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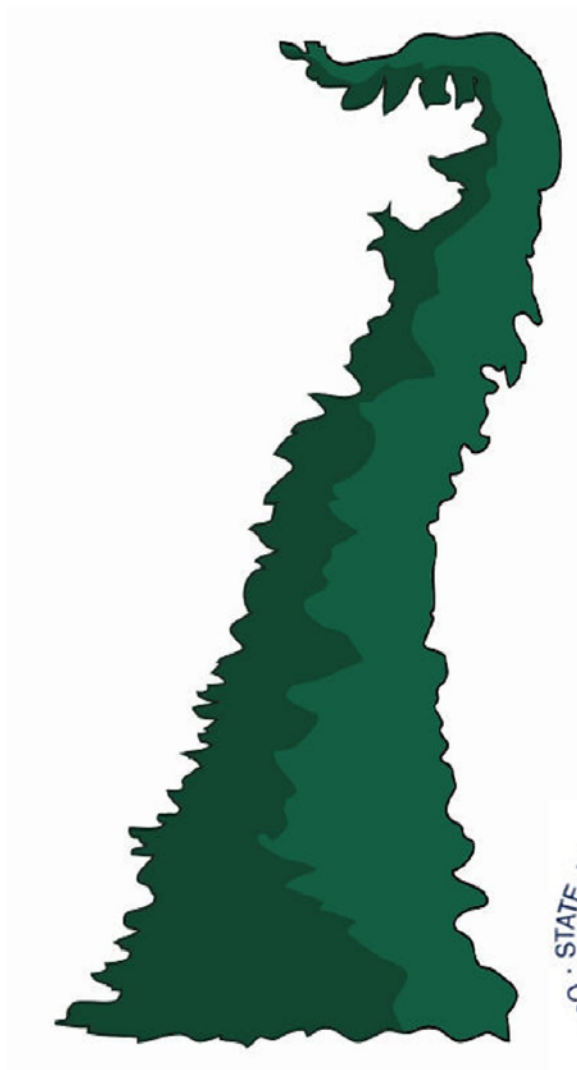
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The Proceedings of GREAT Day 2010

A day-long, college-wide celebration of student
creativity, research , and scholarship.

april 20, 2010



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The State University of New York at Geneseo

The Proceedings of the Fourth Annual GREAT Day

Geneseo Recognizing Excellence, Achievement & Talent Day is a college-wide symposium celebrating the creative and scholarly endeavors of our students. In addition to recognizing the achievements of our students, the purpose of GREAT Day is to help foster academic excellence, encourage professional development, and build connections within the community.

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Differential Equation Modeling Software

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Faculty Sponsors: Doug Baldwin, Computer Science and Aaron Heap, Mathematics

There are many useful mathematical tools that use differential equations to model harmonic motion and spring motion in particular. My goal was to create a new, unique spring model tool that covers a broad variety of spring problems, is easy to understand with a coherent layout, and provides a degree of variability in the external forcing term beyond what existing programs provide. In this talk, I will provide a comparison between this new tool and several existing ones. I will also discuss the mechanisms for providing general external forcing terms and evaluate their success. The variability of the external forcing term allows this on-line program to solve an unlimited number of different exercises. Many programs do not allow for this, and those that do have put many restrictions on it. In the future, applications beyond springs will be added for greater variety, and the program's understandability will be tested with actual users.

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**The Consolation of Boethius for Dante
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Although Dante incorporates many of the great medieval thinkers into his final canticle, few are more represented than Boethius in the Circle of Mars. As we progress through Mars, we get a sense that Dante is using the ideas of Boethius as a support for himself as both a pilgrim and poet. As a poet, Dante seems to be inspired by the connections between his life and the life of Boethius. This connection is explored in deeper detail through a discourse on Fortune and wisdom. For Boethius, an abandonment of the wheel of Fortune leads to a life devoted to the good. In this way, Dante the poet identifies with Boethius' initial bitterness to loss, but ultimate gain in transcending Fortune. As a pilgrim, Dante develops intellectually as Cacciaguida recapitulates the Boethian solution to the problem between divine foreknowledge and human free will. Indeed, the argument serves as a preparation for the pilgrim before his bittersweet future is revealed. By the end of the journey through Mars, we see that Dante has combined these two perspectives through the Boethian claim that everything is done for the sake of the good.

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In response to the increasingly authoritarian government of Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood has emerged as the only meaningful opposition party—even though the Brotherhood has been illegal for the last 50 years. Despite its often violent and murky past, in the last 25 years the Brotherhood has preached a platform based on moderate and peaceful Islamic activism as well as the compatibility of democracy and Islam. However, there are still elements of the Muslim Brotherhood that suggest certain democratic values would be abandoned should the Brotherhood achieve power, as well as critics who contend that the recent changes in the Brotherhood are a ploy to achieve political power. A comparison to Bharatiya Janata Party, an Indian Hindu-nationalist party, as well as a vein of democratic theory known as moderation theory, are both useful tools to address these concerns. Both analytical tools suggest that the Muslim Brotherhood would likely positively contribute to a democratic system of governance in Egypt should it be legalized and the appropriate political reforms take place.

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Session 2-U • Sociology Sociological Studies of Well Being

Faculty Sponsor and Session Chair: Steve Derne, Sociology

An Interesting Mix: The Possibility That Well-Being and a Lack of Well-Being Can Be

Experienced Simultaneously

Karin Sperber Pages 93-98

Many sociological scholars (e.g. Derne) report that well-being consists of an enduring sense of life satisfaction. This definition neglects the possibility that a person can experience well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously, allowing for wellbeing to be more mixed. Fifteen students at SUNY Geneseo conducted two qualitative in-depth interviews each, discussing well-being and people's experiences of well-being. After analysis of the data, I found that the simultaneous experience of wellbeing and a lack of well-being is possible.

Session 3-F • English Around the World in 80 Pages: Travel Writing

Faculty Sponsor and Session Chair: Rachel Hall, English

Continents

Rachel Svenson Pages 99-105

In travel, the shock of the returning home is often no less surprising and visceral than that of entering a new culture, as with distance and perspective the traveler watches her norms become suddenly unfamiliar. This is a story of relearning the language of home after two months spent building a fence in the small village of Penyem, the Gambia, and of bridging the uncomfortable distance between the U.S. and Africa in an attempt to preserve love and the memories of a place. The things that surface in that bridging – the inadequacies, necessity and beautiful spaces of language difference and translation, the loneliness of distance, and the power of human connection – are the products of a rough but invaluable resettling.

Session 3-G • English Advice from Ancient Sources: Thucydides, Plato, and Boethius

*Faculty Sponsor: Graham Drake, English
Session Chair: Nicholas Becht*

Analysis of Leaders from the Peloponnesian War

Luke Klein Pages 106-109

Leaders have needed a variety of traits to succeed in most societies: eloquence, openness to criticism and opposing opinions, understanding the short term and long term

benefits for the people of their decisions, and the ability to set an example for their subjects to follow are some examples of traits a leader should have. Thucydides, in his History of the Peloponnesian War, depicts three major leaders during the war—Archidamus of Sparta, Pericles of Athens, and Alcibiades of Athens—and their contributions to their respective sides. The analysis of these leaders utilized Thucydides' text to evaluate their skills as leaders based on the mentioned criterion and how impressive and effective they were for their respective people. The conclusion drawn was that, though Pericles was the most impressive of the leaders, Archidamus was the most effective of the three.

Student Commentator: Nicholas Becht

Fit For a Guardian: How My Academic Schedule Fulfills Plato's Requirements

Alicia Schaumberg Pages 110-112

Plato uses The Republic as a vehicle to communicate the appropriate education that a guardian of the kallipolis, a completely just city, should receive. His mouthpiece is his teacher, Socrates, who conceives the idea of this good city with his companions by utilizing the Socratic method of reasoning. The goal is for the guardians to be educated and trained in a way that makes them capable of being only courageous, hard-working, and just. This ideal combination of character traits will produce the most suitable guardian, who will be unbiased and fair during his rule. Plato believes this good city has the ability to succeed as long as its guardians have mastered their education in subjects such as mathematics, the arts, and philosophical dialectics. The especially rigorous education structure illustrates Plato's belief that intellect is the most important thing for a guardian ruler to have along with the power to rule fairly and honestly. Based upon Plato's requirements and on the objectives of my individual courses at Geneseo, my academic schedule would qualify as a proper education for the guardians.

Student Commentator: Nicholas Becht

Session 3-I • Foreign Languages and Literatures Grad Bag: Miscellaneous, Trend-setting Research Conducted by Graduate Students in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures

Faculty Sponsor and Session Chair: Rose McEwen, Foreign Languages and Literatures

The Importance of Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom

Kerry Maggie Morris and Ashley Westerbeck Pages 113-124

Throughout our educational experiences as both students and teachers we have come to appreciate and understand the value of expanding the scope of learning in the foreign language classroom beyond simple grammar rules and vocabulary lists. We believe that a curriculum with a greater emphasis on cultural aspects enhances the students' foreign language learning experience. Unfortunately, in many middle and high schools, there is a

lack of cultural education while greater emphasis is placed on achieving high scores on grammar-based standardized tests. Through our research (which has included observations, surveys and interviews with students and teachers in area schools) we have gathered first-hand information that supports our belief that teaching culture in the foreign language classroom is fundamental to second language acquisition. This presentation will summarize our findings.

Session 3-J • History Civil Rights and Slavery

Faculty Sponsor: Emilye Crosby, History
Session Chair: Lacey Hamilton

Black Slave Gender Roles: How They Were Changed by Emancipation

Caile Morris **Pages 125-131**
Slavery created a unique situation for those who were bound under it; the lives of African Americans were vastly different from those of their white counterparts. This situation created the opportunity for slave women to be equal if not superior in status to slave men. While all slaves worked in the fields during the day, women were also held to certain domestic responsibilities by night which gave them a wider base of experience than the men possessed. This idea that the slave community on Southern plantations may have been either gender neutral or matriarchal is very intriguing and points to a mostly unexplored area of women's studies. Clearly after the Civil War, slavery was no longer there to provide a foundation that necessitated these gender roles, so what changed? After emancipation, African American women no longer held the same positions of status as they had during slavery, and while the gender roles did not shift to those known by white society, the freedmen were now the ones who held more power.

Session 3-Q • Philosophy Kant on Religion

Faculty Sponsor: Larry Blackman, Philosophy
Session Chair: Steven Bennett

Immanuel Kant, John Hick, and the 'Soul Making' Theodicy

Gian Martinelli **Pages 132-134**
In his "Lectures on the Philosophical Doctrine of Religion," Immanuel Kant considers and attempts to solve the problem of evil by combining several of the traditional theodicies. He focuses particularly on adherence to the moral law in order to work toward being worthy of happiness. For Kant, the fact that happiness becomes a labor toward peacefulness becomes a sort of indicator of God's goodness. This strongly resembles John Hick's "soul-making" theodicy. Hick claims that humans must deal with evil in this world in order to become stronger and more suitable for a union with God in the afterlife. In both cases, the problem of evil is apparently solved by emphasizing God's goodness in encouraging the endurance of moral choices in humans through the burdens of the world. In this paper, I will not only identify problems with the general "soul-making" theodicy, but also the inconsistency of Kant's formulation with the rest of his philosophy. This

inconsistency rests primarily on Kant's tendency to blur his distinction between theoretical and practical reason.
Student Commentator: Adam Gottschalk

Kant on Prayer

George Fricke **Pages 135-138**

After establishing an ethical religion of his own, Kant explores the functions of different aspects of traditional or "historical" religions. Since the moral religion takes priority over any other historical religion, dogmatic beliefs and practices could possibly undermine Kant's true ethical aim of religion. Prayer and other similar rituals, not a part of "true religion," represent mankind's feebleness in seeking our moral conceptions. Although Kant claims prayer can serve as a useful element in his greater theology, I argue that his analysis offers little to pure religion and only accounts for the prevalence of prayer historically. The psychological phenomenon Kant deems a weakness in man requires some worldly manifestation in order to actualize moral duty. Ritualistic practices fulfill this requirement yet also have the ability to mislead one away from their true moral obligations. One must tread lightly when performing such rituals and not lose focus on moral growth. So, all of the traditional practices of religion such as scriptural interpretation and intercessory prayer must only act as a means toward the actualization of moral imperatives. I conduct an analysis of these means to conclude that they are unnecessary in Kant's pure, self-evident, religion. Further, I critique Stephen R. Palmquist's argument for the apparent usefulness of prayer as a way of becoming worthy of God's goodness.

Student Commentator: Benjamin Nagel

Session 3-U • School of Business

Session Chair: Avan Jassawalla, School of Business

How does leadership influence the level of effectiveness in virtual teams?

Seonuk Hwang, Courtney Baymack, Ashley Illuzzi and Lucas Machado **Pages 139-145**
Faculty Sponsor: Avan Jassawalla, School of Business
Background In recent years, globalization, competitive pressures, increased joint ventures and partnerships, and advances in technology have led to more virtual team work. Virtual teams are defined as teams whose members operate across space, time, and organizational boundaries and are linked through information technologies to achieve organizational tasks (McShane & Von Glinow, 2009). Although today's communication technologies drastically reduce the need for face-to-face contact, the geographical distance and lack of richness in virtual communication present challenges to virtual teams in achieving greater effectiveness. Therefore, leaders of virtual teams must identify potential challenges of virtual teamwork and think of innovative ways to facilitate effective communication and create a sense of trust, shared reality and cohesiveness in their virtual teams. Research Questions This presentation addresses the following questions: 1) What are the factors that prevent virtual teams from achieving a high level of performance compared to face-to-face teams? 2) How can a virtual team leader compensate for the lack of richness in communication? 3) How can a virtual team leader raise of

the level of trust and motivation? 4) How else can a virtual team leader raise the team effectiveness?

Session 4-A • Anthropology Anthropology and Modern Issues

Session Chair: Paul Pacheco, Anthropology

Native Americans and the Environment: From Stereotypes to Renewable Energy

Jonathan Hoose Pages 146-157

Faculty Sponsor: Paul Pacheco, Anthropology

I have looked at stereotypes regarding Native Americans and the environment and how those stereotypes can prove detrimental to Native Americans. One of the main reasons for this is because it removes the focus from many of the serious environmental problems that Native Americans have dealt with and continue to deal with in the United States and Canada. I have focused my research on environmental problems that many Native American communities have dealt with and are dealing with, such as uranium mining and pollution concerns. I have also researched green and renewable energy creation projects that are occurring on Native American lands. I believe that many Native American communities could benefit from the development of renewable energy production facilities on their lands. These facilities represent ways in which Native Americans can implement more control over their energy use as well as become energy providers for surrounding non-Indian communities. There is also the opportunity for better relationships to develop between Native and non-Native Governments. Education will also be key, and relatively safe and healthy jobs can be provided for Native Americans.

Robbing the Cradle of Civilization: The Effects of Warfare on Iraqi Archaeology

Carmedy West Pages 158-168

Faculty Sponsor: Paul Pacheco, Anthropology

In 2003, United States forces invaded Iraq, adding further complications to an already troubled archaeological scene. However, studies in Iraq have been significantly under fire since the Gulf War in 1990 and the frequency at which sites are destroyed or looted makes progress and preservation difficult. Given the extreme cultural importance of Iraqi archaeology to its own nation and to world society, how does this affect our own histories and what should we do to protect it? By studying the effects of war and looting on the National Museum of Baghdad as well as important sites such as Ur, Eridu, and Nineveh, we will attempt to determine what has been lost, what the significance of these missing sites and artifacts is to our own society, and where our responsibility lies in cultural preservation.

Session 4-D • English The Poetry of Loss and Desire

Faculty Sponsor: Graham Drake, English

Session Chair: Bridget Hardiman

The Development and Exposure of Homosexuality as a Subject in Thom Gunn's Poetry

Gregory Guth Pages 169-175

Thom Gunn's (British expatriate turned American poet) work explores the homosexual psyche and culture. Through the 1950s to 1980s when many of Gunn's best known works were published, homosexuality was objectionable and difficult to make understandable. Nonetheless, Gunn writes about it elegantly, with modest but increasingly frank verse, communicating and illuminating the inherently unclear. Critics argue that homosexual themes are absent from Gunn's early works. These themes are in fact quite present, but expressed through purposefully unclear language. Simply, in the 1950s and 1960s, it would have been difficult for openly gay poetry to be published or achieve any readership. Gunn came from an English background at Trinity College, Cambridge. After publishing his first book of poems, "Fighting Terms," he emigrated California to teach at Stanford University. In the United States, Gunn developed his voice and level of comfort concerning homosexual themes, particularly evident in later works such as "The Man with Night Sweats." Gunn's poetry is exemplary in terms of expressing sexual direction without forcing it upon his readers.

Student Commentator: Bridget Hardiman

Session 4-E • English Cultural Connections in Some British Novels of the 1940s

Faculty Sponsor: Bill Harrison, English

Session Chair: Caitlin Hesketh

Environmental Alteration and the Psychological State of Green's, Greene's and Ambler's Protagonists

Caitlin Hesketh Pages 176-179

During the 1950s, the decade subsequent to the publishing of Eric Ambler's *Journey into Fear*, Graham Greene's, *The Ministry of Fear*, and Henry Green's, *Back*, a new subfield of Psychology was established: Environmental Psychology. This subfield "studies the relationship between environments and human behavior and how they affect one another" (Conaway). The experiences of these novels' protagonists parallel the research in this field. These characters' actions, thoughts, and beliefs undergo alteration due to the physical or emotional setting that they are in. In *Journey*, Graham's ability to take action increases only after he transfers from the novel's dominant boat setting to the minor setting on land. Through his movement from a London flat to a rural mental facility, *Ministry's* Arthur Rowe finds both his psychology and ability for romantic engagement altered. Conversely, Charley, *Back's* returning World War II veteran, remains in a single setting. He physically returns to the home that he knew before the war, only to find it uniquely altered by his lover's absence. Research in the field of environmental psychology and critical analysis of these characters reveals that all three of

these men experience a subconscious reaction to their differing environments.

Appeasement and Black Bethlehem

Andrew Poggiloi

Pages 180-183

Lettice Cooper's *Black Bethlehem* is an anti-appeasement work criticizing and warning against the kind of appeasement and blind optimism that led to WWII. In the novel, Featherstone's reaction to Clay's scheming parallels the Munich appeasement between Chamberlain and Hitler. The horrible consequences of this historic appeasement are demonstrated in the novel through both Lucy's description of the London Blitz and Marta's story. Appeasers, Cooper suggests, are often optimists who naively expect that others around them will also live up to their standards, and thus are hurt and confused when this does not happen. Featherstone's betrayal by Clay and Lucy's by Marta and Piers exemplify the connections between appeasement, optimism, and naivete. So Lucy and Featherstone can be likened not only to Chamberlain but to all of the people who favored appeasing Hitler rather than stopping him. Cooper also presents the character Ann, who a different perspective, as she wants to confront Clay. Lucy's respect for Ann leads her to understand that her former unwavering optimism and trust were unrealistic and unsuited to the world, war or not. Cooper condemns appeasement and over-zealous optimism, claiming that there is never an appropriate time for them.

Infidelity in Brideshead Revisited and Journey Into Fear

Ashley Phillips

Pages 184-187

This presentation explores the theme of adultery and betrayal in two 1940s novels: Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* and Eric Ambler's *Journey Into Fear*. With the aid of research on marriage and relationships during the two world wars, it is concluded that the lovers in both novels committed adultery or were unfaithful to their partners for reasons were dependent on the time period of the novel's plot in relation to World War II. In a pre-war episode within *Brideshead Revisited*, Charles and Julia commit adultery order to realize a deeper meaning in their lives, while Graham betrays his wife in order to escape the perils of the world war in *Journey Into Fear*. Without the immediate dangers of WWII, the characters of *Brideshead Revisited* find themselves longing for excitement and fulfillment and therefore seek out extramarital affairs. In contrast, the protagonist of *Journey Into Fear* pursues exotic dancer Josette to distract himself from the perils of the war.

Session 4-H • History Issues in Agriculture & the Environment in the Twentieth-Century U.S.

Faculty Sponsor and Session Chair: Jordan Kleiman, History

Wes Jackson and the Land Institute: Perennial Polyculture & the USDA-Land Grant System

Darren Knapp

Pages 188-197

For the past 10,000 years agriculture has allowed the human population to grow, expand, and create civilizations that historians look back upon with awe. However, the recent industrialization of agriculture has had severe effects on nature, our society, and the farmer himself. Wes Jackson and his fellow researchers at the Land Institute in Salina, Kansas have been developing for the past 30 years a form of sustainable agriculture that they hope will revolutionize the way humans produce food. Through the cultivation and harvesting of perennial polycultures, this form of food production allows humans to work with nature as opposed to the industrial method that works against it. Initially, one may come to the conclusion that natural systems agriculture is simply a pipe dream of a former university professor. However, my research reveals that the study of natural systems agriculture at the Land Institute has received substantial monetary support from government funded agencies along with respect and usage of their research throughout the field of sustainable agriculture. Ultimately, it becomes apparent that the work done at the Land Institute has created a whole new field of agricultural research and, along with it, the hope for a more sustainable future.

POSTER PRESENTATIONS • Communication

The British Are Coming! A Study of the British Creation of an Anti-Hegemonic Response to American Television's Global Predominance

Ellen Thompson

Pages 198-203

Faculty Sponsor: Atsushi Tajima, Communication

This article investigates the response of a one culture against the hegemony of another culture; specifically, efforts by the BBC against the omnipresence of American television media. Anti-hegemonic measures are often considered only in the context of third-world globalization. It is important to note, however, that some Western cultures are not only aware of, but actively resisting American cultural hegemony. The article highlights the BBC's awareness of, and desire to halt, a massive global television culture shaped solely by American exports. Exports of British content into American markets and beyond are analyzed, as well as the way in which these new

markets adapt British content for their own cultural audience. "The Office" is used as one example of British television content that has effectively been exported not only to an American market, but to over 80 countries. "The Office" and other such exports represent the British desire to not only assert cultural independence from American media hegemony, but a market-fueled interest in becoming a rival television power globally.

Iron Man: A Case Study in Orientalism and Hegemony

Submitted by: Aidan Bryant

Abstract

This paper examines media-propagated orientalism and Western hegemony in relation to the Middle East. There are countless films that portray Arabs as monodimensionally evil villains. One such film is the 2008 blockbuster *Iron Man*. This paper analyzes orientalism and hegemonic constructs in *Iron Man* and some of the effects and messages that *Iron Man* promotes.

Keywords: orientalism, hegemony, Arabs, media, comics

Introduction

In today's society, anti-Arab sentiment is rampant in many Western cultures. During the Cold War up until the late 1980s, Western media used the Soviets and communist powers as the "default villain". Today, Arab terrorists and Muslim extremists have taken their place. Although this phenomenon has historical roots in the United States' dominant conflict shifting from the Cold War to the Gulf War, War on Terror, and other Middle Eastern conflicts, it is undeniable that Western media are doing the Arab people no favors in terms of image.

Drama and action movies are particularly guilty of propagating negative portrayals of Arabs. The 2008 action blockbuster *Iron Man*, based on the Marvel comic, features a wealthy businessman who is kidnapped by Afghan terrorists and develops a superweapon suit that he uses to bring justice to those terrorized by the evil Afghans. *Iron Man* holds a prestigious place in film archives. It starred Robert Downey Jr., Gwyneth Paltrow,

and Jeff Bridges, all prolific and respected performers. It was met with critical praise and won several awards for Best Action Movie, Best Science Fiction movie, etc (Internet Movie Database, n.d.) and was the first film of 2008 to pass the \$300 million mark in domestic box offices. There is also an extensive line of Iron Man merchandise, several television shows, video games, and, of course, the original comic series, which was first published in 1963 (Couture and Huber, n.d.). Clearly Iron Man is a popular and profitable figure in pop culture history, and as such, is worth scrutinizing as to its contribution to reinforcing or defying Arab stereotypes.

My research questions encompass the following: How are aspects of orientalism and hegemonic constructs manifested in *Iron Man*? What are possible reasons for these media portrayals? And what criticisms or media effects might stem from *Iron Man*?

Literature Review

Orientalism and Arab Stereotyping

The concept of orientalism was first proposed by Edward Said in his 1978 work *Orientalism*. Said argued that orientalism is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). Western powers create their own construct and image of Eastern nations ("the Orient"), usually employing willful ignorance or intentional misinformation of actual Eastern traditions, phenotypes, and temperament. The purpose of this construct is to allow Europeans (and now Americans) to emphasize the strength and

identity of their own cultures by setting it against a strange and oft-inferior “other.”

Cultures that are often blanketed by orientalism include most of the east Asian world, most notably China, Japan, the Arabian Peninsula, Indochina, the Middle East, and India. However, the caricature of most relevance and interest now, in the 21st century, is the Arab and/or Muslim. Derrida (as cited in Hall, 1997) argued that with polarized dialectics comes an inherent dominance of one side or the other. For example, in the male/female dialectic, the male is the societally favored side. In the case of orientalism, the West is the dominant figure in the polarization of the East/West dialectic.

Hegemony and American Media Dominance

The concept of hegemony, credited to Antonio Gramsci, was a broader interpretation of Karl Marx’s theories on economic and social inequality (Lull, 2003). Marx argued that economic status was the greatest factor in predicting social differences. However, in today’s society there are far more factors than money complicating the issue of social domination. Gramsci introduced the concept of hegemony, a construct in which one group exerts power over another by “force, consent, or a combination of the two” (Croteau & Hoynes, 2002, p. 165).

Hegemony is often used to describe how media companies propagate certain images. For example, Fox News broadcasts feature conservative framing. This is an example of hegemony because in Western society, the media tell audiences what to think about and often present very selective, tailored information. The audience consents to this consumption but is still subject to the media decisions of Fox News. Lull argues that media companies have the power to take grounded institutions, such as religion, and convert them into pop culture. Every religion can be considered a unique culture, so it is not so far removed to say that the media can also convert, for example, a national culture into pop fodder. This is precisely what Western media has done to Islam and the Arab people.

Orientalism has roots in hegemony. The idea of a powerful West creating a barbaric East is hegemonic, as the West is deliberately creating an inferior “other” in order to promote and declare their own dominance and superiority.

Finally, the concept of American Exceptionalism, as proposed by Nayak and Malone (2009), is a modern rethinking of Western hegemony and orientalism. Nayak and Malone claim that, according to the theory of American Exceptionalism, “the United States has a unique place in history, differing fundamentally and qualitatively from all other countries; it also emphasizes a “God-given destiny” to guide the rest of the world according to the mainstream US political, social, and economic worldview” (p. 254). Exceptionalism goes beyond orientalism and “others” every nation that is not the United States, creating what is tantamount to the social classes of “us” and “them.” As Gramsci predicted, the United States has based its hegemonic blanket on much more than economics, including political ideology, religion, and cultural norms. Most of these are now disseminated through the media.

Social Function of Superhero Comics

Stan Lee, the creator of Iron Man and many other Marvel superheroes, said, “Whenever I want to communicate to others, I always try to do it in a lighter-hearted way and make it as entertaining as possible” (2005, para. 3). As Lee discovered, comic books are an effective and popular method of conveying important issues. The entertaining nature efficiently carries the message without being too heavy or somber for audiences. Umphlett (1983) points out that the rise and popularity of comic book superheroes was symptomatic of the instability and insecurity that Americans felt. “It was all very comforting to know that there were champion crusaders like Captain Marvel...taking on whatever the Axis powers had to throw our way” (p. 102). Many superheroes developed during times of political uncertainty. For example, Superman rose to popularity during the Great Depression and World Wars. Captain America, with national

pride in his name, was “a symptom of the fears of our time... when we needed positive heroes” (p. 102). Today, superheroes are much more than a symbol of our cultural, political, and economic struggles. Some, like Spiderman, address the fears of the average individual; others, such as Iron Man, speak to more domestic problems such as substance abuse.

Umphlett also speaks of the indefatigability of superheroes. It can be said that superheroes are an advocate of, and therefore a symbol of, America. They may be defeated, they may even be killed, but they always come back for another fight. Superman, the quintessential champion of America, has died at least twice by fans’ estimates (2007). This is a representation of “the innate American attitude that would never admit defeat” (Umphlett, 1983, p. 102). Comics therefore served to bolster morale through this expression of America’s survivalist nature, as well as through providing a fantasy diversion for readers.

In a less subtle example, the true-comic series *War Against Crime!* was created under J. Edgar Hoover’s administration to restore faith in the legal and police system. Though it is not specifically a superhero comic, the series features an anthropomorphic manifestation of Lady Justice, who never forgets a crime and always draws full payment from criminals (Lovell, 2002).

Unfortunately, despite their social function, comic books have carried on other, less noble traditions. Shaheen (1994) analyzed 215 comics portraying Arabs in various roles and was unable to find a single heroic Arab figure. Arabs may be portrayed as commoners, “moderates” (p. 123), or villains, but are never portrayed “fighting the good fight.” Shaheen identifies the following archetypes: the terrorist, the sinister sheikh, the bandit, and the sexual predator (which can either be male or female). Ironically, Shaheen also includes a quote from the Code of the Comic Association of America: “Stereotyped images and activities will not be used to degrade specific national, ethnic, cultural, or socio-economic groups.” This is not

to say that the comic writers are intentionally and maliciously portraying Arabs in such narrow roles, but Shaheen’s identification of such a narrow array of archetypes in a sample of well over 200 Arab figures is a strong indication of very definite stereotyping. Whether this is out of malice, fear, or ignorance is in question.

Analysis

The plot of *Iron Man* revolves around billionaire and genius inventor Tony Stark, whose company, Stark Industries, primarily manufactures weapons. During a demonstration of his newest weapon for the US Army in Afghanistan, Stark is kidnapped by Afghan terrorists who want him to manufacture a powerful missile for them. He escapes by building his supersuit, becoming Iron Man, and then setting out to reverse and prevent the effects of his company’s weapons falling into corrupt hands. He eventually discovers that the plot to kidnap him was masterminded by his longtime mentor and primary stockholder in Stark Industries, Obadiah Stane.

Orientalism

The first criticism that can be drawn from *Iron Man*, not three seconds into the beginning of the film, is with regard to the setting. The opening and much of the first third of the film takes place in the Kunar Province of Afghanistan, which is presented as a mountainous region that is, for lack of better categorization, a desert. In reality, the Kunar Province of Afghanistan is actually quite green. It is rocky and mountainous, but it is not the harsh, dusty landscape that the film portrays. This raises the question of why it is “necessary” to portray Afghanistan in such a factually incorrect way. Is this a result of lack of research? Would American audiences not believe that there actually are trees in the Middle East? The fictionalized setting serves three major functions. First, it reinforces American preconceptions of Middle Eastern geography, perhaps to enable more comfortable consumption for audiences. Secondly, it emphasizes the danger inherent in the setting by making the region uninhabitable, even by plants.

Finally, it draws a parallel between the physical features of the land and the character of the people who live there, emphasizing the brutal and barbaric nature of the Afghan villains. It emphasizes the “other” by making the Kunar Province vastly separated from the rich, densely populated, and advanced infrastructure of America.

Possibly the most noticeable representation of orientalism in *Iron Man* is the portrayal of the Arab characters. They are ostensibly Afghan, as Stark is captured in the Kunar Province of Afghanistan. However, the character Yinsen mentions that he speaks many languages, although “not enough for this place,” where people speak Arabic, Urdu, Dari, Pashto, Mongolian, Farsi, Russian, and probably more. If so many languages are spoken, it follows that the members of the gang that captures Stark are also ethnically diverse. However, they are all “generic Arabs,” with no noticeable difference in the dress or physiology of the minions.

The physical attributes of the Arab characters are consistent with stereotypical Western images. Stark’s captors fall into the “terrorist” archetype described by Shaheen (1994). The two most prominent Arab villains demonstrate the contrasting, though enduring, portrayals of Hollywood Arabs. The terrorist leader is dark with “dark-hooded eyes” and a large hooked nose (Brown, as cited in Shaheen, 2001, p. 52); his perpetual scowl and predatory motions mark him as undeniably evil. His main henchman is short and round, with a full fluffy beard and the “large bulbous [nose]” that Shaheen (2001, p. 51) attributes to the buffoonish villains in *Aladdin*.

There is only one non-villain Arab character: Stark’s rescuer Yinsen. Yinsen is an Afghan native (born in the town Gulmira, which is raided later in the film); however, unlike Stark’s captors, Yinsen is refined, educated, and dresses in a Western fashion. In fact, Shaun Toub, the actor who portrays Yinsen, was born in Tehran, Iran but raised and educated in England, Switzerland, and New Hampshire (Internet Movie Database, n.d.). Yinsen looks and sounds like a kindly British professor or

doctor, and while this defies Hollywood’s Arab stereotypes on his own behalf, Yinsen’s appearance draws a sharp contrast to that of the Arab villains. He defies the Arab stereotype by being Westernized, which only serves to mark how non-Western, how Arab, his more malignant brethren are. Yinsen and Stark are united not by their mutual state of being captives, but by their shared aspect of being Western men put in mortal peril by the Arab barbarians. By making the villains so markedly Arab, and by Westernizing Yinsen, director Favreau has effectively covered the gauntlet of Arab stereotyping that Shaheen criticized in his review of *Aladdin*.

Aside from their stereotypical appearance, the Arab villains are portrayed as being technologically incompetent (or far less competent), their tools of persuasion being machine guns and primitive torture (submersion in water, burning with coals). This may appear an unfair assessment, as Tony Stark is supposed to be a technological genius and therefore *anyone* would appear technologically incompetent in comparison to him. “Of course,” as reviewer Ross Douthat (2008) points out, “you should never leave a genius inventor alone in a cave with a blowtorch, a pile of versatile machine parts, and the raw materials for a miniature renewable-energy reactor...”

All comparisons to Tony Stark aside, the Arab captors are glaringly incompetent in many regards. There is one notable scene in which Stark is building the Iron Man suit from missile parts and the guards are trying to figure out which pieces are which: “It doesn’t look anything like the picture. Maybe it’s been modified. The tail is wrong.” “It’s just backwards.” It is difficult to understand how the guards could mistake the chest piece of a suit of armor for the tail of a missile, backwards or not. In fact, it is only the leader of the Arabs (and ostensibly the most intelligent one) who realizes that Stark is not building a missile, and only after he sees Stark trying out a piece that has been strapped to his leg.

Hegemony and American Dominance

Near the end of the film, Stark's friend Obadiah Stane reveals his traitorous intentions and double-crosses the leader of the Arab terrorists. When he dispatches the terrorists, he quips, "Technology. It's always been your Achilles' heel in this part of the world." This betrayal not only reinforces the Arabs' incompetence, but it also ushers in the idea that no matter how ruthless the Arabs are, no matter how much firepower they have, they are still no match for a wealthy American businessman.

Much of *Iron Man* is effectively a statement on American power and dominance. Tony Stark is referred to as "a true patriot," after all, his industry is manufacturing weapons for the United States army. Stark's initial attitude toward global negotiations is revealed in the following conversation:

Stark: My old man had a philosophy, "Peace means having a bigger stick than the other guy."

Reporter: That's a great line coming from the guy selling the sticks.

This conversation reflects Stark's perhaps arrogant confidence in the power of his weapons and their ability to keep what he defines as peace. In either case, the responsibility lies with Stark Industries, the largest weapons manufacturer in the world (in the *Iron Man* universe, at least), to disseminate their influence to countries who are less technologically equipped and less fortunate to have a genius engineer to call their own.

Just as Tony Stark seems to be the most powerful influence on the world's firepower, he also becomes what seems to be the only person capable of righting the wrongs that corrupt weaponization has caused. Much of *Iron Man* echoes the American Exceptionalism rethinking of hegemony that Nayak and Malone proposed, in that it is the United States' responsibility (with Tony Stark as its ambassador) to lead the rest of the world to peace and justice. For example, when the small Afghan town of Gulmira is overrun by the terrorists that kidnapped Stark, no other world power will step

in to help the innocent civilians. It is Stark, and Stark alone, who flies in to avenge the citizens. In a bonus scene that follows the credits, Stark discovers that he is not the only superhero flying about and is invited to join a league of (American) superheroes who are affiliated with the (American) military. The message is clear: America has both the means and the motivation to solve the world's problems and bring justice to the "others."

Discussion

An important consideration in assessing *Iron Man* is why, exactly, the villains of *Iron Man* are Arabs. The original comic version of *Iron Man* was first released in 1963, during the Vietnam War. In the original run, Tony Stark's captors were Vietnamese communists. Although it could again be argued that the villain is "Oriental" and therefore can be subjected to criticisms of orientalism, I find it more plausible that the villain was set as Vietnamese because of historical relevance and social necessity.

Comic books have had a longstanding tradition of providing a hero that addresses whatever difficulties are most at the forefront of Americans' social consciousness. Comic books have historically provided, quite literally, "comic relief": an escape and a wishful release from war and crime during times when American morale was low. During the Vietnam War, Americans were desperately searching for any shred of hope and salvation that they could find. The creation of a superhero that could vanquish the Communists and end the bloody Vietnam War would have been a welcome addition to American pop culture. Therefore, in this case, the villain is not Eastern because of a Western conspiracy to defame Asian people, but because what American saw as the villain of the 1960s happened to be an Asian power.

The *Iron Man* comic series kept up its tradition of relevancy to current affairs as decades passed. During the 1990s, Tony Stark was involved with the Gulf War, and the most current iteration is of course the War on Terror. Because of this consistency in placing Iron Man where the predominant struggle of the decade is,

it seems probable that the Afghan Arab villains of the film *Iron Man* were chosen for timeliness and political relevance, not because of a consciously racist endeavor to paint Arabs as evil terrorists. It is unfortunate that the current “villains” in American affairs are of the Orient, but terrorism is currently weighing on the minds of many Americans. In keeping with its longstanding comic book origins, *Iron Man* is providing a relevant distraction for anxious American audiences. However, the necessity of an Arab or otherwise Eastern villain does not excuse the propagation of Arab stereotyping, and orientalism is still heavily present in *Iron Man*, as discussed in the prior analysis section.

Another important consideration is that the superhero tradition originated in the United States, and because of its original social function, superheroes are inherently advocates and protectors of “truth, justice, and the American way.” Of course, promoting the cultural beliefs of one nation for the benefit of the audiences within that nation is not necessarily harmful. Nationalism is a unifying and often-beneficial phenomenon, and comics have been historically instrumental in keeping American morale high during wartime. What is harmful, however, is the promotion of “the American way” at the disparagement of other cultures. This is where American hegemony and American Exceptionalism come into play. This form of hegemony goes far beyond orientalism, even casting aspersions on “the European way” or “the Japanese way”; these nations are American allies and yet American media still find a way to “other” them and assert complete and unquestionable dominance in the global setting.

Conclusion

The paper has listed many of the cultural aspects propagated by *Iron Man* that may be predominantly negative. Stereotyping, racism, blindness to other cultures, and nationalistic arrogance are hardly the outcomes that we should wish of the media, especially media that has such a large global presence as the United States’. However, *Iron Man* and other comic book stories have important social functions as

well. It is important to recognize when national pride crosses the line of national narcissism. If comic books can increase morale and togetherness, then perhaps the next step can be made, and superheroes can be harnessed to foster cultural awareness and understanding instead of propagating bigotry.

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Modeling With Differential Equations

Submitted by Malcolm Kotok

Abstract.

There are many useful mathematical tools that use differential equations to model harmonic motion and spring motion in particular. Our goal is to create a new, unique spring model tool that covers a broad variety of spring problems, is easy to understand with a coherent layout, and provides a degree of variability in the external forcing term beyond what existing programs provide. We compared this new tool and several existing ones. Many programs do not allow for external forcing terms, and those that do have put many restrictions on them. We identified mechanisms for entering general external forcing terms and solving the resulting differential equations, and incorporated those mechanisms into our program. The variability of the external forcing term allows this on-line program to solve an unlimited number of different exercises. Finally we looked at various future enhancements that could be implemented in the current program.

1. Introduction

The motivation for this project came from an intense love of both mathematics and computer science. We sought to help improve students' learning in the area of differential equations through the use of technology. We also wanted to create a new tool for teachers and professors to use when teaching about topics relating to differential equations and spring motion.

2. Differential Equations

In mathematics, the *derivative* of a function $dx/dt = f'(t)$ describes the rate of change of the original function f . A *differential equation* is an equation involving derivatives of an unknown function, and solving a differential equation means to determine what the unknown function is. Differential equations are used to model real world problems. Generally we are given two pieces of information: initial conditions and a description of how things change. Initial conditions describe the state of our system at a particular time, and information about the derivative describes how our system is changing. From this information we produce a differential equation through a process called modeling. Next we can solve the differential equation using three different techniques. Optimally, we solve it analytically, which means we are able to find an exact formula for the solution. If this is impossible or too difficult we can approximate the solution either through qualitative or numerical analysis. *Qualitative analysis* approximates the solution graphically and *numerical analysis* determines an approximate solution through iterative algorithms usually performed on a computer.

The particular model we are using in this paper is an example of an *ordinary differential equation*, which is a differential equation depending only on a single independent variable. In this case x will be our dependent variable and t will be our single independent variable. Using differential equations we can predict future behavior of the object or quantity being studied, in this case spring motion. For more information see [Edwards, Section 1.1].

3. The Spring Model

Harmonic motion is a specific real world situation that can be modeled with differential equations. One type of harmonic motion is concerned with the motion of a spring. The program we created solves this model of spring motion using numerical methods. First we must determine what differential equation describes this situation.

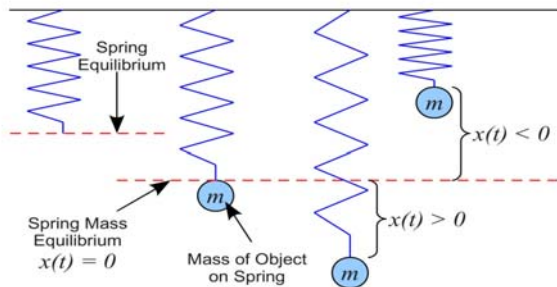


Figure 1: The Spring Model

As shown in Figure 1, we have a spring hung downward attached to an anchor device at the top. Without anything attached to the spring, it comes to rest at what is called *spring equilibrium*. When we attach an object of mass m to the bottom of the spring, it comes to a new, lower rest position called *spring-mass equilibrium*. We denote the displacement, or distance, the mass is from spring-mass equilibrium by $x(t)$. Stretching the spring beyond spring-mass equilibrium corresponds to a positive value of $x(t)$. Compressing the string corresponds to a negative value of $x(t)$. We want to model the motion of the object attached to the spring. To do this we must look at the forces involved that act on the spring.

One force acting on this system is the *spring force*, denoted by F_S . Hooke's Law says F_S is proportional to the displacement, and is opposite of displacement. That is

$$F_S = -kx$$

for some positive number k known as the spring constant. Essentially this determines how easily the string stretches and compresses. Another force involved is known as the *damping force*,

denoted by F_D . Damping is due to friction that might occur in the system such as air resistance. One simple way to model damping is to assume that damping is proportional to the velocity and again acts in the opposite direction. This is

$$F_D = -dv = -dx'$$

for some non-negative number d known as the damping constant. (Note that velocity is the derivative of position. That is, $v = x'$.) If $d = 0$, then there is no friction involved in the model. Last, we consider a possible external force, denoted by F_E . This is a force from an external source and does not depend on the spring or the attached mass, and it is some function of t . For example, the spring system could be attached to a motor that oscillates the anchor device. That is,

$$F_E = b(t)$$

where $b(t)$ is a function that describes the external force. To put these together we must use Newton's second law of motion. Simply put it states that the sum of the forces acting on system must equal the mass times acceleration. That is

$$ma = mx'' = F_S + F_D + F_E$$

where m is the mass of the object. (Note that acceleration is the second derivative of position. That is, $a = x''$.) Substituting the equations from above we get

$$mx'' = -kx - dx' + b(t)$$

or

$$mx'' + dx' + kx = b(t)$$

This is the differential equation that models spring motion, where m is the mass of the object hung on the spring, d is the damping constant, k is the spring constant, $x(t)$ is the displacement at time t from spring-mass equilibrium, and $b(t)$ is some external force as discussed before.

When there is no external force, $b(t) = 0$, this differential equation can be solved analytically and an explicit formula for the solution can easily be determined. However, as soon as $b(t) \neq 0$, finding exact solutions can sometimes be difficult. To allow for the arbitrary external forcing terms, we must resort to numerical analysis to approximate a solution. The goal of this project is to create an on-line applet that can solve the spring model in general for any values of m , k , d , and $b(t)$ and then provide a animated graphical interpretation of the solution. Our most important goal was to accurately solve the spring equation when the external forcing term is non-zero. The resulting applet is pictured in Figure 2. For more information see [Edwards, Section 2.4].

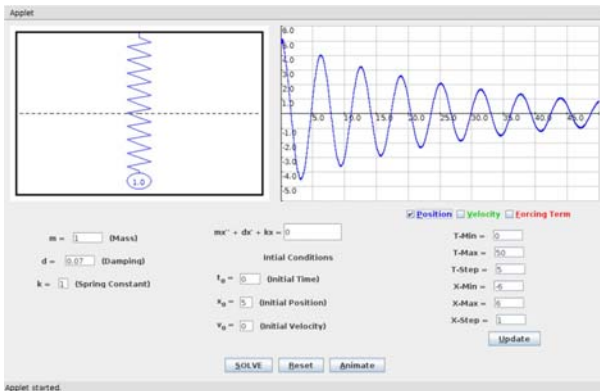


Figure 2: The Spring Motion Applet

4. The Spring Motion Applet

We achieved our goals of creating an applet that accurately approximates solutions to the spring model with arbitrary values of the forces discussed by writing a parser and interpreter for arbitrary forcing terms, and using the Runge-Kutta method to solve the resulting differential equations. Figure 2 shows the complete applet. It can be accessed on the internet through the link address of <http://go.geneseo.edu/springmotion>.

Notice the various functions of the applet. Initially, a sample equation is provided, with the solution graphed on the right-hand side of the window. Also provided is a drawing of the spring which can be animated. Different

values of m , k , and d can be entered on the bottom left side of the applet, as well as different initial conditions in the middle of the bottom. The applet will accept any positive values for m and k , and any non-negative value for d . Also notice that the solution window-size can be changed on the bottom right side of the applet. This software is capable of graphing the position or velocity of the spring as well as the external forcing term acting on the system. With any of these, it is possible to animate the solution as time progresses. Figure 3 shows the applet mid-animation at approximately $t = 17$.

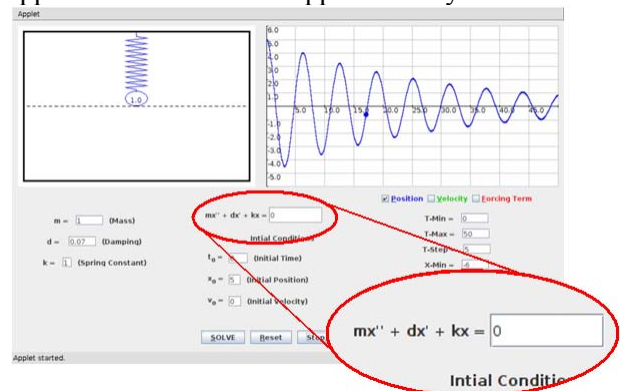


Figure 3: Mid-Animation of the Spring Applet and a Magnification

The most significant part of this program is the differential equation in the center which is magnified in Figure 3. This is the spring model with a box on the right-hand side of the equation where the user can input an external forcing term. This software is capable of accepting many external forcing terms and generating numerical solutions.

5. Comparison to Other Available Applets

We are unaware of any publicly available applets on-line that meet all of the objectives we set out to accomplish. We have classified the current programs into three categories: applets with no external forcing term, applets with one external forcing term, and applets with a small selection of external forcing terms.

5.1 Applets with No External Forcing Term

Some applets have the ability to solve the spring model for various values of m and k and then provide a graphical interpretation of the solution. They do not provide any means of solving differential equations with an external forcing term. There are many of these types of applets available on-line. In particular,

- “Spring Pendulum” (<http://www.walter-fendt.de/ph14e/springpendulum.htm>),
- “Damped Oscillator” (<http://www.lon-capa.org/~mmp/applist/damped/d.htm>), and
- “Spring Mass Applet” (<http://www.ibiblio.org/links/applets/appindex/springmass.html>)

are three examples of this kind of applet. Some of them (for example, “Damped Oscillator”) allow for various values of the damping constant d as well. Most of the applets found on-line are of this type, and so there are many different variations. However, they cannot accept an external forcing term, and this limits their capability. These types of applets do not accomplish our goal.

5.2 Applets with One External Forcing Term

Some applets have the ability to solve the spring model for various values of m , k , and one particular external forcing term and then provide a graphical interpretation of the solution. One such model that does this is called “Forced Oscillations (Resonance).” (<http://www.walter-fendt.de/ph14e/resonance.htm>) This specific applet solves the spring model with a sinusoidal forcing term. Again there are restrictions to these types of applets. There are far fewer models available that are of this type, and they can solve only simplistic spring models. None that we found allow a change in damping, for example. Most importantly these applets cannot accept multiple external forcing terms. They allow only one. Therefore, these types of applets do not accomplish our goal.

5.3 Applets with a Small Selection of External Forcing Terms

Some applets have the ability to solve the spring model for various values of m , k , d and a select assortment of particular external forcing terms and then provide a graphical interpretation of the solution. As an example, “Differential Equation Applet” (<http://www.falstad.com/diffeq/>) is an applet of this type. This software allows external forces such as step functions, sine functions, exponential functions and linear functions. Figure 4 is a screenshot of this applet solving the differential equation with a sinusoidal forcing term.

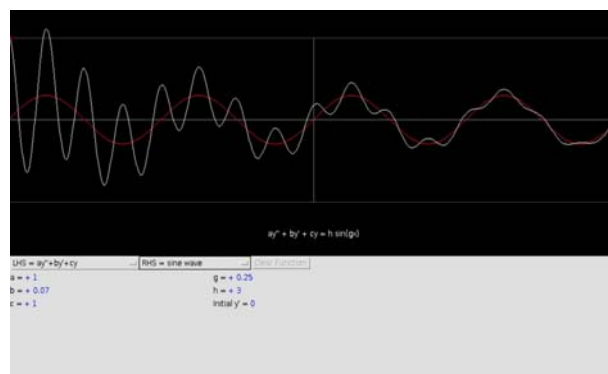


Figure 4: A Differential Equation Applet Example

Even fewer of this type of applet are available on-line. In fact, this was the only applet of this type we were able to find. Notice also that this particular applet does not provide an animation of the system, just a graph of the solution curve with the external force. Although these types of applets do provide a few choices for an external forcing term, they are not able to accept generic external forcing terms. These types of applets do not accomplish our goal, but they do come close.

6. Mechanisms for Providing General External Forcing Terms

So how is our program capable of solving differential equations with the most

generic external forcing terms? To understand this better we split the process into two components: numerical analysis and interpreting user input as mathematical functions.

6.1 Numerical Methods

Mathematically we need to solve the differential equation given by our spring model for the most general external functions. As stated before, in most cases we cannot use analytical methods to get an explicit formula for the solution. As a result, we must resort to estimating the solution with numerical analysis. To understand the numerical analysis in solving differential equations better we turn to the building block of it: *Euler's Method*.

Euler's Method is applied to a differential equation of the form $dy/dx = f(x, y)$, with an initial condition. Here is how the method works. We know one exact point on the solution curve, the initial condition. We call this point (x_0, y_0) . From this point we go a small distance left or right to x_1 . This distance is called the step size, denoted h , and the smaller it is the better the approximation. To calculate y_1 , we use the fact that we know the derivative as part of the differential equation. This derivative tells us the slope of the tangent line, and we can follow that to get our approximation. From this new point (x_1, y_1) we repeat the process. In Figure 5, the gray curve represents the solution and the black points our estimate.

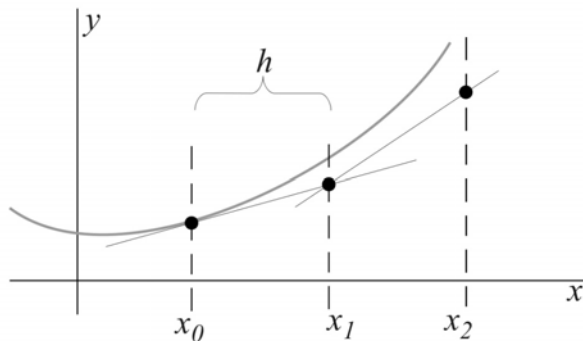


Figure 5: Euler's Method

If we are given the initial value problem of $dy/dx = f(x, y)$ with $y(x_0) = y_0$, then Euler's Method can be produced with the iterative formulas given by

$$x_{n+1} = x_n + h$$

$$y_{n+1} = y_n + h \cdot f(x_n, y_n)$$

As one might notice in Figure 5, using this method leaves some error between our approximation and the actual solution. To fix this we improve our algorithm. We will now look at the *Improved Euler's Method*, sometimes called the *second-order Runge-Kutta method*. This method works similarly. We still start at our initial condition (x_0, y_0) , we still compute the slopes using the derivative, and we still have some defined step size h . However, each iteration of this method requires three steps. The first two of these steps is essentially a single iteration of Euler's Method. First we use Euler's method to find a point (x_1, u_1) . From this new point we use Euler's Method to get another point (x_2, u_2) . These would correspond to (x_1, y_1) and (x_2, y_2) in Euler's Method. However, once we have our second point, we determine a slope between this point and our original point and determine our y_1 by this new line at x_1 . In Figure 6, the gray curve again represents the solution, the gray points our estimate and the black dotted line the slope used to get our second point.

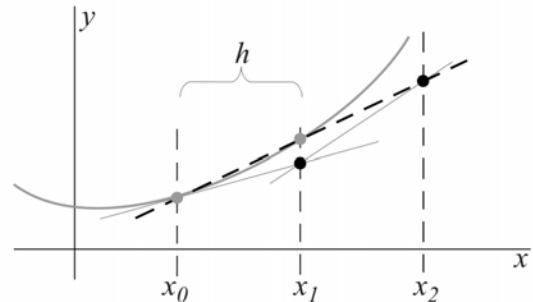


Figure 6: Improved Euler's Method (second-order Runge-Kutta)

Now, our approximation is much better for the same step size. This is classified as

second-order since, we need to calculate the average of two slopes. Our program uses the *fourth-order Runge-Kutta method*, which calculates 4 slopes and averages them.

Mathematically, we almost have a way to approximate the solutions to these generic differential equations. However one more problem remains. The methods described above only works on first-order differential equations. This means the differential equation only relates the function with its first derivative. Second derivatives and higher-order derivatives do not appear in the equation. Our spring model

$$mx'' + dx' + kx = b(t)$$

is a second-order differential equation. To fix this problem we can use substitution to create a system of two first-order differential equations. These two first-order differential equations will relate to one another in a way that produces the original second-order differential equation. With these two new first-order differential equations, we can now apply our methods to each and determine an approximate solution to our spring model for any external force $b(t)$.

For example, if we introduce two new variables, u and v , with $u = x$ and $v = x'$, we can get a system of first-order differential equations in terms of u and v . We see that $u' = x' = v$, and $v' = x''$. If we substitute our spring equation we get

$$v' = x'' = \frac{-dx' - kx + b(t)}{m}$$

$$= \frac{-k}{m}u + \frac{-d}{m}v + \frac{b(t)}{m}$$

Thus we have written our spring model as a system of two first-order differential equations. If we write this as a matrix-vector equation we have

$$\begin{pmatrix} u \\ v \end{pmatrix}' = \begin{pmatrix} 0 & 1 \\ -k/m & -d/m \end{pmatrix} \cdot \begin{pmatrix} u \\ v \end{pmatrix} + \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ b(t)/m \end{pmatrix}$$

From here, we apply our numerical methods on both first-order equations simultaneously. For more information see [Edwards, Chapter 6].

6.2 Parsing User Input

Now that we understand how to approximate solutions to these general differential equations, we need to understand how the program interprets user input. The second requirement of the project was to create a way to accept text from the user as mathematical functions. The program needed to interpret user defined functions and input different values for variables (t and x in our case). This requires a three stage process as shown in Figure 7. First we must break up the input text into “words”. Then we must parse it into something the computer can understand. Last we must store the information. The text is analyzed through a process called *lexical analysis*. The text is parsed by what is known as an *operator-precedence parser* and stored into what is called a *syntax tree*.

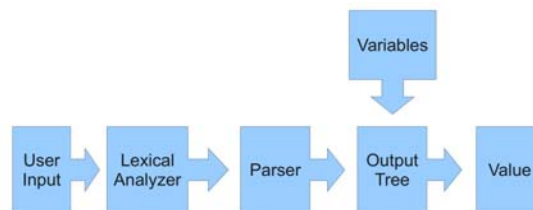


Figure 7: User Input Flow

Input is sent to the lexical analyzer first. The lexical analyzer splits the text into parts that the parser will recognize. These pieces are known as *tokens* or *lexemes*. The analyzer needs to recognize a string of characters such as “cos” as a single token and not “c”, “o”, and “s” all separately. Similarly it needs to recognize an input string of “ttanx” as “t”, “tan”, and “x”, and not all as one word. To accomplish this, the analyzer must first have a stored list of what strings of characters are acceptable. From here, the analyzer reads one character at a time and eliminates any string that does not start with that character. It then looks at the second character and repeats the process. If it comes to a character that only matches one string in its current list, it assumes that to be the token, and finishes checking the input characters

to be certain. If it comes to a character that does not match any string in its current list then there are two options. Either, the input is an error, or the token was eliminated in the previous list. The analyzer checks both these possibilities. Once this is done, the analyzer passes a list of these tokens to the parser.

The operator-precedence parser now needs to interpret these tokens so they make sense mathematically. From the tokens the parser builds a tree structure that unambiguously captures the syntactic structure of the original expression, following the order of operations we know from basic arithmetic. For example, if the parser receives input from the analyzer as $\{3 + 4 * 5\}$, it needs to create a tree that multiplies 4 and 5 first, and then adds 3. The parser goes through the input tokens one by one and produces an output tree that can be used elsewhere.

The parser can accomplish these goals through what is known as a *grammar*. With this grammar, one can generate a table telling the parser how to compare the tokens it is receiving from the lexical analyzer. For example, our table tells the parser to evaluate expressions inside parenthesis before proceeding to read more tokens. Likewise, it tells the parser to evaluate numbers before trying to add or multiply them.

The output tree is the final step in our process. The tree is traversed from top to bottom, formally known as *post-order traversal*, and this algorithm will produce a value for the tree. In Figure 8 for example, the algorithm considers the input expression as simply the multiplication of two things. As we move down the tree we see the left branch, called a *node*, is a number, 3, and the right is a function of another node, in this case the variable t . The trees have the capability to hold variables as well. Whenever the algorithm comes across one of these nodes it will substitute the given value for that variable such as π . Now we can enter any expression, enter values for various variables, and get back the value of the expression. This completes our ability to read in text and evaluate it as an expression. For more information see [Parsons, Chapter 2] on lexical analysis, [Parsons, Chapter 3] on grammars, and

[Parsons, Chapter 4] on operator-precedence parsing.

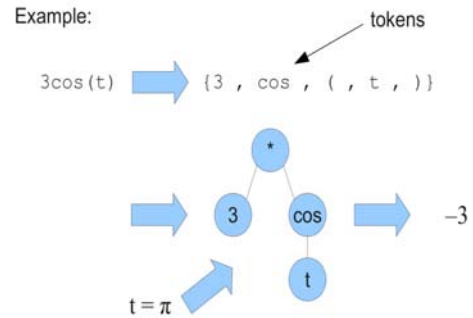


Figure 8: User Input Example

7. Conclusion

There are currently many on-line tools for solving differential equations arising in particular models, specifically spring motion. However, many of these tools are limited in the number of equations they can solve. Our goal was to create a new on-line tool that models spring motion for general equations and then provides a graphical interpretation and animation of the system. Most importantly, this tool should allow for generic external forcing terms.

In the future different applications beyond springs could be added, such as pendulums, animation speed could be adjusted by the user, and the program could be tested with actual users to improve it even further. For now, a useful tool exists that students and teachers around the world may use to better their understanding or teaching of differential equations and spring motion.

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Fault Line

Submitted by: Sheena McKinney

Notes

I feel I should start somewhere concrete, a sort of preface. Maybe this preface is really for me more than you. Either way, it is here and it is what needs to be first. My father is a quiet man. Some people walk with a thrust, speak with a figurative exclamation point hanging in the air beside their words, react to the situation around them with palatable defense and offense. My father, unlike these people, and myself for that matter, has a placidity about him. Perhaps that is why my stepmother fell in love with him, she who was once a Buddhist and now a mystical Christian.

My father is an Atheist. This is not surprising, for two reasons: first, he was raised Catholic, and Catholics make good Catholics and good Atheists; second, he is not the type to put anyone above him. I cannot ever imagine him praying to anything or anyone because he is the kind of man that makes what he needs and wants out of seemingly thin air. Should you give a man a fish or teach him to fish? Neither, make the fish walk right out of the water and onto your plate.

My father has no capacity for religion. It has nothing to do with morals, he's just not passionate enough. Read a conversion story sometime, Julian of Norwich is my personal favorite, and tell me those people weren't passionate. You have to be able to feel the depth and breadth of human emotion to have real religion. My father is a

puddle: small enough to cross unscathed, and always reflecting others faces instead of his own.

Part I

My father is gripping the steering wheel, thumbing the rubber, wearing an invisible hole in it. He has brought me to a parking lot two miles from my apartment to sit in the car and talk. He drove the hour and a half from his home, my original home, to talk.

“This isn't easy for me to say,” he stares straight ahead at the phosphorescent parking lot lights and I look at the same thing and not the same thing. I'd like to say here that I wait with held breath, but I think I am breathing normally.

“Your stepmother isn't doing well...the doctors think she might have some ocular degeneration, which they think is indicative of something bigger. They are worried about whatever it is more so because of her heart disease. If it is serious surgery might not be an option because her going under is a huge strain on her heart. We are trying to be hopeful, but we're scared.”

Diane has been sick for years. The progress of her heart failure and the other problems that have gone with it are not covert assassins; they are pre-trench -warfare soldiers, coming straight at the assailant screaming and wielding. Battlefields, even when viewed from the sidelines, render desensitization. The news is only vaguely shocking, remotely scarring; it makes me feel callous and smarmy to characterize it this way.

"I'm really sorry Dad." I turn to look at him to gauge this, he is teary and smiling through his beard. There is more, I know from his look that there is more. I do hold my breath now, if only for a second.

"Don't be sorry yet, we still don't know if it's anything serious, or anything that can be helped." He is nodding as if someone else is reassuring him with these words.

"There's more...oh wow, I *really* don't know how to say this..." Told you.

Part 2

I saw my father be violent twice in my life. I would learn later that the first time was the beginning of the end with my mother; the second time was the end. Period.

My earliest memories all derive from the little trailer I lived in with my parents when I was three. I wear this trailer like a badge now, "Gosh, we were so poor we lived in a trailer and our first winter there we were so poor we didn't have any heat!" I use this like some kind of inside-out class distinction, setting me apart from those writers who didn't have to starve to get here. Really it doesn't matter how you got here, we're all starving now, even if we have enough to eat.

It was the first home I remember, and that's what counts. I remember the boy next door teaching me how to do a cartwheel, I remember finding a half-starved cat beneath our porch and nursing her back to health, I remember that my bedroom had a window seat where my stuffed animals lived, I remember my father carrying me in from the car when I had the chicken pox. I remember the first of two real fights that I would witness between my parents.

I don't remember what was said, this in fact, seems unimportant anyhow. I only remember that we were at the little Formica table in the kitchen eating spaghetti, and that my parents began to argue. Then I remember that my father picked up his plate of spaghetti and hurled it at the wall. Except that when the plate

hit, it burst apart, and sent chunks of dish and dinner into the fish tank. I remember watching the water turn murky with spaghetti sauce like chum and the spaghetti floating like worms on invisible hooks. I wonder now what those fish thought. Did they think it was the End Days as their world filled with red, or did they think that these rubbery worms were manna from heaven, rained down because they had pleased their gods?

