

In the case of Laura (19), the identity of the “relationship” with her *pretendiente*, Carlos (20) entered a borderland.⁷ Laura's initial restrain in confirming the status of her “relationship” was enabled as she waited for Carlos to make the request to enter the *noviazgo* stage. She was acting upon the expected courtship behavior her mother and grandmother instructed her on; if they [the suitor] was interested he would come to them otherwise not. The expectance on the men to initiate and finalize the courtship is part of ideology: *traditional rant*. The ideology derives from the title of an article found in the Panorama; the University's magazine. Andrea de la Vega, the writer of the article “Bitch Rant,” speaks of how:

as a women, I'm entitled to tell you [men] to how much that behavior really needs to stop. Right now... There's only so much of the chasing that the women is willing to do until she becomes irritated, you know. After a while, it becomes tedious. But we do it anyway, don't we.⁸

Station's research that surveyed for features of Mexican and Mexican-American families explains the reasoning behind the previous quote.⁹ The male will initiate the courtship pattern, a belief Pinky's response parallels when friends asked about Ricardo and their “relationship.” They were asking if he had asked her to his *novia* yet; Pinky

⁷ Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza / La Frontera*, 4th ed. (San Francisco, Calif.: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), 25.

⁸ Andrea De la Vega, “Bitch Rant,” *Panorama*, 2014, 32

⁹ Ross D. Station, “A Comparison of Mexican and Mexican-American Families,” *The Family Coordinator* 21, no. 3 (July 1972): 327, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/582878>.

genuinely replied saying “if he does that’s good, if he doesn’t well.” A *noviazgo* is not initiated until the man asks the female to be his *novia*.¹⁰

With Laura, while the courting with Carlos began before they were “*novios*” as they attended social sites together such as the movies, she still became frustrated because “we are hanging out, we are going on dates, and you are not asking me out.” By indirectly requesting to be “asked out,” Laura was inviting Carlos to formalize their “relationship” and enter the *noviazgo* stage. It should be noted though, that among the college generation the terms *dating* and *going out* are interchangeable. Both can be understood within the system of *pretendiente*. *Noviazgo* though, is not always interchangeable with the previous terms; in other words, two individuals *dating* and *going out* are not necessarily *novios*. I will now explore the ideologies *liking* and *attraction*, which explain some motives to transition from the *pretendiente* stage to the *novios* stage.

Liking explains an emotional attraction in the opposite agent creating a curiosity that will cause the agent to refrain or “take it easy” in terms of sexual activity. *Attraction* focuses on the physical attraction of the opposite party; it may lead to sexual activity, after which in the case of Juan (23) will cause him to “feel like I got to the climax of whatever the relationship will be.” The two ideologies were acquired from his interview where his “relationship” with Maria (21) was discussed. The two meet while at work, Juan initiated the courtship one day when he needed a charger for his phone. After he asked Maria for one, she told him she did not have one with her at the time, but she did in her car. Maria went for it, action that Juan interpreted as a possible interest on him through her effort. According to Juan, he got “smart” since she would be leaving work at three and him at four. Using the phone as an excuse to communicate beyond work, Juan continued the courtship pattern inviting her to “hang out,” and go watch a movie. “Hang out” is a social gathering were the individuals attending are understood as being friends and courting may not be initial purpose of the gathering. While the social gathering can be created with the purpose of courting the individual invited, it does not necessarily fall under the *pretendiente* system. It should be noted though that through “hanging out,” the individuals can transcend into the *pretendiente* system.

Eventually, Maria invited him over to his house; Juan would decline the offer because Maria’s brother would be home as well. The invitation can be interpreted as an invitation for sexual activity. Juan later engages in the similar request when “I was actually home for the weekend by myself, and I was like hey what the hell I should invite her over.” With Maria, Juan expresses attraction. He does not want to enter the *noviazgo* stage because “both [of us] think the same way and don’t really want a relationship.” The following quote from Juan expresses how he would behave if he *liked* a girl and felt an emotional attraction:

Juan: I think if I would like a girl, I wouldn’t, I wouldn’t want to move that fast into like having sex with her and then as opposed to somebody I’m attracted to like its physical attraction.

If Juan likes a girl, he would want to get to know her and “take her out (could be interpreted as going out)” and would allow him to see the girl “in a girlfriend kind of way” or determine for him whether he desires to enter the *noviazgo* stage.