I'd like to say here that I was terrified, that this is when my tiny world began to crumble; but when my father came to speak to me later with soft, comforting words, I told him simply and honestly that I had thought the whole thing quite funny. In fact, I had quite a hard time not bursting into laughter. This story is still repeated in my family, how when my father came to console me I said simply "It's okay daddy, I thought it was funny when the 'sgetti went in the fish tank!" I would learn later, many years later, that my parents had been fighting because my father had disappeared for three days and come home to my mother with transparent and flippant excuses.

Part 3

I was sixteen and madly in love, mostly because my parents hated him. In fact, I had only agreed to 'go out' with Jeff out of pity. We had been friends and I knew he was in love with me. He was sweet and misunderstood by the world in general, or what I thought was the world in general. He was my father's antithesis, passionate about every detail of life: a band that someone had told him to check out, the pizza downtown, vodka and coke on Friday nights. When I accepted Jeff's offer to be his girlfriend we were on the phone.

"Oh god, Sheena, I never thought you'd say yes! I've been tortured over how to ask you, I never thought...I'm so happy, you've made me so happy!"

I'm not exaggerating. He really did sound like something straight out of a Victorian novel. I expected at any moment for him to say, "Oh, my yes, I am quite elated my beloved!"

After we had been together for four months he would tattoo my name on his arm. For all I know he is still walking around with my name on his paltry bicep.

I accepted his love but know now I never reciprocated as ardently. Retrospection is devastating to the romantic, but at the time he was the earth in a geocentric universe. Every Saturday my father would drive me to his house. He lived two towns over; I never dated the boys from my own town, perhaps because I had seen them eat boogers when they were four. My parents hated this boy who had been in a reform school of-sorts, but they were not the type of parents to forbid, and so they would drive me to his house every Saturday morning.

When I had snuck out in the middle of Friday night to have a cigarette it had been fairly warm for wintertime, well above freezing. The snow had mostly melted, slush clogged the cracks in the sidewalks. At some point between my midnight smoke and the time I awoke mid-morning the next day, however, the temperature had dropped obscenely. The slush had become a dangerously slick and uneven ice, and a thick, unrelenting snow had been falling steadily while I slept. My father gave me the disappointing news that we would not be able to make the twenty minute drive to Jeff's. I can tell you from this distance, when sixteen was so long ago that sins are (almost) forgotten, that I pitched a fit. I didn't understand that the roads were actually dangerous, I thought that was just another of the many things my parents deemed "dangerous" that in my infinite wisdom of sixteen, I knew were not.

"You are just doing this because you hate Jeff! Don't you care about my happiness?!" Melodrama is too paltry a word.

"Sheena, for Chrissakes! This has nothing to do with that friggin' boy!" My father's whole face was turning red. His eyes were wide like he had been holding his breath for too long.

"See! You called him that 'frigging boy!' Case in point!" I wanted to be a lawyer

at this time, mostly because every time I fought with my grandmother she would mutter about me being a lawyer, which I took as a compliment.

Then this: "Sheena you drive me crazy sometimes!" he was actually grabbing his head, as if it were something that might explode if he let go. By how red it was, maybe it would have. "Sometimes you make me want to kill myself the way you act!"

The room vibrated with his words, radiating outwards like a heat vision. The bed caught me behind the knees and I slumped down onto it, deflating. My grandmother up until this point had been standing behind my father, listening quietly with stern reprove for my behavior on her face. But at this she turned to him with a shock that was almost comical, her mouth making a little "o" of surprise and her eyes wide, perhaps taking in this new and virulent creature beside her. She turned slowly toward me, her mouth and eyes still stretched exaggeratedly. I stared beyond my father at the wall. I didn't speak.

My father's other outbursts had been maudlin in retrospect; a quick and over-dramatic gesture that eased the tension more than it had created it. My mother had been unflinching, not much had ever fazed her. It had rendered the action moot because there was no reaction to sustain it. That day though, there was no one to deflect it for me. I caught it full in the chest, like a branch snapping back after being bent the other way.

Part 4

We were living in our second home, we had upgraded from the tiny, single-wide trailer to a brand new double-wide with spacious rooms, skylights, walk-in closets, a whirlpool tub, and a sliding glass door that led onto a deck. It was still a trailer and it was still home. I remember the big vegetable garden in the back yard, I remember playing in the creek that ran next to my swing set, I remember how my parents watched cartoons with me in the middle of the night once when I had a nightmare.

The second big fight plays in my mind much like the first. I don't remember where it began or what was said. I do remember that that time I was also at the table. My parents were in the kitchen across from me and they were arguing. I don't remember being upset or scared. I just remember being a little thrilled at this scene, like watching a horror movie you know isn't real. All of the sudden my father punched the pantry door. Maybe he used more force than he wanted. Maybe he didn't. But the measly little thing just split right down the middle with a puny little cracking noise. I wish I could say here what my mother's face looked like, or my father's for that matter. But I can't. I only remember that the rest of the time we lived there, which was another seven years after my father left, we had a curtain hanging on that pantry. I would learn later, long after we left the house with the curtained pantry, that my mother was confronting my father about his mistress, the woman who would become my stepmother. The woman who did not yet know that her heart was failing her.

Part 5

"There's more...oh wow, I *really* don't know how to say this..." We both stare straight ahead, and wait. I wait for this thing that he doesn't know how to say, and he waits for, I don't know, courage? The right words? To finish saying an internal prayer? It all rushes out at once, like water out of a hose that has just been un-kinked.

"Diane has been sick for a long time, you know this, and, well, and I don't know how to put this delicately, we haven't had a physical relationship since she's been sick, and she's encouraged me to go outside the marriage for this, and I never have, I swear I never have!" He turns to me and his hands go up in a little flutter, as if this gesture is a sign that he is telling the truth. I nod as if I know what the hell is going on. The streetlights are haloed in a dirty orange, only illuminating the small radius that surrounds them.

"So I met this woman, her name is Leeann, and well, we've been seeing each other.

But I swear that this is okay with Diane, there are no secrets. You can call her up and ask her if you want!" Yeah, that's what I want to do right now. I want to call my stepmother and say, "Hey, are you really cool with the idea of dad fucking some lady because your ticker is on the fritz?" Let me get right on that.

Instead I say, "Well, I have a secret too." I reach into my purse and light a cigarette, right there in my dad's car, who never smoked and hates smoking and doesn't know I smoke. He watches me out of the corner of his eye but does not react. My hands shake while I light it.

We try so hard to extricate ourselves from our parents, stealing ourselves quietly away until we are standing on the opposite side of the bank. Once we are over there we can never get back, we are too heavy with understanding. Our parents from this distance become people, not just an appendage of ourselves. This distance brings their faults into sharper relief.

My father grips the steering wheel and watches the cars go by. I smoke and sip from my coffee. This has been going on for decades in different rooms.

Part 6

My phone rings, I am at the barn cleaning my horse's stall.

"Hello, Sheena, it's your father." He always announces himself this way, as if I don't know his voice after nearly thirty years.

"Hi dad, what's up?" I lean on the pitchfork to talk. My horse is chews on the back of my coat, reminding me perhaps that she has not yet had dinner.

"Well, I was thinking about coming by tonight, would that be okay?"

"Yeah, sure...is everything okay?" My father has only come to my apartment once in the three years I have lived there.

“Well, yes and no. There’s some things I need to talk to you about, that’s all. But don’t worry.” This last part is hasty, as if I’m still a little child who might be afraid that there is indeed a bogey-man.

My father shows up two hours later. He walks in with his usual fake self-confidence, like he is looking to buy the place. He stands in front of my fiancé’s guitar, strumming the strings like it’s what he came here to do.

“Have a seat dad, I’ll go get your grandson to come down and say goodnight, he’s got chorus before school tomorrow so he’s got to get to bed early.”

“Well...yeah okay, go get him, I want to say hello. But then I thought you and I could take a drive.” He turns back to the guitar and there is look between Nate and I. My father likes this man that I am going to marry, they are even as comfortable around each other as can be expected, seeing as they are both devoid of social grace; but I shrug and acquiesce.

Half an hour later his secret sits between us in the car. I would like to say that it is a barrier, but it isn’t. I’m too used to the world; I’m not shocked by this twist in the plot. I light another cigarette off the first. I’m not a chain smoker.

“I don’t really care what you do with your life, if it makes you happy, so be it.”

“Oh, wow...thank you honey. You don’t know how much that means to me, and how much I dreaded coming up here to tell you this.” His eyes are a little teary still, but his hands slip from the steering wheel to clasp loosely together, as if in prayer.

“But listen, this isn’t just about me meeting my needs...it’s more than that. Somehow through this woman I have opened up emotionally. My relationship with Diane is stronger and I’ve realized a lot about myself too.” He is looking at me now, and I am looking at the orange tip of my cigarette.

Later I will go home and have a beer with Nate and we will try and puzzle out when our parents became ambiguous. We will wonder at how every mirror in our childhood homes was warped and cracked, so that we could only see a part of each room.

Part 7

I moved out six months after the fight with my father about Jeff, three months before my seventeenth birthday. I’d like to say that there had been another big fight when I moved out, but there was not. My cousin, who lived an hour away, had called to ask if I wanted to move in with her. She needed a live-in babysitter and I needed something. I packed my things and she picked me up that day; within a week I had a job and was enrolled in the local high school. My father and I didn’t speak for months.

My cousin wasn’t as strict as my parents; instead of running with this, I put my freedom in a lock to guard. I smoked less, I didn’t date, the extent of my ‘partying’ was a couple of wine coolers while playing cards with my only friend in town. I focused on school and work and babysitting my three-year-old niece, who called me ‘Mommy-Sheena.’ I didn’t have peace, but I had complacency.

On my seventeenth birthday my friend bought me a bottle of wine and we drank half of it, passing it back and forth. I sat on her kitchen counter and she leaned against the dishwasher. We smoked too many cigarettes and laughed to loud.

“Here’s to another year!” She slurred. I drank to that.

My dad sent me a birthday card that said simply: “I miss you. Have a happy birthday.”

Part 8

“The thing is, I realized that I’m not the best guy in the world to deal with. I’ve always thought I was the best friend, the best husband, the best dad that I was capable of. That’s not to say that I thought that I was the best overall, just the best I was capable of.” He trails off, looking

out the window and cupping his beard in his hand.

I inhale the smoke from my cigarette deeply. I take a sip from my Styrofoam cup of coffee. In other words, I wait impatiently.

“I see now that I wasn’t such a great guy, and that I wasn’t such a great dad in particular. We were so close when you were little, and by the time you started slipping away I hadn’t even realized what happened.” He turns to look at me again.

“Dad, really, it’s okay. I wasn’t exactly an easy teenager anyways. It really doesn’t matter.” It’s my turn to trail off, to return to my cigarette and my coffee.

“It’s not okay. I’m sorry that I made you feel so shitty about yourself. That wasn’t fair because I was the adult, and I should have known better.” He is imploring, really needing my forgiveness. My father the atheist needs forgiveness.

“It’s okay dad, I forgive you.”

Part 9

In my box of memories, filled with grainy snapshots and short silent films, my mother gains ground with quantity. It is my mother I remember making homemade pudding, painting my nails and crimping my hair, taking me to soccer practice, piano lessons, and to the barn to ride the horse we shared. My mother is a constant, always there with her dyed burgundy hair and trendy clothes. My father is not excluded from my memories, but they are scarcer, harder to conjure, often buried at the bottom of the box underneath insignificance. These memories are of big moments. He is in the movie about my stitches, he is in the photo of kindergarten registration. His memories are bulky, conspicuous; so I try not to let them sink.

Hiroshima mon amour

Submitted by: Marc Johnson

Hiroshima mon amour est le premier long-métrage et le chef d'oeuvre d'Alain Resnais. C'est un film des contraires. Il mélange les aspects d'un documentaire et ceux de la fiction. Il mélange aussi l'histoire des bombes atomiques (la mort) et celle d'amour (la vie). De plus, ce film utilise le concept du temps et explique le lien entre le présent et le passé afin d'examiner le chagrin et l'acte d'oublier. Il le fait tout en utilisant les techniques très innovatrices à l'époque comme le flashback. C'est un film très émouvant.

Alain Resnais est né à Vannes en Bretagne à 3 Juin 1922 (Armes, 19). Quand il avait treize ans, il a fait son premier petit film avec un caméra qu'il avait reçu pour Noël (Manaco, 17). L'année suivante, il a fallu qu'il quitte l'école (à cause de sa santé ; il était asthmatique) (Armes, 19). Alors, sa mère lui a fait l'école chez eux. Quand il était jeune, il s'intéressait au théâtre et il essayait d'être un acteur, mais il n'y a pas réussi. Après avoir passé du temps sous le drapeau, il est resté à L'Institut des Hautes Etudes Cinématographiques (IDHEC) (Armes, 30) pendant 18 mois, mais il a abandonné ses études parce qu'il ne pouvait pas payer les frais de scolarité. Pourtant, il a continué à travailler avec le film. Pendant longtemps, il travaillait comme cameraman et puis comme monteur. En effet, lorsqu'il était monteur, il faisait les films documentaires comme « Van Gogh, » « Guernica, » et « Nuit et brouillard » (Armes, 30).

Afin de créer un scénario original, Resnais choisissait des romanciers (Armes, 12). Par exemple, Alain Robbe-Grillet a écrit

L'Année dernière à Marienbad, Jean Cayrol a écrit *Muriel, ou le Temps d'un retour*, et Marguerite Duras a écrit *Hiroshima mon amour*. Resnais n'a jamais choisi de scénariste professionnel. Il voulait quelqu'un qui pouvait créer une histoire émouvante et qui pouvait donner le sens à une narration, mais il ne voulait pas quelqu'un qui suivait la recette traditionnelle d'Hollywood (Armes, 12). De plus, il demandait à ses écrivains de créer une biographie détaillée des personnages du film et une justification pour toutes ses actions (Armes, 12). Alors, c'était un metteur en scène très méticuleux et il essayait d'être fidèle à la psychologie des individus. En effet, il était plus intéressé à ce qui se passait dans l'esprit que ce qui se passait dans le monde extérieur (Armes, 18).

Hiroshima mon amour a évolué d'un documentaire que Resnais avait essayé de créer à propos de la bombe atomique. Après quelque temps, il était très frustré avec ce projet (Armes, 66). Il croyait qu'il essayait de recréer un de ses documentaires qui s'intitulait « Nuit et brouillard » un documentaire à propos de l'Holocauste et les camps de concentration. Il a exprimé sa frustration avec le projet à ses producteurs. Il a dit en plaisantant que si quelqu'un comme Marguerite Duras était intéressée dans le projet, il pourrait le créer. Etonnamment, elle s'y intéressait. Alors, Duras a écrit le scénario (et les biographies que j'ai mentionnées plus haut). Resnais a utilisé des pellicules documentaires dans le film. Il tournait aussi l'extérieur du film à Hiroshima tandis qu'il tournait l'intérieur du film à Tokyo (Armes, 69). Alors, Duras a classé ce film

« documentaire faux. » Le compositeur italien Giovanni Fusco (qui a travaillé beaucoup avec le metteur en scène italien Michelangelo Antonioni) a créé la musique (Armes, 79). Quand le film était complet, c'était une oeuvre d'art, mais il était exclu de La Sélection officielle à Cannes en 1959 parce que le sujet était trop controversé, et on ne voulait pas faire de la peine aux Etats-Unis.

Le film s'agit d'une femme française qui va à Hiroshima afin de jouer dans un film à propos du bombardement. Là, elle rencontre un homme japonais, et ils se font l'amour. Pourtant, la psychologie de tous les deux (surtout la femme) prévient que les deux vont devenir plus proche. La femme se souvient de son premier amant : pendant la guerre, elle était tombée amoureuse d'un soldat allemand. Un jour, quelqu'un l'a tué (à cause de l'amour interdit). Elle devient folle, ses parents lui rasant la tête, et ils la laissent dans la cave. Plus tard, elle récupère. Quand elle quitte la maison pour Paris, elle lit dans le journal qu'Hiroshima avait été bombardé. Le film s'agit, ainsi, du chagrin et du deuil à l'échelle individuelle et globale. Il s'agit de l'oubli et de la récupération. Je vais discuter ces points plus bas.

Plusieurs films de Resnais ont une structure similaire. Il y a cinq parties (Armes, 70-1). La première partie essaie d'établir le ton. Au début d'*Hiroshima mon amour*, on voit une image qu'on ne peut pas identifier. On voit un tas de matière qui bouge. Puis, la matière transforme en deux corps ; on voit deux individus qui font l'amour. Pourtant, la chair des deux corps donne l'impression d'un corps qui avait souffert des effets des bombes atomiques (Luchtung, 303). Quand le film s'ouvre, le scénario dit qu' :

[II] apparaissent, peu à peu, deux épaules nues. On ne voit que ces deux épaules, elles sont coupées du corps à la hauteur de la tête et des hanches. Ces deux épaules s'étreignent et elles sont comme trempées de cendres, de pluie, de rosée ou de sueur, comme on veut.

Le principal c'est qu'on ait le sentiment que cette rosée, cette transpiration, a été déposée par le « champignon »... à mesure de son éloignement, à mesure de son évaporation.

Il devrait en résulter un sentiment très violent, très contradictoire, de fraîcheur et de désir (Duras, 21-2).

Lorsqu'on le voit, on entend deux voix rêveuses. La voix de l'homme : « Tu n'as rien vu à Hiroshima. Rien. » La voix de la femme : « J'ai tout vu à Hiroshima. Tout. » Puis, on voit les images horribles des effets d'Hiroshima : les Japonais sans membres, brûlés, et ainsi de suite. Comme Monaco a dit, cela donne l'impression que l'horreur d'Hiroshima est une partie de leurs ébats amoureux (Monaco, 48). Qu'est-ce que ça veut dire ? Peut-être cela continue l'amour même dans la destruction ... la continuation de la vie après cet acte de la mort. Les images provoquent la mort et la vie, le plaisir et la douleur (Armes, 77). Ces scènes passent vite, et comme j'ai dit, tous a l'air d'un rêve. Le début du film, ainsi, établit l'idée que ce film s'agit des esprits des personnages.

Hiroshima mon amour n'appuie pas sur l'intrigue ; elle est minimale (Armes, 77). Il s'appuie sur le rythme des images, sur la musique, sur la narration, et ainsi de suite. Le film se fixe sur la forme (Monaco, 9). Alors, il est dans la tradition moderniste. Après le début, les deux amants parlent et ils découvrent beaucoup à propos de l'un et de l'autre. On apprend ce que la femme fait au Japon, mais on n'apprend jamais son nom. Pareillement, on apprend que l'homme est un architecte, mais il reste sans nom aussi. Plus tard, les amants se rencontrent encore à une manifestation fautive (du film à propos du bombardement). Ils font l'amour, mais après, elle dit qu'il faut qu'elle parte bientôt du Japon. Il veut qu'elle reste. Plus tard, au café, elle décrit son premier amour (le soldat allemand), et les événements horribles de son passé. C'est avec ces scènes qu'on se rend compte de l'hésitation de la femme et de ses flashbacks brefs. Lorsqu'elle raconte cette histoire, la femme parle au Japonais comme si c'est l'Allemand. Elle commence à dire « tu » à l'homme japonais quand elle fait allusion à

l'Allemand. Il est clair qu'elle a peur d'oublier cet amour. D'une cette manière, le Japonais est comme une menace. Elle dit « Ah ! C'est horrible. Je commence à moins bien me souvenir de toi. Je commence à t'oublier. Je tremble d'avoir oublié tant d'amour...(Nemours, 99). » Elle ne veut pas oublier son premier amour. Quand il semble qu'elle devienne folle encore, l'homme la gifle. Après cette scène intense, elle se promène dans Hiroshima, lorsque l'homme la suit. Le film finit avec un decrescendo. Le monsieur la suit la dame les unes sur les autres dans une boîte de nuit. Ils s'assoient à deux tables différentes, mais ils se fixent les yeux, lorsqu'un autre homme japonais commence à flirter avec elle. C'est comme une parodie de la nuit précédente, quand ils se sont rencontrés. On entend les mots de la voix de la femme : « Hi-ro-shi-ma...c'est ton nom. » Puis, on entend la voix de l'homme : « C'est mon nom, oui. Ton nom à toi est Nevers. Ne-vers-en-Fran-ce. » Fin.

Le film essaie de montrer le lien entre le passé et le présent (Luchting, 302). On voit les actions des personnages, mais on ne peut pas les interpréter sans contexte. La femme a l'air d'être hésitante. Alors, quand on voit les flashbacks aux scènes à Nevers, on se rend compte comment les actions passées et les actions présentes s'influencent les unes aux autres. Le film essaie de montrer l'interaction entre le temps réel (le temps qui coule dans le monde extérieur) et le temps psychologique (le temps phénoménologique) (Luchting, 307). Le rythme change pendant le film : tantôt il est très rapide, tantôt il est pensif (Golding, 66). Il correspond à l'esprit d'une personne triste ou d'une personne peinée (Golding, 66). La femme est triste parce qu'elle se souvient de l'Allemand, et elle se sent coupable de « l'avoir oublié. » Quand elle est avec l'homme japonais, elle se rend compte que son amour pour l'Allemand s'affaiblit ; cela veut dire qu'elle récupère de son chagrin. Pourtant, elle a peur d'oublier parce qu'elle croit que cela veut dire que l'amour était moins réel. Comme écrit plus haut, quand elle raconte l'histoire de son premier amour, elle devient folle. Alors, l'homme japonais la gifle afin de « l'amener »

au présent. Avant la gifle, les mémoires avait du monde ; après la gifle, il n'y a plus personne (Luchting, 310). Il règle le temps de nouveau : le passé doit être dans le passé tandis que le présent doit être dans le présent (Luchting, 310).

Ce thème d'oublier est important pour les bombardements atomiques aussi. Pourtant, même s'il est important de se remettre du traumatisme, ce n'est pas le cas que l'on doit oublier complètement les actions passées. Le film montre la relation entre le passé et le présent et la nécessité d'oublier, et on se demande s'il suggère si Hiroshima oubliera (Golding, 64-5). En racontant ce que Hiroshima voulait dire en France, la femme dit « La fin de la guerre, je veux dire, complètement. La stupeur ... à l'idée qu'on ait osé ... la stupeur à l'idée qu'on ait réussi. Et puis aussi, pour nous, le commencement d'une peur inconnue. Et puis, l'indifférence, la peur de l'indifférence aussi (Duras, 48). »

Pourtant, le film, évidemment ne dit pas qu'on doit l'oublier. En effet, il dit que les souvenirs du traumatisme sont nécessaires si on veut les surmonter. Il faut qu'on n'oublie pas les bombardements atomiques parce qu'il faut que les humains apprennent quelque chose de cette destruction.

Hiroshima mon amour, le chef d'oeuvre d'Alain Resnais, a commencé comme un documentaire sur les bombardements atomiques. Après que Marguerite Duras a écrit le scénario, le film a commencé à se faire tourner à Hiroshima et à Tokyo. Resnais utilise des techniques innovatrices, et s'égare du réalisme.

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La Haine

Submitted by: Cassandra Hoffman

La Haine est un film du « cinéma de la banlieue » par Mathieu Kassovitz. Il a été créé en 1995. La mise au point de ce film était la lutte de trois jeunes garçons qui habitaient dans les banlieues de Paris pendant les manifestations. Le réalisateur a dit, « Le film était célèbre autour du monde parce qu'il représentait un problème international » (Kassovitz). Ce film montre bien les problèmes à cause de l'immigration, du racisme, et de la brutalité des policiers qu'on peut voir à Paris aujourd'hui. Il est puissant et émouvant, et pour des gens qui pensent que Paris est seulement la cité des lumières, il peut être choquant.

La Haine est un film en noir et blanc, et un film emblématique de la banlieue. Il s'agit de trois amis qui habitent dans la banlieue après que les policiers ont brutalisé leur ami, Abdel Ichaha. *La Haine* est le premier du « cinéma de la banlieue », et il y avait plusieurs autres que le film a inspiré, comme *Bye-Bye* ou *Ma 6-T Va Crack-Er*. Kassovitz a fait le film dans la banlieue de Chanteloup-les-Vignes. Le film est au point de vue de l'auditoire, mais on sympathise avec les trois personnages principaux, surtout avec Hubert, qui veut s'échapper de la vie de banlieue, et avec Saïd, qui est essentiellement un spectateur de ses deux amis. J'ai vu le film avec les sous-titres en anglais, et les traductions étaient bien faites. Les trois garçons utilisent souvent l'improvisation, et il est difficile à comprendre de temps en temps. La musique est souvent des chansons par des artistes populaires, et il y a beaucoup de chansons de hip-hop et de rap. Les chansons du film étaient intéressantes, parce que ce genre de musique parle vraiment aux jeunes de la banlieue, et la bande sonore présente l'influence de l'américanisation que Kassovitz voulait montrer.

Mathieu Kassovitz est le réalisateur du film, mais il est aussi acteur, rédacteur et scénariste. Kassovitz est le fils de Peter Kassovitz, réalisateur français qui habitait à Budapest pendant l'insurrection par les troupes soviétiques en 1956. Mathieu Kassovitz est né le 3 août 1967 à Paris. Kassovitz est le fondateur de MNP, une compagnie qui produit des films (*Mathieu Kassovitz*). Il est bien connu parce que c'est un homme vocal à propos des problèmes de la société. Après les attaques du 11 septembre 2001, Kassovitz a dit qu'il était nécessaire d'interroger « certains aspects de la version gouvernemental américaine » (*Mathieu Kassovitz*). *La Haine* était son premier succès commercial, et son deuxième, *Les Rivières Pourpres*, était un film intéressant mais trop compliqué pour la plupart des gens qui l'ont vu. Il a fait beaucoup de films, récemment des films américains comme *Gothika* et *Babylon A.D.* Son rôle le plus célèbre comme acteur est celui de Nino Quincampoix, l'homme qui s'intéresse au personnage principal dans *Le Fabuleux Destin d'Amélie Poulain* (Kassovitz). *La Haine* est un film important de Kassovitz, il a écrit l'histoire du film après la mort de Makomé M'Bowolé, tué par une tire accidentelle d'un policier dans une banlieue de Paris en 1993 (*La Haine*). Cette histoire a poussé Kassovitz à faire *La Haine* et à montrer au monde la brutalité et la violence dans les banlieues. Quelques critiques considèrent Kassovitz comme le « Zola » des banlieues, d'après Emile Zola qui a mis le point aux conditions pauvres contre les juifs avec son article « J'accuse » en 1898 (Sussman). Kassovitz peut être la voix des jeunes maltraités de ces environs.

Kassovitz a trouvé les acteurs qui n'étaient pas bien connus pour son film. Il voulait que le public puisse avoir un lien avec les personnages et que les personnages semblent aux vrais jeunes de banlieue. Les trois hommes principaux utilisent leurs vrais prénoms dans le film. Vincent Cassel, qui interprète le rôle de Vinz, travaillait avec Kassovitz dans d'autres films. C'est le seul des trois personnages principaux qui a aujourd'hui une vraie carrière comme acteur. Il a travaillé avec Kassovitz dans *Les Rivières Pourpres*, et aujourd'hui il est bien connu dans les films français et anglais. Saïd Taghmaoui, autre personnage principal du film, est un acteur et réalisateur français, qui a fait des films américains, et quelques participations dans des émissions de télévision américaine. Le troisième des garçons, Hubert Koundé, qui interprète le rôle d'Hubert, est un acteur dans quelques films américains, mais il n'a pas atteint le niveau de succès de Cassel. Les trois acteurs ont parlé positivement de leurs expériences, et ils croient au message du film et à son effet sur le monde et les conditions des banlieues (*La Haine*). Ce film a commencé les carrières de la plupart des acteurs principaux, et aussi la carrière de Kassovitz lui-même.

La Haine a gagné beaucoup de prix après son sorti en 1995. Il a gagné le prix de la mise en scène au Festival de Cannes en 1995, et trois Césars, pour le meilleur film, meilleur producteur et meilleur montage. Il a gagné aussi deux prix de Lumière, le prix du meilleur réalisateur de film, et aussi le meilleur jeune film et le meilleur film d'une langue étrangère. *La Haine* a eu des nominations pour d'autres prix, et le film est considéré comme un succès critique (Kassovitz).

On doit savoir un peu du contexte social à cette époque. L'immigration de la France était, pour la plupart, celle des Maghrébins, des noirs et des Asiatiques (Edmiston et Duménil 204). Comme les problèmes avec l'immigration aux États-Unis, les Français, et surtout les Parisiens, ne sont pas heureux avec le grand nombre d'immigrés. Les Maghrébins constituent le plus grand groupe d'immigrés, près de 40%, et ils pratiquent, pour la plupart, l'Islam (Edmiston et

Duménil 206). Les premiers immigrés n'ont pas beaucoup de similarités avec les Français, et les différences familiales et sociales étaient la cause de beaucoup de tension. Aux États-Unis, on met les gens les plus pauvres (et typiquement ces gens sont des minorités) aux centres des villes, dans des « ghettos ». A Paris, on fait l'opposé. Les pauvres de Paris habitent dans la banlieue, à la périphérie de la grande ville. Les situations sont similaires dans les deux pays, malgré l'emplacement des minorités et des pauvres. Les gens dans la banlieue souffrent, et ils tournent à la violence parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas s'échapper de leur pauvreté. Le film montre bien ces tensions raciales et/ou ethniques ; Vinz est juif, Saïd est arabe, et Hubert est noir. Ils représentent trois des groupes des minorités souffrantes.

Les tensions ont augmenté jusqu'à 2005. L'Europe de l'Ouest n'a pas bien intégré les immigrés, et le mécontentement des minorités était toujours présent (*Paris Riots in Perspective*). Deux jeunes maghrébins, Bouna Traore et Zyed Benna, sont morts accidentellement pendant les manifestations à Clichy-sous-Bois, banlieue de Paris. Nicolas Sarkozy a promis « la guerre sans clémence » contre la violence dans les banlieues. Après ces deux événements, les jeunes des banlieues étaient fâchés. Ils ont brûlé des voitures et ils ont saccagé des immeubles (*Paris Riots in Perspective*). A l'avis de Matt Feeny, Kassovitz a prédit ces manifestations dangereuses dans *La Haine* (Feeny). Il y avait des manifestations dans toutes les grandes villes de France, et les autorités ont déclaré un état d'urgence (*Paris Riots in Perspective*). Les manifestations se sont arrêtées, éventuellement, mais il y avait encore des tensions entre les jeunes minorités de la France et les autorités. Il y avait des manifestations similaires en 2007, et en été 2009, un jeune garçon est mort quand il s'est enfuit des policiers (*Paris Youths Riot Over Teen's Death*). La violence a commencé encore, et les Français ont vu que le problème n'avait pas été encore résolu. Quand ces tensions existent, la violence des jeunes dans les banlieues continue toujours.

Ce thème de la violence entre les jeunes et les policiers est un des principaux du film. La violence est la cause de celle dans *La Haine*, et, dans les mots d'Hubert, « la haine attire la haine ». Un autre thème du film est le racisme, on voit c'est une des raisons principales pour les assauts. Kassovitz montre bien les tensions dans les banlieues à cause des différences entre les religions et les races. Les policiers se présentent comme les hommes préjugés contre les Arabes, les noirs, les pauvres et les jeunes, et comme les hommes qui abusent le pouvoir. Le public peut voir bien les conséquences de ces préjugés, et à la fin du film on sait que le cycle de violence va continuer encore.

Il y a trois personnages principaux dans *La Haine*. Saïd est un jeune Arabe qui suit ses amis sans question. C'est le plus timide des trois, et il est souvent le médiateur entre ses deux meilleurs amis. Il habite avec sa mère, parce que son père est en prison pendant le film. Saïd est le personnage avec qui l'audience peut sympathiser, parce qu'il ne comprend pas bien la vie dure dans la banlieue. Son ami, Hubert, est le garçon le plus intelligent, le plus raisonnable, du groupe. C'est un jeune homme noir qui veut s'échapper des conditions de la banlieue. Il a un gymnase, et on peut voir qu'il peut réussir avec un peu d'effort. Hubert voudrait aller à l'université, et il voudrait déménager avec sa famille loin de la pauvreté de la banlieue. Il combat souvent avec Vinz, et il essaie toujours de faire des choses qui sont plus raisonnables et moins dangereuses. Le plus volatil des banlieusards est Vinz. C'est un jeune homme juif qui est agressif qui voulait se venger contre les policiers. Il trouve un pistolet d'un policier après une manifestation, et il le garde. Après la mort de son ami, il avoue qu'il va tuer un flic. Vinz mène la plupart de l'action, et des problèmes, pendant le film.

La scène la plus intéressante du film est aussi la plus choquante, c'est la dernière. Vinz donne le pistolet à Hubert, le plus responsable, et il décide qu'il ne veut ni tuer un flic, ni que personne d'autre. On pense à cet instant que le cycle de la violence peut s'arrêter, et que les garçons peuvent trouver la paix.

Malheureusement, les policiers d'une scène auparavant trouvent encore Saïd et Vinz quand ils rentrent chez eux. Il n'y a pas de musique pendant cette scène, et le public se trouve inquiet. Les policiers crient, et ils menacent les garçons, bien comme dans la scène précédente. Le chef a un pistolet, et il menace Vinz. Comme l'histoire vraie de laquelle Kassovitz avait pris l'inspiration, un policier tire contre toute attente. La scène se passe très vite, et l'audience ne sait pas le résultat exact avant qu'Hubert prenne son pistolet et il l'emploie pour le meurtre. Le flic utilise son pistolet contre Hubert, et le film se termine avec le son d'une tire. On ne sait pas le résultat, mais on sait que la violence continue, et qu'elle va continuer après l'injustice qu'on avait vue. Le cycle continue, comme le mythe de « Sisyphé », et il rien n'a changé.

La Haine est semblable à d'autres films qu'on voit dernièrement. On voit les difficultés des immigrés dans *Inch'Allah Dimanche*. Les différences sociales entre Zouina et ses voisins ont produit beaucoup de tension pour la femme algérienne. On voit bien les difficultés pour les gens, et surtout les femmes, islamiques démenagées en France. Les luttes de Zouina sont plus comme celles des parents d'Hubert, de Vinz et de Saïd, mais on peut voir le développement de la violence de *La Haine* dans *Inch'Allah Dimanche*. Un autre film qui explore les vies des gens pauvres est *L'Esquive* par Abdel Kechiche (Rice 137). Les personnages principaux souffrent des mêmes problèmes que les jeunes de *La Haine*. Ils sont pauvres, ils vivent dans des conditions immuables de la banlieue parisienne et ce sont des victimes de la brutalité policière. Les jeunes de *L'Esquive* trouvent de bonnes méthodes pour s'échapper de leurs vies, c'est-à-dire la pièce dramatique. Le film est bien moins tragique que *La Haine*, mais les idées et les luttes sont les mêmes.

La Haine est un film émouvant et puissant. Il montre bien les luttes des jeunes dans les banlieues, et les conséquences de ce cycle de violence. Kassovitz peut être vraiment la voix de ces gens défavorisés, et il présente un monde dur et cruel que tout le monde doit voir. Avec l'évidence des manifestations violentes de

2005, 2007 et 2009, on ne peut pas ignorer ce problème. Le cycle de la violence ne doit pas continuer sans aide et sans compréhension. On peut regarder *La Haine* comme un film intéressant et captivant, mais il a aussi un message important. *La Haine* est le premier de plusieurs, « films de la banlieue, » et il a prédit les vraies manifestations de la France avant qu'elles soient arrivées. Peut-être maintenant, on verra et on écouterà.

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A French Film Study: Les parapluies de Cherbourg

Submitted by: Hannah Huhr

Les films sont une ressource importante pour les renseignements sur les actualités, les convictions, et les valeurs de la société à leur époque. Les films sont aussi un outil créatif pour refléter les croyances du producteur de cinéma sur la société ou pour illustrer une idée philosophique. On doit comprendre le contexte de l'histoire pour recevoir une compréhension étendue de la signification du film. Les bons films incluent aussi des thèmes cachés et des techniques créatives qui transmettent un message subtil au spectateur.

Les Parapluies de Cherbourg est le deuxième film de la trilogie romantique de Jacques Demy. Cette trilogie inclut *Lola*, *Les Parapluies de Cherbourg*, et enfin, *Les Demoiselles de Rochefort*. Le deuxième est un film musical créé en 1964. Ce film a Catherine Deneuve et Nino Castelnuovo comme vedettes. Tout le dialogue dans ce film est chanté et il n'y a aucun mot parlé. Le chant pour chaque acteur est doublé. Danielle Licari chante pour Geneviève Emery ; José Bartel double le texte de Guy Foucher¹. Christiane Legrand est la voix de Madame Emery. Georges Blanes chante pour Roland Cassard. Claudine Meunier double la voix de Madeleine. Enfin, Claire Leclerc est la voix de la tante Élise. Dans *Lola* (1961), Roland Cassard est un jeune homme qui tombe amoureux de Lola, une femme qu'il a connue qui est maintenant une danseuse de spectacle¹. Cependant, Lola est préoccupée avec son ancien amant, Michel, qui l'a abandonnée pendant sa grossesse de son fils de sept ans. Roland est mêlé à un complot de faire du trafic des diamants avec le coiffeur local pour essayer de trouver du travail. À la fin, Michel retourne

chercher Lola juste au moment où elle quittait son poste pour un autre emploi et où Roland portait aussi; ils ne se rencontrent pas. Le personnage de Roland Cassard retourne dans le film *Les Parapluies* et il mentionne son passé avec Lola.

Ce film déroule à Cherbourg en Normandie en novembre 1958. Dans la première partie, intitulée « le départ », il y a une jeune femme, Geneviève, qui aime Guy, un jeune et beau mécanicien. Geneviève et sa mère, Madame Emery, elles sont propriétaires d'une boutique à Cherbourg qui vend les parapluies. Guy habite avec sa tante Elise accompagné de son travailleur social, Madeleine. Tante Elise est malade; alors, Guy et Madeleine la soignent. Madeleine est amoureuse de Guy, mais elle est réservée et dévouée à Tante Elise et elle ne révèle pas ses sentiments. Guy et Geneviève veulent se marier, mais Madame Emery l'interdit. En tout cas, leurs plans sont coupés parce que Guy reçoit une feuille de route et il doit servir dans la Guerre d'Algérie. Ils font l'amour la nuit avant son départ.

Dans la deuxième partie, « l'absence », Guy est absent de chez lui et en guerre et Geneviève découvre qu'elle est enceinte. Cependant, elle se sent abandonnée parce qu'il lui écrit à peine pendant qu'il est parti. Pendant ce temps, Madame Emery pense que Roland Cassard, un bijoutier amoureux de Geneviève, s'harmoniserait bien avec sa fille. Après avoir reçu beaucoup de pression de sa mère et de la société, Geneviève accepte d'épouser Roland, particulièrement grâce à sa volonté de l'épouser malgré sa grossesse.

Dans la troisième partie du film, « le retour », c'est mars 1959. Guy revient de la

guerre et il découvre que Geneviève s'est mariée et elle a quitté Cherbourg, en plus de Madame Emery. Guy retourne travailler au garage mais il devient antipathique dû à la difficulté de retourner à son ancienne vie. La guerre et la perte de Geneviève le blesse beaucoup. Il quitte son emploi après une dispute avec son patron. Après une nuit d'avoir trop bu et de coucher avec une prostituée, Guy retourne chez soi. Madeleine l'informe que Tante Elise est morte. Il se rend compte que Madeleine l'aime et il lui demande de rester avec lui pour l'aider à se mettre en forme. Elle l'accepte. Trois mois plus tard, en juin, Guy fait sa demande en mariage.

Dans l'épilogue du film, il y a quelques années plus tard, c'est décembre 1963, la nuit de la veille de Noël. Guy et Madeleine ont un fils qui s'appelle François. Ils gèrent leur propre station service. Madeleine et François partent un peu de temps, et Geneviève entre dans la station service avec sa fille, Françoise, la fille de Guy aussi. Geneviève et Guy entrent dans le bureau. Elle est riche, évidente avec sa voiture sophistiquée et son manteau de vison. Ils ont été surpris de se rencontrer. Geneviève explique que sa mère vient de mourir et c'est la première fois qu'elle retourne à Cherbourg. Elle lui demande s'il veut rencontrer sa fille, mais il hoche la tête. Ils se disent au revoir pour la dernière fois et Geneviève le fait partir. Le film se termine avec le retour de Madeleine et François, et la famille jouent dehors dans la neige.

Le contexte du film est important d'explorer parce qu'il révèle des événements historiques et culturels qui ont fait de l'effet sur la société. Un détail est la récurrence des marins tout au long du film. Ils sont partout parce que Cherbourg est une ville qui borde l'océan. Les marins font toujours une partie de la foule due à ce détail de l'endroit. Un autre événement important est la Guerre d'Algérie dans laquelle Guy doit combattre. La Guerre en Algérie a déclenché le 1 novembre, 1954 jusqu'au 19 mars, 1962 avec l'indépendance d'Algérieⁱⁱ. La guerre a concerné beaucoup de mouvements rivaux qui se sont battus aux moments différents. Le FLN (Front de Libération National) s'est battu contre le MNA

(Mouvement National Algérien) pour l'indépendance algérienne. L'OAS (Organisation de l'Armée Secrète) s'est battu contre le FLN et le gouvernement français pour prévenir l'indépendance algérienne. En France, la Quatrième République Française avait été dissoute à cause de l'instabilité du parlement français. Charles de Gaulle est retourné au pouvoir en 1958 et il a fondé la Cinquième République. De Gaulle a essayé de rétablir la position internationale de la France pendant la deuxième moitié de la guerre, mais il a enfin reconnu l'indépendance algérienne en 1962ⁱⁱⁱ.

Jacques Demy est né le 5 juin 1931 à Pontchâteau^{iv}. Il a grandi en Nantes. Il a étudié les beaux-arts^v. Il a réalisé des courts métrages et des films, y compris *Le Sabatier du Val de Loire* (1955), *Lola* (1961), *La Baie des Anges* (1962), *Les Parapluies de Cherbourg* (1964), *Les Demoiselles de Rochefort* (1967), *Model Shop* (1969), et *Peau d'Âne* (1970), parmi d'autres. Demy a passé du temps aux Etats-Unis où il a décroché un contrat avec Columbia Pictures. Il a fait des pauses du cinéma français et ses films ont reçu un mélange de la critique et du succès. Il s'est marié avec Agnès Varda, un autre réalisateur à succès. Demy est mort le 27 octobre 1990 à cause d'une hémorragie au cerveau, dû à la leucémie.

Jacques Demy a partagé sa vision personnelle de déguiser la vue et de masquer le pessimisme. « For each film, Demy constructed an elaborate mise-en-scène as a world into itself, shooting on location but transforming the landscape into a magical realm. » Les films de Demy contiennent des thèmes de la rêverie d'enfance et une qualité de l'innocence. Dans *Les Parapluies*, Demy a voulu créer « a mixture of poetry, color and music. » Il est aussi considéré d'avoir fait un peu partie de la Nouvelle Vague Française, un groupe des producteurs français des années 1950 et 60^{vi}. Un grand nombre de ces producteurs ont expérimenté avec l'édition, le style visuel, et la narration. On se laissait influencer par le néoréalisme italien et le cinéma hollywoodien classique. Un concept qui a continué à les influencer est l'approbation de la mise-en-scène, qui est pour la réalité de ce qui est filmé plutôt que la manipulation. On était aussi pour les

longues prises et les compositions profondes. On a aussi cru que les meilleurs films devaient porter une marque de l'expression personnelle de l'artiste. D'autres conventions des films Nouvelle Vague incluent la technique de tourner à l'extérieur, l'éclairage naturel, le dialogue improvisé, et la prise du son directe. Il y a aussi l'inclusion des idées politiques et sociales dans les films. On a rejeté la forme cinématographique classique. Cependant, Demy a continué à rester loyal à sa vision personnelle pour ses films, et alors ses œuvres ont apparu d'être plus enfantines par rapport à celles de ses collègues.

Yes, Demy's films lack political conviction, particularly when compared to those of Varda, the Left Bank, and Godard of the late '60s. Yet Demy did not ignore international contexts and social realities; he merely subjugated them to their imprints on his characters' personal lives...*Les Parapluies* frames its romance against the war in Algeria, but this remains mainly a backdrop to the lives of the young lovers.

Il me semble que Jacques Demy a une approche unique à réaliser ses films. Il ne correspond à aucune catégorie, mais tous ses films sont intéressants, surtout *Les Parapluies de Cherbourg*. Des techniques cinématographiques dans ce film incluent tout d'abord l'utilisation de la musique pendant tout le film. Les comédies musicales traditionnelles contiennent des scènes parlantes entrelacées avec des pièces musicales, comme dans *Les Demoiselles de Rochefort*. Jacques Demy inclut dans le film la Guerre d'Algérie, un événement récent à cette époque de l'histoire française. L'inclusion des sujets politiques dans le film se rapporte aux idées de la Nouvelle Vague, mais il est encore critiqué de ne pas vraiment appartenir à ce mouvement. Cependant, à mon avis, on doit le classer dans cette époque sans l'oublier.

J'aime aussi les transitions entre les scènes. Par exemple, après une scène avec Roland Cassard, où il conduit sa voiture, on voit ce qui passe à Geneviève. Tout d'un coup la caméra se cadre sur elle et sur ses actions. Un

autre exemple est quand Geneviève serre Guy dans ses bras. Ils sont dans la rue. Pendant que la caméra continue à concentrer sur le couple, la scène change subitement au même couple dans un café.

Jacques Demy va vers la direction de la Nouvelle Vague avec ses mise-en-scènes

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The Consolation of Boethius for Dante the Poet and Pilgrim

Submitted by: Gian Martinelli

Although Dante incorporates many of the great medieval thinkers into his final canticle, few are more represented than Boethius in the Circle of Mars. As we progress through Mars, we get a sense that Dante is using the ideas of Boethius as a support for himself as both a pilgrim and poet. As a poet, Dante seems to be inspired by the connections between his life and the life of Boethius. This connection is explored in deeper detail through a discourse on Fortune and wisdom. For Boethius, an abandonment of the wheel of Fortune leads to a life devoted to the good. In this way, Dante the poet identifies with Boethius' initial bitterness to loss, but ultimate gain in transcending Fortune. As a pilgrim, Dante develops intellectually as Cacciaguida recapitulates the Boethian solution to the problem between divine foreknowledge and human free will. Indeed, the argument serves as a preparation for the pilgrim before his bittersweet future is revealed. By the end of the journey through Mars, we see that Dante has combined these two perspectives through the Boethian claim that everything is done for the sake of the good.

There is no question of the presence of Boethius in the Circle of Mars. As the poem makes clear, this realm is for the warriors and crusaders of Christianity who lost their lives for their faith. While Boethius is already in the Circle of the Sun with the great sages, there is much in his life that shows similarities with someone like Cacciaguida. In the tenth canto, Thomas Aquinas describes Boethius' deliverance from suffering. As Aquinas puts it, "to this peace / he came from exile and from martyrdom," (Dante 123, ls. 128-129). This description is nearly identical to the description

Cacciaguida gives of his own death in the fifteenth canto. Cacciaguida claims that "from martyrdom I came to this, my peace" (182, l. 148). In seeing the similar description of these two figures, their identities take on a metaphorical unity. That is to say, Cacciaguida becomes a sort of Boethian guide for Dante through the Circle of Mars. It is fitting that, while Boethius is celebrated as one of the great thinkers, his archetype in Cacciaguida is the ideal leader for Dante as he moves through the realm of the crusaders.

The image of Boethius is also found in the life of Dante the poet. We learn in *The Consolation of Philosophy* that Boethius is charged with bogus crimes and sentenced to exile and, eventually, death. Boethius had enjoyed a comfortable life in politics, but, by the time of the *Consolation*, much had changed. "But now, five hundred miles away, mute and defenseless, I am condemned to proscription and death because of my concern for the safety of the Senate," he tells Lady Philosophy (Boethius 13). Boethius makes it quite clear that he is completely innocent. He simply wanted to preserve the integrity of the Senate. In exchange for this, he is stripped of everything through his exile and forced to wait out his killing. Further, Boethius laments the loss of his reputation. Due to the charges brought against him, Boethius says that he "cannot bear to think of the rumors and various opinions that are now going around" (14). The entire experience is humiliating and terrifying for Boethius.

The similarity between Boethius' misfortunes and Dante's life is brought out quite nicely in Cacciaguida's prophecy of Dante's future. Cacciaguida tells Dante that, "as

Hippolytus was forced to flee from Athens / by his devious and merciless stepmother, / just so you too shall have to leave your Florence” (Dante 203, ls 46-48.) This comparison works perfectly in evoking the sense of injustice in the action of driving Dante out of his beloved city. Just as Hippolytus was driven out of Athens due to his stepmother’s false charges against him, so Dante will be driven out of Florence for absurd reasons. Like Boethius, Dante will abandon his cherished life in Florence. Indeed, Dante’s ancestor warns him that he will “be forced to leave behind those things / you love most dearly” (204, ls 55-56). Furthermore, the poet will go on to experience as much public humiliation as Boethius. Cacciaguida tells Dante that “the public will, as always, blame the party / that has been wronged” (204, ls. 52-53). The phrase, “as always,” seems to be a subtle reminder of the similar injustice suffered by Boethius. Seeing the connections in their lives, Dante must have felt some relief knowing that Boethius, one of his heroes, went through a similar ordeal.

Through the parallels Dante the poet weaves between himself and Boethius, the Circle of Mars becomes a sort of meditation on Fortune and wisdom. We can see the formation of this meditation within the first lines of the fifteenth canto. As the souls in Mars finish their song to God, Dante ponders how “right it is that he forever mourn / who out of love for what does not endure / loses that other love eternally” (178, ls. 10-12). “That other love” can be seen as love of God, while the love that causes mourning is love of Fortune. This dichotomy of loves can be traced back to Boethius’ definitions. As Lady Philosophy grills Boethius over his loss of Fortune, she tells him that “you are wrong if you think that Fortune has changed toward you. This is her nature, the way she always behaves. She is changeable, and so in her relations with you she has merely done what she always does” (Boethius 21). As Boethius points out, it is the very essence of Fortune to incessantly change. Anyone who devotes her life to it will inevitably be heartbroken because fortune, which “does not endure,” will abandon her. Boethius labels that which falls under the realm of Fortune as “limited things,” which “are

not man’s path to happiness, nor can they make him happy in themselves” (55).

One of the many forms of Fortune that Dante criticizes and extracts from Boethius is that of a noble name. In the beginning of the sixteenth canto, Dante the poet gives a sort of invective against the ignorance and vainglory of nobility. “Ah, trivial thing, our pride in noble blood!” he cries out in the very beginning of the canto (Dante 189, l.1). This is basically a summary of Boethius’ scorn of fame and nobility in Book Three of the *Consolation*. As Lady Philosophy discusses the lack of happiness in fame, she tells him that “everyone knows that to be called noble is a stupid and worthless thing... The praise of others (in this case, your parents) will not make you famous if you have no fame of your own” (Boethius 53). For Boethius, nobility is just another guise that Fortune uses to seduce us. It is something that carries no weight if an individual has done nothing virtuous to gain that nobility. Moreover, this kind of nobility is just as temporal as any other form of Fortune. Dante makes this quite clear when exclaims, “Nobility, a mantle quick to shrink! / Unless we add to it from day to day, / time with its shears will trim off more and more” (Dante 189, ls. 7-9). One must not revel in the actions of his ancestors, but virtuously add to the “mantle” if he wants to enjoy the title of nobility.

Dante the poet incorporates this lesson through his confession of his pride of Cacciaguida. When he is given the chance to talk to his ancestor, Dante “spoke again addressing him as ‘voi.’” (189, l. 10). Dante is so caught up in the honor which shrouds his ancestor that he begins to use showy language that reflects his overzealousness. As Dante’s guide, however, “Beatrice, not too far from us, / smiling, reminded me of her who coughed / to caution Guinevere at her first sign / of weakness” (189, ls. 13-15). As a sort of Lady Philosophy for Dante, Beatrice reminds the pilgrim of the foolishness of his pride with such subtle power that he stops using the “voi” altogether. In fact, the next time Dante speaks to Cacciaguida in the seventeenth canto, he speaks in more of an informal, intimate tone. In terms of Dante the poet, this intervention on the

part of Beatrice seems to represent the poet's discovery and change toward pride through the work of Boethius. In other words, since Dante's hostility toward noble pride is so similar to Boethius' claims, I see this as Dante's way of showing how important Boethius was in spiritually guiding the poet beyond the woes of Fortune, especially during his exile.

Another example that shows the decadence of Fortune is the representation of the decay of Florence. Dante uses his denouncement of noble pride as a foundation for the portrayal of his former home. Cacciaguida's account of the fallen families reflects this. He tells us that, if we consider the fall of several great ancient cities, "you should not find it hard to understand / or strange to hear that families dwindle out / when even cities pass away in time" (Dante 191, ls. 76-78). For Cacciaguida, the ephemeral nature of civilization is magnified in the fall of noble families. As Robert Hollander puts it, "If cities show such mortal tendencies, reflects Cacciaguida, how much more subject to mortality are mere families? (Hollander 446)" This harmonizes well with the subtle admonishment Beatrice has just given the pilgrim. The lesson of humility toward nobility given by Beatrice to Dante is expanded to the entire noble sphere of Florence in the rest of the canto. Just as Dante's pride in his ancestor reflects a reliance on Fortune, so the city's decay reflects its devotion to that which does not endure. "And as the turning of the lunar sphere / covers and then uncovers ceaselessly / the shore," Dante tells us, "so Fortune does with Florence now" (Dante 191, ls. 82-84). Like the circular process of the tides moving in and receding, the wheel of Fortune raises the city up only to drop it.

The point of this can be traced to Boethius. Dante is chronicling all of these Florentine noble families as fallen from their originally happy states. Like Lady Philosophy, Dante the poet seems to be reminding himself that everyone, at one point or another, is subject to the ways of Fortune. He seems to be going back to Boethius, who tells us that all of Philosophy's past followers have had to suffer. Furthermore, the decadence of Florence reflects the Boethian notion that those who are too taken

by their noble name, who are so enveloped in Fortune, suffer the greatest. At one point Cacciaguida exclaims, "How great I saw them once who now are ruined / by their own pride (192, ls. 109-110)!" Again, Dante the poet seems to be lamenting that the depravity of his city is an all-too-clear example of Boethius' claims.

There are also many indications of how the ideas of Boethius influence and intellectually develop Dante the pilgrim in the Circle of Mars. This is shown best in the seventeenth canto, where Cacciaguida discusses the relation between divine foreknowledge and human free will. The pilgrim, having traveled through Inferno and Purgatorio, wants Cacciaguida to tell him what his future entails. As the pilgrim points out, "you see, gazing upon the final Point / where time is timeless, those contingent things / before they ever come into true being" (203, ls. 16-18). God, the "final Point," does not see things according to a temporal sequence. Rather, God sees everything at the same time in an eternal present. Boethius makes the same claim when he argues that, "since God lives in the eternal present, His knowledge transcends all movement of time and abides in the simplicity of its immediate present" (Boethius 116). For God, all time is perceived at the same time. Since the members of Heaven continually gaze at God, they too can perceive everything in the eternal present.

This distinction, however, brings up a major philosophical problem that has plagued thinkers for a long time. If God can foresee all of our actions, then do we really have free will? The question becomes especially important in light of the poem, as the pilgrim's future actions seem to be preordained in the prophecy of Cacciaguida. As we have seen, however, Dante must choose to be virtuous if he wants to enjoy any sense of nobility or holiness. If it is predestined for Dante to act the way does, can he really be held accountable for the good or bad he does? If men cannot choose freely, then concepts of reward and punishment break down, since their chosen actions are mere illusions. Furthermore, Boethius points out that prayer would be meaningless, "for what is the point in

hope or prayer when everything that man desires is determined by unalterable process? (Boethius 107)” An ideal solution to this problem would allow for God to retain his foreknowledge and humans to keep their free will.

In the *Consolation*, Boethius gives such a solution. Lady Philosophy starts the argument by reinforcing the importance of human free will. In this way, Boethius the philosopher is able to literally build up from human nature to God’s nature. For Boethius, being a rational human being implies having free will, “for any being, which by its nature has the use of reason, must also have the power of judgment by which it can make decisions and, by its own resources, distinguish between things which should be desired and things which should be avoided” (103). We all have the power of judgment, and we know we can choose what is good or bad, so we must have free will.

If we do have free will, how is this reconciled with God’s foreknowledge? Boethius’ answer is crucial to understanding Dante’s seventeenth canto. The argument is preceded by the idea that “everything which is known is known not according to its own power but rather according to the capacity of the knower” (110). Before Boethius gives his argument for a compatibility between foreknowledge and free will, he emphasizes our severely limited epistemological capacities. From our perspective, we think that, if our future actions are known with certainty, they are wholly necessary. Our knowledge of the world is bound by the process of time and causality. God’s knowledge, on the other hand, is not bound by anything, since He exists beyond space and time.

Boethius’ solution to the problem is based on the fact that God exists in an eternal present. For Boethius, God’s knowledge “encompasses the infinite sweep of past and future, and regards all things in its simple comprehension as if they were now taking place” (116). Since God is outside of space and time, He perceives everything beyond the bounds that confine human perception. Boethius makes the interesting claim that God doesn’t actually foresee anything, since there is

no sense of temporal procession in His perceptions. Instead, God distinguishes things by His knowledge of the eternal present in which He exists. Since God doesn’t have foreknowledge in the way we think of it, His providence “does not change the nature and properties of things; it simply sees things present before it as they will later turn out to be in what we regard as the future” (117). Moreover, God is able to perceive all possible actions with the necessary actions. This includes actions which may never even occur. Therefore, God is able to see what can come about through both necessity and human free will without interfering in the contingency required for free will.

Cacciaguida seems to notice that, if Dante cannot be held accountable for his actions, the divine command to write the *Commedia* is meaningless. This is why he provides the Boethian argument for a compatibility between divine foreknowledge and human free will before he grants Dante’s request to hear his future. He starts his speech by saying that “contingency, which in no way extends / beyond the pages of your world of matter, / is all depicted in the eternal sight” (Dante 203, ls. 37-39). Like Boethius, Cacciaguida claims that God can see all potential actions, even the ones that never come into being. This ties in with what the pilgrim says earlier in the canto concerning those who look “upon the final Point” and see everything before it has come into being. Just as we can process certain mathematical laws, so Cacciaguida can see in the eternal present everything that will happen in the future.

Like Boethius, Dante wants to show that the eternal sight of these contingencies does not impose necessity on them. As Cacciaguida puts it, “this no more confers necessity / than does the movement of a boat downstream / depend upon the eyes that mirror it” (203, ls. 40-42). Just as a man who watches a moving boat doesn’t control its course, so God watches our actions without interfering with our free will. Dante’s analogy is similar to the questions Philosophy poses against Boethius’ claims. After showing him that God perceives in an eternal present, Lady Philosophy asks, “Why

then do you imagine that things are necessary which are illuminated by this divine light, since even men do not impose necessity on the things they see? Does your vision impose any necessity upon things which you see present before you? (Boethius 117)” Boethius is emphasizing the logical inconsistency in the notion that God foresees and therefore imposes necessity on all actions. Since He is in a state where there is no past or future, and perceives all necessarily occurring actions along with those that may or may not happen, God does not hinder human free will through His perception. Dante the poet’s analogy allows both his readers and the pilgrim to easily conceptualize the complicated solution offered by Boethius.

While Cacciaguida’s introduction preserves a sense of freedom in Dante’s actions in the prophecy, it also seems to be an intellectual preparation for the pilgrim. Indeed, the account of Dante’s future life is quite devastating. By giving the Boethian solution to the problem of divine foreknowledge before the bittersweet prophecy, Cacciaguida shows the pilgrim that God won’t unjustly heap misfortune on Dante. In a way, the poet seems to associate contingency, which doesn’t go beyond “the pages of your world of matter,” with Fortune, which “does not endure.” As we’ve seen, Dante the poet and Boethius discourage a dependence on the ways of Fortune, since it never makes men entirely happy. In this subtle way, then, Cacciaguida precedes his lengthy speech with the ideas of Boethius to assure the pilgrim that any calamity that follows in the prophecy is yet another instance of the turning of the wheel of Fortune.

Boethius not only serves as a consolation for the pilgrim and the poet, but also as a connector of the two perspectives. At one point in the *Consolation*, Lady Philosophy tells Boethius that “everything is governed by its own proper order directing all things toward the good” (93). Nothing describes the overarching Boethian solace in the *Paradiso* better than this. Although there are discords in Dante’s life, Boethius assures him as both a poet and pilgrim that it is all for the good. For Dante the pilgrim, a break from the prosperity of life in Florence seems detrimental, but it will actually help the

poet to direct his passions toward God and writing the *Commedia*. The pilgrim can come to terms with his prophecy by acknowledging the temporality of the dissonance in his coming life. As Hollander put it, “no matter how discordant the sounds of his great-great-grandson’s coming travails may seem, Cacciaguida would seem to be insisting, they will eventually be heard as harmony, at least once Dante’s task is completed” (Hollander 470). Looking at the poem through a Boethian lens reveals how the perspectives of the poet and pilgrim dissolve into a singular progression toward the good.

The references to Boethius in the Circle of Mars are myriad. He becomes a source of intellectual aid for Dante the poet and pilgrim. From the biographical connections between Dante and Boethius evolves a meditation on the inevitability of misfortune. Indeed, Dante’s pride in his nobility is amplified by his beloved city’s devotion to that “which does not endure.” Boethius, however, reminds us of the goodness in transcending the ups and downs of the wheel and directing one’s passion toward the good. Through Cacciaguida’s elegant review of Boethius solution to the problem between divine foreknowledge and human free will, the pilgrim is guaranteed his free will and given a subtle encouragement to endure through the hardships that will end beyond the world of matter. Taken together, we can see how Dante ingeniously joins the perspectives of the poet and pilgrim through the Boethian claim that all is done for the good. By the end of this thought-provoking Circle, the ideas of Boethius not only console Dante, but also encourage the reader to look beyond the ever-spinning wheel of Fortune.

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Asaba, Pull! A Construction from an African Fence

Submitted by: Rachel Svenson

Outside Rosemarie Chierici's door is a computer print-out of a T.S. Eliot quote that reads: "We shall never cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started, and know the place for the first time."

As I waited for Rosemarie Chierici to call me into her office in October, I read the quote several times in a row. I was convinced it was there for students with similar agendas to mine, those who showed up, empty-handed, at Rosemarie's office to talk about the experience of travel.

Since freshman year I had known Professor Chierici by her short hair, her direct, piercing gaze and her unapologetically wicked humor. I speculated: maybe other students before me had come on a hunch that the Haitian professor would know how to validate the labyrinth of emotions – disillusionment, gratitude, even anger – that came with returning home from another country. Being in close contact with her native country, the professor made this trip home often. It was *my* first time.

That August, I had finished a two-month construction project in a small village in Western Gambia, during which my group of eight Americans and our Gambian counterparts built a 300-meter chain link fence. Two months after I returned I couldn't seem to settle back into place in New York, with its acres of pristine white fences. I was still making weekly phone calls to the village. I hadn't yet removed my plastic African bracelets, and I checked the weather in the Gambia daily. The approaching winter in Western New York seemed preposterous juxtaposed with the 90 degree

temperatures in Africa; half of me was still in summer there.

The split consciousness made it difficult for me to place myself; T.S. Eliot's wisdom on Rosemarie's door seemed concerned with that same experience of reevaluating your foothold on your homeland once you'd left it, or arriving at the same border only to find yourself fenced out. I boiled with questions about these divides, and I craved a thesis, some kind of starting point from which to explore my own country, and my fence-crossed African experience.

My Capstone advisor, Beth, could see I was struggling as I first tried to force my research into the subject of microloans for African women, and later into the heated debate on female circumcision. The subjects felt claustrophobic, and I was still periodically paralyzed by the immensity of the travel experience, and the disparity between my life at the fence and my life on campus.

"Sometimes I just want to forget about the entire thing just because it would be easier," I told her in frustration. "And sometimes I remember too much, and it seems impossible to organize. Either way this research isn't getting me anywhere."

Beth thought for a second. "You know, you should go talk to Rosemarie Chierici," she said, with a magician's secret nod. When I asked her why, she said only, "I have a feeling about this one." I showed up with a blank notebook at the professor's door. It had to be true, I thought, that this well-traveled professor had some valuable answers hidden away on a high shelf.

Rosemarie's office was indeed filled with high shelves, but they were crowded with books. The professor received me with genuine interest, and waited patiently through my disclaimers of my fledgling Capstone project research, nodding politely. But the questions she asked had nothing to do with microloans or circumcision. She wanted to know about the 300-meter chain link fence.

"Explain the trip to me," she said.
"Explain this fence. What were you trying to keep in – or keep out?"

She smiled, but it wasn't a mocking question, and the idea of shutting in, or shutting out, struck a resonating chord. Everything about building a fence begs the language of containment, protection and boundaries; and yet most of my Crossroads group would swear we were deconstructing these divisive concepts, day by day, as we pounded iron posts into the ground next to our Gambian counterparts.

Regardless, as Americans, Gambians and individuals there must have been some things we each locked in or locked out, staring point-blank across at one another's cultures. I felt my own fences straining in the Haitian professor's office, bursting with what I hadn't considered and what I hadn't found ways to express.

I was assigned to the fence project based on my application to Operation Crossroads Africa 2009, the chapter of a non-profit organization in its 51st year of operation. It had been founded in 1958, and according to JFK became the progenitor of the Peace Corps three years later. The founder, James H. Robinson, dreamt of a "clear, honest, hard-hitting program" in which young North Americans would work at the grassroots level with young Africans.

I had discovered the program online, and as a writer I was impressed by the direct challenge the website posed. "You *must* have a willingness to challenge your values," it cautioned in its requirements. "You *must* be willing to learn from, and share with, both your

fellow Crossroaders and the African people whose community you will serve." I applied with that challenge printed in my brain, as a herald to the type of intensely pressurized adventure I, and most of my friends, had never experienced.

We built the fence, as I told Professor Chierici, for the women of Penyem village. The Crossroads group, Americans between the ages of 18 and 32, had been requested by the Soforai Women's Association of Penyem on behalf of their failing garden. Roaming cattle and donkeys had taken advantage of young shoots in the women's most lucrative garden project, and even with annual repair the garden's branch-and-barbed-wire fence couldn't keep them out. Over a two-year period the land was overtaken by weeds and mango trees, and by 2009 the garden had grown wild over a valuable and unused system of water pumps. The women's development representative, Nyima Jarju, approached the Village Development Committee: it was outside their budget, but a permanent fence was necessary to reclaim this goldmine of a garden.

The Sharon James garden (perhaps appropriately named after a female Peace Corps volunteer), in addition to allowing the women control over its revenue, was easy to access; the women, often laden with a child or a water bucket or both, could save an hour a week going to the Sharon James garden rather than one on the outskirts of town. When animal foraging rendered it unusable, the women were forced back to farther gardens that allowed no centralized control and demanded longer hikes. Often with upwards of ten mouths to feed and a compound to run, the Penyem women had much to do, and time, as I was reminded repeatedly, is the most precious commodity of her day.

My 14-year old shadow, Serreh, often appeared wherever I was working in Penyem, and in the first week she watched me scrub laundry with a kind of palpable compassion, fidgeting with pity in her purple dress. Finally, unable to stand it any longer, she broke in, "No, let me, I can do faster." She took the laundry from my hands and rubbed it together with

blinding efficiency under the soapy water. “You would be washing *all* day,” she scolded me. “You would not have time for anything else.” I sheepishly let her finish the garment, and nursed my raw knuckles as I took note of her technique.

The young girls, I found, were nearly as strong as their mothers, and had nearly as much to do when they weren’t in school. That summer Serreh was on the cusp of puberty, not yet a woman. On the first morning of our arrival, before the fence project began, she and her curious friends had approached us, the three American girls, fascinated by the texture of my hair, by Marissa’s freckles and Emily’s spectacles. Between our new chores, Marissa, Emily and I followed their electric-socket hair and skinny legs on a jogging tour of the town. Serreh became my best guide and translator.

Often she would drag me past older girls on the road, and I smiled at them, hoping to communicate my helplessness and my friendliness simultaneously. In those first few days in Penyem I was unsure of how to interact with girls my own age. Many of them were married and covered their hair with the modesty of their Muslim culture, greeting me with reserved handshakes and murmurs or just watching from a distance. Under their eyes I felt young, and there I was, unmarried, playing clapping games with bare-legged girls and jogging to the Sharon James garden in pants to do the construction work of men. I wondered whether the women’s thoughts leaned toward scorn, or envy, or perhaps just curiosity. It was curiosity and a desire to be accepted that overwhelmed my first nervous impressions; I asked Serrah the Jolla word for “pretty” – oojejek – so I could compliment my Gambian peers on their wrap skirts and head scarves.

Still, I felt perpetually as if I were teetering between the two groups of women and men. Starting three days into our village stay, the group’s mornings were occupied by the three-and-a-half acre Sharon James garden, by the surveying, measuring, digging, rolling, lifting and mixing of soil and concrete. Our group leader Alyson, the oldest of the eight

Americans, often stayed back to work logistics with the elders or the young women who helped cook for us, so it was Marissa, Emily and I who followed the American and Gambian men on the three-minute walk to the garden. Though Emily’s West Point training had left her well-muscled, and Marissa and I were by no means strangers to labor, when we passed the old women in their compounds, they would call us up to their verandas and ask us what in the world we were doing.

“We are working!” we would tell them, miming digging with a shovel. They would laugh.

“Eh-yo! *Borokop!*” they would say, shaking their heads. Work. Mama Nyassi, one of the oldest women in the village at 70, was the most persistent with her jokes and questions.

“You are working hard, but where is your husband?” Serrah would translate for us as Mama Nyassi stroked my dirt-stained hand and watched me coyly.

I would tell her I didn’t know, that I hadn’t found him yet, and stir another laugh out of her. But we had to pry ourselves away after from her blessings, to run and catch up with the men, who were already starting at the fence. Leaving the company of women for heavy labor suddenly felt like a statement, a breach of the accepted barrier in order to reinforce our purpose in the village, which despite their teasing, the residents were all well aware of. Emily, Marissa and I laughed with the women and swallowed our pride when our African helpers assigned us to less strenuous tasks, but we later confided to each other that we had begun to approach the fence with a hot-blooded drive to prove our worth as strong, independent women workers.

The definition of productivity in terms of a day’s work, however, became increasingly loose as the weeks moved. We dismantled the old, rotting fence, but before the construction could begin, the new fence materials needed to be collected. Andrew, our project manager, was 29, hailing from the only Christian family in the

village and one of three residents to have secured a Visa and made it briefly to the U.S. Tall and graceful, he spoke English quickly and Jolla even more quickly, and told jokes in a falsetto voice that echoed across the garden or our compound, where he slept near our cots. Having graduated from the International School of Business, Andrew took on the bulk of the responsibility for buying materials. He was frequently on his cell phone with building contractors, arguing the price of iron posts or wire or chain link, which would be paid for by a medley of donations. Emily, an efficient organizer and economics major, often went with Andrew to Brikama, to inquire as to the whereabouts of our materials.

“They will arrive on Tuesday,” the contractors assured us. And then, on Tuesday – “They will be in by Friday, no problem.”

Friday came and went. We learned to make schedules loosely, and to be ready to dismantle them at a moment’s notice. Some had more difficulty with this than others. Three weeks in, Emily stormed up to Andrew, to demand why we weren’t working on the fence.

“We could be getting an entire side done, but we’re sitting here playing cards,” she fumed. “Don’t they *want* the fence finished? At this rate we’ll only have it half-done by August!”

Andrew raised his eyebrows and shrugged. “The contractor doesn’t have the materials yet,” he said simply. “There is no work to do today. We will work tomorrow.”

Emily was silent, and then went back to her notebook, in which she had drawn a diagram of the garden fence complete with tiny measurements and material needs. She pored over this daily, perhaps taking comfort in outlining boundaries. In her cross-cultural interactions, she made the same motions; she made rules for herself, a map for each conversation, seeking a fail-proof routine that would move her from morning to evening. She adopted local dogs and kept them in the yard, training them three times a day to the

bewilderment of the Gambians, for whom pet coddling is a foreign concept.

My group let her set up in peace. I recognized the necessity of those boundaries for Emily’s sanity, even as I struggled to set up and dismantle my own boundaries. As a young white woman unable to fit in with any distinct Gambian group – women or men or youth or adult – many of these fences came ready-made. At the time, I was convinced I could scale them if I worked hard enough. I often fell back on the familiarity of my group members, surviving in the reassurance of their company and the simple action of singing Simon and Garfunkel while twisting wire at the garden fence.

I described the feeling to Rosemarie Chierici in her office, three months later.

“I wasn’t a woman, and yet I wasn’t a man either,” I marveled, trying to illustrate with my hands the divide between the genders. “I was too much in the male community to be accepted by the women, and too much of a woman to be accepted by the men. So I ended up just hovering somewhere in between.”

Rosemarie sat back in her swivel chair, frowning. “You seem confused about your distance from the local culture, but it is perfectly natural to feel separate,” she said. “I would even argue that it couldn’t be any other way. What else could you expect in two months?”

I did not have a good answer for this. She was right, of course; I was expecting too much of myself, and perhaps looking for the wrong kind of acceptance in trying to wedge myself into social groups I’d only just encountered, and to understand cultural relationships instantaneously simply because I possessed the will to learn. Patience, patience, the Crossroads mentors had advised us before we left the U.S; and in my fervor, had forgotten to extend the virtue to myself.

On a Wednesday of the third week in Penyem, the village held a belated but official welcome ceremony for the Crossroads group, set at a communal garden separate from Sharon

James. Andrew instructed us to line up facing the large group of villagers. The men sat or stood on top of a small knoll, and the women sat apart from them on its incline, propped up and leaning into the slope. I recognized some of the women, but many more were unfamiliar. I felt again underdressed in my dirty capri pants and sneakers, with my hair uncovered, but the ceremony proceeded.

The men spoke first. Sanna, the village teacher, translated with the practiced inflections of an orator, and in the silence his words took on great weight. An old man, Modou Nyassi, welcomed us first into his village. He didn't have much, but he insisted that anything we needed was ours without question. His home was our home, and his family our family. They were proud to offer anything they owned, to answer any questions we might have, and to receive us as guests. Above all, Modou Nyassi stressed, he wanted thank us for taking on this project, and being willing to learn about the culture of his people here in Penyem.

The other men nodded emphatically. Several more, each of them elders and obviously widely respected, stood and repeated Modou Nyassi with matching solemnity and fervor. I smiled at them, too overwhelmed to thank them out loud. After a time, all the men were silent. Then a woman stood up.

"Now the women will speak their piece," our translator announced.

I didn't recognize this woman, and her response was brief. She put her hands together and pointed toward our motley, attentive line.

"You have come to save us," Sanna translated.

The statement broke off from the rest and hung there. "The women need this garden," she continued; "And you are here to help us build a fence for it. On behalf of the women I thank you." Then she sat, and there was a general murmur of approval.

She was the only woman to speak, and it was last speech made that day. As the kola nut,

a bitter caffeinated nut used for traditional ceremonies, was distributed to each of my group members, I looked for her. She had disappeared again into the group of women who were now shifting, some of them retying babies onto their backs with cloth.

Her response had jarred me with a clash of inspiration and discomfort. Not until this point had such a massive fence been raised between our line of Americans and the villagers on the knoll. In that moment I was more than acutely aware of my expensive sneakers, my healthy teeth, the brand name Chap Stick in my pocket, and of my own power, which the woman had just named. "You have come to save us," she said. My privilege was, I knew, a power I already carried and would continue to carry, and which I somehow recognized when I applied for this volunteer experience. It is a power of mobility, of choice and circumstance, a divide I will never cross.

Rosemarie Chierici cried when she went back to Haiti for the first time. She clutched the steering wheel of her car as she drove down the poverty-stricken streets, doubled over under waves of questions. In her swivel chair, the professor sat very still as she related the story to me, in the last minutes of our October conversation.

"I saw at the lives of the people from my car window and I wanted to shake them," she told me, holding her hands in fists. "I wanted to ask them, 'Why do you plant flowers? Why do you play? Why do make love?' I wanted to tell God just how badly he had messed up."

Sitting across from the professor, I wanted desperately to hear her say more; I wanted a clearer picture of that young woman in Haiti, punching the steering wheel in rage that couldn't be directed at anything in particular. I could not presume to feel the same things as the professor; among the many differences, she was exploring her roots in Haiti, while I strayed far from mine in the Gambia. But during that half-hour conversation something *had* dropped from the professor's high shelves into my lap.

I could construct an anthropology of West African female circumcision, traced through the women of Penyem. I could outline the benefits and myths of microloans to African communities. When I knocked on the professor's office door I was looking for the gate to the most complete story, the most accurate access point of those hard-hitting themes of cultural exchange, a bore-hole to Penyem from my Western New York college campus. But the action of this story, as it was pulled through those attempts, makes this a project of continual construction, and in my head is punctuated by Andrew's commands on one particular work day at the Sharon James garden.

“Asaba! PULL!” he shouted down the fence line, sparking fifty hands to tug wire through twenty-five individual fence posts, and we completed the next step toward that elusive goal of 300 meters.

L'iconographie et l'écriture au Moyen Age

Submitted by: Julia McDaniel

Aujourd'hui, on observe un lien entre les images des thèmes et des personnages de *La Chanson de Roland*, dans des statues et des vitraux par exemple, et le texte originel de *La Chanson de Roland*. Le lien entre l'iconographie et le support textuel, souligne les faits historiques du Moyen Age. Grâce à la relation entre l'écriture de *La Chanson de Roland* et le soutien iconographique, il est plus facile de nos jours de comprendre et d'étudier l'écriture et la vie durant le Moyen Age.

La vie de Charlemagne est extrêmement détaillée, et d'ailleurs il a officialisé la base de la religion en France d'aujourd'hui. Né à Noyons le 2 avril 742, Charlemagne, fils de Pépin le Bref, prenait le titre de roi des Francs. Charlemagne était le roi des Francs dès l'âge de 26 ans, et l'Empereur d'Occident pendant 14 ans, à partir de l'an 800. Cet homme dirigeait une manière puissante, il en effet conquiert énormément de nouveaux territoires pour la France. La loi l'intéressait, donc il travaillait comme administrateur et législateur. Sous son règne, la France adopta la religion catholique, puisque Charlemagne régna comme un grand protecteur de l'église et promouvait l'idée de Dieu. Grâce à l'éloge de l'église catholique en France, on a constaté une émergence de nouvelles cultures. Charlemagne gagna plusieurs batailles pendant son règne, à partir de 774. Charlemagne conduisit des batailles diverses et chacune était à l'image de son règne.

« Les conquêtes de Charlemagne frappèrent les contemporains par un mélange d'extraordinaire défaites (Roncevaux), Suintelgebirge en Saxe) et de victoires étonnantes) prise de Pavie, du Trésor des Avars). Ses ennemis irréductibles furent continuellement repoussés en se battant sur plusieurs fronts de l'Elbe à l'Ebre, de Bretagne à l'Italie du Sud. Ses qualités de chef de guerre à la fois pragmatique (guerres de sièges) et tactiques (opérations simultanées en plusieurs colonnes), vont de pair avec une grande cruauté: massacre de chefs Saxons, déportations de population » (*Charlemagne*).

Charlemagne fut couronné Empereur d'Occident en 800, quand il réussit à réunir ses territoires vastes par des ordres et des actes. Il mit en place un régime de comte pour guider les régions spécifiques. En utilisant un système strict et rigoureux, Charlemagne arriva à joindre ses régions et aussi à introduire un système éducatif par la construction de plusieurs écoles. Finalement, il construisit sa capitale à Aix-la-Chapelle, où il mourut quelques années plus tard.

La Chanson de Roland, où l'un des personnages principaux est Charlemagne, est une chanson de geste composée vers 1090. Selon le déroulement du poème, dans une bataille d'arrière-garde à Roncevaux, Roland qui

est le neveu de Charlemagne mourut, à cause d'une tactique monstrueuse et de la jalousie. Dans ce poème, on trouve des histoires de famille, des histoires d'amitié entre Roland et Olivier, et des mensonges. Le poème est en laisses et l'auteur est anonyme.

La religion est un thème récurrent et très important dans le texte. Alors que le christianisme est lié à Charlemagne, le poème mentionne également d'autres religions. Le poème parle des musulmans, des juifs et des chrétiens. Peu importe la religion à laquelle les gens crurent à ce moment là, tous eurent la même opinion à propos du monde. Ces gens croyaient que Dieu l'avait créé et que l'apocalypse était inévitable. Là, on voit que l'auteur de ce poème voulait montrer son opinion de la religion, et qu'il voulait que tout le monde partage ses idées concernant l'univers.

L'imagerie physique est l'un des moyens qu'on peut connecter à la vie passée pendant le Moyen Age. Les représentations que l'on a de Charlemagne et de *La Chanson de Roland* sont nombreuses et sur différents supports. Il existe en effet des vitraux, des tapis, des statues ainsi que des gravures sur bois à l'effigie de Charlemagne, mais aussi plusieurs manuscrits, correspondant aux moments clés de sa vie et à certaines scènes de *La Chanson de Roland*. En effet, il existe pour cette période une représentation correspondant à chaque trace écrite. « Les images sont adaptées à leur support, à leur fonction principale, à leur sujet; elles fournissent ainsi un ordre visuel qui peut trouver des équivalents dans la culture écrite » (Golsenne).

Dans *La Chanson de Roland*, on trouve de nombreuses images qui représentent un même passage. Charlemagne, roi de France, est décrit comme un personnage puissant, doté d'un intellect digne d'un grand roi. « C'est là qu'est assis le roi qui gouverne la douce France. Il a la barbe blanche, la tête toute fleurie, la taille

noble, la contenance majestueuse » (*La Chanson de Roland*).

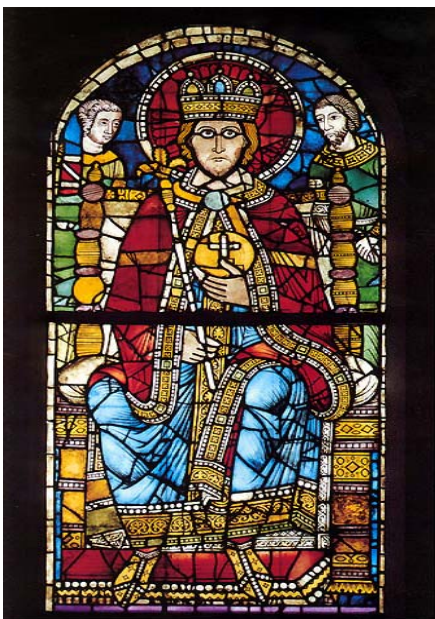
De plus, il existe un vitrail dans la Cathédrale de Chartres représentant des extraits de *La Chanson de Roland* en corrélation avec la vie de Charlemagne. Le vitrail datant de 1225 à l'image de Charlemagne est très précis, et de nombreuses couleurs sont utilisées.

« Situé dans le déambulatoire à côté de celui de saint Jacques. Il fait face à celui de Sylvestre où est évoqué Constantin, rappelant ainsi que ces deux empereurs ont été les soutiens de l'Eglise dans la chrétienté naissante. On qualifiait Charlemagne de nouveau Constantin... l'Eglise de Chartres ne lui a jamais rendu de culte liturgique et sa présence ici tient plus à son rôle politique et à la gloire qui entourait son nom qu'à sa sainteté. » (*Vie de Charlemagne*).

Sur le vitrail, trois images tirées des plus grands événements de la vie de Charlemagne sont visibles : *l'Histoire du voyage de Charlemagne en Orient* (1060-1080), *L'archevêque de Reims* ; (vers 1140, 1150), et *Légende de Saint Gilles*. Mais l'une des plus importantes images est une scène de *La Chanson de Roland*. L'image représente Roland sonnait l'oliphant pour recevoir de l'aide pendant une bataille. « Passet li jurz, la nuit est aserie » (*Chanson de Roland*).

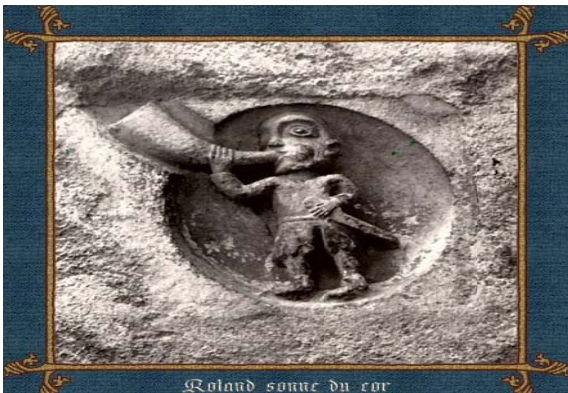


catholicisme, et dans l'autre main, on voit le sceptre, qui signifie son pouvoir. Roland est à sa droite, et Olivier à sa gauche. Cette disposition des trois personnages de *La Chanson de Roland* signifie la Sainte Trinité, autre symbole du christianisme. *La Chanson de Roland* est au sujet de Dieu et de son omniprésence. On observe souvent aussi la mise en place de symboles dans l'art et les textes médiévaux, quand Charlemagne remplace Dieu, et Roland remplace Jésus Christ. Par exemple, sur le vitrail de Strasbourg, Charlemagne est situé au centre car il est le personnage clé, et normalement Jésus Christ est placé aussi en plein milieu du cadre. Roland est pourtant plus petit et à droite, et Jésus Christ est normalement plus petit quand il est représenté aux côtés de son père. En plus dans le texte, Dieu, aussi bien que Charlemagne, est souvent une motivation pour combattre : « Il réussit celui que Dieu protège » et « Ne plaise à Dieu ni à ses très saints anges que par moi la France perde sa gloire. Plutôt la mort que la honte » (*La Chanson de Roland* pp. 31 & 183).



La scène où Roland sonne l'oliphant est très célèbre dans l'iconographie médiévale. Pendant plusieurs siècles, on trouva une variété d'images à travers le monde de cette scène, par exemple, à l'abbatiale de Sainte-Foy à Conques, cette sculpture en pierre (en bas, à gauche) représente Roland dans une bataille. « 1087 à 1119, c'est à cette époque que furent sculptés les chapiteaux. L'abbaye de Conques détenait alors le prieuré de Roncevaux, ce qui expliquerait la présence de Roland sur les chapiteaux (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*) ».

Un autre endroit où on trouve des images de Charlemagne est la Cathédrale romane de Strasbourg (l'image de droite). Sur ce vitrail, on voit une variation de couleurs vives, et le souverain assis avec la croix chrétienne, signifiant la croissance du



Corrélativement (à droite), ce petit personnage sculpté représente Roland sonnant l'oliphant, et celui-là vient de Cluny vers le XIIe siècle. Ce petit homme est un chevalier, reconnaissable grâce à la mise en évidence de son épée.

Parce que *La Chanson de Roland* fut découvert en Allemagne, il est logique qu'il existe plusieurs auteurs et artistes allemands qui travaillaient sur ce thème littéraire. Der Stricker était un poète allemand au Moyen Âge. L'un de ses poèmes les plus populaires est *Karl der Grosse*, qui parle de la version française de *La Chanson de Roland*, qui intitulait la *Rolandslied*, et qui fut composée par Pfaffe Konrad en 1170. *Karl der Grosse* comporte de plus de quarante manuscrits, avec des images correspondantes. Bien sûr, le sujet de cette version est aussi le roi Charlemagne et ses conquêtes des forces d'Espagne. Voilà

manuscrits qui fait partie du poème *Karl der Grosse* est *Le manuscrit de Saint-Gall*. *Le manuscrit de Saint-Gall* date de la fin du XIIe siècle. Il contient la *Weldkronik* de Rudolf Von Ems et der Stricker, 76 folios en tout (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*).

Quelques illustrations sont visibles dans chaque manuscrit qu'il a composé. Chaque copiste avait son propre style en matière de dessin, spécialement à propos des scènes de *La Chanson de Roland*. L'une de ses illustrations est sculptée en or, où il inclut le thème de l'action, des personnages principaux, des arbres et de très petits détails sur la scène de la mort de Roland. *Le manuscrit de la Vadiana* comprend onze peintures qui sont toutes divisées en deux cahiers. *Le manuscrit de Berlin* est un manuscrit en mauvais état, avec des illustrations très détaillées de *La Chanson de Roland*. (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*). Aujourd'hui le manuscrit de Berlin est en miettes, et cela est très frustrant pour les spécialistes en littérature car on dit que ce manuscrit était l'un des plus beaux manuscrits concernant *La Chanson de Roland*.

Le manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, réalisé par der Stricker et dessiné par des copistes, fut réalisé au XIVe siècle. Les illustrations de ce manuscrit sont extrêmement repoussantes, avec des images de bébés en train d'être coupés en deux par Roland. L'idée de cet ouvrage est de montrer que les bébés païens sont condamnés, et de l'autre côté du dessin, on voit les bébés païens qui sont en train d'être baptisés et convertis au christianisme. Finalement, on a *Le manuscrit de Bonn* qui fut réalisé vers 1450. Il inclut trente-huit dessins, avec des légendes en dessous des images. Avec ce texte, der Stricker utilise un thème comique, en commençant avec l'image des ambassadeurs de Marsile devant Charlemagne. La dernière image dépeint le combat de Pinabel contre Thierry (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*). Surtout, grâce à ces

merveilleuses illustrations, on peut aujourd'hui conclure que *La Chanson de Roland* eut un impact très fort aux territoires hors de la France. D'ailleurs, même si l'Allemagne fut le pays d'origine de *La Chanson de Roland*, *La Chanson de Roland* toucha plusieurs des pays européens.

En effet, en Italie, il existe un manuscrit dans la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana de Venise, qui s'intitule *L'Entrée d'Espagne* qui comprend 375 peintures. Un des manuscrits qui fait partie de *L'Entrée d'Espagne* est *Le manuscrit de la Marciana*. Ce manuscrit est composé d'images très innovantes, par exemple, une image de Marsile en train d'envoyer l'un de ses ambassadeurs à Charlemagne, et une autre image de la rencontre entre celui-là et Charlemagne. Sur ces images, on observe un système de dessin qui utilise la chronologie, ce qui marque une nouvelle étape au Moyen Age. Roland est bien sûr un personnage principal dans ces dessins, et il commence aussi à être un symbole de la croissance forte du christianisme (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*).

Un autre passage de *La Chanson de Roland* est représenté sur une tapisserie du XV^e siècle, « la tapisserie de Tournai ». Pendant cette période, on avait un seul centre de tapisserie, à Tournai, et cette tapisserie avait un intérêt particulier pour *La Chanson de Roland* ; donc on créa une tapisserie qui représentait la bataille de Roncevaux. Cette tapisserie est immense puisqu'elle mesure plus de 3m80 de hauteur. L'une des parties de cette célèbre tapisserie est lorsque Roland sonne l'oliphant. Dans cette scène spécifique, on voit Roland, symbole du héros chrétien, en train de sonner son oliphant parmi des corps sanglants et des épées partout (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*). Roland bénéficie encore d'une autre image de ce chevalier valeureux, un soldat de l'armée chrétienne de Charlemagne.

Également, un autre manuscrit où l'on voit l'influence et la copie des scènes de *La Chanson de Roland*, c'est *Les Chroniques de Hainaut*. Ce manuscrit était originellement créé par Jacques de Guise, auteur et artiste qui naquit vers 1333. En 1430, Jean Wauquelin traduisit ce texte. Les images de Guise ne sont pas nombreuses dans le manuscrit, mais celles qui existent sont extrêmement détaillées. L'une de ces images représente encore Roland en train de sonner son oliphant, mais à la différence que sur cette image, il est littéralement sur une montagne de corps après la première bataille, et il y a du sang qui ruissela de la montagne comme une rivière (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*). Telle est l'imagerie dans *Les Chroniques de Hainaut* à propos de *La Chanson de Roland*.

Parallèlement, un autre manuscrit qui parle de Roland avec l'outil de textes et d'images, c'est *Les Chroniques et Conquêtes de Charlemagne* par David Aubert. Aubert est un écrivain, interprète flamand-bourguignon né à Hesdin au XV^e siècle. *Les Chroniques et Conquêtes de Charlemagne* furent réalisées par Aubert en 1458, car Jean de Créquy lui avait donné le projet de « curieusement enquérir et visiter plusieurs volumes tant en latin comme en français [...] pour les assembler en un livre ». « Il se fonde notamment sur des chansons de geste, les textes du Pseudo-Turpin et les Grandes Chroniques de France » (Bacro). Ce récit se trouve dans un manuscrit à Bruxelles, et cet endroit est le seul où l'on peut se procurer l'ouvrage. Dans ce manuscrit, on voit les descriptions de la vie entière de Roland. Comme certaines sur *La Chanson de Roland*, presque chaque scène se focalise aussi sur des scènes de bataille. Il y a des milliers de chevaliers sur des images, et Charlemagne est représenté encore avec sa barbe grise et son vêtement royal, autre symbole de la toute puissance chrétienne.

Un autre reportage historique et iconographique sur Roland dans *La Chanson de Roland* est gravé sur bois dans *La Cronyke von Brabant* ou *La Chronique de Brabant*, série d'images par Roland Van Den Dorpe. Van den Dorpe avait une fascination pour Roland, à un tel point qu'il en fit une empreinte topographique, plutôt pour immortaliser les personnages de Charlemagne et de Roland. *La Cronyke von Brabant* est une série d'illustrations sur bois de Roland en plein milieu des batailles. Sur l'une des gravures, Van den Dorpe dépeint Roland et son oliphant, puis autour des jambes de Roland gît une bannière à l'inscription « Van Den Dorpe » (Iconographie de *La Chanson de Roland*).

Concernant le roi de ce grand poème, Charlemagne, ses influences touchèrent la majorité des régions et des pays européens. À l'égard de l'iconographie, on trouve Charlemagne dans sa posture majestueuse, comme dans *La Chanson de Roland*, sous la forme de statues et de tableaux dans toute l'Europe pendant le Moyen Age.

« Ses conquêtes successives, notamment en Allemagne, portèrent le territoire des Francs aux dimensions d'un empire. Travailleur infatigable, ce conquérant fut aussi un législateur et un diplomate ; il protégea les arts, généralisa les écoles et détermina la Renaissance carolingienne. Véritable " européen ", il eut le mérite de donner aux peuples composant son vaste empire un idéal commun. Son œuvre politique ne lui a pas survécu, car il en était la clef de voûte. Mais l'âme de l'Europe, née de sa pensée, est toujours présente » (Bordonove).

Homme tout puissant, on voit son influence en Allemagne sous forme de statue. À Francfort, cette statue de pierre montre le grand

roi avec un air impressionnant. Il tient dans sa main une boule surmontée d'une croix, ce qui représente la religion chrétienne et sa domination sur la terre. Une autre statue qui expose Charlemagne comme grand roi qu'on voit dans *La Chanson de Roland*, est la statue de Liège en Belgique. La statue démontre le roi Charlemagne sur son cheval. Il est prêt pour la bataille, et son bras est levé pour diriger son armée à la victoire.

Comme les statues de Charlemagne sont aussi nombreuses en Europe, il existe aussi quelques statues de l'autre héros de *La Chanson de Roland*, Roland. « Le Roland » est une statue célèbre, normalement d'un chevalier avec son épée et est vue comme un symbole de la qualité de la ville. Une grande variété des statues de Roland se trouve dans des villes nordiques et orientales. D'ailleurs, il y a des statues de Roland hors de l'Europe, par exemple, en Croatie et en Lettonie, au Brésil et même aux États-Unis.

Dans la ville de Haldensleben en Allemagne, il existe une statue de Roland au centre de la ville. La statue est en pierre, et l'image est de Roland assis sur son cheval, partant à la guerre. Cette statue est extrêmement importante pour les gens de cette ville, car elle symbolise la liberté civique. Cette statue spécifique est également très rare, car c'est la seule statue de Roland en position assise, et de plus, il est sur son cheval ; toutes les autres statues sont de Roland debout.

On trouve un autre exemple d'une statue de Roland dans la ville de Brême. D'abord, Brême avait une statue de Roland en bois, mais elle brûla en 1366. En 1404, la statue de Roland fut reconstruite, et encore comme un symbole de justice et de la liberté dans le royaume de France pendant le Moyen Age. La statue est aussi placée au centre ville, et est maintenant un site touristique. Concernant la religion au Moyen Age, cette statue montre l'énergie des

citoyens d'échapper aux problèmes avec l'église et d'avoir leur indépendance religieuse.

Si l'on examine les lieux où l'on trouve des statues de Roland, on peut repérer les mouvements d'influence de Charlemagne au cours du Moyen Age. En tout, il y a environ 55 statues de Roland partout dans le monde. Dans la région centrale, en orient et en occident, la Saxe-Anhalt en Europe, on trouve treize statues de Roland. On voit donc la grande influence et le pouvoir de Charlemagne au Moyen Age, étant donné que ces zones sont en dehors de la France.

En conséquence, l'iconographie concernant *La Chanson de Roland* et les images anciennes nous permettent d'analyser et de mieux comprendre la vie et la littérature du Moyen Age. L'iconographie est un outil indispensable pour approfondir la connaissance sur la société et les valeurs humaines au Moyen Age. *La Chanson de Roland*, les chansons de gestes, ainsi qu'une multitude de statues, tapisseries, peintures, manuscrits, dessins et vitraux, nous permettent aujourd'hui d'avoir une très grande connaissance d'une des époques fondamentales de l'histoire de l'humanité.

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The Democratic Viability of Islamic Opposition in Egypt A Theoretical and Comparative Perspective

Submitted by: John Morrissey

In response to the increasingly authoritarian government of Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood has emerged as the only meaningful opposition party—even though the Brotherhood has been illegal for the last fifty years. Despite its often violent and murky past, in the last twenty years the Brotherhood has preached a platform based on moderate and peaceful Islamic activism as well as the compatibility of democracy and Islam. However, there are still elements of the Muslim Brotherhood that suggest certain democratic values would be abandoned should the Brotherhood achieve power, and some critics who contend that the recent changes in the Brotherhood are a ploy to achieve political power.

A comparison to the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), an Indian Hindu-nationalist party, as well as a vein of democratic theory known as moderation theory, are both useful tools to address these concerns. The comparison of the BJP to the Muslim Brotherhood demonstrates that, in the case of both parties, popular support was linked to the party's status as the only viable opposition to the existing political regime, not support for a religious platform. The popularity of oppositional rhetoric allows for cleavages within the party to be temporarily masked. Pre-existing political elites who controlled the party voiced a religious platform that is not representative of the party's new popular support but did not cost the party that popular support. Achieving political power

forces the entrenched party elite to confront the true nature of its support or risk losing it. Moderation theory posits that rational decisions by political elites within the party lead the party to adopt a more moderate platform in pursuit of electoral success, which has already happened several times during the recent history of the Muslim Brotherhood. Both analytic tools suggest that, if legalized and Egypt's political system democratized, the Brotherhood would positively contribute to democratic governance in Egypt.

While the Muslim Brotherhood's recent return to prominence was a product of party decisions of the last twenty years, an understanding of the origins of the Muslim Brotherhood is necessary to understand the controversial space the group occupies in the Egyptian political and social sphere. Much of the early history of the Muslim Brotherhood is unclear but it is known that the organization was founded in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna. The group often participated in anti-Christian activism as a method of opposing the British occupation of Egypt (Mitchell p. 2). Soon after its formation, the Brotherhood established itself as one of the only effective anti-colonial groups, earning it a great deal of grassroots public support very early in its history (Mitchell p. 9). One stated goal of the organization at its inception, which continues to this day, is the installation of the *Sharia* as a national body of law. This made the Brotherhood one of the first

overtly political Islamic groups established and has existed as such continuously since its founding, despite many crackdowns by various governments. The relative antiquity and persistence of the group has given it a perception of historical legitimacy in the eyes of many Egyptians. Furthermore, the role the Brotherhood in the establishment of an independent Egyptian state earned the group the temporary support of the newly established government under Gamal Nasser.

Shortly after the Brotherhood's founding, there were two organizational developments that have continued to shape how many have viewed the Muslim Brotherhood. The first was the involvement of the Muslim Brotherhood in social services; by creating a social welfare branch, the organization was able to receive government funding and avoid classification as a religious organization (Mitchell p. 37). This allowed the Brotherhood to avoid the state crackdowns against "religious" organizations when Arabian identity began to be used as a source of legitimacy for the secular Egyptian state under Nasser by the early 1950s. The provision of social services became especially important following Nasser when Sadat, Nasser's successor, began attempting to court US aid in the 1970s. In an effort to bring Egypt in line with norms of the capitalist first world, Sadat reduced the heavy government spending that Nasser had used to provide social services to the Egyptian population. The result was the emergence of a faith-based welfare system in which the Muslim Brotherhood which used mosques and religious organizations to provide and distribute services previously provided by the state (Harrigan p. 101). This has increased the Brotherhood's appeal to sectors of the population that might not be drawn to the Brotherhood by its religious activism (Harrigan p. 104). Since this retreat, the government has been unable to reclaim the

role it previously held under Nasser, as the state is often unable to compete with the services provided by the Brotherhood (Harrigan 105).

The second major organizational development was the creation of the Secret Apparatus, which occurred sometime between 1930 and 1947 (Mitchell p. 30). The Secret Apparatus was a paramilitary branch of the Brotherhood that used violence as a means to achieve its goals. Several factors led to the Secret Apparatus having a growing role in the Muslim Brotherhood's early history. World War II provided Banna with an opportunity to begin to collect the necessary arms for such a group (Mitchell p. 26). The Muslim Brotherhood legitimized their acquisition of arms by claiming that the creation of an Israeli state at the expense of the existing Palestinian community required a group to defend Palestinian interests. Internal schisms within the Brotherhood also limited the effectiveness of the formal leadership, which led to increased emphasis on the more streamlined Secret Apparatus (Mitchell p. 55). However, the formal leadership of the Brotherhood did have firm control over the actions of the Secret Apparatus. The assassination of a judge, which Banna did not approve of, led him realize this (Mitchell p. 78). The relationship of the formal leadership and the Secret Apparatus is not clear, since the Secret Apparatus was, by nature, secretive. Its existence was well-hidden from Egyptian and British authorities for a period of time and was only discovered by chance when the leader of the Secret Apparatus was arrested by authorities in 1948 with a briefcase containing details about the members and its operations. Much of the uncertainty surrounding the Brotherhood is a product of the lack of concrete knowledge of the role of the Secret Apparatus in the organization and how vital it was believed to be by the formal leadership.

This uncertainty regarding the role of the Secret Apparatus in the Brotherhood has created some competing interpretations of how the history of the Brotherhood has affected the organization. Some scholars see the provision of social services as the defining element of the Brotherhood's foundation, while others believe the creation of the Secret Apparatus defined the existence and legacy of the Brotherhood. Juan Cole believes in the former's importance, that the Brotherhood was created as a moderate organization dedicated to providing social services (Cole 51). Although Cole does acknowledge the radicalization inherent in the creation of the Secret Apparatus, he believes the radicalization to have been temporary and caused by the consequences of British imperial policy, specifically the creation of Israel (Cole p. 52, 55). Cole sees the Brotherhood's commitment to private property (the group opposed land reform in Egypt) as evidence that the group wanted to establish a moderate government, distinct from the dictatorial models present in European fascism (Cole p. 44-45). Ultimately, it was Nasser's popularity that prevented the group from ever assuming power after independence, although the lingering popularity of the Brotherhood eventually led Nasser to crack down on the group in the interest of preserving his own political power (Cole p. 56-7).

Many other people and organizations, most notably the Egyptian government, focus on the militant elements of the Brotherhood's past. In conjunction with the creation of the Secret Apparatus, subscribers to this view on the Brotherhood often focus on the ideologue Sayid Qutb, who Cole regards as a fringe member of the movement (Cole p. 64-65). Initially Qutb did not join the Brotherhood due to an intellectual rivalry with Banna, and eventually he fled Egypt for America in the midst of a British crackdown on Islamic activism (Wright

p. 23-4). While in America, Qutb came to view the west as a spiritual wasteland, mainly due to its separation of church and state. This stay in the United States radicalized him and became an early influence on his religious philosophy. After returning to Egypt following Banna's assassination in 1949, Qutb was soon imprisoned for anti-government activism. While in prison, Qutb released his manifesto, *Milestones*. In this work, Qutb divided the world into "us (people and government who practiced an extremely strict adherence to Islamic law) versus them (everyone else including Muslims) (Haddad p. 79-86) and, in this sense, some view Qutb's work as the ideological underpinning of many acts of Islamic extremism, including the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Wright).

Other scholars, such as Lawrence Wright, believe Qutb had a more active role within the organization. While Wright does not make any judgment on the democratic viability of the Muslim Brotherhood due to the limited timeframe of the Brotherhood covered in his book, his narrative of Qutb's later years show his belief that Qutb had a significant role within the organization. During his time in prison, Qutb reopened lines of communication among the imprisoned Brothers (Zollner p. 26-7). Despite being radical, Qutb's philosophy was a rebellion against Nasser's secular regime and offered a criticism more relevant to the situation of an Islamic leader who ruled a repressive secular state. While how seriously the organization took this view is debatable, Qutb's analysis represented a shift in focus from a nationalist struggle to a revolutionary struggle. Qutb's eventual execution by the state led some to see him as a martyr (Wright p. 31). These events had the effect of reinvigorating the Brotherhood and helping it dampen the effectiveness of subsequent crackdowns. People who still believe the Brotherhood to be radical

often point to Qutb's work and role in the organization as the defining element of the Brotherhood. Most importantly, these two interpretations of the Brotherhood demonstrate that there is a lot of room for interpretation when rendering a judgment about the group based solely on its origins. However, recent development suggest that the "moderate" Muslim Brotherhood offers a more accurate way of understanding the group's past in relation to the present.

The next major relevant organizational development was the moderation of the Muslim Brotherhood, demonstrated by its participation in the 1984 parliamentary elections. At the time, the Brotherhood was (and remains) illegal. However, participation in elections demonstrated a willingness to interact with the state through open, official and legal channels, a major turn for the Brotherhood whose legitimacy has been historically based in the informal sector. The "new" Brotherhood first participated in the 1984 parliamentary elections and, in the 1987 elections, adopted its signature slogan of "Islam is the solution" (Mecham p. 190). The group ran on a platform of the compatibility of its Islamic platform with a democratic system of governance. A 2010 statement by the Brotherhood demonstrates that its stated stance was that the organization priority was not "Implementing Islamic law, however, in moderation but becoming a party and promoting Islamic values in a democratic system" (Mayton 2010b). In fact, elections became the Brotherhood's main method of engaging the Mubarak government after 1984 (Mecham p. 191). In order to engage the government, the Brotherhood has not isolated itself to working solely with Islamic activism but has worked with a wide array of other political actors, including secular socialist and liberal parties (Mecham p. 190-191). These actions demonstrate the main priority of the

Muslim Brotherhood, that inspiring meaningful political reform through pragmatic means is a major goal of the party.

After this initial foray into politics, the Brotherhood began to clarify the political positions it stood for. Although many of its platforms remain murky to this day, mainly due to its illegality, in 1991 the Brotherhood and other opposition groups committed themselves to a ten-point political platform that included many of the characteristics associated with a western democracy, such as free formation of political parties, direct election of the president, independent judiciary, freedom of the press, and allowing non-Muslims to follow their own religious laws (Mecham p. 192). This demonstrates that the Muslim Brotherhood was no longer solely representative of those pushing for an Islamic government, but that it also represented a democratic alternative to Mubarak's continued move toward authoritarianism. Furthermore, this call for democratic norms represented a clear borrowing from the western concept of democracy (Mecham p. 194), a radical departure from Qutb's belief that the western model of statehood was alien to Islam.

Another key element of the Brotherhood was establishing control over the professional syndicates in Egypt. This has allowed the Brotherhood to expand its appeal by providing an avenue to address employed Egyptians. The syndicates also serve as means for the distribution of the public services offered by the Brotherhood, as well a source of professionals that aid in the provision of these social services. The role played by the Brotherhood in the professional syndicates has also proven the Brotherhood's leadership to be competent and honest administrators, adding to their reputation as a potentially effective alternative to the status quo (Demmelhuber p. 125).

This new call for democracy resulted in a surge of grassroots popular support from the Brotherhood (Mecham p.193). However, this support has led to a corresponding crackdown by the Mubarak government. During this crackdown, there was a revival of references to Qutb by the government in an attempt to ostracize the Brotherhood from mainstream Egyptian government. In particular, one recent march of masked students was highlighted as reminiscent of the Secret Apparatus. This association of the Brotherhood with its murky, and often radical, past is the rhetorical centerpiece of the government's efforts to curb the enthusiasm of the Brotherhood. Government arrests have often targeted moderates within the party, limiting their influence.

Despite these crackdowns, the Brotherhood had a surprisingly successful electoral performance in 2005. Despite running as independents, candidates associated with the group won 88 (20%) seats and became the largest opposition to Mubarak's National Democratic Party (NDP). This again demonstrated that the Brotherhood had become a credible and popular political alternative to Mubarak's government (Mecham p. 193). During the campaign, the group advocated an inclusive national citizenship, not tied to religion, as some had believed might occur (Mecham p. 199). Two of the elected parliament members were female, although concerns have not faded that, if in power, the Muslim Brotherhood would practice some forms of gender discrimination (Mecham p. 200). The group emerged from the elections with a new level of popular legitimacy in the eyes of the Egyptian population and a level of credibility in the eyes of international actors (Mecham p. 194).

This increased role in the public sphere, however, did not usher in a new era of stability

within the organization. If anything, the group now finds itself on the most unsure footing since its entry into politics, partially due to its electoral success. 2007 was a particularly tumultuous year: in response to the success of the Brotherhood at the polls, the government passed a series of constitutional amendments that outlawed any form of political activism based on religion (Amnesty International 3/18/2007). This basically eliminated any likelihood that the government would legalize the Brotherhood in the near future. This recent round of repression has had serious effects on the group. Some believe that it stifled the group's attempt at mimicking its sister movements in other countries such as separating the political party from the rest of the organization. This would make the political branch of the Brotherhood, which is generally moderate, independent from the broader social/religious movement, controlled by a generally conservative party hierarchy. This separation has led to a moderation of the political platforms among the Egyptian Brotherhood's regional sister movements (Brown 2008 p. 12, 18).

The government's repressive policies can be seen as an effort to validate its radicalism-based view of the Brotherhood. By outlawing religious-based political activism, the government is forcing the Brotherhood to confront a new political reality that the Brotherhood's democratic policies will not allow them to rise to the head of government, offering incentives for the Brotherhood to retreat from its democratic platforms. The repression has prevented the separation of the party from the broader religious movement, which would likely have a moderating effect on the political branch and make the party consistent with the constitutional amendments. These amendments mean that the government can punish the group for acting through official

channels. However, if the group attempts to act through unofficial channels, the government will interpret this as a formal return to the days of the Secret Apparatus, validating government critiques of the Muslim Brotherhood as well as repressive state policies.

By behaving in an authoritarian manner and changing the constitution based on political convenience, the Egyptian government is encouraging a democratic backslide of the Brotherhood in other ways. Political actors are unlikely to behave in ways that cannot be justified by the institutional or cultural norms of a society (Tezcur p. 73). The Egyptian government is eliminating the democratic norms that would restrain political actors from acting through unofficial and undemocratic means. An important implication of the government's policies against the Brotherhood is that the government views the Brotherhood as a threat mainly to political power, not as a terrorist organization. By attempting to demonstrate that the Brotherhood has maintained its connections to extremist interpretations of Islam, the government would alienate the Brotherhood from the majority of the Egyptian population and minimize its political influence.

In 2007, the Brotherhood circulated a draft party platform among intellectuals in Egypt, which was subsequently leaked to the press (Brown 2008 p.1). This was the most detailed platform issued by the group to date and was an effort to address some of the criticism the group received for its often vague statements in opposition to the current government. While the greatest accomplishment of the platform may be that the vast majority of the it did not raise any major controversies, the platform not only raised some question in regard to the internal coherence of the group but also detailed several policies that would be antithetical to a democratic government (Brown 2008 p. 5). However, the

main focus of the platform remained grounded in social and economic issues, not religious issues (Brown 2008 p. 5)

Two small portions of the platform raised major concern. The first was a provision against allowing women and non-Muslims to serve as president of the state, reasoning that only a Muslim male can lead a Muslim state. This renewed fears that a government under the Muslim Brotherhood might result in a step backwards for the rights of women and religious minorities. Though this platform was only a draft, the inclusion of this position into the draft sparked a heated debate within the organization about whether such exclusions is consistent with Sharia law (Brown 2008 p. 5).

The other major controversy in the draft was the creation of an extra-constitutional body of religious scholars to ensure that all legislation is consistent with Article II of the Egyptian Constitution, which dictates that all law must be in accordance with the Sharia (Brown 2008 p. 4). This was troubling for a number of reasons. First, it was a departure from the transparent and democratic nature of previous Brotherhood positions. Furthermore, it represented a major philosophical shift from allowing individuals to interpret religious law for themselves and toward the potential of having a state-imposed religious orthodoxy forced upon the population. The language of the passage was not clear, although it did suggest that this body of scholars might have final say in several legislative realms. Leadership within the organization has suggested that if a final draft would ever be produced, this portion would be omitted (Brown 2010 p. 11)

In response to the crackdown from the government and the blowback from the leaking of the draft, the Brotherhood has begun a slow retreat from the public sphere under new leadership. The recently appointed leader the organization, Muhammad Badi, has a reputation

for engagement through the religious movement more than the political movement (Brown 2010b). Despite Amnesty International's call for the government crackdown against the Muslim Brotherhood to end, the government has recently escalated its crackdown by targeting high-ranking officers of the Brotherhood, a departure from its previous crackdowns (Mayton 2010a). In this context, the Brotherhood's retreat does not bode well for opposition to Mubarak in Egypt. It is widely expected that Hosni Mubarak will have his son, Gamel, succeed him following the end of his term (Demmelhuber p. 119). Some analysis suggests that, besides making a mockery of the democratic rhetoric of the current government, it will also benefit a converging class of business and political elites, who will likely profit from Gamel Mubarak's technocratic inclinations (Demmelhuber p. 119). The creation of a "Mubarak dynasty" in Egypt would represent the continuing erosion of democratic governance within the country.

The enormous role played by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian opposition enhances the importance of any contribution to democratic governance. The two major controversies in the 2007 platform represent a democratic backslide from previous positions. Moderation theory, developed by Robert Michels in a study of European radical socialist parties, can be useful when addressing whether these positions would serve as a serious barrier to democracy in Egypt. Although socialism and Islam are certainly not identical, the holistic nature of the socialist philosophy has certain parallels with the increased role of Islam (represented by the Ulama Council) in the 2007 party platform. Also, like the Brotherhood, the socialist parties studied by Michels were initially outside of electoral politics.

Guines Tezcur specifically relates moderation theory to Islamic opposition

movements in Iran and Turkey, finding that a moderation two of Islamic parties in both states did indeed occur (Tezcur p. 83). Tezcur describes the Islamic parties he focuses on as often having weak democratic credentials in the face of authoritarian regimes, which can certainly be applied to the Muslim Brotherhood (Tezcur p. 71). He also believes that the process of Islamic-based opposition appears to be a natural and organic process, noting that it occurs in the context of both a theocratic government and a relatively secular democracy (Tezcur p. 74). The Islamic opposition movements, according to Tezcur, were a "product of soul searching among younger Islamicists" that led to an abandonment of "utopian goals in favor of pragmatic, pluralistic and moderation discourse" (Tezcur p. 74). The re-entry of the Brotherhood into electoral politics and the role of the younger moderate faction within the group fit the Brotherhood into Tezcur's analysis of Islamic opposition movements.

One major assumption Michels based his study on is that political parties are controlled by elites, who could (and often did) make decisions without input from the party as a whole (Michels, quoted in Tezcur p. 71). A later discussion on the internal structure of the Brotherhood shows that the organization does indeed have a strong centralized hierarchy that has control over the party apparatus, meaning that Michel's assumption does not preclude the Brotherhood from his theory. Michels believes that the pursuit of votes and the organizational structure cause the moderation of political parties within a democracy because elites within the party make rational decisions to shift policies to the center in the pursuit of electoral votes or risk electoral failure (Michels, quoted in Tezcur 71). In fact, the use of an Islamic identity may simply be an instrumental choice by the party to appeal to a broadly defined

identity, as was the case with some Islamic activism in Turkey (Tezcur p. 80). Literature on the radical socialist parties indicates that their involvement in parliamentary politics has brought about moderation (Tezcur p. 73).

Moderation theory can be applied to the Muslim Brotherhood. First, it should be noted that the recent post-1984 moderation process can be seen as consistent with moderation theory. The decision was made by elites within the organization, since there was no external electoral accountability prior to entry in the 1984 elections. Entry into electoral politics, with the Brotherhood's current respect for existing political institutions, is a clear moderation from the philosophy of some of its earlier ideologues, especially that of Qutb. One key element of the moderation process is the abandonment of exclusivist rhetoric (Michels, quoted in Tezcur pp. 71-2). This would be good news for the Coptic Christian minority and women, in regard to a more open field for candidate selection. Indeed, Abdul Moneim Aboul, a jailed moderate leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, seems to confirm this possibility, saying that the provisions against Copts and women serving as president are not final (Mayton 2010a). Also, in describing loyalty to a socialist identity, Michels comments that beliefs do not directly lead to decisions by actors but rather political actors are predisposed to certain beliefs because of their ideology (Michels, quoted in Tezcur p. 73). The Brotherhood's Islamic identity would not prevent a repeal of the position against non-Muslims. Previous ideological shifts have demonstrated that the Brotherhood's Islamic identity has not been a serious barrier to other democratic party platforms.

As such changes take place within the party, "party organization acquires a life of its own at the expense of revolutionary principles" (Michels, quoted in Tezcur p. 71). However,

there needs to exist popular sentiment to continue to drive the Brotherhood away from positions antithetical to democratic governance. World Public Opinion polls demonstrate that this would be the case: a 2008 poll showed that 98% of Egyptians agree that the *will of the people* should be the basis of the authority of the government (emphasis added, WPO 2008). Ninety-seven percent believes that the will of the people should have a greater influence in the government than it already does (WPO 2008). Other polls conducted by World Public Opinion show that 75% of the Egyptian population believes it is important that a country is governed democratically and 67% believes it is important to be able to express unpopular views (WPO 2009). These polls demonstrate that the Egyptian population will continue to enable party leaders to make rational decisions toward an increasingly moderate platform. Recent development seems to confirm this, as it is expected the Brotherhood will defer to existing political institutions instead of creating new ones in any subsequent platforms (Brown 2008 p. 16).

Another crucial causal factor of moderation is the party's lack of resources. Once an electoral strategy has been established, it is often not possible for the party to pursue an alternative strategy (Tezcur p. 76). Changes made by the elite, out of calculated self-interest, become the genuine direction of the party. However, the actions of the state can change or prevent this moderation. The greater the threat from state oppression, "the more cautious and risk adverse reformers are" (Tezcur p. 75). By threatening the group with repression, decision makers within the party will avoid using open and official channels to accomplish their goal. Repression affects the rational decision of the elite within the party because it alters the cost-benefit analysis that elites make in their decision to potentially moderate the party. Ultimately,

repression increases the cost of operating in an official and transparent manner, disincentivizing their use.

Socialist and other Islamic parties are not the only relevant examples when discussing the democratic viability of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India provides another extremely useful comparison. The BJP is a Hindu-nationalist party that rose to prominence in the late 1980s and played an increasingly large role in Indian politics, culminating in the creation of its own government from 1999 to 2004. As the party came to power, its Hindu nationalist stance (which was its defining attribute into the early 1990s) morphed into a more centrist political ideology. This change was a consequence of the democratic structure of the Indian government and the popularity of oppositional rhetoric to the existing political order, in the case of the BJP, the Congress Party.

In the case of the BJP, the popularity of oppositional rhetoric increased support for the party but masked internal cleavages within the party and its voters. During this time in which cleavages are less important, the internal structure of the party empowers an inherited conservative party elite, allowing them to control the rhetoric of the party. The result is that certain elements of the party's rhetoric are not representative of the party's popular support, but those who disagree with the parts of these parts of the party line stay with the party because it offers the best chance to change the political status quo. Once the party achieves a significant degree of popularity in an open political setting, these cleavages become salient and the party must realistically address its support or risk losing it. It is important to recognize that a party having a religious platform does not make it impossible to attract the support of those not interested in its religious message. The BJP, similar to the

Muslim Brotherhood, had significant economic and social reform platforms, tapping into the large segments of the population who felt disempowered or ignored by the Congress or Mubarak governments.

India had initially formed a state based on secular nationalism, although Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, adopted a narrow form of state-sponsored secularism (Jugersmeyer p. 107). Key to this secular nationalism was the protection of religious minority rights, especially the rights of Muslims. The BJP made the claim that this was actually preferential treatment of Muslims, who did not deserve a role in what the BJP believed was India's Hindu civilization. Calling this protection of religious rights "pseudo-secularism," the BJP wanted the state to formally adopt an exclusively Hindu culture as a means to reclaim its previous cultural glory. This was an exclusivist ideology, which defined religious minorities as foreign to Indian culture.

Following India's independence, the state was essentially a one-party democracy, with the Congress party receiving the dominant share of the votes. Despite being basically unchallenged until the rise of the BJP, the Indian state remained a democracy. However, the Congress Party began to change as a second generation of political leaders, those not directly involved in national independence movement, began to assume leadership within the party. This new generation was more concerned with the political end of the Congress Party, which originally had a strong network of social institutions as well as a party apparatus (Varshney 2002 p. 241). This weakened loyalty to the Congress Party among its traditional support groups. The declining state of the Congress Party, which had been the bastion of secular nationalism in the Indian state, created the space that allowed communal political

developments, on which the BJP attempted to capitalize (Varshney 2002 p. 242-3).

It was within this context that the destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya took place. The mosque was built on the site of the alleged birthplace of the Hindu deity Rama and became a focal point of the Hindu nationalist movement in the early 1990s. After a series of demonstrations and unclear government positions, the mosque was destroyed, setting off a round of communal violence. Two organizations, the RSS and VHP, both linked to the BJP, were believed to have had a major role in stirring up the communal tension that led to the riots (Juergensmeyer p. 111). The BJP attempted to capitalize on the renewed salience of a politicized Hindu identity in electoral politics, going as far as releasing its own White Paper on the destruction of the mosque to present an alternative explanation and increasing the Hindu nationalist rhetoric. However, the BJP did not see an increase in its vote share following the destruction of the mosque and was generally humiliated at the elections (Hasan p. 15), an early indication that the success of the BJP was not only the product of Hindu nationalism.

This public failure forced the BJP to “harmonize its ideas with thirst for power” (Hasan p. 15). While maintaining a Hindu nationalist rhetoric, the BJP changed a number of its policies. It offered some policies that are friendly to Muslims under the guise of economic policies (Basu 1996 p. 61-2). Other economic policies have generally been viewed as liberal, especially catering to a rising middle class coming from the information technology sector, a reversal from its previous nationalist economic position (Hasan p. 18, Juergensmeyer p. 114). The BJP has made an effort to appeal to different groups, both at the federal and state level. It reversed its policy of not making coalitions in order to expand its power; in fact,

religion is no longer a major element in BJP coalition building (Hasan p 18, 16, Basu 2000 p. 399). At the state level, the BJP has made a greater effort to appeal to a diverse body of voters, going so far as to alter its message to appeal to different groups (Basu 1996 p.68). The closer the BJP has come to exercising national power, the more moderate it has become (Basu 2000 p. 384)

One major causal factor of the moderation of the BJP is what Ashutosh Varshney calls “the self-correcting mechanisms of Indian democracy” (Varshney 1995 p. 38). Varshney argues that the independence and unpredictability of government institutions, the realities of identity politics in India, and certain voting patterns punish parties for extremist rhetoric and violations of democratic norms. Institutional unpredictability, diversity, and independence have prevented a single party from monopolizing control of government institutions by preventing parties in power from being able to change the norms away from democratic governance (Varshney 1995 p. 40). When parties have challenged the governmental institutions, they have been rebuked, ensuring compliance with the existing democratic norms. Varshney points out that the judiciary branch decided that religious beliefs cannot overtake secular issues (Varshney 1995 p. 40). The BJP bumped up against these institutional barriers as it rose to political prominence and was forced to bring its policies in line with the democratic norms of Indian governance.

The role of identity politics in Indian democracy is twofold. First, the wide variety of cleavages in India means that a party cannot just appeal to a single cleavage group and expect to make serious political gains (Varshney 1995 p. 41). This reality forced the BJP to appeal to different groups and moderate its positions in doing so. The second role played by identity was that the continuing use of Hindu identity by

the BJP in political matters had diluted the meaning of the term (Varshney 1995 p. 39). As more and more people joined the BJP, its definition of what was truly a “Hindu” had to change to accommodate its new members. The result was that the term became watered down and what it meant to be a Hindu in the BJP in 1989 was radically different than what it meant to be a Hindu in the BJP in 1999. This dilution of the conceptions of Hindu identity led several of the more extreme Hindu nationalists to leave the BJP and form their own parties. By expanding its popular base, the BJP destroyed the cohesiveness of the very identity it was trying to preserve. The Hindu identity the BJP was trying to support became less exclusivist and identity politics based on this “Hindu” identity now had to accommodate a diverse body of support or risk losing support.

Politicization of “Hindu” identity with such a communal purpose also fueled “strategic voting,” meaning that people opposed to the BJP voted for the party they believed would have the best chance of defeating the BJP (Varshney 1995 p. 40). In effect, even though the BJP increased its vote share, it did not automatically gain political power because the BJP unified its opposition through its use of Hindu nationalism. The democratic process of the Indian government meant that creating an “in group” as the basis of a political party meant creating a unified opposition of the “out group.”

Similar developments within the Egyptian political system and the Muslim Brotherhood’s own platform suggest that the “self-correcting mechanisms” Varshney pointed out exist, or would exist if the Brotherhood achieved power, in the Egyptian political system. Despite the democratic backslide, the judiciary branch of Egypt has remained largely independent of the executive branch (which also controls the legislative), and has remained the target of Mubarak’s attempt to expand his

power (Phillips p. 21-2). In its initial ten-point opposition plan, the Brotherhood committed itself to maintaining the independence of the judiciary branch as well as creating a more empowered legislative branch through the creation of a parliamentary system (Mecham p. 192). The likely retraction of the creation of an extra-constitutional religious panel would signify a rededication to this liberal position. These institutions would check some of the less democratic positions of the Brotherhood.

The use of an “Islamic” identity is also creating a similar dilution of the politically constructed identity, as well as strategic opposition. Much like some groups that opposed the BJP in India, the Christian Coptic minority has openly advocated that people vote along an anti-Muslim Brotherhood line (Salam 2010). Given the significant percentage of the Copts in the Egyptian population, such mobilization against a specific group would likely have stifling legislative implications if the Brotherhood should be legalized and participate in parliamentary politics with anti-Coptic positions. A later discussion of cleavages within the Muslim Brotherhood will also demonstrate a dilution of a politicized Islamic identity. As the group has expanded, it has deviated from its norm of having a unitary party voice because an increasingly diverse group of people is being brought under the Islamic identity of the Brotherhood.

There are other reasons that suggest a moderation of the Brotherhood would take place if it were to be integrated into a democratic system because, like the BJP, the religious rhetoric of the party is not the cause of, or representative of, the popular support of the party. To understand how the religious rhetoric of a party might not be representative of its mass following, it is necessary to understand the structure of each party. In the case of the BJP, the party is directly linked to the Rashtriya

Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a volunteer organization that advocates an extreme form of Hindu nationalism. The RSS was founded in 1925 by middle-class Hindu nationalists to train young men to resist the appeal of a secular society (Juergensmeyer p 106). The philosophy of the group makes numerous references to a great Hindu past and a desire to restore that past by creating a Hindu nation (Juergensmeyer p. 107). The RSS supplied not only the early party cadres, but also the energy and dedication to get the BJP off the ground (Juergensmeyer 2008 p. 107, Basu 1996 p.64).