Attraction is also witness in the physical interactions between individuals dancing in the clubs located in Downtown McAllen. The ideology though, takes on the form of *pichoneo*, or as Pinky describes as similar to twerking, an act in which the women “shakes” her buttocks in the air as she bends forward. *Pichoneo* is characterized with the men approaching the women from behind, imitating the sexual position “doggy style”. Pinky describes two components to *pichoneo*: the collision of the bodies and the form of dance used to facilitate which Pinky labels as “sex with

¹⁰ Station, “A Comparison of Mexican and Mexican-American Families.”

rhythm.” The following excerpt from my fieldnote taken while attending the club La Rouge in Downtown McAllen depicts the social process and biomechanics involved in *pichoneando*:

A waitress, sporting army cameo underwear and a matching cameo shirt, was serving drinks for a table. One of the men from the table began dancing next to her to the rhythm of the song, the genre was salsa. She joined him dancing, but in her place. As they were dancing, the space between them lessened until the waitress turned around and leans a bit forward extending her buttocks out. The lower part of her body approached his pelvic area making contact; as they made contact the motion of her body has heavily focused on the swaying on her hips as she “grinded” with his crotch. In the meantime the man had his hands out and in the air almost as if a celebratory gesture. He continued to place an emphasis in his pelvic area as he bends his knee and leans backwards in contrast to the woman who is leaning forward. Once intimate physical space was accomplished, the man surrounded the hips of the woman with his forearm. He did not grip the lower part of her hips as other men in the club did. The woman in the meantime was moving her hips side to side adding sensuality by bending slightly over and lowering herself to the floor. The man had his arms extending out straight with the forearms surrounding her hips. At times her eyes would wander out to the club. The two stopped, and the man signaled a phone with his hands, signifying he wanted her cell phone number. She gestured that he couldn’t, but the man was insistent that he wanted to call her.

It was later informed to me that the waitress was paid to do engage in such behavior. It would explain why she was habitually looking out into the crowd. The physical space and courtship conducted in the clubs in Downtown McAllen could be mediated by social-cultural forces not present. As previously mentioned with holistic intimate space, the space created during *pichoneo* could have influences by family traditions for example or other cultural norms placed by the family. Such indirect presence of the family can be encountered in the clubs. However, a direct physical presence of the family is highly unlikely. For the courtship practices of the parent generation, a physical family presence was mentioned one that altered the behavior of the agents.

The physical presence of the family creates fragments in how the agents act with each other as they took into consideration the family. The courtship ideology, called *agase pa’ca* (come closer), is represented by the conscious attention paid to social interactions in front of family members. The ideology was introduced by el Senor Jorge (50) and la Senora Esme (47). The two met when the la Senora Esme, at the time twelve, accompanied her sister on a date because her parents would not let her go alone. The sister and her date, knowing la Senora Esme was *chiflada* (spoiled), invited el Senor Jorge so he may distract her allowing them to enjoy their date. The two later carried on their friendship during the summers and wrote *cartas* (letters) to each other when la Senora Esme returned to Monterrey. The family exercised hierarchical control over the agents. El senor Jorge, after his graduation, decided to take a trip to Monterrey. The purpose of his trip was not to visit la Senora Esme, as he did not know where she lived. Surprisingly though, he informed me he arrived outside her home in the morning. The family greeted him, but la Senora’s Esme’s brother did not allow her to talk to him. La senora Esme spoke of his reasoning: “no the girls can’t, they can’t have a boyfriend, they can’t go out, they can’t say badwords.”

As the courting continued, later in letters and when they went on the bicycle to the park or for *raspas* (snow cones), el senor Jorge ventured to speak to the mother of la senora Esme. He said he wanted to wait till la senora Esme had more age for her to be his *novia*. La senora Esme’s mother said not till she was 15, a few more months were needed till she turned that age. Later though, el senor Jorge could not wait and defied the control of the hierarchy:

Senor Jorge: I can't wait one more day, against you, and against everything, against everything I have to go against, she is my girlfriend.

The challenge was accepted since the mother approve of him and “liked” him as la senora Esme described. The oldest brother however did not approve. Nevertheless, as the “relationship” had entered into a *noviazgo*, both describe that “in front of the family you don't let him grab your hand.” Agency within the holistic intimate space was regained though, as when the family left, he would tell la senora Esme to “agase pa' ca (come closer)” shortening the intimate physical space within their relationship.

When establishing capital for their relationship, the agents will explore the holistic intimate space; the exploration process can be characterized in some cases by the unexpected qualities of the agents. My father described the process through an analogy at the end of his interview. When one is in a “relationship,” it is similar to the porcupine when they are seeking warmth from the cold. They slowly join together to feed of each other's body heat. As they get close, their spines will sting each other. However, the porcupine arrange themselves so that they can continue getting close and not sacrifice their comfort. In terms of courting and “relationships,” my father referred to how one might discover qualities from the partner that can surprise the opposite party off guard; yet they can be overseen fostering and strengthening the holistic intimate space between them. The previous analogy describes the ideology, *puercospine*, which focuses on a trial and error search in within the agents.