With this early control, the RSS turned the BJP into a centralized party, with much of the control lying with the party elite provided to the BJP by the RSS (Basu 1996 p. 60). It also created a situation of dependency, in which the BJP could not break ties with the RSS (Hasan p. 19). From its inception to its rise to prominence, the RSS had a firm grip on the internal mechanisms of the party. As the BJP expanded its support, this internal control would not change to reflect new, more inclusive realities of the party's support. Essentially, the people who came to support the BJP for oppositional reasons inherited a party apparatus that had its roots firmly in Hindu nationalism.

During expansion, the BJP began to move away from its traditional sources of upper caste Hindu nationalists support. Oliver Heath tracks the expansion of the BJP's electoral base, noting that when it first began to rise to prominence in 1989, the BJP was mainly a regional phenomenon, not a nationwide movement (Heath p. 232). The party expanded its support by courting voters in regions adjacent to pre-existing supportive regions, not through a simultaneous expansion of support (Heath p. 233). The regional spread of political support did have a direct role in the moderation of the BJP. It forced the BJP to abandon some of its religious platforms tied to regionalism,

most notably its desire to change the national language to a northern dialect of Hindi and exclude Urdu as an official language. However, as the BJP began to expand, it had to create a more nationally appealing language position and abandon its desire to change the national language. As the BJP began to expand its influence to other regions, it was forced to concede this platform to attract voters from other regions (Basu 2000 p. 386).

As it expanded, the BJP moved away from its traditional support by increasingly courting, a voter bloc known as Other Backward Castes (OBCs) (Heath p. 256). In fact, the OBC made up a group of the fastest-rising party personnel in the mid-1990s (Varshney 1995 p. 40). Eventually, the support from non-traditional locations was greater than support from traditional locations (Heath p. 256). The BJP was filling the space left by Congress as its second and latter generations of political leaders retreated from the social sphere. This validates Amrita Basu's assertion that the "BJP has given voices to sources of frustration and aggression that have little to do with religious faith" (Basu 1996 p. 58). The inability of increased religious rhetoric to attract more voters also suggests that the electoral success was not related to religious platforms, but accompanying platforms. The BJP was able to voice political grievances against the Congress system and capitalize on dissatisfaction with the political status quo (Hasan p. 15, Basu 1996 p. 64). During its rise to power, the BJP was able to consistently win the "anti-establishment" vote (Basu 2000 p. 385).

Thus, this new source of BJP support, which made up the majority of the support, came mainly from non-traditional voters who saw the BJP as a political movement against the Congress Party, not as an attempt to revitalize India as a purely "Hindu" civilization. Since the BJP represented the major viable opposition to

the Congress Party, the religious rhetoric preached by the inherited party elites in control of the party apparatus did not drive away the more politically oriented recent supporters of the BJP. However, once the BJP came to power, the divide between the traditional support and the more moderate recent supporters became salient. The BJP could not alienate these voters or else it would lose power and with it any chance the elites had at passing a religious agenda. The result was that, in accordance with moderation theory, RSS leadership consented to the moderation in exchange for political power (Hasan p. 15).

A similar occurrence is taking place within the Muslim Brotherhood. The cleavage between the conservatives and moderates is becoming increasingly salient, and would have a moderating effect should the Brotherhood participate in elections with the goals of winning them. The moderates, or reformers, draw their leadership from the professional syndicates and its support from the student movements and professional syndicates (Al-Ahram no. 970). As a whole, the group favors a greater emphasis on the electoral aspect of the movement, a separation of the party from the movement, and more internal democracy within the party. Many reformers have voiced a preference for a Turkish-style democracy (Mayton 2010b). The group also favors an active role for the group in Egyptian society (Madbouli 2010). Although the moderates tend to be younger than the conservatives, their leaders have still been in the movement since the 1970s (Al-Ahram no. 970). The reformers tend to have a more grassroots nature to their support and activism, having especially embraced the internet, party because the conservatives have a much stronger grip on the official channels of the party (Al-Ahram no 970, Ursala 2009).

Key to understanding the conservative faction within the party is the fact that the faction does not automatically support religion over democracy (Madbouli 2010). The group does indeed want to put a greater emphasis on strengthening the ideological outreach of the group (Madbouli 2010). However, there is also a strong organizational component, with the conservatives favoring pre-existing and expedient organizational structure, even though they do not always favor internal democracy (Rashwan). This is not just a way of preserving their own power within the party, but also seen as a way of protecting the party itself. Leaders of the conservative faction moved through the ranks of the Brotherhood in the 1950s, in the context of the crackdowns by the British and eventually Nasser (Ursala). The fact that the quick, and somewhat secretive, organizational structure has helped and continues to help the Brotherhood survive new crackdowns by the government is recognized by the conservatives within the party.

The divide between the moderates and conservatives is becoming increasingly more apparent. In response to the 2007 platform, visible differences began to emerge between the two camps (Brown 2008 p. 6). Many reformers claimed the draft was not circulated among all party members and, thus, was not a product of the entire organization (Brown 2008 pp. 7-8). More recently, the election of a new Supreme Guide of the Brotherhood revealed the split between the two groups (Al-Ahram nos. 969, 983). While a compromise was used to select a new leader, many still felt it left out many of the moderates, who are disenfranchised by the current party structure (Rashwan). The result was that Mohammed Baidi, a conservative with a history in the ideological outreach of the Brotherhood, was chosen as the next (and current) Supreme Guide (Brown 2010, Al Ahram no. 983).

The internal structure of the Brotherhood empowers the conservative faction, mainly through seniority. While this does reward loyalty to the movement and promote the survival of the organization, it also means that the leadership of the Brotherhood has not changed to reflect its massive increase in popularity following the entry into politics, similar to the BJP. The Guidance or Shura Council, which formulates group policy and elects the Supreme Guide (head executive), is unelected (Phillips p. 12; Rashwan). The result is that this council is now controlled by the first-generation conservative faction and the party apparatus represent the ideological values of the conservatives, partly as a tactic to maintain its unique status among the Egyptian opposition groups (Brown 2008 p. 17). Unlike the BJP elite prior to electoral success, the elite within the Brotherhood have presented a more moderate stance. They have offered a progressive combination of democracy and Islam that looks toward the future as a source of inspiration, unlike the primordial view of Indian civilization initially offered by the BJP. While it is not always clear whether the Brotherhood's leadership sees Islam or democracy as its first priority, it is important to remember that the voice of the party is not always representative of the popular support, and those who control the voice of the party have a history of moderating their stances.

The change in popular support of the Brotherhood is a product of recent events, especially the offering of a democratic alternative to the current government and an increased role of the Brotherhood in the public sphere, while the leadership is a product of seniority. The makeup of party support has dramatically changed without corresponding changes in the party leadership. Like the BJP, the Brotherhood offers an alternative to the status quo that appeals to the self-interest of the

voters. The rise in popularity of both groups is not tied to its religious rhetoric, which has been a constant, but the ability of the party to offer a coherent and appealing alternative to the political status quo. Any retraction of the democratic platform, which is the basis of this alternative, would cost the Brotherhood dearly in public support. The Muslim Brotherhood has had an Islamic identity since its creation, but it is only through the addition of peaceful and democratic activism in opposition to Mubarak that the group has emerged as the only viable opposition party to Mubarak. Through participation in elections, the leadership of the party would have to confront this reality and realistically address its support or lose it.

The moderate faction has its roots in the more populist (and popular) elements of the Brotherhood. Many of the moderates started in student movements in the 1970s and became leaders of the professional syndicates (Phillips p. 14). The syndicates have served as a source of the Brotherhood's popularity because they serve as a means of distributing social services and demonstrate the administrative qualities of the Brotherhood that have made them exceptionally popular political candidates. Through its control of the medical syndicate, the Brotherhood is able to offer doctors better salaries than the government, run 22 hospitals, and have schools in every administrative district (Harrigan p. 104). These social services have expanded the popularity of the Brotherhood tremendously (Harrigan p. 104). The moderate factions of the Muslim Brotherhood are the group that has been the public face of the organization on the street and administrative backbone of the Brotherhood during its most recent rise to popularity starting toward the end of the 1980s. This method of expanding electoral support has branched the Brotherhood out toward non-traditional sources of support

through non-religious means, much like the BJP.

Demonstrating the electoral viability of the moderates is the electoral branch of the Brotherhood, in which the younger generation is extremely active (Mecham p. 103). The leader of the electoral branch is a moderate who has openly voiced his desire for a separation of the party from the broader religious movement (Brown 2008 p. 8). The success of this moderate branch in the 2005 elections demonstrates the support the moderates have from the Egyptian population. The role of the Brotherhood as the most successful political opposition to Mubarak means that casting a vote for the Brotherhood is also a rejection of the current status quo. Voting for a Muslim Brotherhood candidate does not automatically indicate support for the party elite. Similar to the BJP, the Brotherhood has expanded into non-traditional sources of support, partially by presenting themselves as the only alternative to the status quo. As the government continually deviates from its democratic rhetoric, the role of the Brotherhood as an opposition group becomes increasingly important. Displeasure with the current government in Egypt creates a legitimate reason to vote for the Brotherhood.

These similarities to the BJP suggest that the Brotherhood's most recent return to popularity is dependent on their ability to voice an *attractive alternative* to Mubarak. Their ability to do so thus far has kept the party intact, despite the emerging visibility of cleavages. If legalized, electoral politics will force the Brotherhood to address internal cleavages and make meaningful concessions to its numerous moderate supporters or risk losing their support. The very democratic reforms advocated by the Brotherhood and the source of its recent surge in popularity will politically isolate them unless they embrace the reforms.

Religious parties are not solely defined by their religious platforms. While a religious identity may appeal to some as a source of political authority, these parties often offer social, economic and political platforms that can attract support for entirely non-religious reasons. With the BJP and Muslim Brotherhood, respect for democratic institutions is a key element of both parties' political policies. In the case of the BJP, the already existing strength of Indian democratic institutions never made destruction of liberal institutions an option. The rhetoric of the Muslim Brotherhood for the respect of, and desire to create, democratic institutions is both an encouraging sign and a key element to its popularity. Political parties that do not practice a respect for democratic institutions will not consensually contribute to democratic governance in a positive manner, whether religious in nature or not, but to condemn a democratic party based on its belief in the role of religion is, in itself, an undemocratic practice.

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Post-Conflict Democratization: Rwanda's Illiberal Democracy

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Introduction

Rwanda, despite successful post-conflict economic growth, is an illiberal shell of a democracy as a result of unsuccessful post-conflict democratization and liberalization. The 2003 constitution calls for the “eradication of ethnic, regional and other divisions and promotion of national unity.”^{vii} Peaceful elections have been held, but they merely provide the illusion of democracy. Any significant political threat to the regime is labeled a “divisionist” and legally barred from competition with Kagame’s Rwandan Patriotic Front, or RPF. The post-conflict path taken in Rwanda has resulted in the country’s slide towards authoritarianism. While some analysts argue that limitations on civil liberties, controlled political participation, and a closely monitored press are necessary in post-conflict environments to ensure stability in a post-conflict state, by maintaining Rwanda as an exclusionary pseudodemocracy, the Rwandan elite are running a serious risk of inviting further acute violence in the future.

The 1994 Genocide and the associated collapse of the social order in Rwanda left a major impact on the state and its people. However, just as before the Genocide, the international aid community is currently praising Rwanda as a rare Central African success. All the numbers look good. Before taking into account the current global financial crisis, the Rwandan GDP was expected to grow

some 5.5% in 2009, the 18th fastest in the world.^{viii} Aid money is flowing smoothly into Rwanda, NGOs in part contributing to the continuation of authoritarianism while working in a difficult political environment. Between 2005 and 2006, overseas developmental assistance (ODA) averaged “just over 14 percent of GDP,” while FDI accounted for .23% and average savings accounted for -1.4% of GDP.^{ix} A great deal of caution is necessary for the international donor community to avoid supporting and prolonging authoritarian rule. The international donor community must begin to make concrete demands of the Rwandan government to truly liberalize its political sphere, in the interest of continuing stability.

Rwanda offers a unique opportunity to apply post-conflict development theories. Fifteen years after genocide, the guilty and the innocent must continue to exist side-by-side in the same country and neighborhoods. Economically, it has rebounded fairly successfully. Politically, however, Rwanda is a far cry from a free, liberal democracy. A question that post-conflict specialists often face today is whether to focus on democracy in the form of elections, or on peace and stability. If liberalization takes a back seat to stability, how long can a ruling party continue to maintain a closed system before outsiders become radicalized, once again putting stability at risk? Is there a proper “sequence” for the building of a liberal democracy? Is there a trade-off

between democracy and stability? The case study of Rwanda involves the recovery from violence that reached an abhorrent extreme, and thus serves as a highly complex and very interesting test environment for the application of these current post-conflict theories and offers some answers for the questions they raise. This will also generate policy recommendations for the international community, NGOs, and policymakers in Kigali.

Post-Conflict Democratization and the Democratic Peace

From the mid-1990s onward, elections were viewed as a major step towards success by policy-makers in post-conflict environments. For practical and logistical reasons, elections gave the statebuilding process a point where success could be claimed and the exit strategy could be pursued. In academia, this belief was not as widely accepted, but did gain a following. Elections became a major benchmark and indicator of the relative success of a given statebuilding mission. The acceptance of elections as a key part of post-conflict reconstruction was in part a result of the welcome adoption of Democratic Peace Theory by former U.S. President Bill Clinton.^x

Democratic Peace Theory holds that developed, liberal, or “consolidated” democracies do not engage one another in violent conflict. Applied to post-conflict development, this theory implied that if democracy and elections were made a priority objective, international peace would logically follow. Policymakers largely subscribed to this belief during the planning and carrying out of statebuilding operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.^{xi}

This focus on elections delivering peace vis-à-vis the democratic peace was misplaced. While it may be true that consolidated

democracies do not fight one another, the process of democratization is a rough and complex period, in which the risk of violence, both external and internal, actually increases significantly. Mansfield and Snyder noted that states going from full transition from complete authoritarianism to extensive mass democracy are “twice as likely to fight wars in the decade after democratization.”^{xii} Subsequent work by Paul Collier delivers empirical evidence affirming the connection between democratization and internal conflict. According to Collier, “democracy, at least in the form it has usually taken to date in the societies of the bottom billion, does not seem to enhance the prospects of internal peace. On the contrary, it seems to increase proneness to political violence.”^{xiii}

A substantial argument emerged in the 1990s that elections do not imply liberal democracy, and to believe otherwise is dangerous. As Fareed Zakaria wrote, “While it is easy to impose elections on a country, it is more difficult to push constitutional liberalism on a society. The process of genuine liberalization and democratization is gradual and long-term, in which an election is only one step.”^{xiv} Lessons learned in Iraq and Afghanistan, both places where elections and violence exist side-by-side, lend credence to this viewpoint. The Democratic Peace Theory only applies to consolidated democracies, and therefore cannot be used to predict or understand the behavior of states undergoing the tumultuous process of post-conflict democratization.

Democracy v. Stability

Contemporary post-conflict development theorists largely acknowledge that democracy and elections are not equivalent and that the goals of democratization and those of peace

building and security enhancement may differ. Scholars such as Jack Snyder have firmly established that not “all good things go together” as once believed. Democratization and peacebuilding efforts can often have opposite, contrary, and even opposing goals and practices.^{xv} For example, in a post-conflict situation where violence was very recently a legitimate means to air social grievances, the premature holding of elections may result in disappointed political losers returning to armed struggle, a case of democratization interfering with peacebuilding. Conversely, peacebuilding efforts intended to assuage potential spoilers such as inclusion of rebel groups in the democratization process can lead to difficult problems with the holding of democratic, free, and successful elections.^{xvi}

Benjamin Reilly notes the “security dilemma” which arises during elections after a period of violent conflict, whereby “competing ethnic, religious, and political actors will often mobilize against the possibility of future threats, triggering a cascading tit-for-tat escalation and polarization from other segments of society. In many cases, rising levels of internal conflict have accompanied or been precipitated by transitions from authoritarian rule toward democracy. Despite their essential role, post-war elections have often fomented these tensions, becoming a lightning-rod for popular discontent and extremist sentiments.”^{xvii}

Therefore, a question of priority arises in post-conflict situations. Is it better to have democratic elections at the potential cost of peace, or should democracy be held off until a proper level of institutional support is in place? And what exactly does “democracy” mean in terms of concrete policy? If elections are not one-in-the-same with democracy and may actually be dangerous, then how can newly

democratizing states move towards liberal democracy in a safe manner?

Sequencing

One answer is provided by the theory of sequencing. First made popular by Fareed Zakaria, Edward Mansfield, and Jack Snyder, sequencing does away with the viewpoint that immediate development of democratic elections is always a good thing, and instead proposes that national elections with universal suffrage should wait until the rule of law and a well-functioning state is in place.^{xviii} The sequencing strategy views democracy as a long-term goal to be strived for, not as something possible in the short-term. Mansfield and Snyder write, “Without reasonably effective civic institutions, the outcome in culturally diverse societies is likely to resemble Iraq and Lebanon. Once a country starts on an illiberal trajectory, ideas are unleashed and institutions are established that tend to continue propelling it along that trajectory. A key danger is that premature democratization will push a country down this path.”^{xix}

Sequencing theorists believe that the contestation and conflict of democratic elections can serve as a spark that relights the flame of violence in post-conflict societies. As violence was very recently the primary choice to address social grievances, a post-conflict state runs the risk of devolving into further chaos. If the original violence was ethnic in nature, early democratization can have particularly damaging consequences due to the process of “outbidding,” which occurs where political parties become extremely polarized, often on ethnic grounds. As one political party increasingly makes use of extremist rhetoric to compete for votes, opposing parties respond in kind, pushing both parties away from the center while cancelling out the moderate voices of the

political center. Intense polarization and othering causes a dramatic re-escalation of social tensions, which can often result in the breakdown of the democratic process and a return to violence.^{xx}

Sequencing is a logical answer to the failures of applying the democratic peace to newly democratizing states. However, it too is partially flawed. Responding to the early work done by Zakaria, Mansfield, and Snyder, Thomas Carothers argues that sequencing theory rests on a “mistaken two part premise: that a significant number of autocrats can and will act as generators of rule-of-law development and state-building, and that democratizing countries are inherently ill suited for these tasks.”^{xxi} Carothers writes that the key failure of sequentialism is allowing authoritarianism to build democracy, a clearly problematic approach. Carothers views sequencing as an ideological practice of “kicking the can down the road” and delaying the development of free and fair elections indefinitely, as sequentialism provides no firm and clearly identifiable benchmarks for when a state is “ready” for democracy. Additionally, he is less pessimistic about the threat to stability which democracy brings.^{xxii}

Carothers also wrote that sequentialism would be used by “traditional realists” in order to excuse the maintenance of friendly relations with autocratic governments, by “traditional developmentalists” to re-ignite modernization theory’s view that development must precede democracy, and by “powerholders in some non-democratic countries” to justify and excuse a closed political system by claiming such a situation is in the long-term interest of democracy. Carothers believes sequencing to be rooted in skepticism about democracy’s potential for success, rather than in hope.^{xxiii} In

response to sequencing, Carothers proposes a strategy he entitles “gradualism.”

Gradualism

Gradualism insists upon holding elections, which are, for Carothers, the “core element” of democracy; in a manner that is “iterative and cumulative ways rather than all at once.”^{xxiv} Where sequentialism puts off democratic elections until a stable rule of law is in place, gradualism encourages the incremental movement towards full and open elections while simultaneously undergoing state-building procedures. Carothers acknowledges the seemingly minute difference between the two strategies, but reaffirms the split between the two is “fundamental.” Gradualism encourages the taking of “incremental but definite steps” toward a fully open political arena while at the same time engaging in “statebuilding and rule of law reforms.”^{xxv}

Gradualism differs with sequentialism in that it calls for simultaneous development of state institutions and opening of the political system, as opposed to delaying the latter until the former has met some development benchmark. It is overall a more optimistic viewpoint on the democratization process. While sequentialism theorists are prone to characterizing democratization as inherently very unstable and potentially chaotic, gradualism sees the process as less sensitive and explosive after the initial transition phase. Gradualism does, however, agree with sequentialism in that “democratization has no natural place in the first phase, since this phase is usually a conflictive, coercive process carried out by strongmen leaders intent on conquest or militarized defense.”^{xxvi} Thus, gradualism recognizes the need for some degree of delay after a major conflict before elements of

democracy can be introduced, but does not accept delay beyond a brief transitory period.

The Dangers of “Elections = Democracy”

There is a general acknowledgement within the post-conflict literature that the process of democratization can cause further violence in post-conflict settings. For proponents of democratic sequencing, elections are to be held off until a stable order and rule of law exists. For sequentialists, elements of full national elections, such as minor regional electoral contests, ought to be introduced gradually into a democratizing state. For both camps, full-suffrage free and fair elections tend to be portrayed as the “be all end all” of democratization efforts. This has led to a belief amongst policymakers and the broader international community that elections are the climax of post-conflict operations, and in international peacebuilding efforts, elections have often marked the successful completion of an operation.

However, as Anna K. Jarstad points out, “the first post-war election is often riddled with violence and flawed election outcomes.”^{xxvii} For a multitude of reasons, including inadequate infrastructure, poor security services, and lack of democratic roots, the earliest elections in most post-conflict environments are a far cry from free and fair. Benjamin Reilly adds that, “...many transition elections are now saddled with unrealistic expectations to achieve goals that are inconsistent and incompatible. A more realistic and less ideological appraisal of elections is required – one which recognizes that elections can be potentially advantageous *or* injurious to post-war democratization – and that success is dependent on a careful consideration of timing, sequencing, mechanics, and administration issues.”^{xxviii}

A further problem arises when considering the implications for the international aid regime. Writing on the topic of the development community’s work in Rwanda before and leading almost immediately up to the 1994 Genocide, Peter Uvin explained the problem of developers hailing a state for sound economic policies and holding regular elections, while turning a blind eye to the actual political climate of the state.^{xxix} If merely holding elections is the pre-requisite for receiving development assistance from the international community, the development enterprise is indirectly assisting in the spread of pseudodemocracy. Autocratic leaders can easily put on an election for show in order to satisfy international donors. When domestic elites realize that elections are the only thing being asked of them by the aid community, they will gladly supply them. However, those entrenched elites will often not go so far as to ensure these elections are free and fair or abide by electoral results. The international community must be more willing to tie aid to concrete reforms and liberalization of domestic politics.

For these temporal and structural reasons, elections are surely a poor benchmark to determine the successful democratization of a post-conflict state that has only very recently escaped violence. A very serious danger to liberal democratization has arisen, bolstered by the international community’s willingness to view elections and democracy as tautological. What of the post-conflict state which, a decade or two after major violence has subsided, is now back on its proverbial feet, but the elite-in-power refuse to give up their autocratic control? Realizing that the international community has seemingly equated democracy with elections, elites of such post-conflict states are offered the choice of instituting a pseudodemocracy, and illiberal democracies are born.

Illiberal Democracy

Fareed Zakaria coined the term “illiberal democracy” in a 1997 piece that appeared in *Foreign Affairs*. In this piece, Zakaria separates democracy from constitutional liberalism, and explains the danger of the first without the latter.^{xxx} Simply put, democracy without liberalism is easily manipulated and controlled, ensures the public few if any basic rights, and features a tightly controlled political arena.

The elite of illiberal democracies have realized that holding regular elections is an important social norm in the modern state system, and carries with it a certain amount of prestige. However, without the various freedoms that are guaranteed by liberal constitutionalism, the democratic process is easily corrupted by the state. As scholar Larry Diamond writes, “First, more regimes than ever before are adopting the *form* of electoral democracy, with regular, competitive, multiparty elections. Second, many of these regimes—indeed, an unprecedented proportion of the world’s countries—have the form of electoral democracy but fail to meet the substantive test, or do so only ambiguously.”^{xxxix} Thus, illiberal democracies have all the window dressings that allow them to appear democratic in form, but a closer analysis will reveal their illiberal nature.

Separating democracy from liberalism has proven an extremely important step in the process of categorizing and analyzing democratizing states. Analysts that have abandoned the fallacy that democracy alone is the pinnacle of development are more capable of rational assessment of the true political conditions within a state. Work by Larry Diamond, who uses the term “hybrid democracy” to carry the same meaning as Zakaria’s “illiberal democracy,” has used

Zakaria’s ideas to shed light on the issue of classifying democratic regimes. He shows that “democracy” is not one static state of being, but instead, there is a scale of democracy, and regimes can land from “Liberal Democracy, in that they have a fairly liberal Freedom House score of 2.0 or lower on the seven-point scale averaging political rights and civil liberties” to “Politically Closed Authoritarian, which do not have any of the architecture of political competition and pluralism,” and anywhere in-between.^{xxxii} Such categorization has proven useful to post-conflict theorists in that they help theorists move beyond the ideological trappings that elections imply a democracy which can only be a positive development.

Post-Conflict Democratization Theory and Illiberal “Slipping”

In a post-conflict setting, the dangers of a regime slipping into the realm of illiberal democracy are particularly salient. Current post-conflict theory advocates the delay of major elections until the state in question is capable of supporting elections peacefully. However, there is the ever-looming threat of authoritarian elite becoming entrenched, embracing the illusion of democracy in order to placate the international community while enacting domestic reforms at an excruciatingly slow pace, all the while citing the work of sequencing scholars and claiming the slow speed of reform is in the good interest of democracy.^{xxxiii}

As Carothers writes, “Prescribing the deferral of democracy—and consequently the prolongation of authoritarian rule—as a cure for the ills of prolonged authoritarianism makes little sense.”^{xxxiv} Just as early elections can cause a democratization process to become abortive before it truly has a chance to succeed, putting democratic reforms on the back burner for too long can result in the development of a

democracy that has no roots in liberal constitutionalism. Instead, entrenched elites will utilize elections merely as a show for the benefit of its image to the international community and aid organizations.

An Untouched Temporal Issue

Sequentialism and gradualism raise a second important issue: how quickly must pressure be applied to post-conflict states in order to assure the growth of liberal democracy? Without offering any major concrete solutions of his own, Carothers does highlight a major flaw of the early sequentialism works in that they offer few universally applicable benchmarks for the beginning of full-suffrage elections in newly democratizing states.^{xxxv} Post-conflict democratization becomes a balancing act, wherein the threat of excessively early elections must be cast against the problem of delaying elections indefinitely and potentially excusing autocratic rule, which does little to promote democratic development and may reignite acute violence in the long run by preventing the airing of legitimate opposition grievances.

Rwanda provides a unique environment upon which to apply the questions that linger unanswered in the post-conflict community. As the state suffered near-total collapse during the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, it certainly qualifies as a post-conflict setting. As the violence was of an ethnic nature, it can be expected that the post-conflict government would want to delay democratic reforms in the interest of state stability. Fifteen years after the Genocide, Rwanda certainly falls into the category of post-conflict states that have delayed true liberal democratic reforms and have witnessed “slipping” into the realm of democratic authoritarianism. Therefore, applying the questions presented by current

post-conflict literature to Rwanda will uncover answers about the dilemmas that have arisen in that body of work. Splitting the Rwandan Recovery into four periods will allow for a more straightforward analysis and application of post-conflict development questions of sequencing, order, and priority.

Post-Colonial Rwanda: 1960 – 1994

In 1959-1960, a Hutu “revolution,” assisted by the Belgian colonizers, replaced the originally favored Tutsi monarchy with an independent republic dominated by southern Hutu. In 1973, Juvenal Habyarimana took power in a coup d'état and diverted power to the northern Hutu. Hundreds of thousands of Tutsi fled the country as refugees. During this era, the electoral politics of Rwanda became firmly established as an exercise of ethnic demography. The colonial interpretation of Rwandan politics as firmly Hutu/Tutsi in nature had taken hold.^{xxxvi}

By 1990, the Tutsi population in exile had created a sizable rebel force, known as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). In late 1990, the RPF invaded Rwanda with initial military success. However, the Habyarimana regime received considerable international support, and the RPF shifted into guerilla-style combat, which it waged effectively. When locally arbitrated peace negotiation attempts failed, the United States, France, and the Organization of African Unity moved in to mediate an agreement between the Rwandan government and the RPF guerilla movement.

The Arusha talks lasted from July 1992 through August 1993. The final document called for a cease-fire on both sides, inclusionary power sharing in a transitional government, the creation of nationally unified armed forces, and the return of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs).^{xxxvii} The implementation of the

Arusha Accords was anathema to the Rwandan Hutu elite and particularly to the *Akazu*, a group of powerful Hutu extremists. The elections called for in the Accords were clearly a threat to the entrenched order in Rwanda. The fear that the Accords would cause a dramatic change in the domestic political balance of power was one of many factors in the *Akazu's* decision to turn to Genocide in order to protect Hutu extremist domination of Rwanda.^{xxxviii} Such a fear of elections would continue to play a major role in Rwandan politics even after the Genocide was brought to an end.

Rwanda: Early Post-Conflict Transition 1994-2001

The post-conflict timeline in Rwanda begins immediately after the RPF disposed of the Hutu government responsible for carrying out the Genocide. The transitional government called for by the Arusha Accords was set up, with the RPF and its allies appointing the leadership. Elections were to be delayed until 2003^{xxxix}. The Tutsi-led RPF banned former President Juvenal Habyarimana's party, the *Mouvement Républicain National pour la Démocratie et le Développement*, or MRNDD, and placed Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu, into the office of the president, while Paul Kagame, who served as the head of the RPF's military force, served in the role of Defense Minister.^{xl} Mr. Kagame was believed to have a great deal of influence during Mr. Bizimungu's tenure, and Kagame assumed power after Bizimungu was forced to resign following accusations of tax fraud.^{xli}

Thus, in Rwanda, a transitional government was set up and full-suffrage elections were postponed for nine years. Decision-makers in post-conflict Kigali clearly chose stability rather than immediate democracy. Given the insights that post-conflict

scholarship now provides on the dangers of immediate democratization efforts after a major conflict, especially when that conflict was ethnic in nature^{xliii}, this was an understandable choice.

If the Rwandan leadership had been pressured to make immediate moves towards democracy, the rise of political polarization on ethnic grounds would likely have been disastrous for the country and may have re-ignited acute violence. A transitional period with elections scheduled a decent time in the future was clearly the safest method to help ensure peaceable democratization in Rwanda's medium-to-long term. During the transitional period, the RPF, who largely controlled the transitional government, applied this theory to an extreme.

The RPF Strategy: Sequentialism to an Extreme

In a 1995 interview, RPF leader and current President of Rwanda Paul Kagame outlined his views on the risk that early democratization would re-spark the ethnic violence that had torn Rwanda apart. His viewpoint is very similar to the post-conflict democratization experts who have written on the violent consequences of too-early democratization^{xliii}.

If you try to organise elections, to authorise parties to grow like mushrooms and allow competition, you will be making an even bigger problem for yourself than the one you already have: dividing people who are already divided. What does the multi-party system mean in our African societies? That I will use every tactic to distinguish myself from my neighbour with the aim of winning more votes than he wins...you will never have a united country. We will never have democracy:

people will pounce on each other. One party would emerge to defend those who perpetrated the genocide, then another would arise saying that members of the former should be tried... You would have a great war. We must analyze the problems that are in store for us and those that we are going to solve.^{xliv}

Clearly, Kagame's view of post-conflict development for Rwanda, which became very much the viewpoint of the RPF, is a version of extreme sequentialism. Explicitly, the RPF engaged in purposefully delaying the development of multi-party elections in order to ensure a peaceful transition period. Implicitly, however, the RPF manipulated this strategy in order to take advantage of the time afforded it to conduct grassroots campaigning operations so that it may continue its dominance of Rwandan politics when the transition period finally came to a close.^{xlv} Thus, an unintended consequence of sequentialism is discovered. Delaying the full opening of the political process until certain preconditions are met allows a party in power to take advantage of its superior placement in the political sphere to gather strength in a potentially unfair manner compared to lesser groups that may become legitimate opposition parties after the transition period has come to a close.

Democratization Efforts prior to Constitutional Reform

As the end of the transitional government's accepted tenure drew to a close, the transitional government began instituting some democratic measures. In early March of 2001, local elections were held. These elections were considered by observers to be sloppily organized and of "Byzantine complexity," which allowed "RPF placemen to exercise full control over the process."^{xlvi} As political parties

were still banned from open operations in the Rwandan political sphere, all contestants in the election had to run without party support. However, as the RPF had unscrupulously taken advantage of the transitional, "party-free" period to campaign, they also implicitly supported candidates in these elections. A Human Rights Watch report on these early democratic elections considered this election "flawed from the beginning,"^{xlvii} due to the unfair advantages taken by RPF party organizers, the purposeful delaying of international observers, and the lack of a secret ballot.

The Constitutional Reform of 2001-2003

Despite this less than free and fair election, the Rwandan government began the process of drawing up a new, permanent constitution. The Constitutional Commission, which was provided for by the Arusha Agreement, was set up in late 2000 on the basis of law number 23, issued in late December of 1999. The National Assembly of Transition (NAT) appointed the Commission's president, Tito Rutaremara, in late November of 2000. The other members of the Commission had been appointed in July of 2000 by the NAT, resulting in the political composition of the Commission mirroring that of the NAT.^{xlviii} The Commission's objective was to provide proposals and eventually a draft of a permanent constitution to lawmakers in Kigali based upon consultations with the Rwandan public. The draft Constitution was then to be made into law through a national referendum, which was held on May 25, 2003 with an affirmative outcome.^{xlix}

However, doubts have been cast on the true effectiveness of the Commission in this regard. As the RPF-dominated Transitional Government was responsible for the education of the masses, they were able to easily

manipulate the Rwandan public into repeating to the Commission exactly what the RPF wanted to be emplaced in a new Constitution, a clear manipulation of the process.¹

The Rwandan Constitution of 2003 establishes a unique set of rules for a system of government. Kagame and the RPF can certainly be praised for including direct universal suffrage and secret ballot elections. The “Burundi effect,” a name given to the ethnicity-based voting which took place in Burundi, caused Tutsi elite in the RPF to fear universal suffrage, as they were unsure of the party’s ability to attract rural Hutu votes. The fearful Tutsi elite added considerable pressure on the rest of the RPF to limit the electorate in order to assure its continued position in a place of power, but ultimately the decision was made in favor of full-suffrage voting.^{li} Praise is also due the language that “ensures that women are granted at least thirty per cent of posts in decision making organs,”^{liii} which has been sustained by a quota-based election system.

However, as the constitutional reform process was all but dominated by the interests of the RPF, those interests are clearly and strongly reflected in the final product. The Rwandan Constitution of 2003 includes extremely strict guidelines for the activities of political parties as well as for individual politicians. While the Constitution explicitly allows a “multi-party system of government,”^{liiii} it also allows the national legislature to call any political party into question on various grounds of offenses^{liv} and send the matter to the judiciary, which can decide the fate of the party. Party organization at the local level is prohibited, which prevents opposition movements from spreading nationwide.

Critiquing the Constitutional Reform Process and Product

The constitutional reform process, which was heavily guided by the hand of the RPF, resulted in a document that was “tailor-made to legitimize the regime.”^{lv} Just as the RPF took advantage of the transition period to conduct grassroots campaign operations, it took advantage of its position of power during the reform process to ensure the creation of a document that would be most capable of securing RPF rule in a potentially hostile electoral climate. Article 9 includes language that calls for “eradication of ethnic, regional and other divisions and promotion of national unity,” which can and has been used as a method of neutralizing the RPF’s political opposition.^{lvi} The governing of political parties is exceptionally strict, and the divisionism language can be utilized by the RPF to deny the right to organize to any party that may pose a political threat. Here, we see another failing of waiting to begin major democratic reforms for too long. When the time for those reforms comes, the incumbent party-in-power can manipulate the process in order to serve their long-term goals, hijacking the process of democratization for its own ends.

The Presidential Election of 2003

Along with the new Constitution, 2003 saw presidential and parliamentary elections held as well. The process and result of these elections helped to confirm Rwanda’s drift towards RPF-led authoritarianism.^{lvii} The elections themselves were marred by political arrests, disappearances, and voter intimidation. International observers sent by the European Union witnessed cases of irregularities and fraud at 374 out of 10,000 voting stations visited. However, those international reporters found it was not fraudulent election day practices which secured an RPF victory, but rather it was the RPF using “its hold of the state’s administrative and military power to

exert various forms of influence on potential voters” which did so, a process that “started long before the electoral campaign.”^{lviii} While the elections themselves were fairly clean, their results were the product of a campaign of voter intimidation carried out by the RPF.

The results of the elections were lopsided. RPF leader Paul Kagame won the presidential contest with 95% of the vote, and the RPF took 74% of the legislature. Other minor parties had supported Kagame’s presidential run, and therefore represent allies in an RPF-dominated alliance.^{lix} Thus, the 2003 democratic elections resulted in a legitimization of the RPF rule that had dominated Rwandan political life since the end of the Genocide in 1994.

Rwanda 2003-Present: An Economic Success Slipping Towards Authoritarianism

Considering Rwanda’s status as a post-Genocide state, the country has seen remarkable economic growth. Before the shockwaves of the global financial crisis began to impact Rwanda, the International Monetary Fund forecast it to witness 8.5% growth in 2008.^{lx} According to a report from the United Nations Development Project, poverty rates remain high at 56.9%, but that figure is a marked decrease from the pre-conflict figure of 70%. That same report credits Rwanda with the decline of infant mortality rates, an increase in primary school enrolment, and “significant progress in the area of peace and reconciliation, restoration of law and order, and democratization.”^{lxi}

With such remarkable economic success, one would hope for an equal or greater success in the field of liberal democratization. Unfortunately, just the opposite has unfolded. The RPF has pursued a course of action that has systematically eliminated all credible opposition, all while still working within the

legal confines of the 2003 Constitution and maintaining the façade of multi-party democracy. A 2003 report done by the African Capacity-Building foundation has found that “although the political discourse of the Rwandan authorities emphasizes reconciliation, national unity, and the respect for the rights for all, the government has been in the grip of a hazardous authoritarian drift.”^{lxii} Since the passing of the 2003 constitution and the beginning of democratic elections, the RPF has maintained an increasingly tight hold on the political arena. Elections have not made the RPF more receptive to the demands of its electorate, but have instead required the RPF to tighten its grip in order to keep its hold on political power in the face of a potentially hostile electorate, as the Rwandan countryside is majority Hutu.^{lxiii}

The Constitution that was designed by the RPF and for the RPF has served its function perfectly by providing legal methods that castrate and neutralize any significant opposition. A favorite tactic of the RPF to achieve this goal is through accusing the opposition of divisionism. The language allowing the calling into question of political parties is particularly devastating to the process of liberal democratization when combined with Article 9’s call for the “eradication of ethnic, regional and other divisions and promotion of national unity.”^{lxiv} Part of the RPF democratic training literature included the official RPF doctrine on political parties, which includes that “the parties must avoid sowing the seeds of divisionism among Rwandans.”^{lxv}

Thus, the RPF can easily do away with any potentially threatening opposition movements by claiming they are acting out of step with the government line towards a unified Rwanda and are therefore divisionist, seeking explicitly or implicitly to send Rwanda back into violent chaos. Pasteur Bizimungu, the

President of Rwanda during the 1994-2000 period, launched his own opposition political party, the Party for Democracy and Regeneration (PDR) in 2001. The Rwandan government almost immediately banned the PDR on the grounds that it was “divisionist,” and Bizimungu was placed under house arrest, and later sentenced to a 15-year prison term.^{lxvi} In the period of 1995-2003 alone, more than 40 Rwandan political leaders have been forced into exile abroad. Former President Bizimungu remained imprisoned until 2007.^{lxvii} As of mid-2000, about 80% of the “most important office-holders were RPF/RPA.”^{lxviii} According to a 2003 report from the International Crisis Group, in 2003, “11 out of 12 prefects are affiliated with the RPF, the chief prosecutor, head of the Court of Cassation and head of the Constitutional Court are all RPF members, 8 out of 9 Rwandan banks are managed by RPF members, and all the institutes of higher education are run by RPF members.”^{lxix}

Under the guise of “national unity and security,”^{lxx} the Rwandan government effectively prevents the formation of any legitimate and substantial political opposition from arising. Politicians, both inside the RPF and those members of other parties, are “expected to remain in the same political straightjacket.”^{lxxi} While the 2003 Constitution calls for multi-party democracy, the RPF is able to circumvent this requirement by accusing opposition parties and politicians of “divisionism.” By doing so, the RPF is taking advantage of the unique nature of post-Genocide Rwanda. The excuse that any political opposition would snowball into a re-ignition of ethnic conflict is an illegitimate one for taking legal action and shutting down all opposition movements that may become politically threatening to the RPF in the future.

The Subsequent Threat to Security

As Kristine Höglund wrote on the topic of violence in war-to-democracy transitions, “political violence is often a response to too little democracy.”^{lxxii} By preventing opposing ideas from coalescing around legitimate and included political parties that are then allowed to participate in the process of governing, and by forcing opposition leaders into exile, the Rwandan government is dramatically increasing its security risk. The International Crisis Group found that the “excluded opponents generally try and find allies and fight against the government from the outside, thus increasing the security threat.”^{lxxiii} The efforts of the RPF to monopolize its power and neutralize any opposition groups have the negative consequence of contributing numbers to an ever-growing group of radicalized Rwandan opposition-in-exile.

While much of the Rwandan Diaspora after the 1994 Genocide was believed to be comprised largely of Hutu *genocidaires* and moderate Hutus who feared Tutsi vengeance, more recent developments within Rwandan exile groups suggest a more diverse composition. Particularly telling is the creation of Tutsi-led exile groups in the United States and France who hold a “platform to fight against the RPF’s drift towards authoritarianism.”^{lxxiv} The existence of Tutsi-led exile groups which hold such a platform certainly contribute more heavily to the argument that Rwanda has suffered such a drift than exile movements of purely Hutu composition. Many of these exile groups are of a bi-ethnic character, and therefore pose a problem to the RPF’s strategy of accusing opposition movements of divisionism on ethnic grounds.^{lxxv}

There are still remnants of the extremist Hutu *genocidaires* organized and operating on the Democratic Republic of the Congo’s side of the border between Rwanda and that country,

and their presence has a destabilizing effect on peace in the region. However, there are also moderate Hutu and opposition Tutsi exile groups in the Great Lakes region that have categorically recognized the genocide and wish to bring about political reform in Rwanda^{lxxvi}. The longer the RPF-controlled Rwandan government prevents these groups from becoming part of the legitimate political process inside Rwanda, the greater the chance of these groups radicalizing, giving up on peaceable methods and turning to arms to achieve their objectives of political reform. The post-conflict literature recognizes the potential problems of inclusion regarding spoilers, but as Kristine Höglund writes, “inclusion in the political process based on commitments to peaceful means can be an important tool to prevent and manage violence.”^{lxxvii} Should the RPF wish to work towards reducing Rwanda’s security risk, it must begin the process of including political groups which are willing to re-enter Rwandan society on a peaceful basis.

A Muzzled Press

The organizers of the Rwandan Genocide were infamous for the use of hate media to polarize ethnic tensions, spread the message of genocide, and coordinate *genocidaire* squads. Radio stations, notably the *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, or RTLM, were particularly effective in a country where literacy rates were staggeringly low, limiting the impact of written press.^{lxxviii} The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has recognized the function of media in making the Genocide possible on such a massive scale, and has prosecuted three former RTLM figures.^{lxxix}

Given this record of abuse, it may seem understandable that post-conflict Rwanda would be hesitant to allow much in the way of press freedoms. The excuse used by the Rwandan

government runs along those exact lines – the fear of creating another “monster”^{lxxx} means a clampdown on all media which shows a hint of independence from the official government line. The press law passed in 2001 decrees that “Any attempt, via the media, to incite a part of the Rwandan population to genocide, is liable to the death sentence.”^{lxxxii} Just as the law that prohibits “divisionism,” this law is but another method of allowing the removal of opposition voices through legal means.

During the transitional phase, some independent press organizations had appeared which took the RPF and the Rwandan government to task on major issues. However, the state began a crusade of intimidation tactics that quickly put an end to this development. Owners and journalists connected to independent press outlets found themselves victim of state-sponsored harassment, intimidation, forced exile, and arbitrary detainment.^{lxxxii} A more recent technique is the government’s insistence on a pre-requisite amount of start-up capital to allow the licensing of a new television station, radio station, or newspaper. These required amounts are high to the point of being prohibitive for the creation of any new media outlets.^{lxxxiii}

The result of these laws is a highly obedient and non-confrontational national press. The media organizations that do exist have now learned to practice self-censorship” out of fear of being harassed, intimidated, attacked, or shut down by the state. According to an annual report written by the international press freedoms watchdog Reporters Sans Frontiers, one human rights worker “noted that it is more appropriate to refer to ‘government media’ than to ‘public media’.”^{lxxxiv} During the 2003 elections, the media was barred from covering elections at the provincial level and from

hosting televised debates between candidates, limiting their impact on the outcome.^{lxxxv}

A Final Application of Post-Conflict Literature

The RPF-dominated government of Rwanda has, since the end of the Genocide, acted in ways to ensure the continuation of its monopoly of power. Through the tactic of labeling all opposition voices both inside and outside of the political arena as “divisionist,” the Rwandan government has effectively managed to stifle any credible threat to its hold on the political process. Elections are a thinly veiled practice of legitimizing the RPF’s rule, done as a show of modernism and development for the enjoyment of the international community. Contemporary Rwanda can be included as one of Larry Diamond’s “Politically Closed Authoritarian” states without too much trouble for the classifier.^{lxxxvi} Applying the post-conflict arguments to Rwanda allows us to understand those arguments more fully.

In the trade-off between democracy and stability, the Rwandan government clearly chose a focus on the latter during the transitional phase. Given the extraordinary and ethnic character of the violence witnessed in Rwanda, this was an understandable choice. In a nation that had just recently seen ethnic tensions polarized and exploited to a genocidal extent, the inherent conflict which democracy brings would have been too great a risk for transitional Rwanda. In a post-conflict society, elections must be held off until a point at which they would not re-ignite major acute violence.

This segues into the second major question in post-conflict democratization. To reiterate, if elections must be held off, when can they begin? An answer backed by Zakaria, Mansfield, and Snyder is that of “sequentialism,” wherein elections must be delayed until pre-conditions such as a stable

rule-of-law is in place.^{lxxxvii} A competing view, popularized by Thomas Carothers, is that of “gradualism,” where universal suffrage national elections should be delayed, but elements of democracy must be gradually instituted in a post-conflict society from the very beginnings of peace.^{lxxxviii}

The case study of Rwanda strongly supports further application of Carothers’ theory of gradualism. The transitional Rwandan government used the basic ideas of sequentialism as a dodge and an excuse for its illiberal activities, insisting that it was working towards democratic reform while simultaneously abusing its power to ensure that when multi-party democracy became the policy of Rwanda, it would be nothing more than a façade designed to appeal to the demands of the international community while having no real impact on domestic Rwandan politics.

In effect, sequentialism gave the RPF-dominated transitional government a window of opportunity to abuse its position of power in order to campaign, canvass, and recruit members, all while other parties were prohibited to do so. Additionally, when the transitional phase drew to a close and the constitution-building period began, the RPF manipulated the process to ensure the document would be “tailor-made”^{lxxxix} to its interests and continued monopoly of power.

If gradualism had been the dominant belief of post-conflict theorists and of the international community, there is a chance the policies of the transitional Rwandan government would have reflected that belief. If certain elements of democracy combined with gradual liberalization and statebuilding had been the norm for post-Genocide Rwanda, perhaps contemporary Rwanda wouldn’t suffer from a closed, authoritarian political system, while still

being able to manage the threat to internal stability which full-scale democracy can bring.

Another issue raised by contemporary scholars of post-conflict societies is the danger of a generally perceived notion in the international community that elections are identical to democracy.^{xc} The case of Rwanda clearly illustrates the pitfalls of such misguided thinking. Multi-party democracy is embedded in the 2003 Constitution of Rwanda and elections are regularly scheduled and conducted, leading the international community at large to assume Rwanda features a democratic character.

The truth is that Rwandan elections are a façade, and the political process is heavily manipulated by the RPF to maintain its hold on power in the face of increasing opposition. The international community looks at Rwanda's successful economic growth and democratic-on-paper structure and green lights development aid projects, loans, and grants, effectively promoting the continuation of illiberal democracy in Rwanda. As Peter Uvin pointed out, a similar scenario existed during the years immediately prior to the outbreak of genocide. Thus, the view that democracy and elections are one-in-the-same is a mistaken and potentially fatally dangerous assumption.

Rwanda serves as a potent reminder to the community of post-conflict theorists and scholars that the temporal issue of democratization is far from unimportant. Post-conflict democratization is clearly a balancing act between stability and democratic reforms. The danger of pursuing democratic elections too quickly after violent conflicts has been a hotly covered issue as of late, perhaps gaining such traction due to the faltering statebuilding efforts of United States foreign policy in Afghanistan and Iraq.

However, as the case of Rwanda clearly demonstrates, the other side of this balance must not be ignored. Should democratic reform be placed on the proverbial back burner for too long, post-conflict states run a serious risk of slipping into the realm of illiberal democracies. The theoretical argument that early democratization is a danger to stability is a positive contribution to post-conflict theory, but more care needs to be taken to ensure that autocratic leaders of post-conflict states are not allowed to utilize that argument as an excuse to delay the development of liberal democratic reforms indefinitely.

Conclusion: Moving Forward

One of the most important contributions of the post-conflict literature has been that excessively early democratic reforms are potentially disastrous to the peace, stability, and security of a state that is just emerging from violent conflict, and thus elections should not be viewed as the primary indicator of progress in the process of reconstruction. As there is conflict inherent in any democratic elections, such elections should be held off until a society is more readily equipped to deal with that conflict in a way that is healthy and non-violent.

However, as the early critics of this thinking have pointed out,^{xci} the existence of a body of theory that calls for the delay of democratic elections is a potentially dangerous intellectual product. As the case study of Rwanda indicates, that theory can be taken to an extreme, used by authoritarian leaders to excuse their continuance of illiberal policies. While this is far from the intentions of the authors of recent post-conflict theory, it is certainly an accidental by-product that must be better guarded against in the future.

There is clearly a great deal more work to be done in this highly relevant and relatively

new field of scholarly work. More attention must be called to the temporal and administrative questions of democratization in post-conflict societies, and additional thorough analysis will help to better identify the right balance between the delay of universal suffrage national elections and the risk of slipping into the realm of pseudodemocracy.

For Rwanda, it is time for the international community to place additional pressure on the government to liberalize the political process. The ruling party is manipulating and taking advantage of the country's past in order to stifle opposition parties and muzzle the Rwandan free press. While such tactics may be in the short-term interest of the RPF, they create a very real danger for the country in the long-term. By undermining the growth of legitimate domestic opposition groups, the Rwandan government is running the risk of radicalizing the opposition.^{xcii} As violence is still relatively recent in Rwanda's history, it is not unthinkable that such a radicalized opposition, after having been driven underground, would turn to violent means in order to bring about the political change they desire.

Policymakers in Kigali need to understand the risk of continuing along such illiberal trends in a post-conflict state. A violent society has an increased risk of returning to violence.^{xciii} While opening up the political sphere may seem like an unattractive and difficult option for such a dramatically entrenched party, it will help reduce the risk that is currently building in Rwanda. Successful economic developmental statistics such as those associated with Rwanda may cast a light of doubt on such a grim prediction, but observers must remember that Rwanda was in the good favor of development specialists immediately prior to the 1994 genocide as well.^{xciv}

A presidential election is scheduled for 2010, as per the Constitution, which calls for them once every seven years.^{xcv} President Kagame may run for a second term in these elections, but, barring any alteration of the constitution or Putin-style "sidestepping," his second term must be his last. The results of this election will serve as an excellent barometer as to the status of Rwanda. Should we see a repeat of the 2003 elections, wherein Kagame won a staggering 95% of the vote and the work of international monitors was made exceedingly difficult, it will be clear that little political progress has been made, and Rwanda will still be categorized as "Politically Closed Authoritarian."^{xcvi}

An Interesting Mix: The Possibility That Well-Being and a Lack of Well-Being Can Be Experienced Simultaneously

Submitted by: Karin Sperber

Abstract: Many sociological scholars (e.g. Derné 2009) report that well-being consists of an enduring sense of life satisfaction. This definition neglects the possibility that a person can experience well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously, allowing for well-being to be more mixed. Fifteen students at SUNY Geneseo conducted two qualitative in-depth interviews each, discussing well-being and people's experiences of well-being. After analysis of the data, I found that the simultaneous experience of well-being and a lack of well-being is possible.

A Little of This and a Little of That:

The Idea That Well-Being and a Lack of Well-Being Can Be Experienced Simultaneously

Introduction

The topic of well-being is an interesting concept that has recently been studied by modern sociologists. Many of these sociologists (e.g. Derné 2009) believe that well-being is an enduring sense of life satisfaction. Research is structured around the assumption that a person's life can either be going well, or going badly, that he or she can either be satisfied or dissatisfied with life—that he or she can either have a sense of well-being or of a lack of well-being. This is the assumption that the two possibilities can never occur at the same time. I wanted to find out if it was possible for a person to experience well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously. Fifteen students, including myself, conducted two interviews each concerning well-being and people's experiences with well-being. We specifically asked the interviewees if they thought the idea

of a mixed well-being was possible. After analyzing the data, I found that the majority of respondents believed it was possible and gave examples from their lives of when they experienced this simultaneous sense of well-being and a lack of well-being. This research provided for some limitations that could be resolved through further research. It also gave rise to possible new research questions as well. Although well-being scholars describe well-being as enduring life satisfaction (e.g. Derné 2009), the experience of well-being is more mixed, and they neglect the possibility that a person can simultaneously experience a sense of well-being and a lack of well-being.

Review of Literature

For any area of study, all important terms must be defined—for the sociology of well-being, the most important thing is to define what well-being actually is. Steve Derné (2009) describes well-being as “a subjective sense of enduring life satisfaction” (127). This means that a sense of well-being lasts and that it is an overall feeling of fulfillment and approval with one's life. Types of questions used in well-being research can also identify the scholars' idea of the meaning of well-being. For example, Markus, Ryff, Curhan and Palmersheim (2004) used the following questions in their interviews: “What does it mean to you to have a good life?” and “What do you think are some of the reasons your life has gone well?” (Markus et al. 2004: 285-286). Although the term well-being is not specifically used, Markus et al. (2004) were studying what people thought well-being was and whether or

not subjects felt well-being. Both interview questions imply that well-being is an overall sense that life is good and is going well. As an attempt to measure well-being, Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (2009) created the Satisfaction with Life Scale, or SWLS. This test asks participants if they agree or disagree with the following statements:

In most ways my life is close to my ideal.

The conditions of my life are excellent.

I am satisfied with my life.

So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.

If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing. (Diener et al. 2009)

Similar to the Markus et al. (2004) study, these statements indicate that well-being contains the feeling that one's life is going right. The last statement—"If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing" (Diener et al. 2009)—includes the idea that well-being is an enduring sense that was mentioned by Derné (2009). If people wanted to change something about their life, this would mean that they are not completely satisfied with it. Overall, scholars agree that well-being is an enduring sense of life satisfaction.

Current scholars agree that well-being is an enduring sense of satisfaction with one's life, but they neglect the possibility that well-being can be more mixed. All of the research methods discussed above assume that a person's life has either gone well or not gone well, that he or she either has well-being or does not have well-being. I argue that a person can experience well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously. In my life, there is evidence that one can experience both simultaneously, but I wanted to see if that was true for others. Therefore, I set out to discover if the simultaneous feeling of well-being and a lack of well-being is possible.

Methodology

The main process of this research in well-being was carried out by the 15 students (including myself) of my senior seminar in well-being at SUNY Geneseo in the fall of 2009. Using qualitative research methods, we separately interviewed two different people about their views on well-being. The sample was a convenience sample due to the fact that participants generally included acquaintances of the researchers that had time to sit down for an in-depth interview. Participants were asked questions that dealt with their opinion of well-being and their personal experiences with well-being and a lack of well-being. Specific to my research hypothesis, the following question was asked: "Do you think it's possible to experience well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously? If yes, have you ever had such an experience in which you simultaneously felt well-being and a lack of well-being? Can you tell me about it?" If the respondent seemed confused or unsure, the following prompt was given:

Some students in my class believe the experience of well-being is more mixed. For instance, someone may experience well-being because they got a new soccer ball, but experience a lack of well-being because it's raining. Our professor interviewed someone in India who experienced well-being when he survived a bus crash, but simultaneously experienced a lack of well-being because of seeing the others who did not survive.

After all interviews were conducted, there were 30 transcripts in total. I analyzed the data by carefully reading the transcripts and tallying the amount of responses that were for and against the possibility of a mixed well-being. These analyses allowed me to deduce whether or not simultaneous feelings of well-being and a lack of well-being are possible.

Findings

I found that the majority of people interviewed agreed that well-being was more mixed and that experiencing well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously is possible. Twenty-five out of the thirty participants (83%) responded this way. One respondent, Mr. Mitchell, when asked if he thought the two could be experienced simultaneously, responded, "I think you are describing daily, normal life" (Interviews 2009: Mitchel). He felt that this simultaneous experience is so common that it happens every day. Here are a few examples other people gave when asked if they ever experienced this mix of well-being:

- [I]t might be like when you're coming to school for the first day of the semester. You're experiencing well-being because you get to see your college friends, but for me, at the same time I'm experiencing a lack of well-being because I don't necessarily want to leave home. I'll miss my home and I'll miss my family. (Interviews 2009: Ryan)
- I was in a car accident where I was actually hit by another vehicle when I was in my car and my car was completely totaled, I could hardly move, I was in a neck brace, my wrist was broken, I have permanent nerve damage. Just a whole slew of problems but at that moment I was so happy to be alive that everything felt great but then I looked at my car and it was just completely like a little box and I couldn't move my neck and my wrist but I was still very grateful. (Interviews 2009: Thomas)
- The lack of well-being part would be my family going through a divorce, but the best

thing would be getting along with sisters and mother. While it's sad to lose my father, it turned out for the better. And the sadness and anger of the divorce has brought us closer as a family. I learned a lot. So it was terrible, but good at the same time.

(Interviews 2009: Reid)

These three respondents described an event in their lives that gave them both well-being and a lack of well-being. Another option that many respondents discussed is that there can be two different events occurring at the same time that give you differing senses of well-being. They believed that there are different areas of a person's life and one area may cause a sense of well-being, but another may cause a lack of well-being. Here are some examples:

- It could make sense that you could have well-being in one domain, but not necessarily in another. (Interviews 2009: Mundy)
- I think that you can experience well-being in one area of your life and not the other...My spring semester of 2008 I experienced an extreme sense of well-being in my social network. I felt like I had a lot of friends, a lot of people to talk to, to go out with on the weekends, but an extreme decrease in well-being when it came to school because I didn't really go. My GPA was horrible and I was not proud of my studies or my work. (Interviews 2009: Jenkins)
- [M]y own sense of enduring happiness is by evaluating three things. My body's working, my mind is working on something interesting, and I'm surrounded by people that I care about. And I think that any one of those parts can be broken at any time. I know that when people get older their bodies don't work as well,

and they might replace it with emphasis on doing important work or replace it with spending time with their family.

(Interviews 2009: Iverson).

In both of these last two cases, the participants felt well-being in one area of their lives, but not in the other. For Ms. Jenkins, she got well-being from her social network but felt a lack of well-being because she was doing badly in school—both of these feelings were occurring at the same time. Other statements talk about balance. Ms. Moore answered the question by saying, “It’s all about having a balance in life, being able to balance the good with the bad” (Interviews 2009: Moore). For a person to be able to balance the good with the bad, both situations must be occurring. Therefore, this statement implies that well-being is mixed. The majority of interviewees (83%) responded that they thought it was possible for a person to feel well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously, which is evidence that my hypothesis was correct.

Discussion

As with all research, there are certain limitations to this study. The main issue is of representativeness. The sample is quite small, consisting of only 30 people. Also, participants were chosen by convenience—the sample was not random. The students performing the interviews all attend university in a small town in Central New York, so most of the respondents were from that area as well. Opinions may differ by location, so this sample may not be representative of the population since our sample may have had biased opinions for this region. Also, since students chose people that they knew, the interviewees tended to be around the same age (70% were between the ages of 19 and 24 years old). Age, like location, can cause different opinions and therefore different results. The question on mixed well-being included in the interview may have been biased. Many students in the class thought that the examples used in the prompt could influence the way that people answered

the question. Because of the light-heartedness of the example of the soccer ball when it is raining outside, many respondents laughed at this, which could have possibly skewed the results due to getting off topic. The other example given about the bus crash was a very extreme case. There was no example that was “in between” the two given. These prompts could have caused people to assume that the questioner was looking for a similar response, but the examples lacked representation of all possibilities. At the beginning of every interview, we asked the interviewee what well-being meant to him or her. This showed the possibility that people could have differing definitions of well-being. So when asked if they believed if well-being and a lack of well-being could be felt simultaneously, the interviewees answered based on their personal definition of well-being. If a uniform definition of well-being was provided to respondents, the results could have been different. The problem of reactivity could have also altered the responses in the interviews. Reactivity occurs when interviewees respond in some way to the interviewer’s presence. Since most of the interviewees were friends of the students performing the interview, this may have caused them to be less serious or answer differently than they would with a stranger.

I believe that the results are valid. The question was straight-forward in asking the respondents if they thought well-being could be mixed. Information on this subject was not volunteered during other questions; it was specifically added into the interview schedule. The data that we collected actually measured people’s opinions on mixed well-being.

My research opens the door for further studies. Further researching this topic could address the limitations discussed previously. By increasing the sample size and including people of different ages that lived in different locations into the research—making the sample more diverse—it would indicate if the data was generalizable to the larger population. The bias created by the extreme differences in examples in the prompt could be eliminated if

another example, one that was in between the other two, was added to the interview schedule. The differences caused by differing definitions of well-being could be addressed by supplying a uniform definition. The problem with this is that this research challenges the currently accepted definition, therefore it would be difficult to decide what to supply to participants. The reactivity caused by the acquaintance of the interviewee and the interviewer could be eliminated if future samples were chosen at random. Further research could also include research on the same topic but by using different methods other than qualitative in-depth interviews. Questionnaires and surveys could add to this research with quantitative data. Another possibility is to perform a longitudinal study. For example, researchers could ask participants to write down their daily thoughts in a diary, which researchers could then analyze these writings. This would eliminate the reactivity due to the researchers' presence and life situations would be fresh in the participants' minds due to the fact that they are writing every day. The data itself also brings up possibilities for further research. One prospect could be to study the effects of a promise of a good future on mixed well-being. Some respondents discussed a time in their life that caused them to experience a lack of well-being, but that the promise of a good future gave them a sense of well-being. For example, Ms. Wishy talked about a bad horse accident she was in. Her injuries gave her a lack of well-being, but the doctor told her that she would recover faster because she was in good shape before the accident, which gave her well-being (Interviews 2009: Wishy). The prospect of getting better caused her to have a mixed well-being. Another respondent, Ms. Reynolds, explained another situation, "sometimes you're stressed out about something but you know that eventually it will better you. Like when you know your classes are really hard but they're gonna be worth it in the long run" (Interviews 2009: Reynolds). I also wonder if the opposite would be true, that if a negative future prospect would cause mixed well-being. If there is something good that is going on in someone's life that gives them well-being, but they know it won't last, could this

give them a lack of well-being and therefore a mixed sense of well-being? Further research concerning future prospects' effect on mixed well-being would be interesting. The idea of optimism, or a good attitude about life and how it affects well-being, was brought up as well. Ms. Berg said that a mixed well-being could be possible "with a good attitude" (Interviews 2009: Berg). Ms. Fillippo said that "I think that it has a lot to do with your overall attitude. I consider myself a pretty positive person so I tend to feel that the good in my life almost always outweighs whatever is going wrong" (Interviews 2009: Fillippo). This could mean that if something is giving a person a lack of well-being, if that person is optimistic or positive, they could experience well-being just because of that fact. Research could also be done on the effects of pessimism on mixed well-being. Further research concerning how a person's outlook on life affects their experiences of well-being could formulate interesting results.

Conclusion

The current research concerning well-being neglects the possibility that well-being can be mixed and people can experience a sense of well-being and a lack of well-being simultaneously. Data collected by Geneseo students proved this point. Eighty-three percent of all interviewees responded that they believed that well-being could be mixed. Some gave examples from their lives where one event caused both well-being and a lack of well-being. Others said that two separate events in their lives caused the two differing feelings of well-being. My research is important to the field of well-being research because it alters the way in which the concept of well-being itself should be thought about and may call for a re-evaluation of the definition of well-being

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Continents

Submitted by: Rachel Svenson

In November, I tried to recreate Western New York snow over the phone for Amadou Bah, who had never touched it. He had seen the white stuff on postcards, or on the film sets behind Arnold Schwarzenegger on village movie nights, but the Gambia never experiences winter the way it hits New York. Listening to his voice, I could almost picture him on the campus sidewalk next to me, suffering the cold like he would biting animals, muscles pulled tight inside someone else's coat.

That afternoon the Geneseo's academic buildings towered over a row of salt-stained SUVs parked on the road, which tilted down into acres of snow-covered valley. I walked slowly from class with my cell phone, lodged halfway between seasons and continents, trying to pretend I was Amadou seeing it for the first time.

"It's like pieces of icy cotton," I explained finally into the phone, breath clouding. "It tastes like the water we drank at the marketplace this summer. Everything feels like the inside of a freezer, and the snow is everywhere, sort of like white sand on the beaches where you are. It almost blinds you when you first step outside." As I spoke the snow melting on my boots morphed into something foreign and mystical, and I held the image in my head as if to transmit it telepathically.

"Yah, okay, very nice," Amadou stammered uncertainly. In transit around me, the bundled students took on puppet-like qualities and I approached my apartment barely seeing them. There was still something painful about communicating with Amadou over the

language and distance barrier, as if we kept closing in on the cure for a disease then losing everything in the last crucial seconds. I desperately wanted to give him an image of my home, like the thousands I had taken back from his, but my serious thoughts were cut off by his sudden laughter.

"Rach," Amadou managed, and then lapsing into giggles again. I could picture him doubled over slightly on the concrete wall of his family's veranda and shaking his head against the phone, and though the joke was a mystery to me I laughed with the pleasure of hearing him. Because sometimes, it *was* funny. Laughter was our way of compromising, meeting in the middle with something we both understood. Even that summer, face to face, humor had been our best language.

By that month in Penyem, Amadou's village, the star Wadar would have been high on the horizon, a portent for the end of the rainy season. The harvest would be nearly complete, and the fields would be dotted with women bent against the weight of their babies, knocking peanuts from the roots of the plants. Aicha, the baby girl who was born on July 24 while my group of volunteers slept a few yards away, would have been learning to smile at three months old, and choking dust would have begun to plume behind bikes and cars on the roads.

August, four months before the snow hit New York, had marked the middle of West Africa's hot, rainy season. My group of volunteers, having successfully built a chain-linked garden fence in Penyem, had boarded a plane home from Dakar airport on the morning of the ninth. That afternoon I found myself in

my home city, staring through the Buffalo airport window at my father's parked grey Sonata.

Except for a few quick, static phone calls through the African Gam-Cell company, which allowed even some of the poorest families in Penyem to own a cheap cell phone, I hadn't had contact with my mom and dad in two months. Their faces behind the windshield looked unreal until my mom pointed toward me and got out of the car, leaving the passenger door wide open and power-walking over the curb, through the glass doors, across the floor. Her sneakers squeaked as she slammed me with a hug. We both laughed hysterically, swaying as my dad waited behind my mom, grinning and breathing like a wrestler in his hiking boots and a "Life is Good" t-shirt.

I don't remember crying, though I must have; I remember the relief and weightlessness as my dad hoisted the purple monster of a backpack from my shoulders into the Sonata's trunk. My mom took the African drum I'd bought for my brother from my hands, smiling at me like I was going to disappear. I grinned helplessly. My skin felt travel-thin, and I had forgotten how good it felt to have my parents lift my burdens, at least for a little while.

"Did you just get this cleaned?" I marveled, running my hand over the seats of my dad's car. The vehicle seemed an impossibly tidy after two months of crowded African bush taxis with ripped upholstery.

"Nope, but I got a new air freshener, that must be it," My dad said, still grinning as he knocked the dangling product with his finger. He looked both exhausted and relieved as he buckled into the driver's seat, his balding hair sporting a few more grays than I remembered. "Rach, I can't believe you're home. Mom and I have just been talking about this day for so long, coming to pick you up – it's kind of unreal."

My dad spills his feelings more readily when his emotions run high, but my mom, who is normally good at sharing, was silent as she got in the car. She kept glancing at me over the

seat, the corners of her mouth twitching, and then squeezing my hand and turning away in tears. I remember feeling moved but muted, unable to figure out how to convince her everything was actually alright. It was my father who slid his finger under my mother's L.L. Bean wristwatch, as if to remind her of time, and held it gently hooked there as we drove.

I thought of Amadou then, as I had every mile over the Atlantic. He had professed responsibility for everything that summer; for me not stepping in puddles on the road, for the hardest labor at the garden fence project, for his huge family's well-being. He was capable, there was no doubt about that, but as a man and first son from his culture he wore responsibility like a God-given weight. My independent feminist side balked at this self-importance, and yet I had needed his hand on my back to guide me away from scorpion grasses, and his effortless categorizing of the complex African family system, and his quiet reminders *not* to use my left hand for eating. It was the way things were. When on hot nights his mother and father curled up outside on their concrete veranda with the younger children, Amadou would sit up late like a watchdog, guarding them from something I didn't understand and calculating his life, as he put it once, like math.

Part of me wanted to be guarded by *my* parents back in the States, to curl up in their familiar asparagus and rice dinners and doze on the front porch for hours while they held up my life for me. Coming home from Africa seemed strangely like a version of coming home from college – just spiced up with a sense of danger, and condensed into a summer of seismic intensity. I felt both carried by my parents and responsible for protecting them somehow from the temporary loss of a daughter to a dangerous country.

Perhaps partly for this reason, the one burden I couldn't unload to them that day was that of missing Amadou, and the apocalyptic nature of our love affair. I had told my mother about Amadou over the phone one night the Gambia, shaking with nerves as I tried to

explain our friendship, his overtures, my uncertainty and growing trust. After a silence that had nothing to do with the phone connection, my mom had taken a deep breath.

“The best love can be the kind that you never expected,” she had said. It *had* surprised me, this weird new love – to the extent of an electric shock. On the phone I had latched on to my mother’s words like a prayer, but in the car with her I could barely think of Amadou, as out of place as he felt in my father’s American car. I focused instead on the concrete things around me, on telling my parents about the spicy food, the women who lifted their arms like aggressive birds when they danced in circles in between chores. I talked about the fence, a definable project. A large part of me was desperate for my trip not to become a silent stereotype or boxed-up love story, as people crave it, or perhaps as I craved it.

My dad’s car passed McDonalds and semi trucks, and I witnessed them with the kind of mystical familiarity I could now associate with returning to the States, to automatic soap dispensers, airplane food, Buffalo accents. Even New York’s summer trees; they were gorgeous, manicured, and I’d never noticed how many of them lined the highways, or how smoothly the pavement hummed under the car. I could slur my English here and still be understood; I could look men in the eye without being brash. When I got home, I took a real shower with heat, and tried to stop comparing everything around me its equivalent in the Gambia. I didn’t want to be obnoxious about the contrast, even though I felt it acutely and was already hoarding memories as if preparing for a hellish, mind-erasing blizzard.

A week after I got back, I got a call from Marissa in Michigan. Of our set of eight volunteers she had been the first to split off during that exhausting return trip from Dakar. She disappeared down the gangway that day to her connecting flight in Atlanta, Georgia, and the rest of us had stood awkwardly in our African garb, amidst the business-suited airport rush, for a long time. “And then there were seven,” murmured Will. We’d all been thinking

the same thing. Now that we were splitting up, I wasn’t positive anymore if I’d ever see them again.

It was Marissa who had seemed to organize and epitomize the oddities of our group, with her high-pitched laugh, springy dark hair and collection of hemp and glass necklaces. When I picked up the phone from home, I leaped up at the sound of her voice, squealing my African name.

“Jainabaaaaa!”

“Manga – kasumai! Benu kine?” I reverted to Jolla automatically. How are you? How are your people?”

“Sumai-kep! Kokubo!” Manga shrieked. I’m fine! My family is there!

I knelt, shivering with nostalgia, on my bed, clutching the phone in a tangle of African fabric. The African sounds solidified all the communal dinners, the card games under mango trees instantly, in a way conversations with my parents couldn’t. I had been practicing not to lose those patterns; *Abaraka* was “thank you,” and *Kara-je bu?* was, “What is your name?” The Gambians had named Marissa *Manga*, the Jolla word for the ubiquitous mango trees. Marissa took this as an extreme compliment, and the pungent name suited her.

“I miss African fruit,” she groaned after we’d caught up breathlessly. “And bush taxis, those god-awful things, and the kids, and building the fence.” She paused. “You must miss Amadou a lot.”

I was quiet. It was both mortifying and thrilling to remember that she already knew about our romantic relationship, and that I didn’t have to start from scratch to tell the story, but it was painful to picture Amadou waiting for me halfway across the world. I was heavy under his expectations, my expectations, and those of my family and friends.

When I applied for the Operation Crossroads Africa program, I had longed to seek out these strong connections, challenge myself

with cross-cultural relationships, do something that scared me. I had pictured running with local kids in the rain, holding their hands, forging close friendships over cultural barriers; but I hadn't planned for what would happen after I left. Amadou had dreaded that separation visibly, and expressed it often. I hated to hear the listlessness and lack of hope in his voice because it mirrored mine. I remember insisting almost angrily that new adventures were a certainty, that of course he wouldn't be bored out of his mind forever. That day in July we sat on our bench outside the day-care center, my group's makeshift compound, trailing our sandaled feet in the dust while kids thudded past. My group's approaching departure filled the hot air.

"Everything changes," I said, groping for some big-picture concepts. With two weeks left I could still talk about leaving in the abstract. "You'll grow peanuts and get a new radio and see your friends and I'll see my family and go to school and learn some amazing things..."

Amadou interrupted me. "Fuck-shit," he said softly, more like a reaction than an insult, and I stopped, realizing how stupid I sounded. Amadou's elbows were propped on the knees of his favorite jeans, his eyes on the running kids. The jeans, embroidered with the name of a rapper I didn't know, he wore even in the heat. His toes poked out of ripping Adidas sandals, rough and cracked just like his hands. The marks on them were from accidents with the machetes he used to clear brush in the fields. On his family's cattle and peanut farm, he had told me, there was no shortage of work to build hard hands. He had stopped school after sixth grade because of his family's money issues.

I picked at the hem of my wrap skirt, throat closing. "I know it's strange, Ams," I managed. "I can't imagine not being here, not waking up to cows and goats and the call to prayer, visiting your compound every day. Your family is like family to me."

Amadou nodded. "They *are* your family now, you know. You are very close to me now

and they know this, they are very happy." He chuckled a little. When he laughed his cheeks made smooth, nut-colored hills and his eyes softened from their normal reserve.

"I will miss everyone," he said, biting his bottom lip and looked at me. "It will be a long time missing, Rach."

My heart kicked like a donkey, like a girl's heart, as it always did when he said my name. He'd always called me by my true name, and was the only person in Penyem to ask for it. When we met at the fence, I introduced himself as Jainaba, the name I'd adopted on the first day, but Amadou shook his head. "No, your American name," he said. My name had sounded strange on his tongue, sharpened into a hard *Rruh-chel*, but I craved to hear it, to be reminded daily of who I really was under the African clothes, the stumbling local languages and plaited, sun-baked hair.

He shortened it to Rach later. It was these small things that I fought for so hard when I came home, battling the bad phone connection, time difference and culture shift to get in a five-minute phone call to Amadou's cell phone. When the connection went through we reminisced almost desperately, about our group members and their absence in our lives, about fresh, dense cow's milk, which he had presented to me sometimes in a plastic bag. We talked about the weekend trip to the beach at Gunjur where the two of us walked for hours by the fishing boats and seagulls, talking about Gambian marriage and religion. He had stopped in the waves then and peered out at the water, which he was afraid to swim in, as if looking for something.

"Ruh-chel. Where is your home?" he had asked.

I thought about it and pointed out and slightly northward to some imaginary point on the horizon. "It's right about there. Buffalo, New York. My parents are probably starting breakfast right now." I fought a wave of homesickness by digging my toes hard into the

sand. Amadou was still, letting the bottom of his shorts get drenched by the waves.

“That’s the U.S., right there?” He pointed, and I nodded. He squinted as if he could see the Statue of Liberty. “The U.S.,” he repeated.

I remember imagining volumes into his tone: reverence and resign and bitterness and disgust and understanding and misunderstanding. I stepped back to give him space for something I couldn’t, or perhaps didn’t want to, interpret. I wanted to tell him lots of people lost their dreams in that American paradise he talked about so much, but I didn’t. We just walked on, and later he showed me a childhood game he played with his brothers, where they pushed their feet into the wet sand to build little compounds, and drew lines for roads with their tiny fingers.

Months later my house seemed filled with people. Neighbors stopped on the porch to see how my trip had gone, and my friends wanted to see pictures, which I flipped through so many times I memorized the order. My aunts called, eager to hear how the traveler was. I had become the family poster child for world travel, and felt smothered by the role, convinced I was fulfilling some awful stereotype and that the trip would be cheapened by their assumptions. Everything, it seemed, made me cry. My brother Eric, a year younger than me, sat up late with me going through my pictures again and again listening to me tell him how Amadou had told me he would never joke with a woman, how when he used English incorrectly he seemed to hit something more central than I could ever hit. The tears seem silly, even problematic, now, boxed up by time.

My parents, like my brother, were overly gentle. They were conscious, I think, that their daughter was going through something they could only guess at. They forgave my long silences, my excessive comments on the absurdity of our luxuries, the dishes I left out on the table. I had repeated for them the reminder I’d heard in my volunteer group, and from the Operation Crossroads orientation – that “return

culture shock” would be more intense than in the other direction. My mother gathered this information up gratefully and ran with it, telling friends and family over the phone that I was “adjusting.” I was grateful for the buffer, but didn’t understand the process myself. My own house felt like an inn, there to house this transitory version of myself temporarily.

With only a week left before my senior fall semester would start, I was driven home from my friend’s house with a high fever. I recognized the signs of malaria – intermittent waves of fever, chills, and full-body aches – from the symptoms of my group members on the trip, and my mom skipped school to take me to the ECMC hospital the next morning. In the same waiting room we’d sat in months before, for the immunizations against the disease it seemed I’d gotten anyway, my mom read her book with calm efficiency, her way of keeping upright, and nodded professionally for the both of us when the nurse informed us that we were very lucky.

“You’re lucky,” she said. “We only have one foreign diseases doctor in residence, and he’s in today. He’s one of the best doctors we have.” Her look was one of unmistakable pride. Dr. Kumbo, we learned, was famous for his intelligence, skill and also for the compassion and personality that made the resident nurses stand straighter behind their clipboards and say his name as if he, himself, was the cure.

We waited longer than we wanted without complaining in the little examination room. I clutched the exam table, grateful for my mother’s solid presence in the room, and fought foggy waves of nervousness. When Dr. Kumbo opened the door, he apologized for his lateness and shook our hands before leaning gracefully on a stool. He was shortish, younger than I had expected, maybe in his thirties with a full head of blond hair and full, comfortable eyes.

“You’ll probably have a lot of interested people coming in to ask you the same five questions,” he said apologetically. “We don’t

get a lot of African diseases in here. But this is a private discussion, just so you know, and they don't have to know anything we don't want them to know. They're just curious, as good medical professionals should be sometimes." His personal, calming cadences made my feelings of fear and sick inconsequence subside.

When he turned to my mother and asked if she would give us privacy, she agreed seemingly without hesitation. Her thoughts as she left the room are still unknown to me, though I've often wondered at her train of logic, her speculations. The doctor sat on the stool again.

"I'll be concise here," he said kindly. "And I need you to be as honest as possible with me. Did you have any encounters of a sexual nature while you were in Africa?"

The room was suddenly dislodged from the continental world, floating in some landless space and containing only me in my sweater and jeans, the exam table, the cabinets full of medical supplies, the man in front of me. I nodded, unable to speak. At that crossroad in my mind he had ceased to be a doctor, and had become instead my only guide to surviving the next indefinitely long section of my life, with its own scorpion grasses and strange growths and unmarked roads. He was nodding acceptingly.

"Were you safe?" he asked,

"Yes," I said defensively. "I talk to him every couple of days. We're still in close contact." *We agreed to give it a shot*, I wanted to tell him. *We agreed that I would come back to the Gambia to visit*. I needed to defend Amadou, defend our relationship from something I couldn't define, partly because I had a good idea of what Dr. Kumbo was going to say to me next.

"I ask you this because there are some things we have to rule out," he said kindly. "You probably just have malaria, or something similarly non-life threatening, but there is a slight risk that you may be HIV positive. A very slight chance," he emphasized as I covered my

face with my hands, "But it's my responsibility to inform you of it. Okay?"

I nodded dumbly. My muscles felt shredded; my head seemed bloated with fever, fear and nerves. What had I done, I thought over and over. Dr. Kumbo studied my face gently for a second before taking off his gloves.

"I traveled a lot when I was younger, about your age," he said. "I traveled to India, the Philippines – all over the place, anywhere I could go, I just wanted to go." He tossed the gloves into the trash from his seat and rested his naked hands comfortably on his thighs. His gaze was steady, and by the way his voice changed I could tell he was uncharacteristically off the record. I looked up at him. A central part of myself understood the desire he described, to bust outward, to send your mind out before your body to all corners of the globe.

"I did some things I regretted," he said. "With girls. We were young, I was stupid, far less prudent than you were. And there was no love there, as it sounds like you had." I cried to hear someone say it out loud. He went on, "My experience from then on ended up being the catalyst that brought me here, to sit in front of you, to be a doctor of travel-borne diseases. I guess what I want to say is," and he took a deep breath, searching carefully for words, "Travel brings out parts of you that you didn't know existed. It changes your normal systems. You end up making decisions you wouldn't expect of yourself in a million years."

We looked at each other and I let out a laugh of relief or absurdity or nerves or all three. Dr. Kumbo closed his young eyes as if to say, "I know, I get it."

It was strange. My mother had been completely forgotten, and what was left was an acute awareness of my solitude. I was suddenly inside a body I didn't know, or understand – a new physical landscape, polluted by an unknown toxin, overrun by outcroppings of guilt, pride, and longing, ravaged by the strain of trying to fall asleep and wake up in another country. The only possible solution – and I

couldn't believe I hadn't seen it before – was to make peace with my mind and body, at any cost. It didn't seem dramatic then; just independent, honest and surprisingly devoid of loneliness. I was suspended from any continent by my body's commitment to heal, and by the doctor's understanding; free, in a way, to put my feet down where I chose.

The hospital performed some tests, and I stayed the weekend at the hospital, propped up in an otherwise empty room because my quarantine forbade roommates and discouraged visitors, which didn't seem to bother my parents. My mother didn't cry, but smoothed my forehead and smiled. I received my guests and nurses like a hostess, fought my fever and slept and had no room to imagine Amadou's face as it would look if he were here, standing dwarfed by endless walls of chilled sanitized tools, or tasting the relative luxury of hospital food, or staring down from the fifth floor of this brick and steel palace. He called me that Sunday on my cell phone, breaking into my reverie of repair.

"Rach," he said, his voice muffled by the bad connection. "You okay?" I told him peacefully about the malaria, against the hum of the IV machine, empty of the usual heart-pounding, sweating and adjustment I was so used to after two weeks of phone conversations. I assured him I was well taken care of. He was worried but subsided at the tone of my voice.

"Rach," he said. I imagined him sitting on the edge of his straw bed, staring out past his door curtain into the afternoon courtyard, where chickens and goats scratched the dirt.

"Amadou," I answered.

It was the start of a ritual we would establish in the next months of phone contact, a cycle of repeating one another's names, asking after the other's parents and siblings, comparing our weather patterns as New York dipped into snow and the rains stopped in Penyerem.

It was the week I stopped dreaming about the Gambia that I realized I wasn't

certainly going back, that I didn't know if I could follow through with our rash promises. I told him these terrifying things over the phone, on a December morning as I stared out at the valley, not knowing if he could quite understand me through the connection. I stood in the snow and confessed that I'd fallen in love with New York, as irreversible and unexpected a love as I'd ever experienced.

"Rach," Amadou said in shaky acceptance, "S'okay, you know. We can keep on the good side of life."

Walking around my campus that semester, searching out African clubs and classes and aesthetics, I felt – and may feel, to some extent, for a long time – like a sort of soldier, bearing marks of pneumonia and malaria, rebellious in the face of skepticism and defending impossible connections to the death. Perhaps it was this willingness to fight that made it possible to preserve more than either of us thought possible, after both of our homes called us back.

Analysis of Leaders from the Peloponnesian War

Submitted by: Luke Klein

A leader in nearly any society needs many characteristics to be effective for the people they rule and for the land they serve: an effective leader needs to be an eloquent speaker so as to inspire the people to serve the state and inspire loyalty; simultaneously, a leader needs to be open to opinions of others, accept a certain amount of opposition, and take criticisms and suggestions in stride; a leader must think for the good of the people and state in both the short and long term as opposed to exclusively the short-term; and a leader must lead by example, meaning they should not live extravagantly and should attempt to be humble. The Peloponnesian War witnessed the rise of three influential leaders of the time: Pericles of Athens, Alcibiades of Athens, and King Archidamus of Sparta; these men led their people through a war that lasted twenty-seven years and would have dire consequences for Greece.

Eloquence in speeches has been important in efficient leadership since before the Peloponnesian War; in fact, in Athenian democracy, eloquence in the Assembly could mean the difference between peace and war or whether or not a law was passed, as every citizen was given the opportunity to speak if they so desired (Perry, 42.) Pericles, a general in the Peloponnesian War for Athens, was able to sway those at the public funeral for the first of the fallen soldiers in the war to support the war, the people of Athens, and the army, inspiring patriotism and fervor throughout the

populous of Athens (Thucydides, 144-151.) Alcibiades's eloquence also served him well in convincing the Assembly to attack Sicily explaining that to not attack would embolden their enemies and potentially cause them to think Athens weak; his argument was so compelling that it caused a rival commander's argument against going to war with to Sicily to backfire and further harden the Athenian resolve for war (419-425.) King Archidamus of Sparta spoke regarding waging war with Athens to the Spartan assembly, recommending that, instead of ignoring the Athenian aggression or meeting them immediately in the field, the Spartans wait and consolidate their power and money while helping their allies against Athens (83-84); the Spartans, however, were swayed by the arguments of Sthenelaidas (86) and Sparta's allies (73-77) in addition to the seemingly-haughty speech from the Athenian representatives (78-82.) All of the leaders were eloquent and confident in their speeches, even though only Alcibiades and Pericles were effective in gaining what they desired.

For a leader to be open to opinions, criticism and opposition takes time and experience, and to accept change takes wisdom and strength; in addition, a leader must reply appropriately to whatever criticisms and attacks they come under. Pericles faced much opposition and criticism during the Peloponnesian War during the plague that devastated Athens from the populous; he replied to them by attempting to guide their anger and

frustration at their situation at hand away from him to the conflict with the Peloponnese (158-9); Pericles was removed from his title of general, only to be re-instated for a short time before his death, after the Athenian Assembly realized Pericles had been right to attempt to re-direct their anger (163.)

King Archidamus was also criticized by his allies, in addition to Sparta on the whole. Archidamus invited delegates from the city-states that were claiming Athenian aggression to state their cases, and then Sparta would consider what action to take. The Corinthian delegates were the ones who mainly pointed out that the Spartans were usually very wary when it came to conflicts, and only became involved when it could directly influence their state (73-77.) Archidamus, after the foreign delegates had taken a recess from the chambers, pointed out to his fellow Spartans that to wage war against Athens would be a massive undertaking that would influence not just the present rulers, but would likely involve the next generation of leaders (82-83). In addition, Archidamus believed that to charge head-first into battle without proper knowledge and resources would be suicide and he said that to delay and be prepared is better than to take action only to be later caught off-guard and destroyed (84-85.) Archidamus then opened the floor to a vote as to whether or not to go to war with Athens or to wait a few years; in spite of his proposal being defeated by an overwhelming margin, Archidamus supported the decision of his people and his allies, and led them during the war. The decision to wage war on the Athenians by Sparta not only influenced the next generation of leaders as Archidamus predicted, but began the rapid decline of the Greek city-states, eventually leading to their fall at the hands of Philip II of Macedonia (Perry, 44.)

Alcibiades, in much a similar manner to Archidamus and Pericles, faced criticism from his rivals. Unlike Pericles and Archidamus, the attacks regarded Alcibiades' character and actions outside the Assembly; in his reply, instead of merely attempting to persuade the Assembly to attack Sicily and ignoring the attacks on his personal life, he commenced justifying his supposed extravagance outside the Assembly, and began to speak of himself as though he were a hero who deserved some extra liberties.

"...[S]ince Nicias has made this attack on me, I must begin by saying that I have a better right than others to hold the command and that I think I am quite worthy of the position. As for all the talk there is against me, it is about things which bring [honor] to my ancestors and myself, and to our country profit as well. There was a time when the Hellenes imagined that our city had been ruined by the war, but they came to consider it even greater than it really is, because of the splendid show I made as its representative at the Olympic games, when I entered seven chariots for the chariot race...and took first, second, and fourth places...it is quite natural for my fellow citizens to envy me for the magnificence with which I have done things in Athens..." (Thucydides, 419)

The impression Alcibiades gave to his rivals after delivering this speech was that of one looking to become a dictator and destroy the democracy in Athens (419). Alcibiades' rivals used his extravagance against him, claiming that he and other extravagant young men defaced Hermae around Athens as an act against democracy; Alcibiades denied the charges, and set out for Sicily before he could stand trial (426-427.)

An effective leader also holds the long-term stability of the people and state above the short-term success that one attains while in

power. Pericles and Archidamus both realized this about their states and worked toward that goal: Pericles realized that holding back a portion of the Athenian navy to defend from the Peloponnesian navy was more advantageous to the Athenian cause than would sending out the entire navy and not attempt to expand until after the war, even though his successors did the precise opposite (163). Archidamus, meanwhile, thought if Sparta and its allies were to have a chance against Athens, the Spartans would need to consolidate their power for another few years before being strong enough to defeat Athens as quickly as possible, even though the majority of the other Spartans did not share his sentiments (82-87.) Alcibiades, unlike Pericles and Archidamus, cared less for the good of the state; rather, he cared more for personal gain and glory in his command in the forces going to Sicily, as Nicias pointed out and Alcibiades, for the most part, confirmed the allegations (415-422.)

Finally, a leader must set an example for its people to follow, and not act as though he or she is better than any other person under their leadership. For any Spartan, the same rigorous training was undertaken by all men in the culture, even the king; this training made certain that the Spartans would fight, and potentially die, bravely and with honor for their state (Perry, 38.) Archidamus personally led the Spartan army around Attica, devastating the countryside while the Athenians were dealing with the plague (Thucydides, 151.)

Pericles, being a general of the Athenian army, also set an example for his troops to follow; he led his troops to what he believed to be a more tactical strategy in defending the territory they had taken from the Peloponnesians (101). Pericles also made attempts to leave some of the navy back to defend Athens as opposed to conquering while at war with Sparta;

this would have likely saved the Athenians from their destruction had they done so (163.)

Alcibiades, unlike Pericles and Archidamus, did not lead by example very often. The examples Alcibiades set for his troops off the battlefield were abhorred by nearly everyone in Athens as he lived a grandiose and questionable lifestyle, for which he had drawn much negative attention. One of his fellow commanders and rivals, Nicias, pointed this out when attempting to dissuade Athens from attacking Sicily. The fact that Alcibiades did not attempt to hide his extravagance—indeed, to an extent he flaunted it—made him despised by many, and took away from the leadership quality he had in their eyes.

In analyzing Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, we encounter three leaders during that time who heavily influenced the outcome of the war: King Archidamus of Sparta, Pericles of Athens, and Alcibiades of Athens. The most impressive of the three aforementioned leaders was Pericles in that he was able to inspire the Athenian population to take up arms for the state, and fight to their last; some of what he advised the Athenians to do, such as not to expand while simultaneously fighting a war, was not heeded after his death, and likely resulted in the downfall of Athens, and thus he was not the most effective of the three. The most effective of the three leaders was King Archidamus of Sparta: in spite of not wanting to go to war immediately, Archidamus let the Spartan assembly and Sparta's allies decide whether or not to wage war on Athens; when the assembly and Sparta's allies voted for war, Archidamus led them to devastate Attica and defeat Athens. The victory came at a heavy cost, however, and left the Greek city-states both weaker and in more turmoil, leaving them vulnerable to outside invaders.

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Thucydides History of the Peloponnesian War;
translated by Rex Warner; 1972 Penguin
Books

Fit For a Guardian: How my Academic Schedule Fulfills Plato's Requirements

Submitted by: Alicia Schaumberg

Plato uses Socrates as a mouthpiece to describe the appropriate education for a guardian of the *kallipolis*, a completely just city that Socrates and his companions conceive. The goal is for the guardians to be educated and trained in a way that they are capable of being only courageous, hard-working and just. This is an ideal combination of traits for a guardian to acquire. By studying subjects such as music and poetry (the arts), mathematics and philosophical dialectics, a student ought to acquire these traits and should be mentally well-prepared for a position as a guardian, as well as for future study. My own academic schedule for this semester includes four classes: two required communication courses for my major, an applied calculus class, and Humanities I. Based on Plato's requirements and on the objectives of my individual courses, my schedule would qualify as a proper education for the guardians.

Music and poetry were meant to be part of the education for the guardians, but Plato argues that only some forms of each should be shown to the students. According to Book II of *The Republic*, "When [a] story gives a bad image of what the gods and heroes are like..." it should not be told to students (Plato, 53). Poems and stories that portray important figures in a negative light must be either manipulated to show the characters positively or not told at all. If the students are taught about cowardice and fear, Plato worries that they will not be fit to rule justly and courageously because they will

have an understanding of what it is like to be the opposite; in other words, Plato believes it is best for a student guardian to only learn how to be brave, for then they will not know how to be cowardly.

Mass Communication and Public Relations are two of my academic courses that parallel music and poetry in a guardian's education. In both courses, one of the main objectives is to learn about the ways media influences the public, or specific target audiences, and to understand how to provide the public with positive information regarding companies and their products. To demonstrate my understanding, I must be able to establish a positive image for a college organization.

In a way, I am being taught the same skills a guardian would be taught, since I am examining the constructive aspects of media and public relations. I am also learning the negative parts, however. Plato would disapprove of this strongly, only because he would not want the guardians to have the capacity to think harmfully or pessimistically. While explaining to Adeimantus the rationale behind his theory of only telling manipulated versions of true stories to the students, Socrates reasons that when students are younger, it is important to teach them good traits. He goes on to say, "It's at that time that it is most malleable and takes on any pattern one wishes to impress on it" (Plato, 52). By learning only positive characteristics about

my area of study, as the guardians are to learn only positive characteristics about the gods and heroes, I would have no capacity to think negatively about media and public relations.

After weighing the positive and negative aspects of the media that I learn in both Mass Communication and Public Relations, I believe Plato would agree that this area of study would equal the education of the guardians. Both courses provide more positive outlooks on the media than negative ones, which implies that the students are supposed to emerge from the course valuing the respectable sections of the media over the flawed sections.

Plato considered the study of mathematics to be extremely necessary in a guardian's education. As mentioned in previous Books of *The Republic*, he believes that future rulers must be taught fundamental subjects at a young age, but this time it is in preparation for the study of dialectics, not to teach them good character traits. Using Socrates again, Plato explains that the study of mathematics must come in childhood, before physical training or philosophical study: "People's souls give up much more easily in hard study than in physical training, since the pain – being peculiar to them and not shared with their body – is more their own" (Plato, 207). The students must learn to focus and work hard to succeed in mastering mathematics (a demanding subject for most children) prior to their physical training, most of which is based on human instinct. For this reason, Plato suggests that mathematics be taught to the students as a form of play, so they may be interested and motivated to learn rather than feel as if they are being forced into their education.

For my applied calculus class, I am expected to learn concepts and formulas derived from basic math. Nearly all of the linear,

logarithmic and other such formulas that will be taught this semester can be used outside of the classroom to help solve everyday problems. This is different than other higher mathematics, as most other courses offered involve math that seems irrelevant to a good number of people. I am not very skilled in mathematics, but by taking this course I am pushing myself to learn more, not just giving up and focusing on only courses that pertain to my major. Plato would approve of my choice to increase my intelligence and thus bring myself from the visible to the intelligible realm of knowledge.

The final area of education that a future guardian must study is philosophical dialectic. Plato sees this as the highest form of study, as it should only be taught after a student has mastered the other subjects, and because it will lead the students to find the form of the good. Since it is so valuable, only certain people who can be trusted with its content should learn it. If taught to the wrong kind of student, dialectic could be harmful. Socrates' argument is that some people, if taught, would argue for the sake of arguing, "and, as a result they themselves and the whole of philosophy are discredited in the eyes of others" (Plato, 211). As a precaution, even the right kinds of people should not be educated in philosophical dialectic when they are too young, for the misuse of this sort of knowledge could give the person and philosophy itself a bad reputation, contradicting Plato's idea that philosophers are best-fit to rule.

Humanities I is the course most like dialectic in the way we are to read works by Plato, Thucydides and Dante, as well as writings by other notable figures, then discuss and debate certain points brought up in each work. We do not argue because we want to be right, but because we desire a greater knowledge and understanding of what we have studied. Just as Plato displays Socrates as a philosopher and

leader of discussion, each student must pick a topic on which to lead a debate among the entire class. We must come up with a question that forces our peers to delve into their minds to find reason. Also, Humanities courses are not recommended for students until at least their sophomore year of college, because the material tends to be difficult for younger students to understand. Plato asserts: “when young people get their first taste of arguments, they misuse it by treating it as a kind of game of contradiction” (Plato, 211). This parallels Plato’s opinion that philosophical dialectics should not be taught to children at a young age.

If my Humanities course was to be examined carefully by Plato, it would qualify for a guardian’s education. This course compels students to think theoretically and to study works by philosophers whose main goals were not just to have others understand their opinions, but to have others form opinions of their own based on the works the philosophers provided and to question what was being discussed. In Humanities, we do not abuse our power to debate with others; we are disciplined, unlike those who Plato describes as being “filled with lawlessness” (Plato, 209). Rather, we exercise our minds and practice respectable skills while debating with our classmates to find the good, which is just how Plato believes dialectic should be used.

Plato is very keen on ensuring that the future guardians’ education will prepare them well enough to rule the kallipolis. He believes this good city has the ability to succeed as long as its rulers are just and sufficiently educated, giving them the competence to make the right decisions that will benefit the society as a whole. The especially rigorous education structure illustrates Plato’s belief that intellect is the most important thing for a guardian ruler to have along with the power to rule fairly and

honestly. My academic schedule is an ideal combination of subjects that Plato would want the future guardians to study, as the courses will mold me into a knowledgeable and just person for the future.

Work Cited

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Using Culture to Enhance Foreign Language Learning

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Abstract

The thesis is concerned with the contribution and incorporation of the teaching of culture into the foreign language classroom. More specifically, some consideration will be given to the why and how of teaching culture. It will be demonstrated that teaching a foreign language is not tantamount to giving a homily on syntactic structures or learning new vocabulary and expressions, but mainly incorporates, or should incorporate, some cultural elements, which are intertwined with language itself. Furthermore, we will show how teachers incorporate culture into the classroom using current techniques and methods. The main premise of the paper is that effective communication is more than a matter of language proficiency and that, apart from enhancing and enriching communicative competence, cultural competence can also lead to empathy and respect toward different cultures as well as promote objectivity and cultural discernment.

Introduction

We share a similar experience with respect to Spanish education throughout our lives. We enrolled in beginning level Spanish in 7th grade and continued to take classes all throughout high school into college. We both have few memories of learning culture in middle and high school, aside from the two or three days devoted to the major celebrated Mexican holidays such as “El día de los muertos” and “Cinco de mayo”. Other than that, there were often one or two days of the school year noted as “cultural days” in which the students brought in the recipe and dish of a Spanish treat, such as *churros* or a Latin

American dessert. This incorporation of culture into the classroom was more or less centered around food, which in turn, led to a class period of soda, snacks, and twenty-two, hyperactive students, wired from ingesting large quantities of sugar. Thus, the cultural significance was subsequently hidden under colorful tablecloths, paper plates and caramel custard, also known as flan in Hispanic countries.

During the summer of 2008, after our junior year of college, we completely immersed ourselves within the Spanish language and culture. Enrolling in classes at La Universidad Nacional, we studied a variety of subjects while living with host families in Heredia, Costa Rica for three months. Although our fair complexions, light colored eyes, and mannerisms were immediate giveaways that we were *gringas*, or Americans, we were still able to circumvent a typical tourist’s vacation to a foreign country. We were not tourists, but rather members of a family and a community. From this extraordinary opportunity, we were able to go beneath the surface and live among the natives on a deeper and interconnected level.

After our summer abroad, we went straight into the classroom as we embarked on our 15 week-long semester of student teaching. Having had three years of instruction in the classroom and a total immersion experience in Costa Rica, we were undeniably prepared and eager to put our knowledge and experience into practice. Over the course of those several weeks in which we were in a position to teach the young adolescents in our classes the Spanish language, we were able to share our experiences abroad with our students. Whenever the moment presented itself, we enthusiastically incorporated anecdotes, stories, realia, and the

like into our lessons to ensure that our students received as much cultural exposure as possible. Many times we were able to illustrate ideas from the text with our own prior knowledge based on our summer abroad, which enabled students to see and hear about other cultures from the first-hand experience of their teacher. Because we loved our time abroad, it was never a chore relating stories to motivate and engage our students on a cultural topic. Thus, we realized that the very essence of our own enthusiasm carried over to the students because we had such a strong connection to the cultural topics of which we were speaking.

As a result of our summer abroad and the aforementioned educational experiences, we wanted to explore how culture is represented and presented in the middle and high school foreign language classroom today. Therefore, we chose a topic that is both very meaningful to us, but more importantly, an essential component in foreign language learning for students of all ages. This study explores the importance of using culture to enhance Spanish language acquisition and the manners in which the concept of culture is portrayed and perceived by teachers and students in middle and high schools.

Throughout the course of our research, we have focused on answering three major questions:

1. How is culture incorporated and taught in the classroom?

This question explored whether the cultural topics presented by teachers were explicitly evident (prompted by the teacher or the text, for example) or embedded within the material. Additionally, we investigated the trigger of the cultural topic. Our objective was to determine to what extent the trigger set off by a student's question, a teacher comment, or the material itself. To answer this question, we also examined how much time, as a percentage of the total class time, was spent on culture during any given lesson.

2. How does a teacher's background and experience abroad influence the way culture is presented?

This element of our research involved gauging the diversity of cultural topics presented, how culture is represented in the classroom, how culture is incorporated into the daily lesson, and the measurements used to assess the effectiveness of cultural topics.

3. How does the incorporation of culture in foreign language lessons guide students' opinions and beliefs regarding culture and its role in their education?

The questions we used to frame the parameters of our research that focused in answering this question were the following:

- a. Do students appreciate the importance of learning culture?
- b. Do students believe their teacher regards cultural education as an integral component of language learning?
- c. To what degree did students believe the learning of culture to second language acquisition is significant?
- d. Has learning about another culture changed students' attitudes about other societal customs, traditions, and ways of life?

According to the New York State Department of Education there are two standards for Modern languages. The first standard gives guidelines for communication skills and the second standard provides guidelines for cultural skills. The second learning standard, "Culture" is characterized by the following: "effective communication involves meanings that go beyond words and require an understanding of perceptions, gestures, folklore, and family and community dynamics. All of these elements can affect whether and how well a message is received." For the purpose of this research, we are using this description as a means for characterizing the word "culture" as it subsequently appears in this paper.

Methodology

Schools were chosen using a convenience sample based on proximity to the university and our previous involvement with the schools. We worked with two local school

districts at both the middle and high school levels. Within each school, we worked with one middle school and one high school Spanish teacher, for a total of four teachers which were observed. In order to maintain the anonymity of the schools used during our research, we will refer to them as school “A” and school “B” throughout the remainder of our paper. At school “A”, there are three Spanish teachers, one at the middle school and two at the high school. We chose which high school teacher to work with based on who responded first to our request to conduct research in his or her classroom. School “B” also employs three Spanish teachers, two at the middle school and one at the high school. The middle school teacher at School “B” was chosen based on his or her class schedule, which included a more diverse student body with students at two different levels, as opposed to the other teacher who only taught one level. We decided upon a sampling of four classes per level per school offered through the day. This pattern could not be followed at High School “A” as the teacher only offers two classes at this level. At the middle school level, only eighth grade students were studied, while at the high school level, ninth through twelfth grade students were studied.

Participants.

School “A” is a small suburban school district with a combined total of 501 students in the middle and high schools (grades 6-12). Of this cohort, we worked with a total of 60 students enrolled in Spanish classes, 39 from the middle school and 21 from the high school. All middle school students surveyed were eighth graders, while the high school students were enrolled in Level II Spanish. This school boasts a 100% proficiency rate on the New York State Second Language Proficiency Exam and a 27% free or reduced lunch rate.

School “B” is a small suburban school district that serves 657 students in the middle and high schools (grades 7-12). We worked with 49 middle school students and 40 high school students for a total of 89 students. The middle school students surveyed were all in eighth grade while the high school students were in grades 10-12 (levels 3-5). At this

school, 85% of students receive passing scores on the NYS Second Language Proficiency Exam and 21% receive free or reduced lunch.

It is important to mention that during the course of our research, we included an additional teacher observation in our data. This was incorporated based on the hypothesis that we derived from our observation of how teachers’ experiences abroad impact their classroom. We chose to observe a teacher from middle and high school “C”, on the basis that this instructor had not lived abroad in a foreign, Spanish speaking country. The only data collected from this school dealt with the average amount of minutes spent by this teacher discussing culture during a class period. Student surveys and teacher questionnaires were not administered at this school.

Data Collection

Data was collected using three types of instruments, student surveys, teacher questionnaires, and observable cultural incidence tally forms.

Student Surveys

Surveys were created using a variety of question types in order to elicit varying responses. These differing types include open-ended questions, Likert items, and multiple-answer questions. The middle school survey (see Appendix A) consists of eleven questions while an additional question is included in the high school survey (Appendix B). The additional question addresses students’ perceptions about the connection between learning culture and language acquisitions—a relationship that is more applicable at a higher level.

We administered the student surveys during class time during a period of 10 to 15 minutes (depending on the level and student completion rate).

Teacher Questionnaires

The teacher’s survey is a twenty-one-question questionnaire developed to mirror student questions in order to derive comparisons of both cohorts and their responses to both instruments (see Appendix C).

In order to provide teachers the opportunity to frankly and fully answer each

question, all questions are open-ended. Questionnaires were distributed to teachers who were able to complete them on their own time and return them to us during our subsequent class observation.

Observable Cultural Incidence Tally Forms

We also conducted four observations of each teacher over the course of one week to determine the amount of time spent on cultural topics during any given class period, the types of cultural topics discussed, and possible triggers for the discussion of the cultural topic. Observable cultural incidences were tallied minute by minute on a form designed specifically for this purpose (see Appendix D).

In order to identify data by which comparisons could easily be drawn, all instruments are organized to address six major categories: culture in the curriculum, resources, relevance, representation in the classroom, instruction, and assessment.

Findings

Culture in the Curriculum

The first category, culture in the curriculum, probes, about the parameters used by teachers to guide the decision-making process of choosing the cultural topics to explicitly incorporate into their lessons. In Middle School A, the teacher did not plan to discuss cultural topics beforehand, but touched on them when the opportunity presented itself, pointing out the relevance to the students’ lives and noting comparisons between our society and that being discussed. The teachers in High School A and Middle School B tested prior knowledge through oral questioning and then challenged students to not only make comparisons with their own experience, but to also think about why similarities and differences between cultures exist. In High School B, the teacher did not contrive cultural topics nor assess prior knowledge of cultural awareness.

Resources

The second category is concerned with the resources teachers are consulting to investigate the cultural information they share with their students. Teachers were asked if they teach primarily from any one particular source

(such as a textbook) or if they draw on a variety of research tools, including personal experience. This category also explores how teachers incorporate current events, and how educators ensure they are drawing information from up-to-date material. We found that the majority of the cultural information conveyed to their students by the teachers in the four schools is based on the personal experiences they gained abroad. All teachers also utilized as secondary, supplemental material online resources, textbooks, short stories, and current events.

Table 1.

How is culture presented or taught in your class? (Top three choices)								
	MS “A”		HS “A”		MS “B”		HS “B”	
Readings/text	6	15.3 8%	1	66.6 4 7%	4	100 9 %	2	60.0 4 0%
Music	2	5.12 %	0	0.00 %	1	2.04 %	3	7.50 %
Movies /TV	7	17.9 5%	2	9.52 %	3	75.5 7 1%	1	2.50 %
Artifacts	6	15.3 8%	0	0.00 %	4	8.16 %	1	2.50 %
Pictures	3	89.7 5 4%	4	19.0 5%	1	30.6 5 1%	1	40.0 6 0%
Cultural days	1	2.56 %	2	9.52 %	3	6.12 %	0	0.00 %
Power Point	2	61.5 4 4%	1	2.63 %	0	0.00 %	7	17.5 0%
Projects	4	10.2 6%	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	1	27.5 1 0%
Notes	1	41.0 6 3%	1	57.1 2 4%	7	14.2 9%	1	37.5 5 0%
Other	7	17.9 5%	1	57.1 2 4%	2	46.9 3 4%	1	35.0 4 0%

Relevance

The third category focuses on the beliefs of culture’s relevance and instrumentality in the classroom and more specifically, how much time is devoted to its instruction. We asked teachers how much they value teaching culture, how they incorporate the culture into the lesson, and how much time as a percentage of a typical

class period they generally spend discussing culture.

In Middle School A, the teacher firmly stated that one cannot learn a language without learning about the culture. She informed that she usually talks about culture once per class explicitly during vocabulary introduction or review. In High School A, the teacher indicated she feels that it is essential to learn the culture with the language and for that reason touches on a cultural topics about six or seven times, or about ten to fifteen minutes, during a class period. In Middles School B, the teacher believes that culture is important in order to gain a better comprehension of the language but is less important within the curriculum based on the lack of representation on state proficiency and Regent’s examinations. Furthermore, this teacher believes to spend five minutes per lesson discussing culture. In High School B, the teacher affirms there is a great need for learning culture in the foreign language classroom and spends five to ten minutes per class on cultural topics. Although teachers self-reported spending an average of five to ten minutes daily teaching culture, our observations reveal otherwise. In a class period of forty-four minutes, the teachers in middle and high schools “A” spent no more than 3 of those minutes discussing culture. Similarly, in middle and high schools “B,” teachers spent no more than 3 of the forty minute class period on cultural topics.

Table 2:

Culture Observations								
	MS “A”		HS “A”		MS “B”		HS “B”	
Observation 1	6/44		7/44		0/40		4/40	
Observation 2	0/44		3/44		0/40		3/40	
Observation 3	3/44		0/44		3/40		1/40	
Observation 4	3/44		0/44		3/40		3/40	
Average	3/44	6.8 2	2.5/44	5.6 8	1.0/40	2.5 0	2.7/40	6.8 8
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%

We then turned to our asking students to rate how important they believe cultural instruction is to them personally, to their teachers, and how often they learn about culture.

In table 3, the majority of students agree that it is “somewhat important” to learn about other cultures, with students in high school “A” ratings the highest in the “very important” category. Of all the students surveyed, a combined three believe that it is “not important at all” to learn about other cultures.

Table 3.

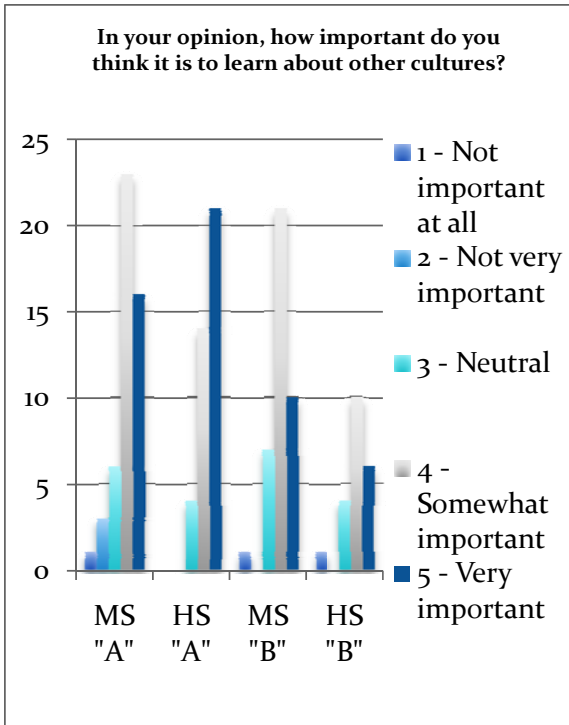


Table 4 follows a similar pattern with the majority of students rating the learning of culture as “somewhat important” to their teachers with middle school “A” having the highest ratings in the “very important” category. Table 4.

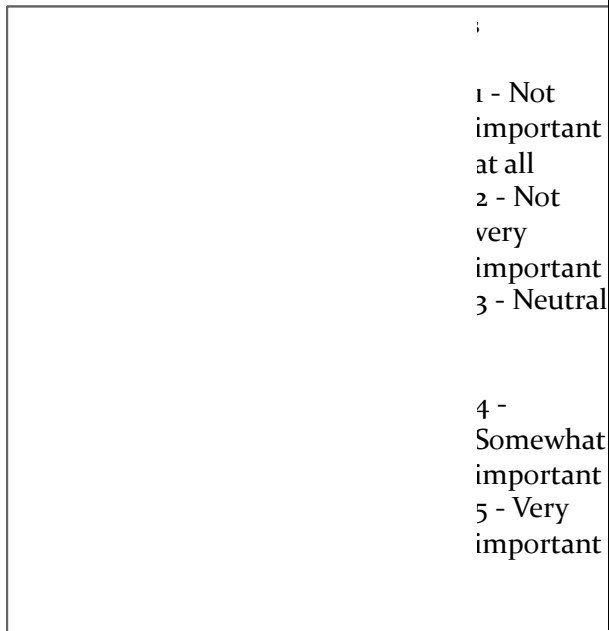
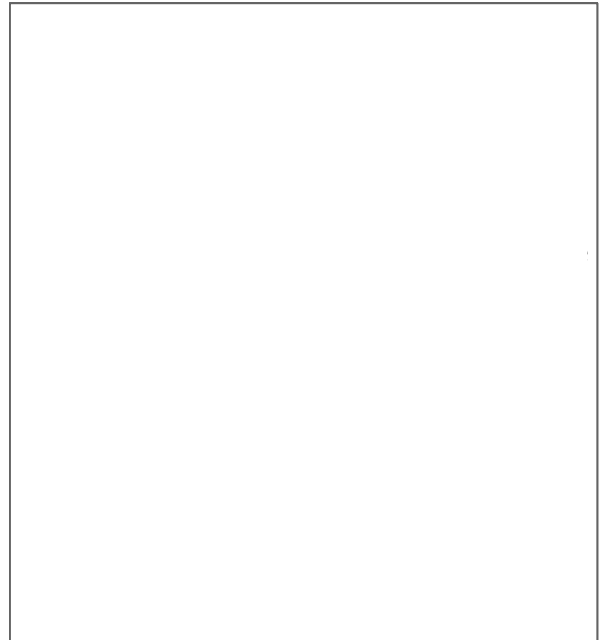
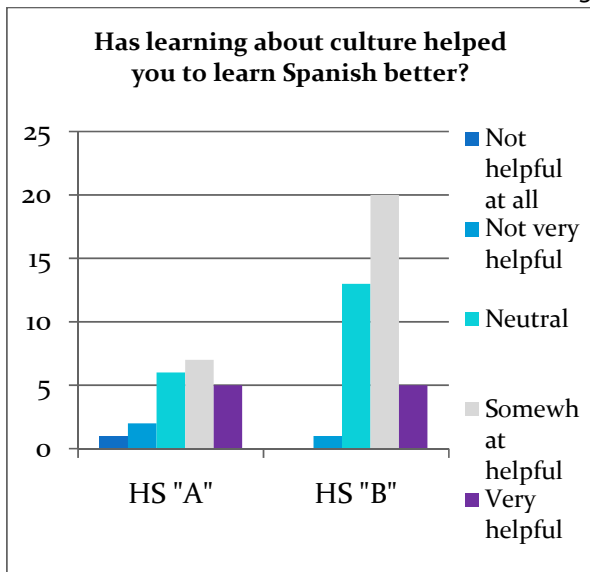


Table 5 contains data concerning how often students believe they learn about culture. The results are very wide-ranging, however, most students believe they only learn cultural topics “sometimes” or about once per week. These results are interesting to compare with teacher’s self-reported five to ten minute daily discussions and the “culture observations” chart in table 1. Table 5.

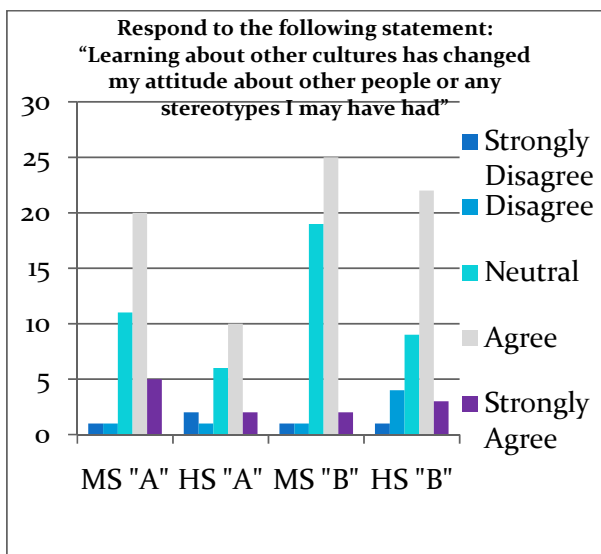


In order to gauge if students believe that learning culture has enhanced their second language acquisition, we asked them, “Has learning about culture helped you to learn Spanish better?” Student responses were highest in the category, “somewhat helpful” and second highest in the “neutral” category. Table 6.



Finally, we asked students to respond to the following statement, “Learning about other cultures has changed my attitude about other people or any stereotypes I may have had.” The overwhelming majority “agree” with this statement while the second highest number of students responded “neutral” to this statement. Several students reported they “strongly disagree” with this statement, and we saw a correlation that these students were the same students who reported that learning about other cultures is, “not important at all.”

Table 7.



Representation in the Classroom

Our teacher, student, and own observations of the representation of culture in the classroom all conclude the same findings. Teachers decorate their classrooms with maps of Hispanic countries, posters of artwork, literature, movies, and music from the Hispanic culture, and flags from various Spanish speaking countries. In addition, teachers adorn their rooms with realia, or authentic materials, from places in which they have visited. For example, realia was seen in the form of a canteen from Mexico, pottery from Latin America, and *Carnaval* masks from Spain.

Instruction

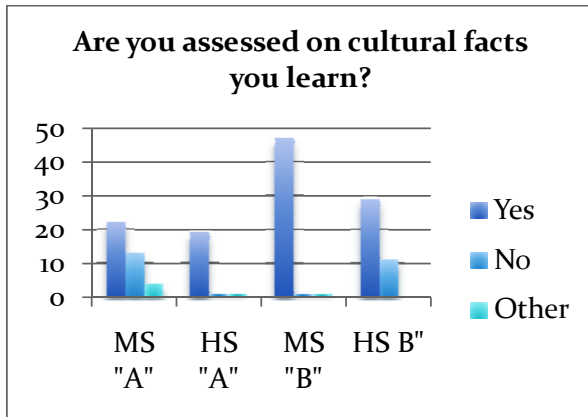
The questions addressing this category deal with the actual teaching of culture. Questions focus on the way culture is incorporated into lessons and more specifically if culture is integrated into the other lessons (such as grammar, reading, or speaking) or taught separately. Through our teacher questionnaires and observations we found that all teachers excluding high school teacher “B” used a varied of methods to instruct culture drawing from readings, lectures, pictures, videos, and music. High school teacher “B” reported she taught culture “as it fits,” addressing the topic when it was presented, usually prompted by a student question.

Assessment

Questions in this section seek to find whether students are held accountable for the cultural material that is taught in their classes, and if they are, how learning is assessed. Also, teachers were asked about the importance of learning culture in the framework of standardized tests and if they would teach more culture if time allowed it. From our teacher questionnaires, we discovered that all four teachers assessed students on quizzes or unit tests; however, the teacher from middle school “A” only assessed culture in the form of extra credit on a quiz or unit test. Our student findings suggest there is some confusion among students regarding their assessment of culture. A greater number of students from all four schools reported that they were assessed on culture than those who reported they were not. In middle school “A,” a high number of students

reported they were not assessed on culture which we believe may be attributed to the fact that it is included as extra credit on quizzes and unit tests.

Table 8.



Incidental Findings

Some of our most interesting findings were ones which we had not intentionally sought out, but rather discovered through the course of our research. We have concluded that there are four major incidental findings, which supplement the pre-determined focal points.

The recognition of culture

We found that students are not always aware of when they are learning culture. The evidence we have to support this finding is that many students answered that they did not actually learn about culture very often, while other students of the same class stated that they spent a significant amount of time on learning culture. We found that many students do not realize that what they are learning is a cultural point unless the teacher explicitly states they are learning culture. At middle school “B” the students work primarily from a textbook that has “cultural notes” every few pages for students to read. In these middle school classes, the students agreed that they spent a lot of time learning about culture and the major source of culture came from the textbook. Similarly, teachers may not always realize how much they talk about culture in a given class period. While conversing with high school teacher “A,” he mentioned that he did not “explicitly teach culture,” but we found that he did indeed include culture in many lessons.

Experience abroad equals greater enthusiasm

Teachers who have lived abroad or even just visited a foreign country have more excitement about the culture from that particular region. Because of their first hand experience of living among a particular culture, teachers have a stronger connection to the country, which correlates to a greater enthusiasm for the culture. It appeared that teachers who lived in Spain focused primarily on the incorporation of Spanish culture, while teachers who lived in Latin America referenced more Hispanic culture. Because these teachers had the opportunity to live and travel to Spanish speaking countries, their passion for the culture is inevitably stronger. Evidence to support our hypothesis comes from student surveys that stated their teachers taught a lot about culture based on their personal experiences. Also, the display of realia in the classroom further supports this hypothesis since many teachers displayed their personal possessions and pictures from abroad around their classroom. From this hypothesis, we have concluded that it is imperative for a foreign language teacher to travel abroad in order to better grasp the language and culture they are teaching to their students. If teachers have a first hand experience abroad, they can provide a greater sense of appreciation and excitement for the cultural material for their students.

Timing of culture within a unit

We found that there is a greater focus on culture in the beginning of a unit with a gradual and continual decrease of cultural instruction throughout the course of a unit. Many teachers connect vocabulary introduction to culture, which generally occurs with a new unit. Also, we observed that the lesson one day prior to an exam day lacks any incorporation of culture because there is a greater focus on what students will be assessed, which lacks a cultural assessment. At school “C” we observed a lesson in which the teacher introduced vocabulary to students, which was based entirely upon Spanish culture. At middle school “A” we were told there would be “no culture” on a specific class day because they were reviewing for an exam.

Use of Target Language in the Classroom

Another result of observing many Spanish lessons was the discovery that teachers do not spend much time teaching while using the target language. This general lack of incorporation of Spanish into the classroom results in a decrease use of Spanish on the students' part as well. Teachers generally used Spanish when giving classroom commands, however, all other instruction was taught in English. High school teacher "B" used almost no Spanish in any of her classes, not even with greetings or classroom commands. This finding exemplifies how teachers could expose their students to Spanish at a greater level if they were to use the target language to a more frequently over the course of a given class period. The implications, we believe, negatively impact the learning process, creating a more pronounced disconnect between the Spanish language and what the students are learning about the language.

Synthesis

This section serves to summarize the findings for every teacher.

Middle School "A"

The least experienced of the teachers studied, it was obvious that the teacher from Middle School "A" placed a great deal of emphasis the learning of culture in her class. She reported that learning about Hispanic culture is necessary to learn Spanish and makes it a point to mention culture at least once per class period. Our findings were similar, showing that she spent on average of three minutes per class discussing cultural topics. It is clear that her students share similar feelings about the importance of culture when the majority said that it is "very important" to their teacher and "somewhat important" to them. It is interesting that cultural topics are usually assessed in the form of extra credit or participation points, given her belief that culture of is such an integral part in learning Spanish. However, she also mentions that it is not assessed on the NYS Proficiency Exam and therefore spends less time on cultural topics.

We found that the majority of her lessons were based on Spanish culture because

her experiences were based in Spain, although we did observe one lesson including cultural points regarding Mexican history. She reported that many of her lessons are based on vocabulary introduction where she explains different usages of the words. Also, she tries to use comparisons between Spanish speaking countries and the United States to make the culture more germane to the students. We did observe that she used Spanish in her classes, especially for basic classroom commands. Based on the level of eight grade Spanish, this amount of Spanish can be appropriate, although there is always room for more.

High School "A"

The teacher from High School "A" has a great deal of firsthand experience, being raised in Europe. He makes sure to mention not only Hispanic culture, but European culture as well. When asked about how he introduces cultural lessons to his students, he said that he usually starts with asking students about their prior knowledge regarding the subject matter. Then, the class discusses the similarities and differences between students' native culture and Hispanic culture and possible reasons for the variations.

He stated that is necessary for students to learn about the culture behind the language to truly learn the language itself. He believes to spend between ten and fifteen minutes discussing culture in any given class period, although we found an average of 2.5 minutes per class. Even though he believes that it is very important to learn about culture, he says he would not spend more time teaching culture. Although the majority of students surveyed reported culture being "somewhat important" to their teacher, they reported that it is "very important" to them.

Middle School "B"

This teacher was the only teacher to use a textbook in his instruction. Many of the cultural points the students learned came from the textbook in sections marked "cultural note". We found that 100% of his students reported that they mainly used textbooks to learn culture. We believe that this is important because it was obvious to his students that they were learning

about culture in the class because it was explicitly stated in the text. Also, students were held accountable for the cultural material because the tests that were given came as supplemental material with the text. He also reported teaching a great deal from his own experiences abroad, especially from Latin America. He believes to spend about five minutes per class period discussing cultural topics, but we observed an average of 1.5 minutes per class was spent on culture. He also stated that he is comfortable with the amount of time he talks about culture with his classes, although there is always room for more.

Like the other teachers, he stated that learning about culture was important for understanding of the Spanish language. However, the important ranked low with the standardized tests that were given at the end of the school year. The majority of his students said that culture was “somewhat important” to their teacher and also to themselves. We noted during our observations that he used Spanish for all classroom commands and started his classes by asking students to talk about the time, weather, and the number of students in the classroom. Given the level of the students, we feel that his use of the target language is appropriate.

High School “B”

Of all of the teachers involved in this study, the teacher from High School “B” had the most contradictory results. She responded that learning culture was ranked high in importance in terms of major concepts. The majority of students agreed, saying that learning about culture was “somewhat important” to both the teacher and to themselves. When asked about time spent teaching culture, she reported that she spent between five and ten minutes discussing cultural topics per class period. However, we found that she spent less than three minutes per class talking about cultural topics. It is important to mention that there is a specific class devoted to talking about culture, Spanish 5, and our observational data could have been inflated because these students were also included in the study.