My father approached my mother at a dance (after having seen her at the maquiladoras they both worked at), one where she was waiting for her dance partner to arrive. He never arrived, and my mother danced with my father for a while. Then, some of my mother's friends left early leaving my mother alone when returning home. Accompanying my mother, my father took a bus with her. Before my mom, got off the bus, my father got hold of her hand, saying he would not let go unless she agreed to be his *novia*. It can be stated that my parents had not cultivated any intimate social space before as my mother did not approve of my father's presence when he sat next to her in the maquiladora's cafeteria. Without the creation of any holistic intimate space, my father ventured to enter the *noviazgo* stage after a brief time frame within the *pretendiente* stage. Furthermore, his method of courtship could have been questioned due to its physical force. My mother agreed though since she would have been late home, making my grandmother upset, something she did not want to do. Besides, she was not expecting to see him at the maquiladoras were they worked, which proved contrary.

During the week that followed, my father kissed my mom, but “it was too rough.” The courtship of my parents displayed unwelcomed transitions (from my mom's perspective; holistic intimate space had been initiated by my father yet my mother was hesitant to expand it). Intimate social space had not been nurtured, justifying my mother's uncertainty towards him. Nevertheless, the creation of a holistic intimate space allows for the agents to consume the socio-emotional capital deriving from their mutual interest found within *pretendiente*.

In the last ideology, *coincidiendo*, acquired from Doña lichita (61) and Don Juan (69) from the grandparent generation, socio-economical capital is a must if the agents are going to contemplate entering the *noviazgo* stage. The agent's beliefs and their various perspectives establishes a common link between the two. The link establishes security, confidence, and trust in each other if the two were to enter the *pretendiente* stage, or in the words of Don Juan, “and you looked at the person if you two concurred in your way of thinking, well then there was no problem because you were ahead in concurring.” Although Don Juan repeated himself, the second time he used concurring could be understood as the request to be *novios*. Before Don Juan asked Doña Lichita to be his *novia*, both meet in a quinceñera. They attempted dancing, but rather talked since they could not dance. The rhythm of their bodies did not coincide. Under such circumstances, the initiation of intimate physical space could be said to have failed in the dance floor, however social intimate space was established through conversation. In

their conversation, they began asking questions about each other; the questions as Doña Lichita states “questions having nothing to do with falling in love.” Through their genuine probing, Don Juan found out Doña Lichita worked. In a similar attempt to that of Juan who “so I got smart,” he said he wanted to continue seeing her, if he could see her when she gets out of work. The following week in their meetings, both would talk about their families specifically about their parents and their brothers, their inclinations such as choice of movies and dance. Once an *amistad* (friendship) was created, Don Juan asked Doña Lichita to be his *novia* his choice of words being:

Don Juan: I told her if she liked the way I was, or how I expressed myself, because back then you were accustomed to that.

The choice of words represents the importance in being accepted due to one personality and qualities.

Within *coincidiendo*, *honestidad* interplays in the agent’s decision as they decided which aspects of themselves they present to the opposite agent. The degree of honesty in the agents will not necessarily affect the decision to become *novios* at the time but the repercussions can be felt later. Resurfacing, the perceptions placed forth during the early courtship stages play a role in the present, as following excerpt from the interview revealed:

Doña Lichita: Because before he said he liked comedy movies, and he liked cowboy movies, [and] of war, and I did not like them. But I would say to him if he liked comedies and musicals. Yes, yes, and then it resulted he liked the movies, he liked more was of war and cowboys which till this day he still likes.

The following quote displays how in *coincidiendo* and in their creation of holistic intimate space, the agents play a game of perceptions delegating their interests and dislikes and those of the agent they are courting.

The game of perceptions can be encountered in other ideologies that form intersections among each other. Under these intersections, the ideologies are faced with the creation of borders created by the agents of courtship. To aide in the analysis of the courtship borders is the proposed term, holistic intimate space. By placing holistic intimate space as the lens of inquiry, the intersecting ideologies are expanded upon with the three spaces being physical, social, and cultural. In the case of Juan’s ideologies liking and attraction, the three spaces are vital as courtship borders are transcended from the latter ideologies mentioned. Juan for example, stated he would not date, or like, a girl who dressed what he considered provocative. By provocative he was referring to the short length of shorts a girlfriend of a friend of had worn. The instance displays when the physical space serves as courtship border based on social and cultural forces. In a parallel example, Laura’s interview ended with benign ambivalence towards her virginity regardless of traditional catholic teachings. Such instance exhibits the social and cultural spaces placing courtship borders that are transcended based on a contemplated physical space. Both examples, illustrates instances when intersecting ideologies seek to overcome courtship borders thus contesting them. The contestation is visible with the reappropriation of *respeto* by the younger generations. In the case of sexuality involved in *attraction* and *pichoneo*, the cultural norms of the older generations heavily opposed it as their courtship patterns included minimal contact in public. The intimate physical space created between the older generations through their strolls around the cities’ plaza after mass could not compare to that of the college generation today while “grinding” in the clubs who according to Pinky with Pichoneo, is “dance with sex.” The changes have been deemed by the older generations as a loss of *respeto* within the “relationship.” The values, morals, traditions, and practices of our past families, us, and of our future children are creating diverse courtship experiences as witness with the multiple ideologies presented. Courtship borderlands are being created requiring further attention and research.

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