Furthermore, this teacher reported that she did not use a textbook and instead relied on her own personal experience, from both Spain and Latin America. The majority of students (60.00%) reported that they received their cultural information from a chapter book developed for students to learn about Hispanic culture. To supplement this, our observational data shows that students received a great deal of their cultural instruction when their questions of culture were answered by the teacher.

The last topic to discuss about this teacher is her use of the target language in the classroom. Although she teaches the upper level Spanish classes (3-5), we noticed that she spent the overwhelming majority of the class speaking in English rather than in Spanish. Because target language usage was not something that we were specifically researching, we do not have quantitative research to support these findings.

Limitations

Survey Error

We developed the student surveys in hopes of eliciting honest responses in order to collect valuable and valid data. However, with survey sampling comes unavoidable survey error. The two types of survey error that surfaced as a result of our research were measurement error and nonresponse error. Measurement error most likely emerged from the manner in which questions were worded, which resulted in the collection of inaccurate answers. For example, in question 3, students were given a list from which they were to choose three items as a response. Many students chose only one or two items, instead of the requested number of three items. Therefore, this measurement error resulted in inaccurate answers. Nonresponse error was our highest survey error type. Several questions on the student surveys were open-ended in nature, of which many students left unanswered. Furthermore, for Likert item questions, there were several student surveys in which students chose more than one response, which required one and only response.

Observational Data

Upon contacting teachers requesting permission to conduct research in their

classrooms, we described the purpose of our action research and that we were focusing on the amount of culture discussed in a class period. This skewed the results of our data because teachers, conscious of what we were measuring, may have incorporated more culture into their lesson than they had previously intended. Evidence to support this stems from conversations with teachers who informed us when there would be lessons with significantly more or less culture instruction in a given class period, noting that days before unit exams were given, there would be no cultural instruction.

Inability to generalize

The four schools in which we conducted this research share many similar features, which characterize a school. Therefore, our homogenous sample cannot be representative of all schools and hinders the ability to generalize this research. If we had used a more heterogeneous sample of schools, it would allow for stronger and valid generalization of all schools in New York.

Recommendations for teachers

Upon reflection of this research, we have concluded that we have four important recommendations for Spanish teachers at the middle and high school levels.

Experience abroad is crucial

It is imperative that Spanish teachers venture abroad to a Hispanic country, regardless of the purpose of the trip. Be it an excursion abroad to live, work, or merely pay a visit, it is a vital component of being a good foreign language teacher. Students observe the enthusiasm teachers have for a place in which they have stayed and see the importance of learning about other cultures through the experiences of their teacher. The connection a teacher has with a foreign country diminishes the gap between students and the Spanish language in the classroom creating a greater sense of appreciation and understanding of another culture.

Incorporate culture whenever possible

Teachers are encouraged to make a more concerted effort to include cultural instruction

into their daily lessons. The more culture the students are exposed to, the stronger their language skills will be. Furthermore, students will develop a better sense of discernment for the Hispanic culture if they are continuously learning about the customs, traditions, and ways in which other people live.

Use of target language

In the Spanish classroom, the majority of instruction should be given in the target language. Generally, students are only in each class for less than one hour per day thus, teachers must capitalize on the opportunity to instruct in the Spanish language to make the most of their time with students.

Assessment of culture

In order to place a greater emphasis on the importance of learning culture, teachers ought to formally assess culture. If students are held accountable for knowing culture, it will illustrate that it is a topic just as important as others such as vocabulary and grammar. In middle school “A” the teacher assessed culture in the form of extra credit questions on quizzes and unit exams which actually deemphasizes its importance. Extra credit implies that the information in question is less important than the rest of the material, which gives the wrong impression to students.

Conclusion

Finally, we sought to establish the value of learning culture in the Spanish classroom. We wanted to prove it is essential to achieve second language acquisition on a deeper and more profound level and to shed light on the importance of broadening students’ scope of cultural knowledge because indeed, culture and language are undeniably interrelated.

Our greatest finding concerns that teachers and students alike deem cultural instruction important. Teachers consider it “essential” to study cultural aspects in the foreign language classroom in order for greater comprehension of the language. Students also find importance in learning about culture and especially believe that their teachers value the learning of culture. Despite the beliefs that

cultural instruction is an integral component of language learning, time restraints limit the amount of actual cultural instruction in the classroom. Even so, teachers claim they would spend more time incorporating cultural elements into their lessons if time allowed.

The use of realia, or authentic artifacts from abroad, provides students with additional exposure to culture. The presence of realia in the classroom allows students to see objects, first-hand, from those countries of which they are studying. This develops a stronger connection between students and culture because they have tangible evidence of cultural elements of the Hispanic world within their reach. We observed that through realia, teachers were able to tap into students' five senses when displaying their cultural specific artifacts, which inherently strengthens students' relationship with the culture of the target language.

The New York State Department of Education sets the standards for Modern Languages which includes Spanish. Students enrolled in Spanish classes are first tested on their knowledge of the content in eighth grade with an examination called the New York State Proficiency Exam. Student comprehension is measured again with the New York State Regents Spanish Exam in Level III. The focal points of these examinations center around four critical skills: reading, writing, listening, and speaking. Therefore, teachers direct their lessons towards preparing students for these four skills which results in the lack of cultural instruction.

Based on observations of lessons and conversations with teachers, we discovered that there exists a certain pattern concerning the timing of cultural instruction within a unit. Cultural topics are seen more frequently at the beginning of a unit, especially in vocabulary introduction lessons. As the unit progresses, there seems to be a steady decrease of cultural inclusion throughout the course of the unit. Teachers explicitly stated there would be "no culture" the day before a unit exam, since culture would not be assessed on the exam, it would not be discussed in class the day prior to the unit test.

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Black Slave Gender Roles: How They Were Changed by Emancipation

Submitted by: Caile Morris

Susie King Taylor's autobiography *A Black Woman's Civil War Memoirs* puts her in a small group of African American ex-slaves who were able to record their memories of their lives as slaves and consequent forays after emancipation. What makes her stand out even further is that she is one of the few African American women in the 19th century to write of her experiences. This information is extraordinary in itself, but the idea of matriarchal power and prestige that she invokes is even more so. She describes her ancestry in a matriarchal way, tracing it from her great-great-grandmother to herself, with all of the relations in between being women as well. Therefore, the first few chapters of her autobiography lead the reader to believe that slaves may not have had what white society would call normal gender roles, and it suggests that African American women may have been more influential in families and within the slave community than we realize.^{xcvii}

With this thought in mind, more and more instances of these unusual gender relations reveal themselves in some of the scholarship on the Civil War era. Steven Hahn in *A Nation Under Our Feet* argues that plantation slave elders were not always male and that the exceptions proved that

slaves did not embrace white social and political gender conventions. It is easy to understand why this would be a confusing concept firstly because most students are not usually exposed to this while learning about the Civil War, and secondly because it is so different not only from what was considered conventional for the time period but also what is conventional to a degree today as well. Hahn suggests that slave women, especially those who were older, gained status by how much they contributed to their specific plantation's slave culture. They did so by sustaining the either limited or extensive kinship networks as well as working in the fields by day and managing domestic responsibilities by night. The idea that slave women held an equal and sometimes superior role to slave men makes more sense with this information, because not only did women have the experience of working in the fields but they also had household and family duties to see to as well.^{xcviii}

When slavery was theoretically ended in the rebel states by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, it also effectively ended the solid basis that these unusual gender roles had been built upon. These former slave men and women now had to try and adapt to their new lifestyles, but this leaves a question of what happened to the way of life that had been so closely intertwined with the institution of slavery. Some historians, such as Noralee Frankel, believe that while freedmen acquired some degree of clout that did not necessarily mean that their families followed the more socially acceptable notion of patriarchy. Frankel says that while the new male head of

the family obtained limited authority and now had more economic responsibility, which to most would indicate that the trend was now heading towards patriarchy, she believes that the word patriarchy implies more standing socially and legally than the heads of African American families could actually exercise. She then goes further to say that the new free families were neither matriarchal nor patriarchal. While this change may not have been strictly to the white norm of patriarchy, freedmen held more power as far as status was concerned than women. In short, gender roles on slave plantations in the South, especially for African American women, were altered by emancipation leading to a diminishment of women's status within the black plantation community.^{xcix}

While perusing through the autobiographies of former slaves who lived to be emancipated, it is amazing to see how more often than not there are examples of how equal slave men and women were to each other. When describing the plantations of their childhoods many of these authors talk about the difficult work that they saw both men and women doing, or the leadership roles that women would take on within the slave quarters. By using instances from former slave autobiographies of how slave men and women ranked each other, how they were ranked and viewed by their masters, and in what instances slave women held positions of power, we can see how emancipation altered gender relations.

As much as it would seem that former slave women would mostly be ranking themselves equal to men, it was actually the other way around. Perhaps that is because more African American men who were formerly slaves recorded their stories, but the fact remains that they often admitted that women could do a man's work just as well or better. Solomon Northup, who was kidnapped and

forced into slavery in Louisiana, describes four women who were sent to help him and another slave to chop down trees. "In the course of a fortnight four black girls came down from Eldret's plantation," wrote Northup. "Axes were put into their hands, and they were sent out with Sam and myself to cut trees. They were excellent choppers, the largest oak or sycamore standing but a brief season before their heavy and well directed blows. At piling logs, they were equal to any man." This is a case of slave women having special skills, for they were usually found in the fields on plantations. But the fact that they were able to gain these skills that were normally viewed as men's work, and able to equal the men in aptitude as well, was key.^c

Another way that men who were ex-slaves wrote about the equality of the women bound with them in servitude was simply through observations of them working. In Ira Berlin's *Remembering Slavery*, a compilation of oral histories from former slaves, there was a short piece from a man named George Fleming who was born and worked on a plantation in South Carolina. He describes women slaves in the fields as looking and working just like the men. "Women worked in de field same as de men. Some of dem plowed jes' like de men and boys. Couldn't tell 'em apart in de field, as dey wore pantelets or breeches..." An additional description comes from Frederick Law Olmsted's book which depicts what he witnessed during his travels through Southern rural areas in the 1850s. While in Louisiana, he saw two gangs of slaves being driven by overseers returning to the field after working in the gin-house. "First came... forty of the largest and strongest women I ever saw together," Olmsted remembered. "They carried themselves loftily, each having a hoe over the shoulder, and walking with a free, powerful swing, like *chasseurs* on the march. Behind

them came the cavalry, thirty strong, mostly men, but a few of them women.” While these men and women were mostly separated, they were going to do the same work, and Olmstead describes both gangs using similar militant phrases, i.e. “chasseurs on the march” and “the cavalry,” indicating their equality to men.^{ci}

Slaveholders regarded all of their slaves as property. While they were separated by the tasks they could and should perform, slaves were all equally a step lower than whites because of the fact that they were property and were treated as such. Sometimes, this treatment would be humane, while for the most part it was anything but. A good example can be taken from the marriage of Tempie Herndon to Exter Durham. Tempie’s master, “Marse George,” not only allowed this marriage to take place but recognized it and took part in the ceremony. “Marse George” held the traditional broomstick and added the qualification that whomever could jump over the stick would be in charge of the household. Tempie made it over, but Exter tripped on the stick. This master clearly afforded his slaves the luxury of being recognized in marriage and managing their own household. Unfortunately, most slaveholders did not treat their slaves with that much respect or humanity. John Brown, an African American man born into slavery in Georgia who was bought and sold many times, described examples of just how equally some of his masters gave out punishments. He writes that he had heard that people who are not acquainted with slavery believe that women were treated less harshly as a rule, but he was quick to deny this assumption. “Men and women, boys and girls, receive the same kind of punishments, or I would say rather, that the same kind of tortures are inflicted upon them.” There are instances in his autobiography where masters overworked and abused female slaves, especially those that were pregnant, and these seemed to equal out

with his tales of atrocities committed against male slaves.^{cii}

Slave women were also found to have the opportunity to hold positions of leadership within the slave plantation communities. This was important because not only did women have the chance to exceed expectations within the area of their labor but they also could be considered elders among other slaves. Despite the fact that slaves had the model of white gender norms to follow, they had no reason to do so. Steven Hahn says that this is possible firstly because slave women did not have to be subordinate to slave men and secondly because of how central they were to the domestic side of plantation life. Since the men could not be the stereotypical provider in a slave family, this allowed women the right to hold positions of authority. Also, they were well suited to hold power within a slave community namely because they had insight in most areas of slave life. Slave women worked in the fields or worked in the master’s home, as well as taking care of domestic needs in their very limited free time.^{ciii}

The positions of authority within the community that a woman could take varied in form. They could be the person that other slaves went to for any form of advice, like Frederick Douglass’ grandmother. She was sought after for her nursing abilities and her fishing nets, as well as to help plant sweet potato seeds since she had the knowledge on how to make them grow and flourish. Women could also hold honored positions on a plantation: such as an elder who could “marry” other slaves. These fortunate women were the ones who needed to be consulted whenever a slave couple wished to be joined, and their opinions and blessings were far more important than those of the slaveholders. One such situation was recalled by Caroline Johnson

Harris, who had to check with “Aunt Sue” that her proposed marriage was acceptable and then asked her to perform it. Harris remembered, “Didn’t have to ask Marsa or nothing’. Just go to Ant Sue an’ tell her you want to git mated.” This woman held tremendous power over the personal lives of slaves on that particular plantation and is the embodiment of the idea that slave women could hold positions of authority.^{civ}

Clearly, these gender roles were an integral part of life for slaves laboring on Southern plantations. This establishes that once emancipation was granted, these roles, along with everything else about the lives of former slaves, were no longer a certainty. The largest influencing factor was the Union Army, for the soldiers and officers of it were the ones who were there to pick up the pieces. They were the ones who gave opportunities for advancement and jobs to African American men and women. Since those in charge had the social norms of men being the workers or breadwinners, they forced this way of life on freedmen and women, unaware that they might have done things differently when they were slaves. With the aid of autobiographies, by comparing the kinds of jobs that were offered to African American men versus those that were offered to African American women, it can be proved that men were the ones who were given the most opportunity for advancement and that gender roles became more patriarchal.

Fugitives, both runaways and former slaves who were emancipated by the Union Army as it progressed South, flooded into army camps looking for some way to start their lives over. W.E.B. Du Bois describes how they came in multitudes, with little or no possessions, not knowing if they were going to be treated better or worse once they arrived at a Union camp, but they had hope. The mindset of the runaway

slaves made it probable that they were not going to complain about who received work and supplies from the army, since they had nothing else. There was certainly a great deal of work available to the freedmen who came to the camps. As mentioned by Du Bois, they made up a workforce for the army consisting of laborers, servants and spies, among other things. In return they usually received shelter and clothing for at least them and perhaps for their families if the manager of the camp was benevolent. However, freedwomen did not receive as many opportunities to work. As Noralee Frankel writes, they were given the opportunity to stay in the army camps by being employed to lowly positions such as laundresses, hospital nurses, or officers’ servants. If they were allowed to stay in the camps other than that, they were usually considered burdens who could not earn their keep.^{cv}

A compilation edited by Ira Berlin, *Free At Last*, focuses on war and emancipation, and how they affected former slaves. It has reprints of many first-hand documents with reactions from both former slaves, members of the Union and Confederate armies, along with citizens from both sides. Most of these documents affirm the fact that freedmen were more well suited for the labor-intensive work that needed to be done in the camps. The opinion of General Benjamin Butler, who was the famous general who started accepting runaway slaves as contraband of war, was one of the few that believed that any freed person who was able could work. His letter to General-in-Chief Winfield Scott defended his decision to allow *all* able-bodied applicants to work, and taking in and giving rations to both them and those who could not work. He states, “I have had come within my lines men and women with their children.” He continues by giving his course of action: “I have therefore determined to employ,

as I can do very profitably, the able-bodied persons in the party, issuing proper food for the support of all, and charging against their services the expense of care and sustenance of the non-laborers.” This was a statement that could provide hope, but unfortunately, this is not how things worked in the majority of camps.^{cvi}

Two examples that represent the order of things at most of the other camps are those headed by Generals William T. Sherman and John E. Wool. General Sherman, in a letter to Thomas Hunton, writes that he only accepts African American men in his camp. He states in a definitive manner, “we never harbor women or children--we give employment to men, under the enclosed order.” This is coming from a relatively conservative general, but it reflected the views of many others who were in charge of camps, unsure of their ability to lawfully shelter runaways. General Wool, on the other hand, not only stated that work was limited to African American men and boys, but also that in order to support those in the camp who couldn't work, a cut would be taken from the wages of the men. Negro men over 18 were given ten dollars a month, while Negro boys from 12-18 and sickly Negro men were given five dollars a month. Wool stated in his orders from November of 1861, “each individual of the first 1st Class, will receive two dollars per month; and each individual of the 2nd Class one dollar per month for their own use. The remainder of the money valuation of their labor,” Wool continued, “will constitute a fund to be expended...for the support of the women and children, and those that are unable to work.” So not only were women denied the right to work for wages at this camp, they were taking away from the earnings of those who could.^{cvi}

An example of women being able to get some jobs, but not as many compared to men

and receiving little or no compensation for this can be found in a report made by Vincent Colyer. He was a Northern missionary sent by the War Department to find out ways in which former slaves supported themselves in the army camps. He says that the men were offered eight dollars a month and one ration of clothes to do their assigned tasks. There is one small description of what women did, which states: “The women and children supported themselves with but little aid from the government by washing, ironing, cooking, making pies, cakes etc for the troops. The few women that were employed by the government in the hospitals received \$4 a month, clothes and one ration.” Basically, only some of the employed women received payment for their work, and it was half of what the men were making. Clearly, freedwomen held less authority compared to men now that they were free.^{cvi}

Towards the end of the war it was African American men who received the opportunity to be soldiers in the Union Army, not women. This was clearly a measure of the times, for it was a convention that white women could not be soldiers as well. There were many debates about how being a soldier equated to being a citizen. After the Civil War, the debate continued as the country struggled to find a place for four million liberated African Americans. In order to refashion the white dominated society, compromises were made. This meant that while African Americans could now be involved in politics, they had to be African American men. Black men and women did not necessarily think of each other in terms of white gender norms; put simply, they were still apt to treat each other as they did while in bondage rather than following the white convention of men being superior to women.

To prove that this compromise occurred, which would complete the transition of gender

roles and show that emancipation did in fact change them, it is more prudent to consult scholarly research. In a book of Reconstruction black leaders, one thing is obvious from the start: all of the leaders mentioned are men. Some examples are Congressmen such as John Roy Lynch and James Rapier as well as state and local leaders such as Holland Thompson and William Finch. As the vote was only extended to African American men, it makes sense as to why men were the ones who were most involved in politics. What is inferred from this information is that the hope that gender roles in this time period mirrored what is conventional in modern times faded with emancipation and was extinguished by Reconstruction because the only reason they existed at this time was due to the institution to which they were previously bound: slavery.^{cix}

During slavery, since men could not conceivably protect and provide for their partners and children, it allowed women to be equal in status to men. They all worked on the fields or in the master's home during the day, but at night the women had their domestic duties to attend to as well, giving them a more well-rounded area of expertise to draw from when giving advice or help to another slave. As ironic as it sounds, slavery was the institution which made it possible for African American women to be free from subordination to African American men.

Susie King Taylor was an exception in so many ways. She and her family had been freed early on in the war, about April of 1862, who lived with Union soldiers on St. Simon's island. She was asked by the commodore on the island to be a teacher, and she also learned a lot of things about army life that many black men at this point were keen to learn. However it was not this way for most African American women. Once emancipated, amongst the upheaval involved with the Civil War and Reconstruction,

women lost their equal status in a public domain. They now had to look to their husbands for support in every sense: financially, domestically, and politically. It is truly a shame that freedom in the eyes of the American government meant being subjected to another kind of slavery for African American women.^{cx}

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Immanuel Kant, John Hick, and the “Soul-Making” Theodicy

Submitted by: Gian Martinelli

In his “Lectures on the Philosophical Doctrine of Religion,” Immanuel Kant considers and attempts to solve the problem of evil by combining many of the traditional theodicies. He focuses particularly on adherence to the moral law in order to work toward being worthy of happiness. For Kant, the fact that happiness becomes a labor toward peacefulness becomes a sort of indicator of God’s goodness. This strongly resembles John Hick’s “soul-making” theodicy. Hick claims that humans must deal with evil in this world in order to become stronger and more suitable for a union with God in the afterlife. In both cases, the problem of evil is apparently solved by emphasizing God’s goodness in encouraging the endurance of moral choices in humans through the burdens of the world. In this paper, I will not only identify problems with the general “soul-making” theodicy, but also the inconsistency of Kant’s formulation with the rest of his philosophy.

In his attempt to reconcile God with the evil in the world, Kant concentrates his defense on the primacy of morality. In fact, Kant thinks that these “considerations will settle the matter for us.”^{cxix} Through an examination of our free will and morality, he thinks evil will be placed in a proper light. Kant claims that, as humans, we have the unique capability of choosing to act in accordance with the moral law. Before Kant delves entirely into his notion of working toward happiness, he emphasizes our free will, which is the foundation on which our journey toward this worthiness to be happy rests. Furthermore, Kant points out that, “among the many creatures, the human being is the only one who has to work for perfections and for the goodness of his character, producing them from within himself.” He lays the groundwork for his

defense by showing that, not only are we unique in having the ability to make moral or immoral choices, but also that we are the only beings who must progress toward goodness through our free will. Indeed, Kant maintains that “in this earthly world there is only progress.”^{cxii} An individual’s continual procession toward goodness and happiness is entirely dependent on his adherence to the moral law. Moreover, we should strive toward goodness and happiness even though they are not “things to be possessed” in this world.^{cxiii}

In solving the problem of evil, Kant develops God’s purpose in making the attainment of goodness and happiness so burdensome. Kant poses the objection that, if these things are unattainable in this world, and we still try to obtain them through the moral law, then the conclusion that God wills evil in the world is inevitable. In refuting the objection, he claims that “God wills the *elimination of evil through the all-powerful development of the germ toward perfection*. He wills that evil be removed through the *progress toward good*.”^{cxiv} Here, Kant connects the purpose of laboring through the moral law and God’s holiness. It is God’s holy and benevolent intention that we continually labor ourselves toward happiness and goodness through our adherence to the moral law. Since our immoral actions are the source of evil, God wills that we eliminate our tendencies to disregard the moral law through a persistent development of our predisposition to the good.

In this way, Kant’s notion of happiness becomes something contrary to its common definition. For Kant, happiness in this life is not mere enjoyment or pleasure. Instead, “it is labor, difficulty, effort, the prospect of

tranquility and the striving toward the achievement of this idea which is happiness and a proof already of God's benevolence."^{cxv} Even though evil is in the world, it does not conflict with the concept of God as all-good and all-powerful. God, who is also all-knowing, wills what is best for us, which turns out to be a difficult progression toward perfection. In a way, God wills the evil, or "ill," that goes into this progression as "a special arrangement for leading the human being toward happiness."^{cxvi} For Kant, this is ultimately a good thing. Overcoming ill not only allows humans to get closer to the best moral state, but also helps them to learn how to get to that state along the way. As Kant puts it, "ill is necessary if the human being is to have a wish and an aspiration toward a better state, and at the same time to learn how to strive to become worthy of it."^{cxvii}

While Kant's theodicy may be a genuine attempt to reconcile evil with a benevolent God, it is inconsistent with the rest of his philosophy. Throughout Kant's theodicy in the "Lectures on the Philosophical Doctrine of Religion," Kant seems to blur his distinction between theoretical and practical reason. In the first *Critique*, Kant defines theoretical knowledge as "speculative if it concerns an object, or those concepts of an object, which cannot be reached in any experience."^{cxviii} Claims concerning God are speculative, since God is beyond our experience. Of course, Kant maintains that, in his lectures, he's basing all of his theology on practical reason, which allows him to talk of God strictly in terms of morality. Practical reason is concerned with "what *ought to be*" the case as opposed to theoretical reason's enquiry into "what *is*" the case.^{cxix}

With these definitions, I question whether Kant is relying solely on practical reason in his theodicy. Indeed, this solution seems to be quite theoretical. Granted, Kant is discussing the centrality of the practical in human beings, but he's also discussing "what is the case" for God by reconciling all of the traditional attributes of God with evil in the world. In fact, it seems that the very nature of most traditional theodicies is theoretical. These theodicies defend and clarify aspects of the concept of the greatest Object. That is to say,

they attempt to justify our epistemic and ontological claims concerning God by securing His attribute of being all-good. In a successful theodicy, we can know that God is all-good and He exists, which is what Kant is trying to accomplish. This creates a strong tension between speculative and practical reason. It thus brings up the question of whether Kant is justified in supplying such a traditional theodicy. Again, I acknowledge that he claims to be using practical reason through all of this, but he seems to blend practical reason with elements of theoretical and speculative reason.

By 1791, Kant appears to have acknowledged this tension in his theodicy in his essay entitled "On the Miscarriage of All Philosophical Trials in Theodicy." In this work, Kant explains how every theodicy of the past has failed, including his own formulation. He recapitulates his old argument by stating that "an arduous and sorrowful state in the present life must without exception precede that hoped-for superabundant blessedness—a state in which we are to become worthy of that future glory precisely through our struggles with adversities."^{cxx} This is no longer satisfying for Kant. He seems to be a bit more skeptical of the "soul-making" claim's value as a theodicy. He objects that this "soul-making" claim "can indeed be pretended but in no way can there be insight into it."^{cxxi} I think this is Kant's way of conceding that a theodicy of this sort cannot be given exclusively via practical reason. Kant revokes his theodicy along with the other theodicies of the past by claiming that, since they are not wholly practical, they fail. As an alternative, Kant offers that "the demonstration of [moral wisdom] must be carried out totally *a priori*, hence in no way be founded on the experience of what goes on in the world."^{cxxii} In other words, God is good based on our wholly *a priori* practical deductions from the moral law, which prevail regardless of any *a posteriori* evil in the world.

Recently, the pre-1791 Kantian defense of God's goodness has been revived in John Hick's "soul-making" theodicy. According to Hick, human souls are subjected to the evils in this world in order to become more adequate for a union with God. Like Kant, Hick thinks that

the endurance of moral beings through evil “represents the perfecting of man, the fulfillment of God’s purpose for humanity.”^{cxiii} God is justified in retaining a world with so much evil because it allows for the growth of an individual’s soul into something that is simultaneously glorifying to God and appropriate for a union with Him. Kant makes a similar claim when he says that ill is in the world so that humans can progress toward a sort of worthiness to be happy. As Hick puts it, the world must be viewed “as an environment in which moral beings may be fashioned, through their own free insights and responses, into children of God.”^{cxiv} Kant claims that humans need ill to endure toward happiness through the moral law, but this tranquility is unattainable in the world. This seems to imply that a universal and perfect adherence to the moral law is simply not possible. Similarly, Hick claims that there is no correlation between the moral journey of an individual and a “progressive improvement in the moral state of the world.”^{cxv}

Even if we pardon the blur between speculative and practical reason in Kant’s formulation, we can still identify problems with the general “soul-making” theodicy. First, there are countless situations throughout history which seem to reflect genuinely unjustifiable suffering even from Hick’s perspective. The Holocaust is the most obvious case. Why was such catastrophic suffering arbitrarily placed on a group of people? Surely their souls could have been developed under less suffering. In contrast, there are large groups of immoral people who pass through life seemingly unscathed by suffering. If God uses evil to make souls better, why is the playing field not level? If there are these immoral people who pass through their lives with very little suffering, how are continents of starving children justified? This imbalance creates a tension in the conception of evil as something individuals work through for happiness or spiritual growth. Indeed, one could argue that God could have made a more adequate and less extreme environment for moral and spiritual development.

An analysis of Kant’s morally-focused theodicy reflects its importance in the

philosophy of religion. In his lectures, he establishes that God wills that we endure and eliminate evil through a progression toward a perfect adherence to the moral law. Due to the apparent blur between theoretical and practical reason as well as other difficulties in his theodicy, Kant revokes this in his 1791 essay by claiming that the only real theodicy can be accomplished *a priori* through practical reason. With John Hick’s adaptation of Kant’s older argument, the “soul-making” theodicy appears to be clearer and more convincing. Ultimately, however, the argument is riddled with problems regardless of whether it is taken in the context of Kantian philosophy.

KANT ON PRAYER

Submitted by: George M. Fricke

Abstract

After establishing an ethical religion of his own, Kant explores the functions of different aspects of traditional or “historical” religions. Since the moral religion takes priority over any other historical religion, dogmatic beliefs and practices could possibly undermine Kant’s true ethical aim of religion. Prayer and other similar rituals, not a part of “true religion”, represent mankind’s feebleness in seeking out moral conceptions. Although Kant claims prayer can serve as a useful element in his greater theology, I argue that his analysis offers little to pure religion and only accounts for the prevalence of prayer historically. The psychological phenomenon Kant deems a weakness in man requires some worldly manifestation in order to actualize moral duty. Ritualistic practices fulfill this requirement yet also have the ability to mislead one away from their true moral obligations. One must tread lightly when performing such rituals and not lose focus on moral growth. So, all of the traditional practices of religion such as scriptural interpretation and intercessory prayer must only act as a means toward the actualization of moral imperatives. I conduct an analysis of these means to conclude that they are unnecessary in Kant’s pure, self-evident, religion. Further, I critique Stephen R. Palmquist’s argument for the apparent usefulness of prayer as a way of becoming worthy of God’s goodness.

The foundation of Kant’s second Critique, practical reason, gave him the necessary tools to construct a moral religion. As the religion was further developed throughout his work, Kant was able to establish, as practically necessary, an immutable divine being. The aseity of the divine judge in

conjunction with the certainty and autonomy of the moral law made all ritualistic practices that claimed to serve God seem futile. For most, prayer is a way of pleading to God and/or evading responsibilities. Under Kant’s depiction of an immutable God, it is easy to see why prayer would seem not to have a function at all. Indeed, Kant is hypercritical of prayer used in the popular notion and even goes so far as to condemn it as a detrimental practice opposing “true religion”. However, prayer is not completely dismissed from Kant’s theology. He develops a philosophy of prayer which makes use of ritualistic practices within the constraints of his “true religion”. Although Kant’s views on the usefulness of prayer offer no greater understanding of his religious framework, they are sound within the bounds of that framework nonetheless. I intend to argue this by first expositing the way in which Kant incorporates prayer into his theology and then illuminating the apparent reasons behind prayer’s usefulness. Stephen R. Palmquist gives an argument in favor of the role of prayer in Kant’s philosophy to which I will offer a critique.

To understand prayers’ place in Kant’s theology, we must first briefly examine his religion in transcendental terms. Just as in Kant’s epistemology, religion is seen through a “transcendental perspective.” As subjects, we actively interpret passive objects of the world. This alone, Kant believes, provides us with justification behind our perceptions. In theological terms, “pure rational religion” stems from our actively determining passive objects of religion. These objects are presented to us as categorical imperatives. From this formulation

arise the necessary conditions for the possibility of an empirical religion but also, as Kant points out, the possibility for an opposition to that religion. Kant expresses that it is the “pure religion” alone that holds priority with the empirical (historical) religion subservient to it. There exists a “grey area” where each religion overlaps; historical religion incorporates doctrines of pure religion (Palmquist, 586). There is an area, however, where historical religion does not incorporate or promote pure religion yet is still held as a religious doctrine by followers. Thus, in transcendental terms, the empirical element diverts attention away from pure religion i.e., away from morality.

Hence prayer, an element of historical religion, potentially poses a problem to pure religion. Furthermore, prayer, as stated above, seems impossible, given that it aims to manipulate an unchangeable God. Kant gives a simple proof to show that “God acts in no way but freely. Nothing has any influence on him, so as to be able to move him to act in any particular way and not otherwise” (Kant, 426). This way, traditional prayer would seem to have no place in Kant’s philosophy.

Pure religion takes priority over empirical religion, because it is presented to us as certain where other “services of God” are not: “It is self-evident that the moral service of God pleases him directly” (Kant: “Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason”, 196). We have no sound basis to assert that other rituals or practices would do the same since they are not presented to us as an imperative. However, this does not mean that historical religion is completely useless. Kant claims that historical religion can actually act in service of the true religion but only because of human frailty:

...because of the natural need of all human beings to demand for even the highest concepts and grounds of reason something that the senses can hold on to, some confirmation from experience or the like, some historical ecclesiastical faith or other, usually already at hand, must be used (Kant: “Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason”, 142).

It is clear that the empirical element which all humans need to grasp the concept of morality is not specified. This is because all empirical elements are themselves not universal and therefore are arbitrary. According to this classification, prayer is then a useful mechanism which fulfills this need.

Since the empirical element satisfies our natural need to seek out the concept of morality in the world there must exist a particular relationship between the two. Kant claims that not just any experience can fulfill this need. One must use “great reserve and caution” when attempting to draw the correct moral principle out of an experience. Otherwise, one could misconstrue God’s end or aim. When analyzing prayer as an experience in this light, Kant creates a dichotomy between formal prayer (letter) and the spirit of prayer:

Praying, conceived as an inner ritual service to God and hence as a means of grace, is a superstitious delusion (a fetish-making); for it only is the declaring of a wish to a being who has no need of any declaration regarding the inner disposition of the wisher, through which nothing is therefore accomplished nor is any of the duties incumbent on us as commands of God discharged; hence God is not really served. A sincere wish to please God in all our doings and nondoings, i.e. the disposition, accompanying all our actions, to pursue these as though they occurred in the service of God, is the spirit of prayer, and this can and ought to be in us “without ceasing” (Kant: “Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason”, 210).

The first sentence is a clear condemnation of prayer. But notice that Kant draws the distinction between the two types of prayer by calling to mind their purpose. Prayer treated as though it, in itself, were pleasing to God accomplishes nothing. However, prayer as a means to enhance our disposition toward God ought to be instilled in us. So, Kant is not simply condemning all prayer, but only the false

interpretation of prayer by treating it as an ends in itself. Prayer in the service of the moral imperative is actually something that we should all adopt. The spirit of prayer, however, is not understood in the traditional sense of prayer (e.g. reciting “The Our Father” or other prayers) since, according to Kant, this would be a false interpretation. Instead it is an internal disposition to want to please God through duty (action). Thus prayer is only bad when it infringes on one’s moral growth. Everything must be interpreted as being inferior to the moral element. So, because of our natural need to seek an empirical element in the pure religion, the spirit of prayer becomes a useful element in helping us reach God’s end.

Despite prayers’ usefulness, Kant makes clear that prayer and other forms of ritual are often harmful to pure religion. Historical faiths work against the true aim of God, because they claim to be the object of His end (Kant, 142). As evidence, these faiths provide revelation and scripture for which they offer their own interpretation. Obviously this is false, Kant claims, because these revelations and scripture are not presented as certain and universal as the categorical imperatives are. Thus the faiths are doing a disservice to humans by misrepresenting God’s aim.

In Kant’s view, the only way of incorporating revelation and scripture into the service of God is to interpret them such that they act as means towards the fulfillment of moral duty just as in the spirit of prayer. Revelation and scripture, then, would need to be reinterpreted since they clearly don’t all agree with Kant’s view on religion. Kant acknowledges that “this interpretation may often appear to us as forced” (Kant, 142). It is often forced because one must take a piece of work or experience and be sure to only extract moral principles from it where there may seem to be no moral principles in it at all. Interpreting a piece of scripture or a revelation is usually for the purpose of reaching a *greater* understanding of what is at hand. If what is being interpreted is already known, what is the point in interpreting it? It certainly won’t enrich my understanding since I am imposing my understanding on it. Nothing can be *extracted*.

The same applies to prayer. If one interprets prayer in terms of the moral imperative to arrive at the spirit of prayer which urges that I obey divine command, it’s already understood that one recognizes his or her duty to obey. Now, it could be noted here that the moral imperative is translated into divine command through interpretation of prayer. Here, prayer is serving to reassure one of God’s presence. However, I believe that since the interpretation of divine command was derived from my *preconceived* notion of morality, the interpretation offers no fruitful understanding of pure religion which I did not already know. At best, interpreting religious text only in terms of ethical duty or, as Kant calls, forced interpretation, changes the aesthetic of the moral law that we may hold in our heads. However, as Kant makes very clear, we must be very cautious not to deface the imperative too much such that God’s end becomes skewed. With this in mind, it would seem one would rather tread lightly by not shifting his understanding of the moral law at all.

Kant’s treatment of our natural need to manifest higher concepts empirically could make prayer or other rituals seem necessary, as if they were a formal requirement in actualizing ethical duty. Palmquist interprets Kant in this way:

Before God’s assistance can do any good, ‘man must first make himself worthy to receive it’ – and this worthiness refers not to ‘doing good deeds’ (a view often wrongly imputed to Kant) but to fostering a receptivity for goodness in one’s disposition. A person who prays to become worthy of God’s goodness is (or ought to be) conforming to this principle (Palmquist, 595).

I think this is a misreading of Kant. Palmquist is suggesting that prayer suffices to satisfy the requirement that we must first be worthy of God’s power before we are able fulfill his commands. Kant, though, does not think of our natural need as a necessity in the bounds of pure religion. Instead, he is only accounting for

historical faith having a consistent presence in all human history. So the natural need should be treated more as a psychological phenomenon than a necessity. Kant acknowledges that there are those who choose to concern themselves with higher concepts (such as philosophers) and do not need prayer as a means to manifest the imperative. Although prayer may satisfy some individuals' needs to experience the moral "ought", Palmquist is mistaken in thinking that this need extends to all as a prerequisite to being worthy of God's power.

Although Kant endorses the usefulness of prayer in his theology where it might seem inconsistent, he never asserts it in a truly positive sense: prayer alone is not pleasing to God. With this in mind, the two uses of prayer that Kant adumbrates, reassurance of God and an "extra" incentive towards fulfilling moral duties, are both valid and sound within his theology. However, Kant's formal construction of true religion certainly doesn't seem to need prayer. The forced interpretation that Kant calls for is problematic in that it may fulfill a need in the individual but it also brings that individual closer to misconstruing the moral law. Furthermore, the moral interpretation presupposes that the individual already knows the imperative well. Limiting oneself to only one type of interpretation of scripture seems fruitless. I think Kant preferred that all persons should try to resist this need, if they felt it, and simply adhere to the moral law that they discovered *a priori*. Perhaps he was simply trying to appease some authority breathing down his neck. It is also possible that Kant was bothered by the fact that history is so saturated by these religious doctrines. He may have felt compelled to account for it some way in his philosophy so he deemed it a frailty of mankind. But it would seem that after reading Kant's theology and recognizing that our need to manifest God's aim was a fault, we would change our ways and pull away from any natural need. Regardless, I think Kant acknowledges that ritualistic practices are an overall detriment to his moral religion but only chose to include them insofar as they have been such a common instrument throughout the course of history in all cultures.

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How does leadership influence the level of performance in virtual teams?

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Executive Summary

This report highlights the unique setbacks that virtual teams face, and poses recommendations to virtual team leaders to compensate for these disadvantages.

We found that virtual teams face setbacks due to:

- a lack of richness in communication,
- a lack of trust and motivation amongst the team, and
- a lack of shared reality.

To compensate for these setbacks, we recommend that virtual leaders:

- make up for the lack of richness in communication by ensuring use of appropriate communication channels, taking advantage of advanced technologies, and facilitating informal communication, and
- pay close attention to team member selection, and enhance visibility amongst the team to make up for a lack of trust and motivation, and
- use appropriate leadership roles, supportive behavior, and proper organizational behavior to increase performance.

Introduction

Background

In recent years, globalization, competitive pressures, increased joint ventures, and

advances in technology have led to more virtual teamwork. Virtual teams are defined as teams whose members operate across space, time, and organizational boundaries and are linked through information technologies to achieve organizational tasks (McShane & Von Glinow, 2009). Although today's communication technologies drastically reduce the need for face-to-face contact, the geographical distance and lack of richness in virtual communication present challenges to virtual teams in achieving greater effectiveness. Therefore, leaders of virtual teams must identify potential challenges of virtual teamwork and find innovative ways to facilitate effective communication and create a sense of trust, shared reality and cohesiveness in their virtual teams.

Research Questions

This paper addresses the following questions:

1. What are factors that prevent virtual teams from achieving a high level of performance compared to face-to-face teams?
2. How can a virtual team leader compensate for the lack of richness in communication?
3. How can a virtual team leader raise of the level of trust and motivation?
4. How else can a virtual team leader raise the team effectiveness?

Factors that Prevent Virtual Teams from Achieving High Levels of Performance

Lack of Richness in Communication

The media richness theory (Daft & Lengel, 1986) holds that face-to-face communication is the richest medium that has

the highest capacity to carry data and symbols, followed by video-conference, telephone, e-mail, et cetera. Since virtual teams lack face-to-face contact, they should rely on electronic communication channels, which can introduce challenges in maximizing the shared reality.

Technological Issues

Additional issues arise when the teams engaged in communication have conflicting cultures. Some concerns include language barriers, worldview differences, cultural biases, and stereotypes. More common obstacles arise from the issue of incompatible systems, where operating systems or file types of one team do not match those of another and the transfer of information is restrained. If a virtual team in the United States is working on a project with another group, perhaps in a developing country, and the latter uses an outdated media system, then this will create a dilemma in trying to complete the project on time. Technology is constantly changing, and even teams who have access to the newest media types can be put off by perpetual innovation (Nemiro, Beyerlein, Bradley, & Beyerlein, 2008). No matter what form of communication is used, virtual teams will encounter unique dilemmas that will make collaboration difficult.

Low Level of Trust and Motivation

When working in any team, managers often like to allocate assignments based on the skills and capabilities of each team member. However, when working in a virtual team, team members have no gauge on the competency of their teammates. Trust in the capabilities of a virtual teammate may need to be taken “on faith” initially (Kirkman, Lowe, & Young, 1999). As a result of team member separation, by space and time, it is difficult to build trusting relationships. In not developing a sense of team camaraderie, certain team members may perceive this as a lack of commitment from other teammates and the level of motivation decreases. Relationships are critical for a functioning virtual team and having no face-to-face interaction makes it very complicated to build a strong relationship (Kahai, 2008).

Relational Disconnectedness

Virtual relationships cannot replace face-to-face relationships for the deep social needs of people. When virtual teams are located in different time zones, they will most likely rely on e-mail for communication. The problem with this, however, is that by communicating through e-mail the team will become too task-oriented. By only focusing on assignments, team members will forego side conversations dealing with personal matters, which are essential in building a working relationship. Small talk and other methods of informal communication give members the ability to form ideas of their teammates (Kahai, 2008). By sharing life experiences, team members convey that they face the same issues that other teammates face and are human like them. This sense of a shared identity is critical to promoting strong relationships (Sasso, 2008). Due to the lack of a shared reality, team members feel uncomfortable with one another and their work becomes less meaningful.

Ways Leaders Can Compensate for the Lack of Richness in Communication

Use of Appropriate Communication Channel

According to the media richness theory (Daft & Lengel, 1986), face-to-face communication is the richest medium with the highest data-carrying capacity. This suggests that the lack of face-to-face interaction in virtual teams would be a considerable handicap in achieving a high level of shared reality, or equal harmony, among team members. However, an alternative view holds that no medium has the highest values on all of the five dimensions of media synchronicity and richness; feedback, symbol variety, parallelism, rehearsability, and reprocessability (Dennis & Valacich, 1999). For example, in communicating a large amount of data to multiple recipients, one can communicate more effectively using an asynchronous communication channel such as e-mail rather than face-to-face communication. This implies that it is critical to choose the most appropriate communication channel that fits the particular context and nature of the message

(Webster & Trevino, 1995) Therefore, the leader of a virtual team should provide proper guidelines and training for the employees to use the most effective communication mode for the specific message context and content.

Use of Advanced Technologies

In order to minimize the disadvantage of not having face-to-face communication, virtual team leaders should also experiment with, and take advantage of, new communication technologies. The leader must actively monitor the most efficient technologies and distribute relevant information about effective techniques and technical support pertaining to these innovative mediums (Beise, Niederman, & Matord, 2004). Good examples of using advanced technologies to raise the effectiveness of virtual teams include NCR's Wormhole and Crayon's Crayonville Island.

NCR Corporation's WorldMark or Worm Hole, as affectionately called by NCR's employees, is a new type of video conferencing system. One big difference between the Worm Hole and traditional video conferencing is that the Worm Hole stays open at all times. Even when the video conference rooms at different locations are not being used for meetings, the doors are left open and the video conferencing stays active. Therefore, if those in one office need to call a meeting, they can simply yell out through the tube, and their coworkers in other locations will hear them and convene in their respective conference rooms. This provides a very valuable way to keep virtual team members in sync and creates the feeling of one team rather than several teams (Lipnack & Stamps, 1997).

Self-proclaimed the world's first new marketing company, Crayon is another good example of using new technologies to raise the effectiveness of virtual teams. One thing that sets Crayon apart from other marketing firms is the fact that it is headquartered in cyberspace. Crayon's workers rarely meet in the physical world, but their alter egos in the virtual world of Second Life gather once a week. Crayon's CEO Joseph Jaffe maintains that by using the virtual reality technology, one can create the

connectedness as if everyone is working in the same place (ABC News, 2007).

Informal communication

Another important consideration in virtual teams is the role of informal communication. Informal communication in virtual teams plays an important role in information sharing, relationship building, organizational identification, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction (Fay, 2007). One way to promote information sharing through informal communication is social networking (Bosch-Sijtsema & Rispens, 2003). Using social networking websites such as Facebook, Myspace, Youtube and Twitter can be a good option for facilitating informal communication. Another interesting way to support informal communication and virtual team building is through online gaming. Online games such as Second Life, World of Warcraft, and Battlefield provide opportunities for players from around the world to work together and achieve in-game goals. By utilizing such online games, leaders of virtual teams can enhance informal communication in simulated face-to-face environments. This will allow virtual employees to develop deeper ties with their teammates and eventually accomplish a higher level of information sharing (Ellis, Luther, Bessiere, & Kellogg, 2008).

Ways Leaders Can Raise Trust and Motivation

Why Trust and Motivation are Important in Teams

It has been proven that teams who trust each other are more productive than teams who do not (Sarker, Valacich & Sarker, 2003). Teams who exhibit internal trust do not waste time checking one another's work; each member feels more motivated to perform to his fullest when he knows that the other members of the team are competent and working hard to complete their respective parts of the project.

Recommendations to Leaders for Increasing Trust and Motivation

Trust is generally divided into two categories; socio-emotional and task processes (Zigurs & Mitchell, 2009). Socio-emotional process trust is generally characterized by the belief that a team member is of good character and would act in the best interest of the group. A high level of socio-emotional trust is gained through relationship building exercises and informal communication. Task process trust is differentiated by the belief that the team member is competent and willing to complete the task at a high degree of quality. Maximizing task process trust is accomplished through formal communication, team member coordination, and a high task-technology-structure fit (Zigurs & Mitchell, 2009). Based on our research, we recommend that virtual leaders place a strong emphasis on candidate selection and team-building exercises to improve socio-emotional trust. They should also work with technological advances to enhance visibility, in attempts to improve task process trust amongst the team.

a. Place Emphasis on Candidate Selection and Team Building Exercises

In selecting applicants to be part of a virtual team, it is important to choose people who are open to working in a virtual team, and who trust that virtual teams can be just as successful as face-to-face teams. According to a field study, virtual teams performed much better when their members embrace the technology they have access to, and believe that they do not have disadvantage to face-to-face teams (Gallie & Guichard, 2005).

It is also important to conduct extensive interviews with applicants to identify those who are extraverted and exhibit strong verbal and written communication skills. A study done on students from Appalachian State University and the University of Nebraska at Omaha, who worked together on semester long projects using virtual teams, showed that good communication is the single most important factor in building trust in virtual teams (Zigurs & Mitchell, 2009). Research has also shown that people who are extraverted perform much better in teams, lead their fellow teammates to perform better, and

are more satisfied with their jobs than those who are introverted (Furumo, de Philis, & Green, 2009).

Once members are selected for the virtual team, we suggest that team leaders organize a team building virtual retreat. Here members can get to know each other and familiarize themselves with the technology they will be using to communicate. By developing teamwork through team building exercises, before delving into actual work, the leader will increase the team's socio-emotional trust levels.

b. Enhance Visibility

We recommend that virtual team leaders make use of technology available to their teams, in order to enhance visibility, thus increasing trust and motivation amongst the team. Leaders can yield a higher level of task process trust among team members by asking them to periodically report to one another with their progress, and share their findings. This would demonstrate to the team that members are competent in completing their segment of the workload and are motivated to perform well.

Leaders can also use technology to enhance visibility and increase socio-emotional trust by encouraging employers to communicate informally with one another through instant messaging or video messaging (Zigurs & Mitchell, 2009).

Other Ways Leaders Can Raise the Level of Performance in Virtual Teams

Leadership Roles

a. Planning Related

Because of the physical distance between the members of a virtual team, the roles of the leader are often more intensive than in a face-to-face team. The leader of the virtual team needs to take even more responsibility in contributing to team cohesion, particularly in the early stages of planning. Although the team should be involved in the process, the leader must make an extra effort to schedule the team's work in order to fit schedules that often include differing time zones. The leader should consult with each team member so that he or she feels that individual needs are taken into account when creating an electronic agenda that can be

viewed and changed by all team members (Malhotra, Majchrzak, & Rosen, 2007). In addition, the leader needs to create a specific electronic messaging system that communicates both the long-term and short-term goals of the team that correlate with the needs of all team members (PR Newswire, 2008). A leader should make an extra effort to communicate goals to each team member in order to increase motivation and performance.

b. People-Related

Another role a leader must take on in a virtual team is adding or removing members of a team if necessary. Because a virtual team is very rarely together physically, it is the responsibility of the leader to judge whether a team needs another team member to take on additional work. If there is a problem within the team the leader must also take the initiative in either resolving conflict or removing a team member that is causing the conflict since it can often escalate quickly in virtual teams (Malhotra et al., 2007). A leader must also assess the level of skills of each team member and provide appropriate training when necessary. Although this may become apparent throughout the process, it is the responsibility of a leader in a virtual team to provide any necessary training in the beginning so that it is not a problem in the future (Naish, 2009). Because virtual teams cannot speak face to face an issue of an unqualified teammate could potentially cause conflict that could diminish the performance of a virtual team. Therefore, it is the duty of a leader to take care of any potential issue before it becomes a problem.

c. Process-Related

Moreover, a virtual team leader needs to take on more intensive roles relating to the process, which includes assigning an equal amount of work to each team member and finding a “common identity” to increase team cohesion (Malhotra et al., 2007). It is essential for a leader to keep careful track of the amount of work assigned to each team member in order to keep the workload equal. If a virtual team member feels that he or she has more or less work than another teammate it can cause dissatisfaction and ultimately lower the output or quality of work overall. This can also reduce

team cohesion; with the disgruntled member causing tension within the group that can hurt the possibility of an effective team dynamic. Therefore, a leader should make an extra effort to keep track of each member’s workload in order to maintain their equality. A leader must also create a “common identity” for the group members, which means he or she must create a sense of unity based on the specific project assigned to the team (Malhotra et al., 2007). This can be done through the use of common goals and by highlighting potential cultural differences, which can reduce any future harmful barriers.

d. Control-Related

The leader of a virtual team also needs to put extra effort into controlling the output of the team members, particularly in regard to making deadlines. Because the group members are often in different time zones, it is the responsibility of the leader to coordinate the team’s schedule in order for work to be done on time. The progress of the team’s output needs to be recorded efficiently and communicated effectively to all team members, such as with an electronic performance evaluation system (Malhotra et al., 2007). This kind of system would allow for all members to keep track of his or her output and also enable each team member to see what tasks have been accomplished and what else needs to be done before a certain date. It is the duty of the leader to keep the system up to date in order for work to be completed on time and for goals to be accomplished in a suitable fashion.

Supportive Behavior

In a virtual team, it is particularly important for a leader to demonstrate supportive behavior for the team members. Because the lack of physical presence can often make team members feel isolated, it is the responsibility of the leader to compensate by demonstrating supportive conduct. This is especially essential during times of change, such as when a group member is added or removed, because the entire group needs to feel like the leader has the situation under control (PR Newswire, 2008). In addition, if there is a problem among team members of different cultures, the leader needs

to show support by providing some kind of sensitivity training for the team members in order to alleviate the problem (Malhotra et al., 2007). This will demonstrate to the team the leader's willingness to accommodate for differences, which will increase team cohesion and performance as a whole.

Moreover, a leader should show support for the team in regard to time zone differences, which can potentially cause tension and resentment among team members. It is the responsibility of the leader to make sure every team member has equal "suffering time", or an equal amount of inconvenience caused by time zone differences (Malhotra et al., 2007). For example, if one team member has a very early meeting in his or her time zone, the rest of the team should have an equal amount of early meetings in their time zones. This will result in a sense of equality among the team since no one person has to have the majority of inconvenient meeting times. The team will also have more faith in the leader because through this system he or she shows that there is an equal amount of support for every team member, which will increase productivity and the effectiveness of the team as a whole.

Creating a Proper Organizational Structure

Furthermore, a leader of a virtual team needs to make an effort to create a proper organizational structure in order for the team to reach their highest level of performance. This involves creating efficient communication channels, with every team member understanding who to report to in any situation (Malhotra et al., 2007). The leader also needs to make sure to have standardization of work, with formal rules in addition to formal training. These will create a more efficient team because every member will have an equal amount of skills to contribute to the group and will also create a sense of equality and regulation (Naish, 2009). A leader should also create some kind of reward system in order to increase motivation and performance. Because team members know that their achievements will be formally recognized through a virtual reward ceremony, their own personal productivity will increase along with their motivation (Malhotra et al., 2007). All of these actions will create an

efficient organizational structure that will increase the performance of the team.

Path-Goal Theory

Another recommendation to leaders of virtual teams is to utilize the Path-Goal Theory as their managerial style. In recent studies, the Path-Goal Theory, particularly the participative approach, has been correlated with an increase in performance for virtual teams because of its focus on individual responsibility and meaning. Because group members can often feel isolated from the team, the leader should make sure to include team members in decisions so that they feel like a more cohesive unit (PR Newswire, 2008). The leader also needs to choose members with adequate skills and experience, or if that is not possible, to provide the training necessary for each teammate. The leader should also emphasize the meaning of the project or the individual work so that team members feel that their actions will have a positive impact on the company. If used appropriately, the virtual team should feel an increase in motivation and job satisfaction, which will improve their overall performance.

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Native Americans and the Environment: From Stereotypes to Renewable Energy

Submitted by: Jonathan Hoose

“Native people clearly possessed vast knowledge of their environment. They understood relationships among living things in the environment, and to this extent their knowledge was ‘ecological.’ But knowledge is cultural, and each group in its own way made the environment and its relationships cultural.”^{cxxvi} The concept of Native Americans being one with nature has been used for years. Not only can this concept be demeaning, the complexities associated with it are vast. By referring to all Native people as part of nature, the diversity of the hundreds of separate tribes within North America and how they interact and have interacted with their environment is lost. There is also a problem that occurs by not taking into account the numerous environmental problems that many Native Nations face today. Often, there is a desire to relegate Native Americans to history books and museums, instead of acknowledging the presence that Native Americans have today. Defining Native people as part of nature also does not acknowledge the contributions that Native people are making in the field of energy development and resource management. Numerous tribes are working with the United States Department of Energy as well as colleges and universities, specifically The University of California at Berkeley, to develop and manage renewable energy sources on Native lands. The energy resources on Native lands have been used for years, most specifically the resources of coal, oil and uranium. However, renewable

energy production is being viewed as a more viable alternative than these traditional methods of energy production, and Native lands are some of the best for wind, solar, hydroelectric and biomass energy production in North America. The complexity of environmental problems throughout Native American Nations today is extensive, and I will focus primarily on what a few Nations are doing in relation to renewable energy production. While renewable energy production presents great opportunities for Native people, there have been those opposed to renewable energy projects for various reasons. Historically, many Native people did live within their natural environment and were able to live off the land with only moderate amounts of waste. However, it is harmful to Native Americans when the only way they are thought of is through a historical lens, instead of acknowledging their contributions and interactions with the environment today. It is important for people to understand what Native communities are dealing with in relation to energy production and the extraction of natural resources on Native lands.

Complex is the best word to describe the relationship between Native people and the natural environment around them. The works of many authors attest to the varying views and complexities that exist in the concept of Native Americans who are often portrayed as more in tune with nature than any other group of people. Wilbur Jacobs writes that, “Indians were...

America's first ecologists. Through their burning practices, their pattern of subsistence...by creating various hunting preserves for beaver and other animals, and by developing special religious attitudes, Indians preserved a wilderness ecological balance wheel."^{xxxvii} This quote from Jacobs shows how many people have viewed Native Americans and continue to view Native Americans. While these practices did occur for various groups of Native Americans, Jacobs does nothing to acknowledge the complexities that many Native American communities have had to deal with in their relationships with the environment. His reference to Native Americans as "ecologists" is also problematic, because the connotations associated with the word today are not applicable to how Native Americans lived in the past. In his book *The Ecological Indian*, Shepard Krech III writes, "images of noble and ignoble indigenusness, including the Ecological Indian, are ultimately dehumanizing. They deny both variation within human groups and commonalities between them."^{xxxviii} These images are also damaging to Native people because it romanticizes and creates this idea of the "noble savage" which has been used since the writings of Rousseau, and relegates Native people as only being acceptable if they fit this historic archetype. Additionally, by placing Native people as part of nature, many people then view them as separate from the rest of the human race, and since nature is something that many people view as conquerable, Native people fall into this category. Any creation of a monoculture, such as placing all Native Americans together, is not useful in conducting real and meaningful discussion and research. The manner in which a member of the Lakota tribe interacts with the environment could be drastically different than the manner in which a member of the Osage interacts with the environment. In relation to this, David R. Lewis

writes in his essay "Native Americans and the Environment: A Survey of Twentieth Century Issues" that,

early environmentalists found inspiration in Native American cultures. Some was richly deserved while much was based on a cultural misinterpretation of a more complex and dynamic whole. The grossest stereotypes depicted Indians as being without action or agency, who left no mark on the land, who lived within the strictest of natural constraints. These ideas unintentionally denied Native Americans their humanity, culture, history, and most importantly, their modernity.^{xxxix}

With that being said, there are many Native people who have written extensively about their relation to nature and the earth on which we all live, and do feel a connection to nature. However, this connection to nature is also fraught with differences in opinions of what constitutes a real environmental relationship.

There are many Native American scholars and writers who have written about their relationship with the environment as an intrinsic part of their life. Winona LaDuke, an environmental activist, writes on her website: "The Great Wind is a constant in our lives as Anishinaabeg people. Indeed, Ningaabii'anong Noodin, the West Wind, is a part of our oldest history."^{xxxx} Clearly, Ms. LaDuke feels a connection to the land and the weather that is part of nature. On this website, Ms. LaDuke also advocates for the use of renewable energy, specifically wind turbines on the Great Plains, as she and many people feel that the extraction process and pollution generated from coal and oil extraction around these Native communities is not healthy for the people or the environment.

The importance of people voicing their concerns, especially those who live in the communities that are directly affected by the extraction of fossil fuels and pollution of local resources, is important. Jeanette Wolfley writes that, “The wisdom and knowledge that indigenous people possess of the ecosystems and their homelands is based upon millennia of observation, habitation and experience, all using a balance of human interaction and intervention with the environment.”^{cxxxix} This is a true statement for many Native tribes in North America. As many Native people are from the areas in which they live, they do have valuable knowledge regarding the natural environment around them. Today, Native people are interacting with their environment in ways similar to many non-Indian run municipalities, such as the Eastern Band of Cherokee who, “closed their existing landfill, which would have been prohibitively expensive to upgrade, and created a waste transfer station. This enterprise handles solid waste not only from the reservation but also from surrounding non-Indian communities.”^{cxxxix} As can be seen by this, Native communities do interact with their environment, and in ways that are similar and work with their surrounding non-Indian neighbors. Through their waste treatment facility, the Eastern Band of Cherokee are containing waste, handling recyclables, and creating a viable economic model for other Native communities. This is just one of the many ways in which Native Nations today are interacting with their environment.

Historically, one of the most discussed actions of Native Americans involvement with the environment around them concerns their use of fire. Fire was used for a number of reasons, the most important being the knowledge that fire would improve food production. Shepard Krech writes about this with, “Indians used fire to improve subsistence more than for any other

end. Across the continent, they deployed fire to improve their access to animals, to improve or eliminate forage for the animals they depended on for food, and to drive and encircle animals.”^{cxxxiii} This use of fire, to improve their ability to find and gather sources of food, most often animals, shows how Native American groups would use fire to manipulate and change the environment around them. It was necessary for many Native people to use fire because it was a useful tool that increased food yields and often helped to increase the fertility of the soil. In her essay *We Live By Them*, Catherine Fowler writes about the initiatives that many Native American communities are making today in asserting their knowledge regarding management of their lands. One such tribe is the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe in Death Valley, who co-manage their land with the National Park Service, and who believe they know how to best manage the environment around them. She writes: “Members would like to trim and manage the mesquite, whip the pinyon trees, burn the marshes now choked with cattail, and conduct limited small and large game hunts.”^{cxxxiv} There are still many tribes that wish to use their historic knowledge of the land that they occupy to maintain and manage it. One such manner that is mentioned in regards to the Timbisha Shoshone Tribe concerns the use of fire, and how the tribe believes it should be used to clear marshes of too many cattails, but the Park Service won’t allow them. Fire was used to clear undergrowth and brush so that crops could be planted for the people to consume. Shepard Krech writes that: “Where they farmed maize, beans, squash, melons, pumpkins and other crops, Indians used fire extensively to clear land, destroy plants competing with crops, and deposit ash onto the soil.”^{cxxxv} As can be seen, fire was used not only to increase yields of animals, but also to help with crop production for those tribes that participated in such

agricultural methods. The increase of ash in the soil would aid with larger crop yields in the following year, and the fire that produced the ash was necessary to make larger areas for agricultural endeavors to take place.

Many anthropologists, historians, and scientists have found that the evidence of fire being used to clear large areas of land is evident within the oak trees that exist across America. I first learned about this when I was helping with the research and assembly of a pamphlet highlighting the famous Genesee Valley Oaks for which this region is known. Through my work with Professor David Robertson in the Geography Department at SUNY Geneseo I was able to learn about the use of fire within the region of Western New York where Geneseo is located. Concerning these oak trees, I learned that, “The Seneca Indians cleared land for hunting and growing crops. They then used periodic burning to maintain hunting clearings. These burnings left the scattered ‘oak openings’ seen today with their broad and heavy trunked trees, most of which are more than 200 years old.”^{»cxxxvi} While setting fires was a tool used by many Native American tribes, there exist some difficulties in determining exactly where they did light fires and if the fires were intentionally set, or the result of a natural occurrence, such as lightning. What is known is that many tribes did take part in setting fires to clear land for hunting and crop cultivation, such as the Seneca and their use of fire within the Genesee Valley. However, fire was not always used in a controlled manner. In fact, Krech writes, “not all grassland fires are benign and restorative. When they are too frequent or hot, when moisture is low, or when heavy rains follow fires and cause erosion, plants may not easily recover.”^{»cxxxvii} It can be seen that while many Native people did use fire, it was not always kept under control or beneficial to those who set them. Fire is just one of the ways Native Americans interacted with

their environment, and their interaction with the American Buffalo is another.

The American Buffalo, also known as the Bison, often conjures up images of a “wild” America, where land was wide open and Native Americans hunted them on horseback across open plains. Shepard Krech tells the reader that “Unquestionably, the buffalo was the mainstay of Plains Indians, who killed them in large numbers both for domestic use and for trade with other Indians who supplied corn in exchange.”^{»cxxxviii} The importance of the American Buffalo to Plains Indians was significant, and many tribes were dependant on this animal for their food and for trade. During the eighteenth century, it became even more imperative for many Indian groups to consider Bison hunting as their main form of subsistence and revenue. Andrew Isenberg writes in his book *The Destruction of the Bison: an Environmental History* that: “In the eighteenth century, some of the Indians who eventually became nomads had faced a social and ecological dilemma: to remain as agrarian villagers and face the threat of European diseases, or to become nomadic bison hunters and abandon their reliance on a diverse array of resources.”^{»cxxxix} For many tribes this was a dilemma that had only one outcome, which was to become more nomadic and hunt the bison. The extensive hunting of the American Buffalo herds was not relegated to one group of people, although the Native Americans who had lived off these animals for years often had more of a reverence for these creature. However, the narrative that is often told places all the reasoning for the almost extinction of the Bison on the shoulders of European Americans, which is not the entire truth. Isenberg writes that: “Both Indian and Euroamerican hunters were, in this ecological sense, predators on the bison, and their exploitation of the animal was an ecological phenomenon. The market in bison

robes and their hides was not an exclusively anthropogenic cause of the bison's destruction, but the leading cause among several eco-social factors."^{cxl} The hunting of the Bison in North America was a combination of many factors and many parties.

It should be noted that the expanding consumer interest in bison products, including skins and fertilizer made from the bones, spurred both Indians and European Americans to exploit this animal to the brink of extinction. Krech adds further knowledge for the reader in discovering the real reasons why the buffalo faced extinction: "the rapidly expanding population of European Americans whose appetite for meat was boundless; expansive new commodity markets for tongues, skins, and robes; and finally railroads that pushed into the heart of buffalo territory in the Plains, with the means to transport buffalo meat and hides to populations elsewhere."^{cxli} European Americans desire for the buffalo was too much for the population of the animals that existed in America, especially because the buffalo were already widely consumed by different Native American groups. However, Indians did participate in the Bison hunting and trading, and this fact cannot be overlooked, although it should be kept in mind that the reasons for this were often to survive and make some sort of living.

It is important that people look at the history of environmental issues in relation to Native Americans and how different groups of Native Americans and European Americans interacted with the environment. However, it should not become the only lens through which we look at Native American involvement with the environment. It is necessary that all people, Native and non-Native, take a serious look at what is happening to the environment and the human effect on the environment today.

Many Native American Nations face serious environmental challenges today, challenges that have and do affect the health and well being of both Indians and non-Indians, and these issues need to be addressed. One of the most discussed and looked at environmental issues facing tribes today is water rights and water quality issues. In one case, "the Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico, located on the Rio Grande, set water quality standards that are more stringent than those set by the state of New Mexico."^{cxlii} However, the strict standards that the Isleta Pueblo developed were not acceptable to the city of Albuquerque, which is located 13 miles upstream and who wanted to build a wastewater treatment facility that did not meet the Isleta standards, and so the city of Albuquerque sued the EPA. However, the court of appeals rejected the city's suit and held the Pueblo's standards. This was a precedent setting case because it showed that the Isleta are concerned about their environment, and in this case they developed stricter standards for environmental quality than local non-Indian municipalities. They are also asserting their rights for what they believe are environmental standards that they want upheld, even if it puts them at odds with local municipalities. Another example in which tribes are taking initiatives to clean up toxic sites around them caused by a large corporation is the St. Regis Mohawk Tribe. David R. Lewis writes that, "Industrial waste sites surround the St. Regis Indian Reservation and foul the St. Lawrence River. Elevated levels of PCBs are showing up in the breast milk of nursing Mohawks mothers who consume fish or use river water near the General Motors, Alco, and Reynolds plants."^{cxliii} This contamination of the environment is nothing new for many large corporations, and neither is doing it on or near tribal lands. In this case however, the St. Regis are developing methods to take care of these toxic sites, "the St. Regis

Mohawk Tribe has taken steps to address the environmental problems associated with the Superfund sites upstream on the St. Lawrence River. St. Regis proactively built the institutional capacity to develop and implement an aggressive program to press for cleanup of the contaminated sites.^{»cxliv} The workings of the Isleta Pueblo and the St. Regis Mohawk show tribes that are developing and implementing their own standards for the environment of their tribal land as well as how the land and the rivers surrounding them influence their environment. By doing this, these tribes are making it necessary for governmental organization, such as the Environmental Protection Agency to take notice and respond on a government-to-government basis.

Energy development has been a serious topic within the Native community for many years. Native communities and the natural resources they contain within their lands have been used and exploited by many companies. While many tribes have entered into contracts and agreements with large energy companies, there are often negative consequences associated with this type of energy production, such as those that involve the Navajo. David R. Lewis describes in his essay that, “In the 1950s, as part of the call to national defense, the Navajo Tribal Council approved mineral agreements with Kerr McGee Corporation to mine uranium. Non-Union Navajo miners were exposed to high levels of radioactivity in mines and mills.”^{»cxlv} As a result of the high level of exposure to uranium, many Navajo miners developed cancer and other diseases associated with the radioactive substance. In her essay *Uranium Is in My Body*, Rachel L. Spieldoch writes about uranium mining with: “Navajo people were sacrificed for economic growth. Many early uranium miners died without compensation as a direct result of radiation exposure. The government viewed these people

as expendable.”^{»cxlvi} Uranium mining is not the only energy resource that is being mined on Native lands, coal and oil are as well. All three types of mining have proven to be detrimental to the well being of Native communities where such practices are located, as well as the surrounding environment.

Recently, the use of tar sands as a source of oil has negatively impacted some Native communities, specifically tribes located in Canada. On February 19, 2009 a group of activists from the Dene, Cree, and Metis tribes went to Washington, DC to make their voices heard while the Canadian Environment Minister, Jim Prentice was in the city for discussions. The activists brought a letter to Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, part of which said, “Animals are dying, disappearing, and being mutated by the poisons dumped into our river systems. Our traditional lands and water houses, our culture. They are one and the same. Once we have destroyed these fragile ecosystems we will have also destroyed our peoples.”^{»cxlvii} What the activists wanted from Kerry and Prentice were serious discussions regarding the use of renewable energy instead of any fossil fuel based energy sources, such as tar sands oil. Winona LaDuke wrote an opinion article with Nellis Kennedy that was printed in the *Bemidji Pioneer* in April 2009 speaking out against a proposed pipeline that would cut across Native lands, from Alberta, Canada, through Minnesota and branching out to other states. The authors write that, “A set of corporations has offered \$10 million to the Leech Lake tribe in exchange for a 20-year lease of tribal lands. The proposed... pipeline is one of the most controversial in history, with immense environmental and economic impacts.”^{»cxlviii} These two women are influential members of their community and are concerned about the health of the environment around them. They are also aware of the negative consequences of

developing tar sands oil and what such processes will do to the water, the air and the land.

Unlike fossil fuel energy sources, renewable energy sources provide powerful means by which Native tribes can take control of energy production and be in charge of distribution. In fact, historically, there has been use of passive solar energy building practices by Native Americans, including the Acoma Pueblo. Some of the first recorded use of passive solar energy use was found in the housing of the Acoma Pueblo; “American solar architecture began with its indigenous heritage. Acoma, built by the Pueblo Indians in the 12th century AD and continuously inhabited since then serves as an excellent example of their sensitivity to building with the climate in mind.”^{cxlix} There have been major improvements in regards to solar energy production as well as other renewable energy sources over time and these advances can assist Native communities in developing more diverse and stable economies. Daniel M. Kammen, director of the Renewable and Appropriate Energy Laboratory at the University of California Berkeley, is just one person who is working with Native American communities to develop and integrate renewable energy resources into tribal economies and lives. Kammen writes in testimony he presented to the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs that: “I have worked with the U.S. Department of Energy to develop curriculums and to provide outreach support to the tribal colleges and tribal energy officers for the Native American Renewable Energy Education Project.”^{cl} Not only is his laboratory working with the governments of Native Nations to develop renewable energy resources, but they are also working to educate people attending Tribal Colleges about renewable energy productions.

The work he and his team are doing will continue what U.C. Berkeley began back in the ‘90’s regarding renewable energy production. In the U.S. Department of Energy’s piece *Using Renewable Energy on Native American Lands*, it is written that, “Established in 1995, The Native American Renewable Energy Education Project (NAREEP), managed by the University of California at Berkeley, is an education, technical assistance, and research program whose mission is to enhance the ability of Native Americans to assess and carry out renewable energy and energy efficiency projects on tribal lands.”^{cli} Not only is Kammen and his team working to integrate renewable energy production into tribal economies, they are also working to educate tribal members who will then be capable of working these jobs.

One word that Kammen stresses repeatedly throughout his piece is that of “partnership” and how important that is to making advances in renewable energy creation and distribution on Native lands. It is important that this project be used as a way to create partnerships between Native governments and the surrounding non-Native governments. One of the main reasons for this is because, “grid extension and direction to harvest clean energy resources is perhaps the most critical and capital intensive issue facing the Tribes.”^{clii} One of the main difficulties that tribes will experience in building and extending energy grids is the checker boarding that makes up many reservations, and which causes problems between many Indians and non-Indians who live on that land. This difficulty can only be resolved by Indian and non-Indian people working together collaboratively to assist each other. However, because of relationship problems that exist between Indians and non-Indians, especially on reservations and close surrounding areas, it may become necessary for laws to be passed by the Indian government to make

renewable energy production and accessibility open to all members of their tribe, no matter where they are located on their reservation, or whose parcel of land a wire may cross.

While there are some serious hurdles in the creation of renewable energy production and distribution sites on Native lands, there is growing support within Native communities in regards to this issue. One such example of support is the Navajo Green Economy Coalition. The Navajo Green Economy Coalition was formed to, “help transition and diversify the Navajo economy to one that is long-lasting, sustainable and healthy through a green jobs initiative that includes generally low-polluting and recycling interactions with the environment.”^{cliii} Such a coalition being formed is heartening to see, especially considering the history of Uranium extraction on the Navajo Nation. It is also encouraging to see that they are developing relationships with the U.S. government to receive funds to develop renewable energy resources. There are also inter tribal relationships that are being created and fostered through renewable energy projects. Various groups of the Navajo Nation are coming together, and Navajo members who own companies that work in renewable energy production are being brought in to work on these projects.

One such man is Gordon Isaac president of KEYA Earth Co. who is, “pursuing legislation through the Navajo Nation to establish the green energy fund. His company offers services that assist in planning for sustainable development.”^{cliv} The work that can be done between the Navajo Nation and businesses that are owned by Navajo people represents an opportunity to develop businesses that are more sustainable, as long as there is no conflict of interest. It also encourages Navajo people to open and run businesses that are

focused on renewable energy production and distribution. Another Navajo owned and run energy company is the, “Native American Photovoltaics Incorporated (NAPV), a not-for-profit joint venture between the Dilkon and Teesto Chapters of the Navajo Nation and Energy Photovoltaics Incorporated (PV), (who) plan to install stand-alone PV power systems for 20 residences on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona.”^{clv} This group wants to help and assist Navajo residents to attain access to renewable energy resources and services. Another important aspect of Native American Photovoltaics work with the Navajo community are the issues of accessibility to photovoltaic devices and service for those devices if they are damaged or stop working. “By providing local service and maintenance, NAPV hopes to eliminate a major shortcoming of existing remote PV systems- many of which do not function after a year or two.”^{clvi} While there is a local push for service and help for Navajo people to be able to use photovoltaic devices, there is also a focus to make these jobs open and accessible to Navajo members. These jobs can help many Native people, not just Navajo, to gain more economic independence as well as knowledge regarding renewable energy development. There is currently a pan-Indian group known as the Council of Energy Resource Tribes that is encouraging such development.

The Council of Energy Resource Tribes was developed in 1999 by over sixty tribal leaders who gathered to encourage energy and economic independence for Native Nations throughout the United States. Their mission is to: “support the member Tribes as they develop their management capabilities and use their energy resources as the foundation for building stable, diversified self-governing economies; according to each Tribe’s own values and priorities.”^{clvii} Such a council is integral in helping Native communities in the United States

work towards greater control of their resources and lands, as well as develop “green collar” jobs that will be available to members of each tribe. With such job creation and growth as is represented by “green collar” jobs, an educated workforce is needed, and this is another way in which Native communities can develop and implement control over educational practices through their tribal colleges. These colleges can and do act as training places for Native students to learn about renewable energy creation. These jobs will be safer and more stable in the short term and long term for Native people that are employed in them, as opposed to the coal and uranium mining that has and still does occur on many Native lands. There are currently grants being made available to Native American communities by the United States Department of Labor. A press release from the Department of Labor states: “These grants will help organizations implement training programs to prepare workers for good jobs that pay family-supporting wages,” said Secretary of Labor Hilda L. Solis. “Funding awarded through this competition will directly support American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian communities in both developing their local economies and preparing workers to better meet the needs of promising regional industries.”^{clviii} These grants are just another way in which Native communities can create and implement renewable energy services into their economies.

Daniel Kammen also discussed the positive job growth associated with renewable energy jobs in his report with: “Across a broad range of scenarios, the renewable energy sector generates more jobs than the fossil fuel-based energy sector per unit of energy delivered.”^{clix} Not only will renewable energy production and distribution create more jobs, but the jobs will be safer for the people employed in them. After all, I can’t think of anyone who has gotten cancer from building and maintaining a

windmill or a solar panel. While there is much debate about the “aesthetic” issues associated with windmills, it comes down to what people want; a coal plant that is belching black smoke into the air or a windmill. Both do obscure the landscape in some manner, but the windmill is definitely better for the health of the species in the area, not only human beings.

While it does make sense that people would want a windmill instead of a coal plant in their near vicinity, there has been opposition to the building of windmills in many areas of the country, and that includes Native areas. One such case involves the Mashpee Wampanoag and the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head, located on Cape Cod. The two groups joined the opposition to the Cape Cod wind farm because, “their worship requires unrestricted views, they claim. And the project would also disturb their ancestral burial grounds. The National Park Service has heeded their plea, and the entire area of ocean has been listed for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.”^{clx} However, not every member of the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head supports this position, including two members who wrote to the Martha’s Vineyard Times on February 25, 2010. “Tribe member Jeffrey Madison, in a February 9 letter sent to Ken Salazar, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Interior, supported by a statement signed by eight members of the tribe including Beverly Wright, a tribal council member and former five-term chairman of the tribe, disputed the tribe's claim about the cultural value of the Cape Wind site.”^{clxi} This dispute in terms of the Cape Cod Wind farm being built shows that not even members of one tribe have the same views. It is not just a debate between Indians and non-Indians, but also disputes between members of similar cultural groups. Another Wampanoag group on Cape Cod, which is not federally recognized, supports the building of the Cape Cod Wind Farm. “A

Wampanoag Indian tribe from Massachusetts is supporting a proposed Nantucket Sound wind farm opposed by two tribes closer to the project. The Pocasset Wampanoag chairman George Spring Buffalo wrote to Interior Secretary Ken Salazar, who is considering the 130-turbine Cape Wind project...He said Cape Wind fits a vision for energy "produced in harmony with nature."^{clxiii} There is much debate among these tribes and their members, not just between Indian and non-Indian communities on Cape Cod. It will become necessary for people to do their historical research in regards to the claims that these specific areas where the windmills are going to be built affects Native Americans religious practices and their culture.

There will be opposition to the creation of renewable energy facilities, as well as the physical representations of those renewable energy pieces, such as windmills and solar panels. Some of this opposition will come from people within Native communities for a variety of reasons, one of which may be religious beliefs and the cultural beliefs of the tribe. Other opposition will take the form of non-Indians who live on and around Native communities, and still more opposition will come from the fossil-fuel energy companies that mine many of their resources on Native lands, including gas, oil and uranium. However, the positive results of creating tribal economies that are focused on renewable energy production and distribution outweighs the opposition that could be leveled against them. Most importantly, renewable energy focused economies provide healthy and stable employment, two adjectives that are not always associated with energy production, especially within Native American communities. Unemployment is a large concern for many Native communities and even though many people believe that all Native American communities are now flush with cash because of

casinos, this is simply not the case. Native Americans face higher rates of unemployment and poverty than any other group in the United States. These statistics can be helped through the use of renewable energy focused economies. The educational opportunities are another aspect of renewable energy that will need to be further developed on tribal lands. More students will need to be taught how to assemble, work, and maintain renewable energy production machines. They will need to learn business skills to help start and run these companies. All of these provide great opportunities for Native American communities to diversify their economies and their educational systems.

There is a long and varied history in regards to Native American involvement with the environment. The use of fire to clear widespread areas of land to promote habitats that were beneficial to the Native Americans and the animals and plants they subsisted on is well documented, and can be viewed within the Genesee Valley by the oak trees that still exist. There is also the interaction that many Indian tribes had with the American Buffalo throughout history, an interaction that took a turn towards extinction with the large movement of many Europeans and European Americans to the Western United States in the late 1800's and early 1900's and the growth of markets for Bison derived products, as well as other socio-ecological reasons. In many history books and dialogues focused on Native Americans and their interaction with the environment, this is often where the discussion ends. However, there is a great deal to take into account with respect to Native American interaction with the environment, especially in recent years. The interest in renewable energy development has affected many Native American communities, some of which embrace it and others who oppose it. However, from my research it has

become clear that renewable energy development on Native American lands is more beneficial than not for Native communities that are interested in pursuing such development. The jobs that are produced from renewable energy development are various. There will be a need for people to install and maintain the facilities, whether they be solar panels or wind turbines. There will be a need for people to operate these facilities on a daily basis, to check on the machines and make sure they are running properly. There will be a need for people to run the business side of this energy creation, especially with distribution to both Indian and non-Indian municipalities. The jobs that will be created by renewable energy development will be safe, healthy and well paying, and people will need to have education to perform these jobs. Tribal colleges and other local colleges will need to assist in educating the workforce properly, and this is being done through collaborations such as Dan Kammen and his team at UC Berkeley. There is also the opportunity for governments to work on more equal footing, where one does not hold all the power over the other. The history of Native American involvement with the environment of North America is vast and complex, but it is important to remember that the history is in the past, and that there are new challenges that must be discussed and acknowledged today. This does not mean that one should dismiss all of the past cultural practices that many Native Americans had in regards to the natural environment. It means that it is necessary to view Native Americans today as developers and contributors to many different areas of life, including energy development, and that they are living just as dynamically with the environment as they ever did. No culture is static, and the Indians of North America are proof of this.

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Today, the mainstream consciousness in the United States and abroad knows Iraq as a war-torn nation. For the younger generation, Iraq is a country that only came into importance in March of 2003 when the United States invaded its borders as part of a greater international focus on terrorism and fundamentalism. For older generations, Iraq is remembered as a nation involved in the first Gulf War which broke out in 1991. These people see it as a nation of oil, sand, and funny people in headscarves and kaftans. If one were to take a survey of random people on the street, even at a prestigious college or university, most of those surveyed would recognize Iraq first for its history in war before recognizing the country for its rich archaeological and cultural background. Surprisingly to most, the name “Iraq” is actually an Arabic term meaning “ancient place.” This name is more accurate than most people recognize. Iraq was the site of Mesopotamia, the first civilization on the planet earth, and through the years it was dominated by many powerful cultures; the Sumerians, the Akkadians, and the Sassanid Empire just to name a few. Iraq has the first ever instance of writing in the world at the site of Jemdet Nasr and evidence for engineering and mathematics weighs heavily on the desert sands. The sites we find in Iraq even today are physically far more impressive than the ones we typically see in North America and in Europe. The Middle East has a fantastic environment for preservation much more suited to protecting ancient remains

than the environment in North America. The hot, arid desert climate which makes survival for humans difficult is perfect for clay and stone monuments and intricate artifacts. The enormous ziggurat at Ur, the city of Babylon, and the minaret of the Great Mosque of Samarra (fig. 1) all exist to this day thanks to this remarkable preservation and remain testaments to the ingenuity of Iraq’s first citizens.

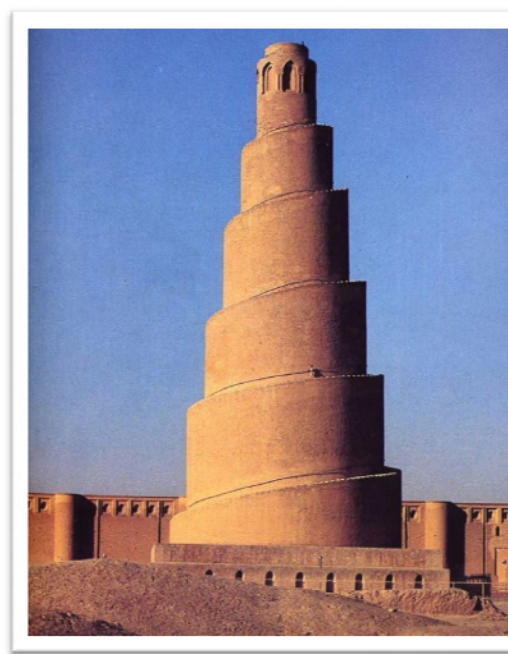


figure 1 - rubens.anu.edu.au

It makes sense then that Iraq has long been an incredible draw for archaeologists and historians both from the “ancient place” and abroad. Whether this has been good or bad, of

course, is debatable. Most of the first archaeologists to visit and excavate in Iraq were not Iraqi but rather European. Europeans, as we all know, have a long-standing tradition of ethnocentrism when encountering a new nation or culture. There are Europeans who treat unfamiliar cultures and sites with respect and great care but the unfortunate fact is that most of the initial contacts by Europeans were fueled by colonization. They were rash and swift before they were delicate. When the Europeans found the United States they immediately colonized and exploited it, believing themselves to be the most qualified individuals to possess the land. In Iraq, they saw the fantastic monuments and believed at once that they were more qualified to care for these sites than the Iraqis were themselves. It is a syndrome quite similar to the White Man's Burden where the Europeans felt that it was their explicit duty to "protect" the fantastic things they found in Iraq. Immediately, antiquarianism took hold as artifacts were taken for their beauty and their value and little importance was placed upon actual research. Those that were researched were carried far away to England and into the United States where they were placed in prestigious museums like the British National Museum in London or the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. One is not commenting on the character of these museums but rather the distance of them from the Iraqi people who would have otherwise had ownership of these treasures. While some laws were passed attempting to protect these artifacts and their Iraqi background most were similar to the Ottoman Antiquities Law, a law considered to be incredibly progressive when it was passed in 1874. This law stated that excavators were entitled to a share of the objects and must divide them up appropriately. (Greeley 2003:7) Thus, even the laws that were meant to be protecting the artifacts exploited them as well and history

ran out of Iraq as swiftly as archaeologists could pack it up and send it home. In fact, by the early 1900's, European and American universities had staked their claims to particular sites and beat all Iraqi archaeologists to their own culture. (Lawler 2001:33) Though it was born from an Arabic people that held it in great esteem the history of Iraq became primarily the property of others.

This was curbed, thankfully, in the modern era - but only for a short time. When Saddam Hussein took power in Iraq he placed an incredible amount of importance upon the protection and preservation of Iraqi sites and artifacts. To him these artifacts represented more than beautiful pieces of pottery or curiosities; they were an expression of Iraqi strength and fortitude. Saddam Hussein beheaded any Iraqis caught attempting to loot archaeological sites or harm archaeologists and used oil money to fund archaeological projects richly. Although Hussein himself was not very friendly toward foreigners and the process of entering Iraq was notoriously difficult, he did allow foreign archaeologists to come into Iraq and research for the good of its history. (Nashef 1990:261) Unfortunately, or fortunately, depending on what you believe is most important, when the first Gulf War broke out in 1991 nearly all funding was withdrawn from archaeological projects. Looting of regional museums emptied out these great halls of preservation and took history directly from the hands of the people. Foreigners were forced out of the country by Hussein's government and the political climate shifted. (Nashef 1992:302) Most disastrously for some, political pressure was placed upon important museum directors and archaeologists to support Saddam Hussein and join his controversial Ba'ath Party. The freedom of Archaeology was gone. However, despite all of these troubles archaeology pressed on and discoveries continued to be made.

Archaeologists from around the world were still permitted to enter the country albeit with heightened danger and bureaucracy and were permitted to conduct their research until the most disastrous blow to Iraqi archaeology was dealt in 2003.

In March of 2003 the United States invaded Iraq and began fighting their way into Baghdad in one of the most controversial and heavily-debated wars in American history. The United States upon entering the country was not ignorant of the rich history of Iraq. On January 24th a group of educated collectors, archaeologists, and historians met at the Pentagon with defense officials to state their concerns for the treasures of Iraq. Civilians at the Pentagon went on to outline critical sites on March 26th and these important sites included the high-profile National Museum of Iraq at Baghdad as well as others. (Lawler 2008:582) These sites were meant to be protected from bombing and fighting and their great importance was acknowledged. The United States troops had hoped to be able to protect them. However, in the heat of battle when the war really began many of these sites were forgotten or pushed by the wayside in the desire to fight further into Iraq. Sites came to be used as defensive and offensive stations by US military and the Iraqi guard as well. In short, protection was stripped from sites and in some instances they were actually fired upon. Looters were rampant, archaeologists fled the country, and archaeology itself came to a complete standstill in Iraq.

It is this dramatic looting in 2003 that has really created the biggest dent in Iraqi archaeology. When war broke out sites were looted by the dozens as Iraqi citizens stormed the newly-unprotected sites and took what they could find. Jemdet Nasr was one such important site to be looted. Jemdet Nasr is the type site for Early Bronze Age culture in southern Mesopotamia and many of its artifacts

are dated to around 3000 BC. Jemdet Nasr is particularly significant because it contains the earliest written account of any language in the world. (Field and Martin 1935) Unfortunately for Jemdet Nasr, the small nature of many of its artifacts and the fact that it was first excavated in 1926 made it especially vulnerable to looters who could easily carry off cuneiform tablets and the site's famous painted pottery without calling attention to themselves. (Lawler 2001:33) Most of these artifacts from Jemdet Nasr have never returned and they are expected to rest in private collections all over the world.

Another site to suffer was the city of Ashur. Ashur was the first capital of Assyria and was once protected by large, imposing barrier walls. This city was not as heavily looted as some due to the difficulty that it took to remove its artifacts but it was, unfortunately, damaged in the war when it was fired upon by tanks and small arms alike. Another city that was heavily damaged was Nimrud and in this case the result was far more disastrous. Nimrud was another Assyrian city located south of Ashur. It has been identified as the biblical city of Kalakh and featured large palaces and a magnificent Queen's treasure that was, thankfully, hidden away before the war by archaeologists who could sense that danger was coming. Unfortunately, Nimrud was heavily damaged in the war and its famous portal guardians which stood at the city's gates were fired upon by tanks. (Lawler 2003:585) Nimrud was used for some time as a stronghold for Iraqi militia and its foundation and was damaged in the fighting that resulted. Figure 2 shows the portal gods at the city gates of Nimrud. The damage to the gods should be evident and while some was created by erosion and time the majority was created by warfare, primarily in 2003.

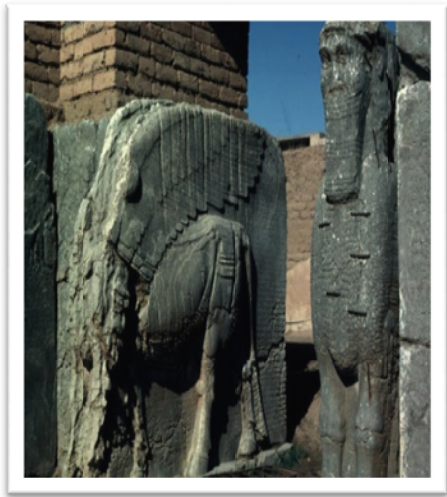


Figure 2 – theodora.com

The most dramatic, and most famous, looting occurred at the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad where 173,000 items were reported missing by April 12th, 2003. (Lawler 2001:32) When war broke out museum staff barricaded the building, protecting it with sandbags and boards and even arming themselves against the militia and civilians they expected to attempt to loot. However, on April 10th they were forced to relinquish their hold on the museum and it was stormed by local citizens and the feared militia alike. Iraqi fighters used the museum to store weaponry and uniforms while artifacts were stolen in rapid numbers. Some of the museum's most precious artifacts, including the infamous Warka Vase which dates to around 3000 BC, were taken in this 48 hour time period. While some have returned and initial estimates (like that of 173,000 artifacts looted) were too high, most of the artifacts stolen have not returned and structural damage was dealt mercilessly to the museum building. In fact, in the battle to capture the museum from militant forces, it was fired upon by United States tanks trying to drive militia out of the museum. Sergeant 1st Class David Richard has been quoted as saying, "We thought they needed a picture window," in reference to the large hole blown through the

museum's façade over the grand archway. (fig. 3) Blood found on the archway is a testament to its effectiveness. (Lawler 2001:34)



figure 3 - news.nationalgeographic.com

As mentioned above, the Warka Vase was also stolen from the museum's main gallery. The Warka Vase dates to around 3000 BC and was crafted from carved alabaster. It depicts life in Mesopotamia on the bottom and a royal procession toward the top of the vase. Unfortunately, it was one of the first items looted in the struggle. It appears in figure 4 in an official museum photo taken before the war;



figure 4 – Lawler 2008:29

And in figure 5 as it was returned to United States soldiers when taken from the trunk of an Iraqi car wrapped in a dirty blanket;



Figure 5 – Lawler 2008:29

When it was looted from the Baghdad Museum the vase was forced off of its base in a manner which shattered the alabaster and old cracks were opened while new ones were created. The Warka Vase, though it may not look like much here, is significant because it is one of the first and finest, most precisely crafted pieces of art created in this area of the world and it is incredibly unique. It is also quite indicative of life in Mesopotamia due to its illustrative nature and it is thus indispensable. However, it is only one artifact amongst many. The truth is that the Baghdad Museum held the first pieces of art in the world and thousands of untranslated tablets what we may never be able to decipher. The damage dealt to the Warka vase as well as the thousands of artifacts taken from the Baghdad Museum that will likely never be recovered is simply mind-boggling.

The question that so many historians and politicians alike have attempted to answer seems very simple; Why? Why did the Iraqis loot their

own history out of the museums and archaeological sites? Why did Iraqis take their own sites for military measures? One would think that stealing their own heritage would hurt the average Iraqi citizen and they would not feel comfortable doing this to their own people. Let us also consider also that Iraq is a predominantly Muslim country and that the Qur'an, the holiest book in Islam, has choice words regarding those who steal:

"As to the thief, male or female, cut off his or her hands: a punishment by way of example, from Allah, for their crime: and Allah is Exalted in power."
(Qur'an 5:38)

Considering that Islam lays down such a strict punishment for those who steal (and the Iraqi government heeded this punishment) it would be expected that the people of Iraq would be even more hesitant to steal than the people of a country that was not Islamic. However, when war broke out thousands of Iraqis freely looted their regional museums and archaeological sites as well as businesses and homes. Why? Well, there are a couple of theories to explore. One theory suggests that the Iraqis may have been experiencing a misunderstood sense of duty. With Americans invading the country and their local treasures in danger it is possible that Iraqis may have feared that the invading army would harm them and stole their own treasures with the intention to keep them safe. This is a theory that was proven during World War II when Nazi troops stormed Poland. Polish Catholics robbed their own churches of paintings and crystal goblets as well as other treasures in order to keep these objects safe from the brutal invading armies. Perhaps many of these stolen artifacts are safe after all, merely hidden away in Iraqi homes and bank vaults. Two other theories on the matter are much less optimistic – one theory suggests that Iraqis may have been feeling a

sense of revenge at this time. Faced with invading armies and a brutal government they were looking to lash out at whatever they could get their hands on. This was a theory proven when Hurricane Katrina struck the United States in 2005. It was observed that hurricane victims in Louisiana looted local businesses freely and for things that they did not need. For example, why would anyone need a big screen television in the midst of a disaster zone? When questioned many of the looters reported that they felt as if they needed revenge for what had happened to them and statistics show that these victims primarily looted businesses that were not local, meaning they were lashing out against “them,” a third party that they saw as oppressors. (Associated Press Sept. 2005) While the Iraqis stole from their own heritage it was also a heritage that was, in some instances, over 5000 years old. A lack of connection to these items may have resulted in their free looting of them.

Finally, the third theory that perhaps holds the most weight is the theory that the changing importance of artifacts under the two regimes, first Saddam Hussein’s and then that of the United States, is what created the rampant looting through opportunism. One of the most famous quotes to come out of the US invasion of Iraq is that which was made by Former Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld on April 11, 2003 during a press briefing at the White House where he said, in reference to the looting, “Stuff happens! ... It’s untidy, and freedom’s untidy, and free people are free to make mistakes and commit crimes and do bad things.” (Department of Defense 2003) Rumsfeld essentially believed that the Iraqi people were looting because they could and this is a theory that carries more weight than one might imagine. Under Saddam Hussein, as we have mentioned before, looters and thieves were punished to the full extent of the Qur’an and

Iraqi law. Their hands or even heads were chopped off and little mercy was given to those who stole. When the United States took over, however, their neatly outlined list of priorities was important but it was not given as much weight as the protection of human life. The United States military focused on protecting its soldiers and reaching Baghdad before it protected archaeological sites. Due to the shifting focus of importance the Iraqis were free to loot with much less stringent punishments over their heads and this may be the real reason why they looted so freely.

So, what happened here? Did the United States truly drop the ball or was there anything they could do? The opinions on this question are many and varied and arguments for each side have grown bloody. According to some, the United States did all that it could do. Lt. Gen. William Scott Wallace, when asked about the protection of cultural sites, said “We were still fighting our ass off as we went into Baghdad and our first responsibility was to defeat the enemy forces.” (Lawler 2003:582) The United States maintains that it gave its all in the protection of Iraqi sites but that there was really only so much that could be done in such a volatile environment. Other evidence, like that which proves that knowledgeable archaeologists, collectors, and curators met with the defense deputy assistant secretary on January 24th to discuss the safety of these sites and artifacts, suggests otherwise. If the United States was warned, they challenge, then why did they not protect these sites? On the 26th of March priorities were, in fact, defined by the Pentagon – they merely fell by the wayside. (Lawler 2008:582) Is this the fault of the United States? Or is it just a result of a very brutal war? Without having been in Iraq at the outbreak of war in 2003 one cannot say with much justification where the real truth lies and even those who were in Iraq at this time (or

especially those who were there to witness the war's first days) are too biased to make a judgment. Did the United States try to protect Iraq's ancient history? Yes, certainly. Did it try very hard? Well, that matter is up for debate.

Something that is very important to explore before we label the Iraqis as thieves, however, is the importance of archaeological history to the Iraqis as a means of cultural identity. In the United States most of our older history is found in Native American sites. While we think these are interesting and some of us are very passionate about them it is not so common for an American to be passionate about the history of their country as it is for an Iraqi. This is due mostly to the fact that we are distanced from our own history through race and progress while the Iraqis are the race that founded their nation, not the invaders. In Iraq, history and identity are strongly linked and young children growing up in school are taught a great deal about these sites. Cultural sites remain relevant to mainstream life in Iraq and the Iraqis find an incredible amount of glory in knowing that it was their people who built the first civilizations on the planet Earth. Because of this the loss of these sites has been a tremendous blow to the national confidence of the Iraqis. The *New York Times* called the looting of Iraq's national museum and important sites "one of the greatest cultural disasters in recent Middle Eastern history." (Lawler 2003:582) It is hard, given the importance of these archaeological sites and history to the people, to see the Iraqis as looters when we consider that many of them have described losing their cultural sites and artifacts in these emotional terms as well. For the Iraqis, these sites and artifacts are what once defined their nation. Now, they find themselves stripped of them in some instances and the loss is felt deeper than one might expect. As mentioned previously, archaeology was and is extremely

important to the government of Iraq as well as a means of nation-building and entitlement. While this does remind us of some aspects of the Nazi regime under Adolf Hitler in World War II which also focused heavily upon archaeological discoveries, there is no denying that archaeology has been incredibly influential in the nationalism and the politics of Iraq since the inception of a republican government. (Gibson 247) The loss of these sites and artifacts is felt all throughout Iraq then; In the people, in the history, and in the government as well.

But we should not be so ignorant to think only of the Iraqis in this matter. In fact, the loss of their heritage is the loss of our own heritage as well. We have said many times that the first civilizations were founded in Iraq but perhaps we have failed to recognize that these civilizations are the ones that spawned our own. Around 1790 BC the Code of Hammurabi was created and outlined on a massive seven-foot tall diorite stele called the Stele of Hammurabi. (fig. 6) This stele detailed the first written legal code in the world and from it we have derived many of our own laws and practices.

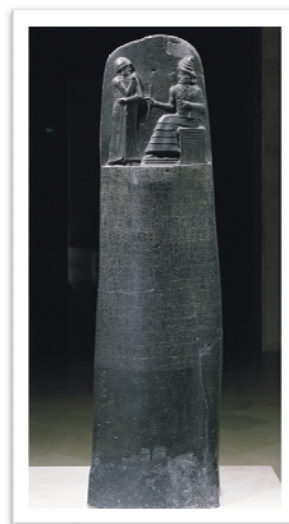


figure 6 – employees.oneonta.edu

The Bust of Inanna which dates back to 3200 BC and which is depicted in figure 7 was

the first three-dimensional piece of art created in the world. It was once inlaid with jewels and turquoise and marks a great artistic innovation.

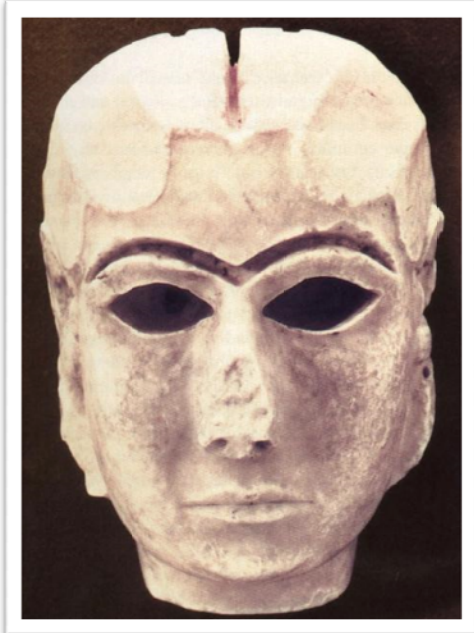


Figure 7 – *kathyreba.com*

Cities in Iraq have also been identified as important sites in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Thus, even if we do not feel a personal connection to the people who founded the civilizations of Iraq we can at least look to it and see reminders of it in our own society. Without the civilizations of Iraq our laws, art, and religion might have been very different than they are today. We all have roots in Iraq and we all owe it a debt of gratitude for that the Mesopotamian cultures have given us. The archaeology and culture of Iraq is more relevant to our own history than we may believe. We do, to a certain extent, owe it a debt of protection and honor.

Thankfully, although culture was largely pushed to the wayside at the start of the war in 2003, Iraqi archaeology is now attempting to make a comeback. Cultural awareness programs have been launched throughout the United States military to educate soldiers on the

importance of Iraqi history to their own lives and to the people that they are living amongst. These programs include lectures, courses, and even playing cards that feature the names and information of a number of important archaeological sites and vulnerable artifacts. Local amnesty programs have also been launched with the cooperation of the US military and the basic premise is that anyone can return an artifact, big or small, without any penalty at all. Many artifacts have been returned through this program including the infamous (and sadly damaged) Warka Vase featured above. This vase is an example of another manner through which artifacts are being recovered which is the fact that these artifacts are simply too high-profile to be sold even on the black market. Because they cannot be hidden or successfully dealt many important museum pieces have been returned because the danger of possessing them is too high. Below, Figure 8 shows the recovery statistics for recovered museum artifacts as of July 28, 2003 according to Andrew Lawler:

Recovery of Artifacts Looted from the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad as of July 28th, 2003

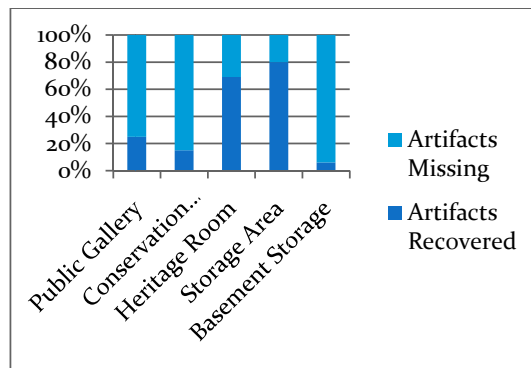


Figure 8 – *Lawler 2003:584*

What is important to note about this graph is the high-profile nature of the various rooms that were looted. The Public Gallery and

Heritage Room featured the most high profile artifacts in the museum, including the Warka Vase. The Conservation Room was a workspace that did not feature incredibly high profile objects. The Storage Area and Basement Storage held artifacts of the lowest profile. However, it is interesting to note that more artifacts were returned from the Storage Area than from the Basement Storage. This could be due to many factors but it is important to note that Basement Storage contained very small objects such as cuneiform tablets and seals that could be easily walked off with and concealed. These objects, which often resemble small pieces of carved chalk, are very easy to sell. Though this data is outdated it is important to note that even recent reports do not show a great increase in the return of artifacts to the museum. Most high-profile artifacts have returned it would appear but smaller artifacts that may seem insignificant to the untrained eye do not show much hope of coming back.

The question now is to ask, what is still missing? Well, perhaps the most tragic losses of all involve not what we know we have lost but what we do not know. Thousands of cuneiform tables taken from Jemdet Nasr and other sites in Iraq were stored in the basement of the Baghdad Museum and have not been seen since the looting. Most of these tables were untranslated and now it is impossible to say what they might have depicted. It is impossible to really measure what we've lost since no one is quite sure just what was written on those tablets. In addition to the loss of these tablets, an incredible amount of illicit digging also occurred after the war broke out and was conducted both by archaeologists and amateurs alike. Who can say what these people found or lost in the mayhem of war? How can we say that objects are lost or safe when we're not quite sure who has them or, in many cases, what they may be? The sad truth is that an illicit digger might have uncovered a

cache of treasure or even an old manuscript that may answered hundreds of important questions. Whether that digger was an archaeologist or a common looter the chance that those finds will be revealed before the war is over is quite low. In addition to these troubles, sites were reburied and bombed beyond recognition in the first stages of war. Optimistically, many archaeologists and researchers hope that wise foreigners and Iraqis alike have hoarded missing objects and that perhaps they will start turning up in foreign bank vaults like so many objects did after World War II. But it is simply impossible to say now, even seven years after the invasion began, just what is lost and what will remain lost long after war ends.

Naturally, the challenges to rebuilding Iraqi history and archaeology are great and many. Danger is obviously a very real threat to the archaeologists who dig in Iraq first of all. One archaeologist, a German woman named Suzanne Osthoff, was kidnapped while practicing her profession in Iraq after the war. (Associated Press Nov. 2005) But might there also be danger to the artifacts themselves? Some archaeologists believe so. Some, particularly in the United States and Europe, believe that Iraqi archaeologists have been cut off from the rest of the world for far too long to be trusted to perform excavations themselves. These archaeologists fear that the Iraqis are behind on techniques and methodology and may harm their own sites whilst trying to preserve them. Perhaps, however, this is an ethnocentric viewpoint in and of itself from archaeologists in more developed nations who believe that they have more skill. For now, however, it is a valid concern. Unfortunately, doing archaeology in Iraq is not merely a matter of danger or technology but also a very real problem of money. Iraq has not escaped the war just yet. It is an embattled nation and it is having incredible difficulty receiving any amount of funding at all

from foreign investors concerned about sending their money into the troubled country for such research. (Lawler 2003:33) Something that we have not yet examined, however, is the possibility that perhaps it is unwise for archaeologists to return at all at this time. While there is certainly a great deal of care for these objects and this culture is it truly worth risking one's life in order to save them? Do all archaeologists have the country's welfare at heart or are they merely acting selfishly by wishing to return to Iraq? One notable researcher, McGuire Gibson from the University of Chicago, with a great deal of experience in Iraqi archaeology commented on the fact that European archaeologists are being permitted to return first by saying, "It's awful, it's horrible. We'll be the last ones back." (Lawler 2001:33) Keep in mind that this is a phrase spoken by an American man about a country currently gripped in warfare even before the real Iraqi war began. The eagerness by archaeologists like Gibson and Osthoff, who refused to leave Iraq when war broke out, suggests perhaps some ignorance of the real dangers involved in digging in Iraq. Perhaps it is unwise at this time to dig at all. One has to wonder if archaeologists eager to return to Iraq recognize the danger at all or if they are, like some conservative news outlets have suggested, acting foolishly by wishing to return so soon.

The incredible cultural importance of the history found in Iraq to the country itself as well as to nations all over the world simply cannot be denied. Without those first civilizations to settle into Mesopotamia and create laws, art, and religion, our world today would have been a very different place. Mesopotamia created the perfect "cradle of civilization," the perfect place for culture to be born and to evolve into something fantastic and complex. Unfortunately for the Mesopotamians, the region between the Tigris and the Euphrates has been gripped by

warfare and conflict since times before any historian can truly recall. Even the days of Hammurabi were conflicted and dangerous. Today, however, our tanks and weaponry have a greater potential to deal destruction and our ethnocentrism has robbed Iraq of its national treasures. It is hard to say where Iraq and the people who love it will go from here but one thing is clear; that they have a great deal of work to do in order to repair the damage dealt from 1991 onward.

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Figure 4

Lawler 2008:29

Figure 5

Lawler 2008:29

Figure 6

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Figure 7

[kathyreba.com/_gallery/d/375-2/Head+of+Inanna+-+Uruk.jpg](#)

Image Citations

Figure 1

[rubens.anu.edu.au/raider6/iraq_heritage/photos/samarra0.jpg](#)

Figure 2

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Figure 3

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The Development and Exposure of Homosexuality As a Subject in Thom Gunn's Poetry

Submitted by: Gregory Guth

In reference to British expatriate turned American poet Thom Gunn: Gregory Woods claims in *Articulate Flesh*, that “many commentators say nothing about the poet’s homosexuality” (212). There is no doubt that Thom Gunn is a homosexual. He moved from Britain to San Francisco, California (a Mecca of the gay world), enjoyed life with his male lover Mike Kitay, proudly demonstrated his affiliation at gay events, and spoke of his sexuality often in both his interviews and later poetry. However, Gunn’s early poetry is arguably vague, concerns multiple personalities, and focuses on violence and isolation more than love. (Woods actually makes a notable association between the aforementioned violence and homosexual sadomasochism.) Nonetheless, Gunn’s only option for expressing sexuality in his early poetry was through the unclear. Simply, in the 1950s and 1960s, it would have been difficult for openly gay poetry to be published or achieve any readership. Despite critics’ opinions, the homosexual side of Gunn has always been present.

From *Fighting Terms*, his first published work, to *The Man with Night Sweats*, (a later work concerning blatant sexual issues, such as AIDS) Gunn’s poetry has become increasingly open in its examination and portrayal of homosexuality. While the homosexual psyche and respective culture have been historically objectionable, difficult to make palatable or easy to understand, Thom Gunn writes about it elegantly, with modest but increasingly frank verse, which communicates and illuminates the inherently unclear.

Gunn’s first poetic explorations into homosexuality were done through his theory of “pose,”

where, “everyone plays a part, whether he knows it or not, so he might as well deliberately design a part, or a series of parts, for himself” (Gunn 162). Homosexual acts were illegal in England until 1967 so it is logical that Gunn would examine such a defining aspect of his identity through a separate character. Furthermore fitting to his theory, Gunn believed defiantly at first that homosexuality was a choice, which explains the strong willed nature of his poetic personas. *The Sense of Movement*, published in 1957 after beginning life in America, broadened Gunn’s use of the ideals of freedom of choice, determination, and individualism. Additionally there is a departure from classical heroes such as Achilles, replaced with contemporary glorification of motorcycle gangs and Elvis Presley for instance, all of course still subtly sexualized. “Will” becomes the “essential concept for Gunn; to some extent an evolution of “pose,” “for it conveys the action by which we create a self, by which we rise above meaninglessness not by meaning but by the assertion of meaning” according to critic Robert Martin. Homosexuality is far more directly referenced in the 1961 collection *My Sad Captains*. *My Sad Captains*, according to Jonathan Levin, is an important transitional work. The concept of “pose” is less blatant; Gunn is “less mesmerized by heroic posturing” and more open to feelings and connections with others (Levin 262). Also, while still formal, throughout the books second section he is less concerned with sustaining rhyme patterns and adhering to iambic meter. *Moly* in 1971 is exuberant and more rebellious. Gunn utilizes a more orderly meter to give his experiences

structure, as the subject matter deals superficially with drugs. Beneath the surface *Moly* is focused on metamorphosis, literally and figuratively. Gunn's language becomes more explicit and his writing style and character shed more of their ambiguity. To conclude, Gunn's 1976 collection *Jack Straw's Castle*, while still years from his latest works, signifies the illumination of his sexual haziness. Not only does he out himself in the collection, but with vivid verse he speaks from his personal perspective and outwardly praises the glory of sex. In due course, this is a momentous leap from his first works.

As mentioned, Gunn starts with the ideology of "pose" in *Fighting Terms* which features many "persona" poems. The opening piece, "The Wound," set around the *Iliad*, is written from various perspectives, including that of Achilles. The poem describes a "wound" healing in the wake of Patroclus' death, which "not doctors would cure" (line 5), and that reopens upon "rage at his [Patroclus'] noble pain" (22). Achilles homosexual love with Patroclus comes immediately to mind, and the "wound" itself is quite likely the famous (but in the 1950s, abhorrent) love the two soldiers share: no doctors can cure it (referencing the deep rooted nature of sexuality); it reopens upon remembering Patroclus and therefore their love. And, finally, in the *Iliad*, as Alfred Corn notes in his essay "Existentialism and Homosexuality in Gunn's Early Poetry," Achilles receives no actual wound to the head. While "The Wound" could certainly refer to numerous other traumas, a sexual interpretation certainly fits perfectly; Corn of course supports this interpretation as well.

Gunn abandons the classical Achilles in "The Wound" for "posing" as the biblical Lazarus in "Lazarus Not Raised." According to George Klatwitter, Gunn often relies on biblical figures to present gay themes (208). Klatwitter asserts that because Gunn departs partially from the biblical text (similar to Achilles' allegorical head wound) the poem is actually about sexual maturation. He references the

phallic pun-like nature of the verb "rise" and Lazarus' "frozen glands" (line 9). More importantly Lazarus, "When first aroused and given thoughts and breath/ He chose to amble at an easy pace/ In childhood fields imaginary and safe," or as Klatwitter describes him, afraid to commit to sexual maturation and community (16-18). Lazarus' punishment is accordingly "to take slime on the deepest bed/ Of vacancy," or unabashedly, to masturbate in bed alone. Klatwitter's continued study of the biblical Lazarus character and Gunn's history yields significant support to this reading.

"Carnal Knowledge," another poem in *Fighting Terms* opens with the line "Even in bed I pose: desire may grow/ More circumstantial and less circumspect/ Each night" (lines 1-3). The narrator's desire grows out of circumstance, a compulsion to be heterosexual, as being gay was unacceptable. The verse goes on claiming "an acute girl would suspect/ That my self is not like my body" (3-4), and "I am not what I seem" (7). These lines suggest feigning heterosexuality, a false persona for Gunn. In "The Wound," Gunn expresses this struggle with identity: "I was myself: subject to no man's breath:/ My own commander was my enemy" (16). Returning to "Carnal Knowledge," the line "I know of no emotion we can share" (33) further reinforces the isolation and divide between the heterosexual and homosexual. With the insight that Gunn is a homosexual, whether or not he is "posing" or recounting a true experience, it is effortless to read this poem as the exchange between a gay man in bed with a woman. Ironically, according to Gunn, as referenced in Colm Tóibín's *Love in a Dark Time*, this poem was written for two women and is not unambiguous in its meaning (218).

In accordance with the aforementioned irony, Catherine Stimpson finds only Gunn's most sexually ambivalent and reticent work glaring indications of homosexual connotations (393); she notes in support that Gunn doesn't write about

women as heroes but instead as merely conventional figures, apt as he romanticizes men (400). Stimpson claims “Without a Counterpart,” starting with the pun of the title itself, is about two homosexual lovers; Gunn is “posing” again, but in a role perhaps genuinely close to his true self. The opening lines of the poem “Last night I woke in fright. You were not there./ I seemed to face across a deep sad plain” (lines 1-2) are particularly revealing in her opinion. Also supportive are Gunn’s somewhat trademark geographical depictions of the male body such as “my cheek on prickly turf” (16) and “The bad whole in the ground no longer gaped—/ The hard land round it, flexing into flesh” (21-22). Emmanuel Nelson claims the work is about showing, “wittingly or not, that when men face disapproval from friends or family, they may find that a lover is their only source of consolation” (192). A brief note on the classical elegance of the poem: it is in iambic pentameter.

The Sense of Movement, published in the 1957, opens with “On the Move,” a famous piece about the aimless and intimidating travels of leather-clad motorcycle gangs. Critic Robert Martin describes it as a “James Dean myth as seen through European eyes: America and the beautiful cowboy.” Several sexual undertones immediately come to mind: the leather which the bikers wear, the image of a rider and his mount, and “Boys” in line 10 is capitalized without reason besides emphasis. Again referencing Alfred Corn’s essay, he thoroughly analyzes the idea that both motorcycle and rider share in their control of motion: therefore the motorcycle which Gunn refers to as “the created will” (line 34), is an agent to the riders’ existence. This is important from both an existentialist standpoint, and as Corn brings up the Elizabethan dual-meaning of the word “will”: which relates of course to *William Shakespeare*, as he used the word as a pun often to suggest “penis.” Therefore, the motorcycle riders are driven and given meaning from their sexuality. Even though Gunn was well versed in Shakespeare

and Elizabethan English, he claims he wasn’t aware of the double meaning when he penned the poem, but again according to Corn, he does not discount the sexual connotation and appropriateness when interpreting the poem. This definitely provides explanation for Gunn’s fixation on using both the word (as a pun) and concept of “will” throughout his poetry.

“The Allegory of the Wolf Boy” is another masked sexual poem. In an interview conducted by Christopher Hennessy, Gunn claims it is based on a story by H.H. Munro who wrote with the pen name Saki. Gunn likens it to the first part of coming out, being closeted: the reluctant acknowledgement of sexuality and partaking in it. Emmanuel Nelson mentions “posing” again, claiming that the poem “capitalizes on the duplicity that a young man is forced into as he pretends to be something he is not” (192). The boy in the poem is posing as being at ease “At tennis and at tea” (line 4), but at night “wedges his clothes between/ Two moulded garden urns, and goes beyond/ His understanding” (8-10). The boy is stripped of clothes which mask his sexuality, and then free to “loose desires horded against his will/ By the long urging of the afternoon” (16-17); accordingly, he can partake freely in his real sexual nature, which has been troubling him throughout the entire day. Despite this freedom, the boy pays a price: “he has bleeding paws” (24). Gunn is “posing” as boy: not only trying to express the immorality of lying about oneself, but the physically and mentally painful experience of being closeted.

The Sense of Movement contains some poems of questionable purpose: the interpretably pedophilic deviance presented in the doubled hat wearing miser in “Before the Carnival” is unrepentant, and “Market at Turk” unashamedly describes a masculine prostitute and his attractive working class apparel. He is prepared for the “unique combat” of sex with “boots, jeans, and a

curious cap,” the apparel of Gunn’s beloved bikers (3-4). Regardless, the purpose of these two poems besides description and desensitization perhaps, therefore trying to describe aspects of the world of “perversion,” is comparatively extremely tenuous.

Conversely “The Corridor” is an excellent example of Gunn making deviance passable as a subject and perhaps even an experience beneficial to learning. The poem concerns a man who experiences social and sexual pleasures by observing others, a voyeur. While watching a couple however, he experiences a revelation that he is not isolated and moreover, may be seeing a “distorted” image. He realizes that he must enjoy sexual pleasure with a friend instead of alone. This poem can certainly be interpreted as instruction that one must partake in their sexuality no matter how ugly or cowardly, fears evidenced by surveying “an act of love that frank as air/ He was too ugly for, or could not dare,/ Or at a crucial moment thought a sin” (10-12). “Pose” is blatant, as Gunn is using a character as a lens for a topic, and the idea of “will” is implied in the voyeur’s decision to seek real pleasure. Overall the homosexual references in *Fighting Terms* and *The Sense of Movement* are very guarded in most respects, and may have been lost on readers in the 1950s; conversely they are quite clear today.

My Sad Captains, a transitional work as mentioned, commences with the piece “In Santa Maria del Popolo.” The poem is a curious musing concerning a Caravaggio painting of the same name that deals with the conversion of Saul into the biblical Paul. George Klatwitter alleges numerous homosexual undertones to the painting: Saul is portrayed as passive and helpless, on his back with his arms outstretched and legs spread, his sword (a phallic symbol) lies at his side, and his horse’s hoof (another phallic symbol) is raised above, prominent in his view (219-222). Gunn is immediately skeptical of the meaning of the painting which is “conveniently oblique” (line 2). In his questioning poem he accuses the “wily painter” of “limiting the scene” (13); aptly he

states that the painter saw “an alternate/ Candour and secrecy inside the skin,” a likely reference to sexual perversion (19-20). He also questions the “wide gesture of the lifting arms” and mentions possibly with dual intentions that “the very subject is in doubt” (16 and 8). Gunn himself is ultimately skeptical as he leaves the work having been “hardly enlightened” (25).

My Sad Captains also includes poetry that Gunn likens to experiencing aspects of the gay community. The first of the two “Modes of Pleasure” poems describes “Dredging the bar with that stiff glare/ As fiercely as if each whim there/ Were passion,” or more blatantly, being surveyed by a man in a bar (lines 2-4). This is a new experience for Gunn, as he opens the poem with the expression “I jump with terror seeing him” (1). Gunn himself describes the “Modes of Pleasure” poems as about leather bars; in the second poem he mentions an individual: “Dark in his doubtful uniform” (3). He reveals the loveless and promiscuous sex characteristic of such establishments with, “Yet when I’ve had you once or twice/ I may not want you any more:/ A single night is plenty” (13-15). Additionally telling is the query, “Why pretend/ Love must accompany erection?/ This is a momentary affection,/ A curiosity bound to end” (17-20). Sex is merely a “warm game” for them, accompanied with an impersonal, “callous and reserved” character (12 and 8). This language is somewhat vague, but clear enough (according to Gunn) to efficiently serve as “a kind of guide to leather bars for straight people, for people not into leather, so that people could see what it was all about” (Gunn). Such a topic and more easily interpretable verse are undeniably departures from his earlier poetry.

The second part of *My Sad Captains* is in part ushered in by “The Book of the Dead” which both utilizes iambic pentameter as well as “abab” and “cdcd” rhyme schemes in the first and second stanzas, as observed in “Re-experiencing Thom

Gunn.” The second part includes two notable poems: “The Feel of Hands” and “My Sad Captains.” “The Feel of Hands” is a very sensual piece about being touched by another individual and their exploratory nature. The poem however ends on the dark note, “It strikes me that/ I do not know whose hands they are” (lines 15-16). “My Sad Captains” is an appropriate closing work for the collection. Interpreted in a non-sexual manner, Gunn’s “sad captains” may be the “heroes” he has traditionally written about, such as Achilles, Lazarus and perhaps even his infamous motorcycle gang. Sexually, it could be a reminiscence regarding men that Gunn has known or had relations with. He describes them as “men/ who, I thought, lived only to/ renew the wasteful force they/ spent with each hot convulsion,” an extremely sexual line (8-11). C.Q. Forester asserts again in “Re-experiencing Thom Gunn” that these same men do not find companionship as “they withdraw to an orbit/ and turn with disinterested/ hard energy” (16-18). He furthermore claims that Gunn is capturing “the universal experience of men who cruise: erotic desire coupled with a steely posture to cover their fear of rejection.” Emmanuel Nelson even states that the poem is about anonymous sex in gay bathhouses (192). These assertions are reinforced by the subject matter of other poems in the respective collection.

In 1967, preceding the LSD fueled *Moly*, was “Touch,” an elegant poem about two lovers in bed. “Touch” is noteworthy in Gunn’s canon because of its trademark imaginative language in addition to open intimacy and sensuality. The poem explores companionship in a way almost directly opposite to isolation of his earlier work “The Corridor.” Gunn is unmistakably no longer “posing” in this work, but instead writing from his own perspective: “I lower/ myself in next to/ you” (lines 2-4), and “You turn and/ hold me tightly, do/ you know who/ I am” (28-31). Stripped down, the poem is about the narrator slipping into bed with a man and a cat. Liberally, “Touch” can be seen as a

precursor to the unashamed openness in “The Geysers” and in “Jack Straw’s Castle” where Gunn unarguably announces his homosexuality.

Moly again focuses on personal experience and metamorphosis. According to Gregory Woods, the five centaur poems titled “Tom-Dobbin” are the works main instances of transformation. The centaur is an extraordinarily sexual creature because it is both man and horse: both symbols of virility. Woods even suggests there is an element of sexual play-acting, treating one’s partner like a horse, intimated in these examples (223). He claims it isn’t about that variety of sexual relationship but “illustrate(s) aspects of the exertion of control in sexual intercourse” (223). The transformation begins in the first poem when “luminous seed” is passed between Tom and Dobbin the horse (1.2). Woods wisely continues that the second poem emphasizes the separateness of the centaur’s two halves with the oneness achieved in sexual intercourse, for eventually “Tom and Dobbin join to one” (2.7), accompanied by an orgasmic “shock of whiteness, shooting like a star” (2.9). This explicit language, along with the opening to part 2, “Hot in his mind, Tom watches Dobbin fuck” (2.1), is notable because of Gunn’s traditionally reserved style. The “Tom-Dobbin” collection ends with a brief fifth poem that according to Woods, indicates an end to the equine foreplay and the commencement of real intercourse. Needless to say, the narrator refers to his lover as male, questioning “which is me, which him?” (5.5). With homosexuality less concealed because of the 1969 Stonewall Riots, Gunn could afford to be candid. Additionally, fitting to Gunn’s claim that *Moly* is “practically dedicated to LSD,” there is a trance-like, perhaps drug induced mood that flows throughout these poems. In fact, numerous poems in *Moly* are footnoted with where Gunn was and the substances he was influenced by while poeticizing. Finally, compared to his more violent early works, his later sexually shameless and then melancholy works,

Moly glimpses a certain paradise, even apparent in the mere titles of its poems: “The Garden of the Gods,” “The Discovery of the Pacific,” and “Sunlight” for instance.

Jack Straw’s Castle signifies an end to the sexual subtlety and uncertainty that weighed down Gunn’s prior works. C.Q. Forester reads it as a mid-life evaluation, where Gunn “crosses the point of no return.” Gunn speaks from his own person, not through a “persona.” This is notable in “The Corporal” where he confesses his adoration of American soldiers, possibly formative in his sexuality. Gunn himself remembers “eyeing the well-fed and good-looking G.I.s who were on every street, with an appreciation I didn’t completely understand” (Gunn 172).

“The Geysers” (a collection similar to “Tom-Dobbin”) is described gently by Jonathan Levin as “a four-part poem about community, formed largely by the mutual pleasure people take in nature and in each other” (268). Bluntly it is the first unarguable expression of Gunn’s glorification of sex. To start, “The Geysers” is about a gay bathhouse, so it is noteworthy that Gunn describes it as a beautiful place in the first poem “Sleep by the Hot Stream.” Gunn begins to speak about the striking denizens of this locale in “The Cool Stream”: “Some rest and pass a joint, some climb the fall:/ Tan black and pink, firm shining bodies” (2.25-26). Erotic energy abounds in the third and fourth poems (respectively titled, “The Geyser,” and “The Bathhouse”) until Gunn is drawn to a communal orgy, C.Q. Forester quotes the lines: “Not certain/ who I am or where” (4.29-30), “The water round me thickens to hot mud” (4.37), “And still I grow/ and barely move in years I am so great/ I exist I hardly can be said to wait” (4.41-43). The intensity builds with Gunn feeling trapped at first, but giving up hope of escape as the poetic structure becomes irreparably fragmented. Gunn joins in, becoming “torn from the self” and states to conclude: “I am/ I am raw meat/ I am a god.” Another less profound example of Gunn’s

new free sexuality is in “Wrestling.” Emmanuel Nelson claims the piece “sing(s) the praises of anonymous gay sex” (193). It makes use of the biblical allusion common in Gunn’s earlier works and presents the homoerotic image of Jacob wrestling with an angel (Klatwitter 223). Klatwitter supports this quoting, “a tale of wrestling with a stranger/ a stranger, like/ a man” (lines 31-33). Nonetheless, the greatest climax in *Jack Straw’s Castle* occurs in the poem of the same name.

“Jack Straw’s Castle” is another long work, a collection of 11 poems, filled with “visions, voices, burning smells” (1.21) and “grim images of fear and panic” including the appearance Charles Manson and Medusa (Nelson 193). The “delicate resolution to such terror” is in the last part of the poem (Levin 270). Gunn stirs in bed and recognizes that he is in the presence of another man. They lie “Facing apart, but leaning ass to ass” (11.25), and evidently Gunn is contented for “that mere contact is sufficient touch” (11.26). He essentially describes the man as the lover of his dreams: “What if this is the man I gave my key/ Who got in while I slept?” (11.30-31). Gunn is poetically but frankly acknowledging his homosexuality; and he is glad to demystify himself for “The beauty’s in what is, not what may seem.” (11.35).

Homosexuality as a mindset, lifestyle, and culture may never be palatable to those removed from it, nor, as first stated, an uncomplicated subject. Its proliferation has historically been prevented by the limits of society both legally and ethically. In spite of that history, Thom Gunn remains an excellent example of always representing his sexual direction and doing so completely tastefully (when necessary) without forcing it upon the reader, even in the 1950s and 1960s. Even in his earlier works, it is certainly ignorant to claim there is nothing to be said about Gunn’s sexuality!

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Altering Environments Affect the Psychological State

Submitted by: Caitlin Hesketh

During the 1950s, the decade subsequent to the publishing of Eric Ambler's *Journey into Fear*, Graham Greene's, *The Ministry of Fear*, and Henry Green's, *Back*, a new subfield of Psychology was established: Environmental Psychology. This subfield "studies the relationship between environments and human behavior and how they affect one another" (Conaway). These characters' actions, thoughts, and beliefs undergo alteration due to the physical or emotional setting that they are in. In *Journey*, Graham's ability to take action increases only after he transfers settings. Through relocation, *Ministry's* Arthur Rowe finds both his psychology and ability for romantic engagement altered. Conversely, Charley, *Back's* returning World War II veteran, remains in a single setting altered by his lover's absence.

Ambler's protagonist, Graham, is an employee for an armaments company during World War II. Because of his unique blend of technical and interpersonal abilities, Graham travels to various countries as a representative. While abroad, Graham becomes the target of Romanian terrorists in a plot to prevent Turkey from acquiring weaponry. This character's inability to take action is prevalent from the beginning of the novel when he experiences his first brush with death. After a night of entertainment with the company's Turkish representative, Kopeikin, Graham returns to his hotel room and is attacked by a man waiting in the shadows. When Graham is grazed by the intruder's bullet, he turns to Kopeikin for assistance. Kopeikin suggests that Graham change his plans for travel back to England and explains the severity of the situation.

At this point in the novel Graham does not see the necessity of taking action to save his life. He cannot comprehend how closely he is tied to the inner workings of the war and states: Nonsense, Kopeikin! You must be out of your senses. What conceivable reason could anyone have for wanting to kill me? I'm the most harmless man alive. (Ambler, 42)

It is clear at this point in the novel that Graham's psychological environment is one of indifference and detachment from the outside world. He does not comprehend that his work supplies a portion of the arms used to fight the war; ultimately endorsing this fighting and profoundly affecting numerous people. Because neither Graham's physical or emotional environment has been affected by the war before this time, he cannot act in any other fashion.

Graham's environment continues to affect his behavior after he has boarded the boat that will return him home. Midway through this journey home the boat docks in Greece where Graham receives word that there is a new passenger onboard. Graham finds that the man who has boarded the ship, Banant, is the assassin who attempted to murder him in Turkey. The introduction of this character within the confined boat setting alters Graham's emotional environment. He transitions from a world of detachment to a world of inescapable paranoia. The greatest marker of this change in temperament is a memory of a past feeling, which Graham recalls as a, "curious but vaguely familiar feeling... associated with the smell of antiseptics and the singing of a kettle" (Ambler, 121). Graham recounts a time when an experiment at work went wrong and a coworker

was severely injured. The same disturbing feeling that he associates with this past incident returns to him.

Due to the addition of Banat to the boat, Graham is forced out of his original emotional environment and must take action in order to save his own life. In an attempt to do this Graham seeks to procure a revolver after his is stolen out of his quarters. He enlists the help of his love interest on the boat, Josette. The two conspirators plot to steal from Jose, Josette's husband. In this portion of the text the revolver is a larger metaphor for Graham's continued inability to take action into his own hands. Although his behavior is changing due to the shift in his emotional environment, he fails at obtaining a revolver in this instance, as well as in a second attempt to steal Banant's weapon. This suggests that Graham's physical environment must also change in order for him to be able to take action. Graham's psychology will not undergo a reformation until he fulfilled his obsession with finding a revolver and also physically removed himself from the boat.

The resolution of the novel includes Graham shifting from his paranoid emotional environment to a resolute one. After finding his ally on the boat dead, Graham begins to take risks by actively planning his escape from his enemies. His first action is to finally acquire a revolver from a Frenchman on board. After Graham exits the boat he is no longer confined or paranoid, but realizes that in order to survive he must change the way that he thinks and behaves. While riding in a vehicle with his captors Graham seizes an opportune moment to save his life.

In that second Graham acted... A sudden blind fury seized him... Before he knew what he was doing, he had pulled out Mathis's revolver and fired it full in Banant's face. (Ambler, 261)

The change in Graham's physical and emotional environments is so great that he is able to transition from a disconnected inability to act, to the ability to take human lives. This new found behavior continues to present itself in Graham's character even after he is removed from the stimulus that precipitated it. At the close of the novel there is a sense that the alterations that

Graham has undergone are positive and that he will continue to move forward with his newly acquired psyche.

In the novel *The Ministry of Fear*, Graham Greene's protagonist Arthur Rowe can be analyzed through the lens of psycho geography because he is greatly affected by each geographical environment that he is in. Psycho geography is, "The study of specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals" (Blissett, Home). Rowe's emotions and behaviors differ depending on whether he is in an urban setting during World War II, or in a mental resort secluded from the city and the events of the war.

At the commencement of the novel Rowe is depicted as both a victim and an aggressor. He has committed the crime of murder against his wife and continuously asserts this fact with casual statements such as, "Perhaps, I ought to tell you that I am a murder myself" (Greene, 26). It is clear that Rowe sees himself an aggressor; however, he is also a victim of circumstance. The crime that he is tried for is ruled a "mercy killing" due to his wife's poor health and his inability to watch her suffer. (Greene, 27). Rowe is also a victim of his surroundings. Although the urban setting that he lives in is not responsible for his actions against his wife, it shapes how Rowe views himself and how he behaves after the crime is committed. Rowe begins to characterize the city that he lives in as an enemy and as a result he, "grows into criminality like a habit of thought" (Greene, 31). To Rowe the city is a secret world and he feels as if he is exiled from the places that he once frequented before the murder. Rowe sees himself as a murderer because he has committed the crime and also because everywhere he turns, people and places remind him of the social ramifications of his act. These feelings of isolation inflict a want in Rowe to return to his childhood environment where he was cared for and still had the potential to love and be loved.

At the climax of the novel Rowe loses his memory due to a bomb planted by a ministry working for the axis powers. His loss of memory evokes a change in his emotional

environment as well as in his physical setting. Rowe survives the bomb's blast and wakes up to find himself stationed in a "resort" filled with patients who are battling war related traumas. In this setting, Rowe is able to return to a pseudo childhood because he is cared for by Dr. Forester and his staff, and also because he no longer remembers his past. During his time as Richard Digby, Rowe does not carry the guilt that he had before his memory loss and he is not subjected to the wartime tragedies unfolding. The new environment that Rowe is in allows him to be, "fresh," and not "tired like the rest of us everywhere" (Greene, 101). By removing these perpetual feelings of remorse and separation from Rowe's characterization, Greene allows Rowe the capability to be romantically involved with his visitor Anna. Before the memory loss Anna and Rowe have an attraction that cannot be acted on due to Rowe's mental inability to pull himself out of his deep set feelings of pity for everyone that he comes into contact with. By changing his emotional environment Rowe becomes "as he should have always been" (Greene, 104). Before Rowe is removed from his original physical and emotional setting he sees himself inhabiting the world of a murderer. After he is moved to a stress free emotional and physical environment, Rowe's world becomes idealized. The changes that he undergoes suggest that, like Graham, he will move forward in his newfound state of mind and obtain all that he initially wishes for.

The protagonist Charley in Henry Green's *Back* can be analyzed through the lens of ecological psychology because the reader observes Charley in his "ordinary surroundings" where he lives and works (Conaway). Unlike Graham and Rowe, Charley is depicted only in this hometown setting; however, because he is a returning World War II veteran, Charley has many flashbacks to his prewar self and the emotional setting that he once associated with home. Through the flashbacks that Charley experiences, it can be concluded that Charley's behavior is not altered by his return to a contorted home life; instead, his original behavior is merely amplified. Charley is not able to experience a psychological change

because he is not able to drastically shift physical environments like the characters Graham and Rowe. Before the war Charley is depicted as out of touch and in a, "usual state of not knowing" (Green, 5). He is romantically involved with a woman named Rose and continues to see her even after she marries another man and conceives a child. Charley does not appear affected by Rose's inability to commit or accurately express her feelings to him. Charley obsesses over this female, despite her ineptitude. While inhabiting his prewar setting, Charley is incapable of obtaining what he wants or desires because of his inability to accept reality.

In the environment that Charley enters upon his return from France, his inability to accept reality is heightened. Before leaving home Charley is characterized as mentally out of touch and through his experiences in the army his issue manifests itself physically. The loss of a limb forces him to navigate his "new environment" while deficient in both body and mind. Charley is unable to successfully accept romantic involvement with another woman upon returning home because his post traumatic stress, combined with his preexisting personality traits, causes him confusion. Upon meeting Nancy, Rose's half sister, he cannot accept that she is not Rose herself. Charley's obsession with his past love is heightened to the point of delusion. This enigma consumes him and he is rendered incapable of performing his work properly and sleeping. Eventually, due to the maternal love and care that Nancy provides, Charley is able to delineate between Rose and Nancy and, "all of a sudden, or so he thought, she (Rose) was dead to him at last" (Green, 122). At the point when Charley comes to this realization, it appears that he has begun to recuperate and accept his new psychological environment while existing within his old physical one.

After Nancy moves into the home of Charley's old love, he begins to have trouble distinguishing between both women again. His fantasy that Nancy is Rose becomes a concrete idea as Nancy begins to fill Rose's place by taking care of her half sister's immediate family. Reality is blurred for Charley but he accepts

Nancy's marriage proposal because he has developed a reliance on her to simultaneously be like and unlike Rose. His reliance allows him to function in his previous emotional environment while physically being in a world that looks familiar, but is a world where Rose does not exist. Essentially, Charley is unable to change his behavior or thoughts because he does not change physical environments and refuses to change emotional environments. In the end, Charley's relationship with Nancy thrives *because of* this predicament and *not despite of* his psychological state. At the termination of the novel, the suggestion for Charley's future is murkier than for Graham and Rowe. Unlike Ambler's and Greene's protagonists, Charley does not move forward with his life but chooses to simultaneously live it in the past and the present.

These emotional and physical changes affect the human psyche and, when studied, can explain the motivation and behavior of beings. Graham, Rowe and Charley are all prime examples of how a setting change can affect a man's ability to take action, to achieve happiness or to cope with reality.

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Appeasement and *Black Bethlehem*

Submitted by: Andrew Poggioli

Both during and after WWII the issue of appeasement was a topic on many peoples' minds as they tried to understand how such a war had come about. In Britain particularly appeasement was a contentious topic since it was Britain's Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain who in 1938 appeased Hitler by giving in to his demand to annex the Sudetenland. As noted in Robert Beck's "Munich's Lessons Reconsidered" (1989), critics of Chamberlain's diplomacy before and during the war included "chauvinistic anti-German realists...social patriots of the Labour Party...and anti- Nazi idealists ranging from advocates of collective security to Socialists and Communists," (Beck 163). So the concern with appeasement spanned the British political spectrum and society.

Among the many literary works that deal with the subject is Lettice Cooper's *Black Bethlehem* (1947), which can be interpreted as an anti-appeasement work meant to both criticize and analyze that famous appeasement that led to the Second World War. Cooper illustrates the terrible consequences of this appeasement in her book through the protagonist Lucy Meadows' descriptions of London life during the Blitz and through Marta Kral's story. Later developments in the romantic relationships of these characters connect appeasement with such traits as blind optimism and naiveté. While Cooper shares the basic concepts of the anti-appeasement stance with her fellow citizens, she actually goes

deeper into the issue in *Black Bethlehem* by presenting a more realistic and complex portrait of appeasers and appeasement that was not fully accepted by many historians until much later than 1947. Lucy Meadows' experience at the end of *Black Bethlehem* makes a statement about the possibilities of appeasement, optimism, and naiveté working in the real world. Lastly, along with discussing appeasement Cooper presents a solution in the form of the character Ann.

Black Bethlehem wastes no time in illustrating the horrible consequences of appeasement. The book goes right into the horrors of wartime London during the Blitz as the state of the city is explained by Meadows in her diary. Meadows' descriptions of nightly air raids, bombings, fires, and the general destruction create an atmosphere of fear and tension. The story of her guest Marta Kral, a refugee from Czechoslovakia, provides an even more direct condemnation of appeasement because she actually lives in Czechoslovakia when the Nazis invade. As a German woman married to a Czech doctor, Kral loses her husband and witnesses the conquest of her adopted country by Nazi Germany. With German soldiers everywhere and friends disappearing, Kral explains that she and her husband "never felt safe for a minute," (Cooper 154). The whole experience is summed up as "all the agony of living under German occupation, of seeing everything that they were

building up destroyed” (Cooper 154-55). Her ensuing journey to England ends with her safe arrival but also the death of her young son Karel. As Kral relates this story to Meadows on her arrival in London, the horrors of WWII are laid bare. The rapid collapse of Kral’s old life combines with the utter devastation of the London Blitz to produce a vivid and effective portrait of the Second World War on the Continent and in England. Since that war was made possible by Chamberlain’s appeasement, these experiences of Kral and Meadows constitute Cooper’s strongest and most moving indictment of appeasement in *Black Bethlehem*.

People who followed the anti-appeasement philosophy, especially historians, also tended to form a general description of who the appeasers were and what their concessions meant. The basic assertion was that appeasement was unintelligent and naïve, and therefore appeasers like Chamberlain were the same. Winston Churchill’s *The Gathering Storm* (1948) makes this point right from the beginning by stating that the “Theme of the Volume” is “How the English-speaking peoples through their unwisdom, carelessness, and good nature allowed the wicked to rearm,” (Churchill 1). Churchill’s use of words like unwisdom and carelessness reveal how many thought appeasement an unintelligent and irresponsible strategy. The fact that he also references English-speakers’ good nature as another of the reasons shows how naïveté was also cited as one of the problems. Churchill also does not limit his critique to just the policy itself. Like many others, he extends the negative view when he says that for him, Chamberlain and his supporters represented the “quintessence of defeatism” and “peace at any price” (Churchill 301). A similar point is made in Martin Gilbert’s and Richard Gott’s book *The Appeasers* (1963) when Chamberlain is satisfied with Hitler’s assurance that he will not start a

war because Hitler “hated the thought of little babies being killed by gas bombs,” (Gilbert and Gott 179). Here one can see how stupidity was easily associated with appeasers along with irresponsibility and naïveté.

Although Lucy Meadows does not directly appease anyone in *Black Bethlehem*, she can be likened to Chamberlain because she begins the story with a noticeable innocence and trusting nature that is later changed when she is betrayed by her boyfriend Piers and Kral. From the beginning of the book Meadows reveals she had a happy childhood and a successful and interesting career as a costume designer before the onset of war. Meadows actually fears that she may develop hatred for the Germans and explains about Kral “I’m glad that she is German. If I can show her real friendship, then everything that I have believed means something, and is not quite dead!” (Cooper 147). What Meadows means by “everything that I have believed” is her overly optimistic trust in human nature and the inherent goodness of people. Many of the early critics of Chamberlain would assign him these same qualities and deride them as weaknesses and faults that produced an unrealistic and naive foreign policy. Cooper’s book seems to go in the same direction when Meadows discovers that Kral and Piers are having an affair. This betrayal by her lover and the woman she helped so much seems to shatter her old beliefs and leave Meadows hopeless. This state is best seen when she declares “I felt as though I was raw all over and didn’t want to be touched. Also I felt apathetic as though nothing was worth taking trouble about. Some living current inside me that used to make me feel always ready to go on to the next thing had dried up,” (Cooper 240).

But what is important about this state is that it is temporary. Meadows regains a modified sense of hope and trust, as seen when she forgives Piers and expresses real remorse at

having hated Kral. This suggests that her former beliefs were not mere foolishness and naiveté but instead constituted a moral philosophy that was only a little unsuited to reality. It only has to be changed to adapt to wartime. All of the tragedies of the war and her relationships with Piers and Kral assault Meadows' morality and outlook. In the end she learns that her former defense, an almost blind trust in civilization and human decency, was founded on nothing real. It was merely her comfortable life, up till the war, that created this false sense of security. She concludes that this type of certainty "Is one of the many securities that have vanished this winter. But I began to think they never were really there," (Cooper 271). Her change of lamps symbolizes this improvement, because the starry ornamental lamp representing her old fantasy life is replaced by a plainer, more functional one. Cooper thus uses Meadows' transformation to argue that appeasement is not necessarily something to be totally discounted. It is actually an enlightened and humanistic approach that just has to be fitted to present conditions.

The lessons Meadows learns can be applied to Chamberlain's situation because many revisionists saw Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler as "A triumph for all that was best and most enlightened in British life," (Taylor 184). Indeed, immediately after the Munich Agreement Chamberlain came home to cheering British crowds, making the infamous and at that moment believable statement "I believe it is peace for our time," (Taylor 186). For many people at the time it seemed as if an unnecessary war had been averted. In fact appeasement as a policy came from "The minds of Englishmen who believed that World War I need never have come," (Eubank 89). The Munich Agreement was no doubt a comfort to many Europeans who still remembered the nightmare of that First World War. Chamberlain's appeasement and

the initial celebration of it can be likened to Meadows' poor judgment of Piers, Kral and herself. What appears to be a great and appropriate outlook on life for her collapses when put to the test. In Meadows' case that test is the combination of the war and betrayal. Similarly, Chamberlain's seemingly appropriate and successful policy of appeasement collapsed when Hitler put it to the test by invading the rest of Czechoslovakia and then Poland. But although it failed, the principles of appeasement do not have to be considered failures too. Just as Meadows does not completely throw out her personal philosophy about human nature, so too do many revisionist historians avoid condemning every aspect of Chamberlain's policy. Many acknowledge how it failed for the particular situation, but they cannot deny that it was a noble, logical, and nonviolent solution based on negotiation instead of force.

The character Ann in *Black Bethlehem* represents Cooper's solution to the appeasement problem. This is because Ann, Meadows' friend, combines a strong and determined opposition to war with an equally intense concern for her fellow citizens suffering under the Blitz. She is an ideal combination of strength and goodwill. In these ways Ann manages to have Meadow's trusting, optimistic nature without taking it to an extreme or basing it on a too sheltered and comfortable life. In fact Meadows herself says that Ann seems "Fundamentally used to the idea of war," (Cooper 191). Her previous experience as a nurse in Spain during the Spanish Civil War makes it clear she comes from a far less idyllic background than Meadows. Further evidence of Ann's good nature and humanitarianism includes her constant housing and feeding of bombed out friends in her small apartment. All of this is then combined with the kind of resolution and activism needed to confront a man like Hitler, as revealed when Lucy says

“Ann is a firm believer in protests and joint action... ready to march up to any Bastille, and confident that a lot of people will go with her,” (Cooper 196). In creating Ann, Cooper offers an ideal character who, if put in Chamberlain’s place, might be expected to confront the dictator while still retaining the enlightened values that Chamberlain held.

In all of these ways Lettice Cooper’s *Black Bethlehem* is an anti-appeasement book that explores the motivations, consequences, and overall nature of appeasement and appeasers with fairness and insight. This is significant because in 1947, when *Black Bethlehem* was published, most historians took a more derogatory attitude toward Chamberlain and appeasement. The experiences of Lucy Meadows provide commentary on how appeasement is connected to enlightened morals that many claim Chamberlain held and acted on when he conceded to Hitler’s demands for the Sudetenland. Lastly, Ann represents the perfect mixing of altruism and tenacity that provides an answer to the question of appeasement and its role in world affairs.

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The Infidelity Issue in Brideshead Revisited and Journey Into Fear

Submitted by: Ashley Phillips

Infidelity seems to be a common topic in 1940s British literature, given that the movements in marriage changed drastically in this decade as it gave birth to the “most ‘divorce-prone’ marriage cohorts—i.e. those couples married just before and during the second World War” (Rowntree 148). Also, it is widely accepted that there exists “peaks and troughs around the two world wars” in marriage rates (Office for National Statistics). It is therefore important to study the topics associated with marriages in 1940s novels, namely infidelity. The affairs in Brideshead Revisited and Journey into Fear reflect a growing trend in the 1940s, during which there was “a five-fold increase in divorce petitions during the Second World War.” Though Brideshead Revisited was published in 1944, its plot takes place over a much longer time frame: 1923-1942, with the extramarital affair between Julia Marchmain and Charles Ryder occurring before the onset of WWII. Journey Into Fear by Eric Ambler is a spy novel that takes place at the beginning of World War II, and whose main character, Graham, commits adultery with Josette, a prostitute. The differing time frames of the affairs in the novels (in relation to WWII) contribute to the characters’ differing motives for having the affairs.

The affair between Julia and Charles, both of whom are married to other people, is founded upon a desire of each party to find a deeper meaning in life. Without the actual, extant troubles of war (yet), these adulterers in Brideshead Revisited crave solid, significant reasons for living and a truer sense of purpose. Charles seeks removal from the glittering, fakeness of his wife Celia and Julia wishes to abandon her loveless marriage to Rex, a man

she describes as callous on several occasions. Both she and Charles want intense human companionship and a stronger sense of emotionality. In Journey Into Fear, Graham betrays his wife while he is being pursued by German assassins. In the midst of the perils World War II brings him, weapons engineer Graham often visits with Josette Martel, a married prostitute, and they kiss frequently. A close assessment and comparison of Brideshead Revisited and Journey into Fear shows a shift from having extramarital affairs in order to find profound meaning in life to engaging in unfaithfulness in order to provide a frivolous distraction from the trials of WWII.

In Brideshead Revisited, Charles Ryder is a married man with two young children, but he is incredibly unsatisfied with his life. As Joseph Hynes writes of Ryder: “He was unhappily married and has been separated or divorced for about a decade at the time of narrating. His two children might as well not exist for all the difference they make to his life or attitude. He is an architectural painter who apparently regards himself as a failed artist. He had hoped that the army in World War II might give him reason to live meaningfully, but that hope is also dashed before the start of the narrative” (236). Though Hynes is correct in stating that Charles is searching for a reason to live, he is incorrect in his exclusion of Charles’ adulterous affair with Julia as a source of this meaningfulness. Ryder looks for a sort of spiritual, momentous revelation in his relationship with Julia, for he is tired of his wife’s lack of depth.

The ways in which Charles portrays Celia in Brideshead Revisited as opposed to the ways he views Julia reveal what Charles seeks

in his adultery. Stark comparisons made between the two women serve to divulge Charles' reasons for cheating on his wife. For example, he describes Celia very clinically and states that she was made popular by her "softness and English reticence, her very white, small, regular teeth, her neat rosy fingernails...her modern jewellery, which was made at great expense to give the impression, at a distance, of having been mass-produced" (Waugh 234). Everything about Celia is presented as a façade and Charles' tone in this passage reveals that he is sickened by her falsehood.

Charles further illustrates the artificiality of his relationship with Celia when he describes the holidays spent with his family: "This annual sacrifice united us; here among the holly and mistletoe and the cut spruce, the parlor games ritually performed, the brandy-butter and the Carlsbad plums...she and I were accepted, whatever ugly rumors had been afloat in the past year, as man and wife" (Waugh 277-8). The gaudy imagery in the passage mimics the pretense he despises in his wife and in their union: it is all "fluff," transparent and thin. In the way the candies, choir and gold twine often conceal the true meaning of Christmas, they surround his marriage as a metaphor for its falsehood. If it is correctly assumed that Ryder does not want a woman with an air of falseness, then it can be logically concluded that he *does* want intelligence, depth and spirit, and he looks for it in Julia.

Julia is perceived through Ryder's eyes as a woman of truth and essentiality. Shortly after describing the holiday scene, he describes a site in which he and Julia sit outside and admire the natural beauty of their surroundings: "The sun had sunk now to the line of woodland beyond the valley...the light grew in strength...glorifying the head and golden shoulders of the woman beside me" (Waugh 279). In opposition to the artifice of the holiday festivities closely associated with Celia, Julia is enveloped in sunlight, the purest, most natural form of light. This difference between Celia and Julia reveals what Charles prizes in Julia, and therefore what he looks for in his affair with her—sincerity and profoundness. Clearly,

Ryder has an affair with Julia to fulfill a sense of purpose, perhaps spiritual, as "his love for Julia takes him a step higher and prepares him for love of God" (Gibson 85).

Julia also wants to fulfill a sense of purpose in her affair with Charles as she seeks true companionship and emotionality. Like Ryder, her way of describing her spouse serves to reveal what she hopes to achieve in her infidelity. She states that Rex, her husband, "...isn't a real person at all; he's just a few faculties of a man highly developed; the rest simply isn't there" (257). Julia does not want to be with Rex because his mind and spirit are absent, and she believes she will find intelligence and creativity in Charles.

Further evidence of Julia's desire to be with Charles in order to fulfill a deeper meaning in life is found in her wish to have a child with him. Julia wants to put her life back together, to pick up the fragments of marriage and love that her relationship with Rex has been reduced to, and put these pieces toward a meaningful life with Charles. This goal is interesting, and, given her previous stillborn daughter, suggests a hidden belief in Julia: if she bears Charles a healthy baby, their relationship will be lasting and momentous. This belief is in accordance with a study of couples in the 1940s reported on by Griselda Rowntree: "By far the highest proportion of parting occurred among the small number of infertile marriages in which brides had been under 20 years of age; over one-half (56 per cent) of such couples separated" (156). If Julia has Charles' baby, they are more likely to be a strong, stable couple, which is what Julia seeks in their affair. Like Charles, Julia is searching for depth and true companionship. The fact that their affair occurs prior to WWII clarifies their desire to find deeper meaning in their lives. Without the worries and heightened survival instincts brought about by war, the lovers focus on more spiritual and philosophical goals in their affair.

Journey into Fear, a novel set during the beginning of World War II, offers a very different perspective on infidelity. The turbulent, risky times brought on by war lead protagonist Graham to seek out an affair with the prostitute Josette in order to distract himself

from the dangers he faces. His choice of pursuing an affair with Josette rather than an old friend (like Charles and Julia do) implies a tone of frivolity and impulse, which complies with the goal of distraction from wartime problems. Josette as a prostitute adds another layer of depth to the novel, because “during World War II, there was widespread public apprehension about the declining morals of girls and young women in British cities and towns” (Rose 1147). Her prostitution does not fully surface, at least for Graham, until the very end of the novel, when he seems to realize that she was merely a distraction for him.

Though Graham seems bored by his wife Stephanie, this tedium does not drive him to pursue Josette—it is truly a need for diversion. He has compared other women to Stephanie in the past, and, finding Stephanie more comely, has remained faithful. He completes the same “test” with Josette and finds her, too, less attractive than Stephanie: “In the hard light of the unshaded bulb above her head she [Josette] looked smaller than she had looked on the dance floor; and a trifled haggard. Graham, thinking of his Stephanie’s rather buxom good looks, reflected that the woman before him would probably be quite plain in ten years’ time” (Ambler 21). Still, Graham desires Josette, and it is a desire for distraction that prompts him to kiss and fawn over her.

It is in times when Graham feels unsafe due to his involvement as an engineer in the war that he often turns to Josette for diversion. For example, when his assassin, Banat, enters the saloon, Graham asks Josette to accompany him on a walk. During the stroll, she happily chatters about nonsense, providing Graham with diversion. Additionally, when Moeller falsely tells Graham that he can feign illness to escape death, Moeller suggests that Josette accompanies Graham as he recovers from his forged sickness. Even Graham’s enemies understand that Josette is a tempting distraction for the engineer.

However, it cannot be ignored that Josette is not completely distanced from Graham’s dangers. In fact, she offers to get her husband’s revolver for Graham for protection and distracts Banat while Graham inspects his

cabin for his stolen gun; she is therefore involved with Graham’s troubles, and is not *solely* a distraction. Nevertheless, she is *fundamentally* a distraction for Graham, since he turns to her whenever he feels unsafe, and they often discuss lighthearted topics while together, such as traveling to Paris. Admist Graham’s horrendous fear of Banat and death, both brought about by World War II, Josette seizes his attention by casually describing what entertainment and hotels there are in Paris. She is essentially a diversion from more pressing issues.

The infidelity portrayed in Brideshead Revisited and Journey Into Fear differs in the reasoning behind the adulterers involved. This difference stems from the onset of World War II and the dangers it brings. In Brideshead Revisited, the adulterers want to find meaning in life, true companionship and sentiments. These desires come from a lack of war. Without war and its problems, the infidelity is rooted in a wish for depth. However, during World War II adultery is committed in Journey Into Fear to serve a need for frivolity, as Graham needed Josette to distract him from his real troubles. In this novel, the onset of war creates a world where depth, the meaning of life, and companionship are issues that are ignored in lieu of casual entertainment. This infidelity serves to distance the characters from the present risks of the war. Brideshead Revisited and Journey Into Fear are novels that portray extramarital affairs very differently, an important discrepancy to investigate because it is so intimately tied to the main event of the 1940s: World War II.

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Wes Jackson and The Land Institute: Relevancy Within Sustainable Agriculture

Submitted by: Darren Knapp

Agriculture has been the main form of human food production for over 10,000 years. For the most part, it has changed very little in concept since its inception. Humans select a patch of land, clear it of any living organisms and plant it to their desired crop. Although this conventional form of agriculture has helped the human population grow and expand, the recent industrialization of agriculture has had severe effects on nature, our society, and the farmer himself. Wes Jackson and his fellow researchers at the Land Institute in Salina, Kansas have devoted their time and energy for the past 30 years to developing a form of agriculture that they hope will revolutionize the way humans produce food and hopefully resolve these issues created by conventional and industrial agriculture. This “natural systems agriculture” is a form of sustainable agriculture based around the cultivation and harvesting of perennial polycultures. Those at the Land Institute believe this is the best way for farming and food production to work with nature, not against it. When initially viewing this research one may be led to believe that natural systems agriculture is a simple pipe dream of a former university professor. Upon looking further into this matter however, it becomes clear that natural systems agriculture and the activities and studies associated with it at the Land Institute were (and still are) much more than this. The study of perennial polycultures has received substantial monetary support from government funded agencies along with respect and usage of their research and information from those within the agricultural community. Through these sources it becomes evident that the Land Institute is not merely a small group of researchers trying to develop a radical form of agriculture, but a

serious and relevant force within the field of sustainable agriculture. The work done at the Land Institute has not only received attention from the government and prominent researchers, it created a whole new field of agricultural research and, along with it, the hope for a more sustainable future.

If one is to explore this topic, it is imperative to answer several questions pertaining to the development and success of the Land Institute over the past thirty years. In order to reveal the purpose and goals that the Land Institute has been working on since the late 1970s, it is important to ask questions such as: What is the purpose of the Land Institute? What are the goals of the Land Institute? Considering these questions, have they accomplished their goals? What proves or disproves this? If they have, how have they accomplished their goals and aims? When looking at the practicality of the Land Institute over the years one must ask, how much support this form of agriculture has received from government funded research. Relating to this, has the specific research at the Land Institute received any form of monetary support from the USDA or other government funded agencies? Has the research at the Land Institute received any notice from other researchers in the sustainable agriculture field over the past thirty years? Has the Land Institute developed a workable prototype? By exploring these questions and through the use of various government documents, archived materials from the Land Institute and works done by Land Institute researchers, the relevance and importance of the Land Institute in the field of sustainable agriculture will become apparent.

In order to reveal the relevance of the Land Institute in the field of sustainable

agriculture and its work on perennial polycultures, it is important to look at the basics of the Land Institute, their form of agriculture and the thoughts associated with it. Therefore the first part of this paper will look at the development and formation of the Land Institute, its purpose, and the research done there. Following this, this section will also contain the basic information related to perennial polycultures. It will be important to look at perennial polycultures specifically how they work, their benefits, their shortcomings and their overall ability to become a viable form of agriculture. By establishing the basic information related to the Land Institute and its research, further elaboration on this subject will be possible through the use of government documents and other primary sources. Therefore, the following section will be devoted to viewing various research, government, and Land Institute documents. Within this section, the support, relevance and accomplishments of the Land Institute and its form of agriculture will be displayed.

The foundations of the Land Institute were a development of Wes Jackson's experiences as a teacher, professor and coach prior to the founding of the Land Institute. Following a short career as a professor at University of California at Sacramento, Jackson decided to return "to his native state to form his own research and training facility in 1976."^{clxiii} One major reason for this decision was that since "students seemed to be given more to minimal compliance than spontaneous elaboration" when dealing with subject matter in the university setting, he would create an institution that had "no grading system and no tests" but instead would have students "collaborate on some common problems."^{clxiv} This form of education would require students to "weed and water, pollinate and harvest, and gather the data and analyze the data and have it available for publication."^{clxv} While students are doing research work associated with their topic, "[the students] are all cooperating on these different experiments so the pressure is coming from the whole group" compared "to the industrial model" where they "only answer [to the teacher]."^{clxvi} Jackson's form of education in

itself was revolutionary, for it "gives no certificate at the Land [Institute]" but instead "enlarges the intellectual life and ties it to the real physical world where they are doing work."^{clxvii} This out-of-the-box thinking propelled Jackson and his institute from a budget of "nine or ten thousand dollars" in 1976 to close "to half a million dollars" in 1990."^{clxviii} It has also led to major discoveries and breakthroughs in the field of sustainable agriculture.

When looking at the Land Institute it is also important to discover the research purpose for this place of learning. Prior to his founding of the Land Institute in 1976, Jackson came across a statistic that displayed soil erosion rates that "were extremely high" and it seemed to him that "we ought to be doing [a] better [job of controlling soil erosion]."^{clxix} Jackson came to find that "soil erosion was right at the core" of "the problem of agriculture rather than problems in agriculture."^{clxx} Jackson found that throughout history, this loss of soil has led to the demise of many powerful ancient civilizations. It was his thought that "unless the pattern of agriculture is changed, our cities of this region will stand as mute as those near the Great Wall of China, along the Fertile Crescent or the northern region of Egypt which once hosted grain fields that supplied the empire of ancient Rome."^{clxxi} These thoughts propelled Jackson to rethink how we practice agriculture in the United States. This rethinking of agriculture is one of the main purposes of creating the Land Institute, for it must construct an agriculture that instead of promoting soil erosion, prevented it. But how could he and his cohorts do this? Jackson found that "that the best agriculture for any region is the one that best mimics the region's natural ecosystems."^{clxxii} It was obvious to Jackson that "the monoculture of annuals leads to soil erosion" and that the "polyculture of perennials" with their "more elaborate root system" provided "an excellent soil binder."^{clxxiii} Thus began the Land Institute's mission to develop a perennial polyculture that could be harvested and used for human consumption, just like the annual monocultures it was attempting to replace. Jackson and the Land Institute have been "working to create, in effect, a

domesticated prairie.^{clxxiv} They needed to “create prairielike grain fields” that implemented “combinations [Jackson] called herbaceous perennial seed-producing polycultures.”^{clxxv} This mission that the Land Institute implemented contained several goals within it. In order to allow the development of perennial polycultures, the Land Institute should be an incubator of sorts that, through its educational properties, creates researchers, scientists and advocates that will continue the study of perennial polycultures after their short stay at the Land Institute. From here “the tremendous potential of the already established land grant, [State Agricultural Experimental Stations, and [the United States Department of Agriculture’s] research network must be tapped” because “it is necessary that research go beyond the current approach of merely tinkering with monocultures and into new territory of assembling agricultural analogs of natural ecosystems.”^{clxxvi} It is hopeful that these former workers will go on to work in land grant universities and other research orientated government funded institutions. By doing so it is hopeful that the thoughts attached to perennial polycultures will be multiplied through the educational and research systems. Also in order to further develop the proliferation of this form of sustainable agriculture, government funds and support should be achieved. The obtaining of these goals will be further addressed in a later section of this paper.

When looking at perennial polycultures, it important to address the basics attributed to these types of plants. First it is important to dissect the two words that make up this integral concept. Perennial means that this type of plant is capable of being harvested multiple times in a growing season and that it is capable of making it through the harsher season of winter alive. The following season the process repeats. Polyculture means that within a field there is a variety of different plant species. For example, a hay field which consists of different species of grasses and legumes such as timothy, clover and fescue is a polyculture because of the variety of species within the field. This field is also perennial because it can be harvested more than once a year and is able to go dormant and

winterize itself which allows it be used again the following year. This type of crop system may only have to be plowed and replanted every five years or so which, along with the strong root systems these plants have, prevents substantial soil erosion. These plants also tend to be polycarpic which means they “generally don’t allocate much energy to seeds” but their “roots have most of the energy.”^{clxxvii} This provides for a very strong and durable plant but usually a poor food (seed) producing organism.

Considering the basics of the perennial polycultures, it is important to look at the advantages that Wes Jackson and the Land Institute associate with them. As stated before, these plants are very reliable in preventing soil erosion. Their strong root systems and the density with which they are planted in a field allows for this. They are also useful because they provide several harvests a year and only have to be replanted every five years or so. When compared to a monoculture of annuals (such as a corn field), there are several advantages to the perennial polyculture. One of the main advantages of perennial polycultures (as compared to annual monocultures) is their yield advantages. Considering the fact that “farmers throughout the world choose to use polycultures” because they “frequently yield [more harvest] from a given area” than “an area sown in separate patches of monocultures”, it becomes apparent that this type of agriculture was not a new concept when Jackson decided to implement it.^{clxxviii} The difference between Jackson’s model and what farmers were already doing is that he wanted to feed millions of people with his form. Perennial polycultures are also much more effective in preventing soil loss considering most annual monocultures promote soil erosion through their weak root systems and row crop style of planting. Annual monocultures require replanting every year which leads to more soil erosion while perennial polycultures on the other hand are replanted only every five years or so. Not only do polycultures prevent soil erosion, they require little or no use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Matt Liebman stated that “farmers often use polycultures without applying fertilizers or pesticides.”^{clxxix} One major reason for this is that

“insect pests are frequently less abundant in polycultures than in monoculture” because “insect pests, particularly species with a narrow host range, have greater difficulty in locating and remaining upon host plants.”^{clxxx} This is because these host plant are not as abundant as they would be in a monoculture. Also, polycultures introduce a variety of naturally predatory insects that would keep pests population at a low level. Chemical herbicides are also a non factor in the usage of perennial polycultures because when “compared to monoculture cropping systems, polycultures appear to offer many options for improving weed control with less labor, fewer chemicals and lower costs.”^{clxxxi} This benefit is amplified by the fact that “pesticides, being petrochemical products will become increasingly expensive in terms of both money and energy consumption in the agricultural budget.”^{clxxxii} Because perennial polycultures do not require chemicals to be productive, they can produce a healthier food stuff environmentally and for those who consume them. They will also demand less fossil fuel usage because of this lack of chemical usage and because high energy till-work is needed only every few years.

As it can be seen, this type of agriculture has significant benefits over the use of annual monoculture (industrial) agriculture. If this is so, then why are we still practicing agriculture that could lead to our eventual demise? Wes Jackson pointed out that “we have a psyche predisposed to take from the environment with little thought for the future, especially when the connection between the product and the source is separated by numerous links.”^{clxxxiii} But with our modern capabilities it is possible to look beyond the short term of survival because of advancements in thought and science. This is where within perennial polycultures, Jackson saw a system that could work with nature, not against it and thus effectively solve this problem of modern day agriculture. Jackson states that the “success in herbaceous perennial crop development would lead to a reduction in resource depletion for both fossil fuels and germplasm and would reduce pollution of our waters, soil and ultimately ourselves.”^{clxxxiv} This would reduce the use of fossil fuels for through the

elimination of every-year tillage. Because perennial polycultures are only planted once in a cycle of about 20-25 years, this would reduce the need for tillage practices such as plowing, disking, and planting that require a high amount of fuel to conduct. Germplasm, which is variety of genetic information available to a plant species, the Although this system presents abounding benefits to the environment and ourselves, it also provided significant obstacles to overcome in order to make it a reality.

One of the major problems associated with this agriculture is the polycarpic problem which was spelled out earlier in this paper. Because most perennial polycultures are polycarpic, they “generally don’t allocate much energy to seeds”, but instead they divert their energy to their roots.”^{clxxxv} This results in a poor seed (the edible part of the plant) producing plant that has little use in human diets. This physiological barrier is the biggest hurdle that the Land Institute had to overcome in their research and development of the seed producing perennial polyculture. Another problem associated with this agriculture is a problem that Jackson readily addressed in an essay titled “The Perennial Problem.” Jackson stated that “it will likely require 50 to 100 years before moderate success is achieved” and that “payoff on this research will be a long time coming.”^{clxxxvi} The time that this research will require, as Jackson was fully aware of, is substantial. These problems associated to the time required to develop this type of agriculture could produce for the Land Institute. Interest in this topic could slowly decline in those who supply money to the Land Institute if no significant changes were developed. This lack of money would prove detrimental to the Land Institute. Also the sliding lack of interest due to the time required to develop this type of agriculture could provide fewer and fewer interns, scientists and workers at the Land Institute which are essentially the life blood of this operation. Another problem associated with this type of agriculture is that the machinery to harvest this type of crop did not exist at the time. If this machinery does not exist then the plausibility of it being harvested quickly is thrown out the window. If this machinery does

not exist that it would be impossible for Jackson to achieve his aim of feeding the masses with the seeds of his perennial polycultures.

It is important to consider that most of these developments, discoveries, and foundations were explored and considered twenty five to thirty years ago. In order to reveal the legitimacy of the Land Institute and the practicality of seed producing perennial polycultures it is important to look beyond what Wes Jackson and Land Institute workers say in their books and pamphlets. The sources that display the relevance and practicality on this subject range from government documents to archived Land Institute fiscal papers to modern day studies of perennial polycultures. The key question that must be answered in this research is not how perennial polycultures work (although very interesting) nor how Wes Jackson founded the Land Institute but what have they done since their inception and how relevant and legitimate their work has been.

In order to investigate the relevancy of the Land Institute, one must look at what the most powerful and respected agency related to agriculture has to do with the Land Institute. The USDA (United States Department of Agriculture) is basically responsible for making sure that agriculture in the United States is regulated, developed and sustained to make sure food is always available to our nation. Considering this, if the USDA were to pay any attention to the Land Institute and their work on perennial polycultures, it would show some interest in this type of agriculture. In the late 1980's and early 1990's the USDA came up with an agency whose chief purpose was to allocate government funds towards the development and research in sustainable agriculture and its associated practices. Funded through the 1985 Food Security Act (FSA), the Low Input Sustainable Agriculture Program (LISA) was created in 1987 and made "sustainable agriculture a household word on the farm and funded numerous research, demonstration, and educational projects involved in sustainable agriculture."^{clxxxvii} It is important to note that LISA's name was eventually changed to Sustainable Agriculture Research and Education program (SARE). This

program was aimed at making sure that the sustainable agriculture movement received the funds it needed to ensure that the sector of agriculture was always being developed and researched. When looking at the amount of participants in LISA, "the USDA's Low-Input Sustainable Agriculture (LISA) competitive grants program funded some 90 projects in its first three years (1988-1990)" and it can be noted that there were many researchers and workers benefitting from this funding.^{clxxxviii} Considering this, it is important to think about the Land Institute's involvement in LISA and SARE and how much attention the institute received. The amount of attention received by these USDA funded agencies can be measured in the amount of money they contributed to a research project. When looking at a 1990 through 1993 Land Institute research proposal titled "Development of a Perennial Seed Crop Agriculture Modeled on the Prairie Ecosystem" it becomes evident that the Land Institute received substantial LISA funding. In 1990-1991 the budget proposed that LISA would provide "\$46,434 in personal services [employee wages and benefits]", "\$12,500 in non-personal services [travel, supply and equipment expenses]" for a total of \$58,843.^{clxxxix} In 1991-1992 the Land Institute received "\$48,660 in personal services" and "\$8,000 in non-personal services" for a total of \$56,660 in LISA funding.^{cx} In 1992-1993 the Land Institute received "\$51,087 in personal expenses" and "\$7,300 in non-personal expenses" for a total of 58,387 in LISA funding.^{cxci} So from 1990 to 1993 the Land Institute received over 173,000 dollars in government-provided, USDA-approved LISA funding. If this amount of money was considered in the monetary values of 2009 it would be worth over 285,000 dollars. This substantial amount of money can effectively show the amount of attention the LISA program and thus the USDA paid to Land Institute only 15 years after its establishment. Also one must consider the fact that this research funding was going directly to research on perennial polycultures. If the USDA was providing funds towards the development of this form of agriculture, it must have seen some value and potential within it.

In more recent times the Land Institute and its researchers have received additional funding from the USDA through the SARE program. In 2006 the SARE provided to the Land Institute a sum of \$70,188 for research on “Pasture-wheat intercropping for post-contract Conservation Reserve Program Lands.”^{cxcii} The purpose of this research was to develop a viable pasture-wheat intercropping (PWI) system with potential for managing post-contract Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) lands and enhancing grazing systems.”^{cxci} Although not directly related to perennial polycultures, this research deals with polycultures for it is a “pasture-wheat” crop system that intertwines pasture grasses with wheat. Also it can be seen that the USDA is still providing funds to the Land Institute for their research in the sustainable agriculture field. Once again, the legitimacy of the Land Institute as a viable place of learning and change is supported through the amount of funding the USDA is providing. Also in 2006 the SARE program provided \$134,765 to the Land Institute for research in “Domesticating Intermediate Wheatgrass for Sustainable Grain Production.”^{cxci} Once again it can be seen that the USDA provided substantial funding to the Land Institute for their work in sustainable agriculture. This funding not only legitimizes the establishment of the Land Institute, it reveals a place of learning that through the USDA’s eyes is a place that is worth the investment needs that they require to operate and research. These funds allocated to the Land Institute, be it LISA or SARE, also disclose a funding relationship that continued from 1990 to, at the earliest, 2006. This continuity of funding from the U.S. government adds to the relevance and importance of the Land Institute in the field of sustainable agriculture.

When looking at all these fiscal reports it is important to consider that when looking at the big picture of government funding agriculture, these various amounts of money are nominal compared to the overall SARE budget and the USDA budget in general. In 2009 the USDA provided the SARE program with 19 million dollars.^{cxv} Although this number would be deflated 10-20 years ago, it can be seen that

what the Land Institute has received can be considered a drop in the bucket compared to the funding expense allowed by the SARE. When looking at the total research budget for 2009 it can be seen that 2.3 billion dollars was spent towards research.^{cxvi} The majority of the research would be spent on major crops, not sustainable agriculture. This should not take away from the relevancy and legitimacy of the Land Institute in sustainable agriculture. Although small in comparison to the funding of major crop studies, the fact that USDA provided any money to this radical form of agriculture reveals its relevancy in the eyes of the USDA. If this relevancy was not seen, then would the USDA simply throw money at it for no reason? Highly doubtful. Although funding is what allows the Land Institute to operate and continue research, it is important to look at how this place of learning is viewed within the field of sustainable agriculture.

In order to view the standing of the Land Institute and their research and work on perennial polycultures one must look at how other professionals in the field of sustainable agriculture use, view and cite the Land Institute. The SARE funded research project titled “Management of Perennial Wheat as a Sustainable Alternative Cropping System in the Pacific Northwest” is one of many examples of researchers implementing the Land Institutes work on perennials.^{cxvii} In this 2003 research project, researchers state that they “have released perennial lines [of wheat] to researchers at Kansas State University and The Land Institute in Salinas, Kansas” in order to further their development of a perennial wheat crop.^{cxviii} This tid bit of information provides several thoughts. One thought is that the Land Institute must be considered one of the top researchers on perennials in the nation for this research group selected them to test and evaluate their work on perennial wheat. Another thought is that the Land Institute is being regarded as highly as Kansas State is in this area of sustainable agriculture because they were both selected to further this research. Another instance of perennial researchers using the Land Institute is when a 2002 SARE funded research titled “Native Perennial Legumes: New Species

for Grazing Systems” cites the work of the Land Institute and their work with the Illinois bundleflower.^{ccix} In this study researchers state that “the Land Institute of Salina, Kansas, has conducted research with this plant [Illinois bundleflower] and considers it to have great potential as a perennial grain crop for human consumption.”^{cc} Here we can see the Land Institutes’ previous research work providing the background knowledge that allows this study to elaborate on their study of the potential of the Illinois bundleflower to be a possible legume in grazing prairies. In another SARE funded project, Wes Jackson and other Land Institute employees partake in the formation of the “Midwest Alternative Agriculture Education Network” which is designed to provide “midwestern farmers with accessible, farmer-centered information and educational programs on alternative agriculture systems.”^{cci} This 1994 project included Wes Jackson as a member of a board which purpose was “marketing grass fed beef” while Land Institute employee Tom Mulhern was part of group that promoted the development of the Heartland Sustainable Agriculture Network.”^{ccii} The inclusion of the Land Institute members in a vital project such as this provides the thought that this organization (the Land Institute) was well known enough to be included in the formation of this sustainable agriculture education network.

One important thing to note about all of these research projects is that they deal with the use of perennials polycultures in agriculture and sustainable agriculture. This fact is important because it displays the spread of this form of agriculture from the Land Institute to other research organizations. All of these projects were conducted either by universities throughout the United States (Washington State University and University of Minnesota, respectively) or by respected research foundations such as the Land Stewardship project. Again when questioning the relevancy of the Land Institute, would these researchers spend valuable time and money on researching a type of agriculture that they thought was unworkable? Once again this is highly doubtful and again proves the legitimacy of the Land Institute and their research work. Considering

this, it is important to go back to the original goals of the Land Institute. One goal was to penetrate the land grant system and university system with the thoughts of the Land Institute. Here it can be clearly seen that the Land Institute has been successful in achieving the spread of their study to these places of learning. Another goal of the Land Institute was to place former employees and interns in land grant institutions and other important research centers.

There are several instances of former employees and students leaving the Land Institute and continuing their work within the field of sustainable agriculture. While they may have left the Land Institute, they still work on the problems that perennial polycultures provide. By former employees and students continuing their work outside of the Land Institute they are spreading the knowledge and thoughts associated with perennial polycultures and thus hopefully making this form of sustainable agriculture more prominent. In one case “Pat Dreese, a former Land [Institute] student . . . earned his Ph.D. from the Kansas State University Grain Science and Industry Department” and continued his work with perennial polycultures by receiving “collected [gamagrass] seed” from the Land Institute and “found gamagrass grain processing relatively easy”^{cciii} Although the production of gamagrass as a food stuff is not important in this essay, the fact that a student went on to receive his Ph.D. from a major land grant institution and continue work on perennial polycultures reveals the obtainment of the Land’s goal of producing scholars who stick with this study and contribute to it. Another example is a former employee of the Land Institute, James Henson, who went on to work at the Kerr Center for Sustainable Agriculture. In this example Henson, who “held a post doctorate at the Land and is currently employed at the Kerr Center for Sustainable Agriculture. . . established from seed 77 different accessions of gamagrass from the USDA Experiment Station in Woodward, Kansas”^{cciv} This example once again shows a previous Land Institute employee reaching out to another center for sustainable agriculture and continuing his work on perennial polycultures. To this extent it can be said that the Land

Institute achieved its goal of placing former employees and students in important and powerful universities and research centers in order to proliferate the existence of perennial polyculture studies.

As we have seen, the Land Institute was successful in obtaining several of its goals. It was able to place former employees and students in land grant institutions and prominent sustainable agriculture research centers. It was also able to receive a substantial amount of funding from the USDA through the SARE and LISA programs, legitimizing and validating the research done at the Land Institute. It also was able to spread the idea of this form of sustainable agriculture through the agricultural research community and thus proliferate the study of this type of agriculture. Although the Land Institute was able to achieve these significant goals one must wonder if anything has been produced by them that could be considered the “fruits of their labor.” This past July Wes Jackson, his good friend and fellow agrarian Wendell Berry and fellow sustainable agriculture researcher Fred Kirschenmann made a trip to Washington D.C. to propose to lawmakers their “50 year farm bill.”^{ccv} This bill was an alternative proposal to the typical farm bill and would implement various changes within the field of agriculture. Within this farm bill the authors state that they have developed Kernza, a “perennial relative of wheat... [which has] overall quality is superior to that of annual wheat”^{ccvi} They “will harvest 30 acres in 2009 and an additional 100 acres will be planted in 2009.”^{ccvii} This development is monumental in the study of perennial polycultures because it reveals the possibility of creating perennials out of standard annual crops. Through this development, the thought of making a perennial polyculture a reality in the near future becomes relevant not only in the eyes of sustainable agriculturalists and researchers but to the public and government. This development is also substantial to the relevance, importance and legitimacy of the Land Institute because it displays that this research operation is capable of producing results.

Wes Jackson created the Land Institute over 30 years ago in order to address the

problem of modern day, conventional agriculture. Through his unique forms of education, agriculture and science the Land Institute has developed into a major research institution within the field of sustainable agriculture. The Land Institute has been largely responsible for the proliferation of research on perennial polycultures and has been able to place former students and employees within land grant institutions and prominent sustainable agriculture facilities. Their funding support from USDA sponsored programs has been substantial over the past 20 years which further reveals the relevancy and legitimacy of their cause and purpose. This legitimacy within the field of sustainable agriculture is exemplified not only through their breakthroughs in perennial polyculture development (Kernza), but also through the usage of their research on other perennial research projects. The Land Institute has developed into a legitimate and relevant force within the field of sustainable agriculture and through their work and research a more sustainable future is possible.

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The Second British Invasion: This Time, It's Silent. A Study of British Television Industry's Creation of an Anti-Hegemonic Response to America's Global Media Predominance

Submitted by: Ellen Thompson

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the response of a one culture against the hegemony of another culture; specifically, efforts by the BBC against the omnipresence of American television media. Anti-hegemonic measures are often considered only in the context of third-world globalization. It is important to note, however, that some Western cultures are not only aware of, but actively resisting American cultural hegemony. The article highlights the BBC's awareness of, and desire to halt, a massive global television culture shaped solely by American exports. Exports of British content into American markets and beyond are analyzed, as well as the way in which these new markets adapt British content for their own cultural audience. *The Office* is used as an example of British television content that has effectively been exported not only to an American market, but also to over 80 countries. *The Office* and other such exports represent the British desire to not only assert cultural independence from American media hegemony, but a market-fueled interest in becoming a rival television power globally.

Keywords: *glocalization, hegemony, mediascapes*

INTRODUCTION

When the word 'hegemony' is mentioned in a global media setting, often, two stereotypes are enacted. The first is that of a first-world aggressor, almost always Western, and more times than not American. The second is that of a third-world victim, defenseless in its fight against the dominant mother culture being imposed on its inhabitants. However, the reality

of mass communication globally is much more nuanced than this black and white portrayal. It is true that American media culture is a force to be reckoned with. With cultural powerhouses such as Hollywood, a film powerhouse that cannot be denied in terms of its power internationally, America is certainly considered an international media giant. However, those who are inundated with the images and products of this media empire are not passive victims of an unstoppable force. Many across the globe are aware of the unique status America plays in media culture. This includes Great Britain, a cultural powerhouse in itself. The BBC's response to American media hegemony is an example of the awareness of, and resilience of, global powers. The television industry, while often dominated by images produced in America, has a unique look on British screens. With a powerful domestic television market, and a concerted effort to export programs abroad, the BBC defies normal expectations of what it means to be anti-Hegemonic.

LITERATURE REVIEW

When first starting research into this topic, I originally wanted to do a cross-cultural analysis of British and American television programs and portrayals of cultural values through those programs. While I found a large amount of literature relating to British culture, and British television, I found very little on subsequent American topics. As suggested to me, the birthplace of Cultural Studies (Great Britain) accounts for both much of the evidence I acquired, and was unable to acquire.

A good deal of the initial information I found, in regard to cultural comparison through television, focused solely on British television

habits. I found an abundance of material that dealt with meta-analysis of British culture and its manifestation through television, particularly comedy. It seems that Britain's unique past both as a global hegemony, in Imperialist times, and as the birthplace of Cultural Studies, has produced an academic environment wherein there is a desire to define what it means to be British. Articles such as "Core British Values: What It Means to be British" (Mackney, 2008) assert this quest for a solidified identity.

After surveying the disparity in information about the two cultures, I then narrowed my focus to the area of British television, and responses to American television. The same desire for a strong and unified British identity has seemed to foster an awareness of other global powers in the media marketplace. The amount of literature describing and condemning the omnipresence of American media influence bespeaks this.

Yet, despite this information I found, when searching for information on anti-hegemonic efforts, I found little that dealt with the backlash of first-world nations. Most of the published works currently in circulation still subscribe to the idea that the Western aggressors simply impose their own values and norms on weaker, defenseless third-world nations

To begin an analysis of the BBC's media efforts, it is necessary to define the concept that the BBC rallies against. *Hegemony*, according to Marxist Antonio Gramsci, is the state in which:

"one dominant social group in a society has the capacity to exercise intellectual and moral direction over society at large and to build a new system of social alliances to support its aims...the most effective way of wielding power [is] to build consent by ideological control of cultural production and distribution...[and] through its control of...the mass media"

(Thussu, 2006, p. 53)

Essentially, this concept is thought by the BBC to encapsulate the role of American television and its ubiquity throughout the globe. Its influence extends beyond its own political

borders to the point where other television markets cannot help but reflect this hegemonic state.

Another important concept to define is that of *glocalization*. Simply put, this process involves the "blending of local features into global products" (Lull, 2000, p. 252). This tactic is used by both the dominant culture, and the 'victimized' culture, to attain a set of products/services that meet the needs of both the local audience and the global force. A halfway point between local demand and global supply, glocalization is seen as a more humane response to global forces than mere globalization, which is thought to impose foreign values and beliefs on natives cultures.

Finally, *mediascapes* are described as "both [the] distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information [such as] television stations...and the images of the world created by these media" (Appadurai, 1990, p. 35). In a changing global market, with audiences ever migrating, expanding, and blending, the dispersion of media products is evolving. No longer are audiences content to consume media at the behest of the supplier; consumption on demand is now the norm (Baran, 2008). It is also true that audiences are adapting and changing to our ever-globalized world as well (Lull, 2000). The mediascapes that exist today facilitate both the hegemony of American media products, as well as any anti-hegemonic responses therein.

ANALYSIS

The lynchpin program I focus on throughout this paper is *The Office*. First broadcast in the UK via the BBC in 2001, and the corporation's most successful export to date, (Milmo, 2006, p. 22) *The Office* has enjoyed great critical and audience success stateside as well. Now a staple of American television, and with other British exports on the way, the BBC is certainly worth studying.

Upon further investigation, the BBC has quite a bit of influence in America. The offshoot channel BBC America has enjoyed great commercial success as of late; one week's ratings in July of 2009 topping 3.3 million for the airing of a single show. BBC America has carved out quite a niche for itself stateside, with

a lineup heavy with sci-fi imports (PR Newswire, 2009). With plans made already for the 2010 season, the BBC's success in America speaks of a parent company driven to success.

The success of BBC America is due in large part to the company's profit-driven motives. Much like the American hegemonic powers vilified by media critics, the BBC recognizes the power of high-profit ventures, and sees a viable market in American audiences. The overseer of BBC Worldwide America, Garth Ancier, has been quoted as saying "[I] would like to see the top U.K. series exploit their worth over longer periods" (Weisman, 2009, pg. 13). The desire to create and maintain a source of profit drives much of the BBC's efforts to expand its market to the US.

iTunes, a revolutionary software device that has changed the way that global citizens purchase and utilize media products (such as songs, TV shows, movies, etc.) is another market that has recently been tapped for the American market. Those who do not subscribe to the television channel BBC America, which is normally included in the more expensive packages offered by cable and satellite companies, now have access to shows such as *Torchwood*, *Little Britain*, and other popular exports from across the pond (PR Newswire, 2008). Again, the American audience is targeted as a viable source of profit.

Americans, however, are not the only demographic sought by the British television behemoth. Following a 91% increase in ratings for BBC America in the 2007 fiscal year, the BBC is now searching for an expanded global audience. A partnership with the South American media conglomeration Televisa has provided an outlet for the distribution of BBC content in the Southern hemisphere. South African, Polish and Australian markets have already been scouted as markets ready for the introduction of BBC programming. As global channels director Darren Childs states, "Most multichannel is dominated by the American studios. We're providing really for the first time a different voice to the American voice. That's making a real connection" (Schreiber, 2008).

DISCUSSION

It is clear to me that the BBC has just as much investment in the global television marketplace as do the American hegemonic media companies that it is gently nudging out. Aware of, and wary of the influence of American television on foreign markets, the British television landscape has "yet to surrender their screens to the wholesale invasion of American television" (Spencer, 2007, pg. 125). Beyond this, however, a hard look into the motives and actions of the BBC shows that British television is not merely trying to assert its dominance domestically. The expansion of British program to foreign markets is only the beginning of a carefully crafted campaign to introduce British content abroad, much in the same vein of American media giants it clearly opposes.

Great Britain holds a unique position in the global marketplace. A tiny island nation with a population a fraction of America's, the British position is actually one of great power. English is the native language, and originated in that very isle. Now the *lingua franca* of media worldwide, content that is produced in Britain is easily adapted for foreign audiences.

The American market in particular has little trouble understanding and identifying with original British content. *Secret Diary of a Call Girl*, for example, was imported directly to an American audience via cable provider Showtime with little to no editing or tweaking needed. This leaves the profit margin for parent company as wide as possible, as no extra production costs are needed (Adalian, 2007).

Glocalized adaptations, however, are often very lucrative efforts as well. In fact, *Secret Diary* was first considered as an option for Americanized adaptation. Another example of a very successful and profitable adaptation is, of course, the American version of *The Office*. A long running show now in its sixth season, with more than 100 episodes to date, this series has become an American comedy staple. The phrase "that's what she said", thanks to fictional Dunder-Mifflin office manager Michael Scott, has now become a ubiquitous response throughout segments of the American social landscape.

The first globalized adaptation to derive from the original formula of the UK *Office*, however, is not alone in the global marketplace. There now exist five fully-fledged versions of the original, including American, French, German, French-Canadian, and Chilean. With over 80 countries holding access to subtitled versions of the original, there are few areas of the globe that are not at the very least familiar with the concept spawned in Great Britain.

Shows like *The Mighty Boosh*, a quirky and abstract comedy produced by and starring two British comedians, have also been imported to the US with little fanfare, but big results. Originally airing on BBC Three starting in 2005. The show started out not with a bang, but with a small and devoted set of fans who, over the next two seasons, had amassed to the point where characters enacted in the show (for instance, “The Hitcher” or “Old Gregg”) became just as ubiquitous on the island nation as the phrase “that’s what she said” is here.

When imported first to BBC America, *The Mighty Boosh* received little mention, acclaim, and underwhelming ratings. But when added to the Cartoon Network lineup on the late-night time slot (home to such niche shows like the anime series *Full Metal Alchemist*, *Death Note*, or *Cowboy Bebop*), *The Mighty Boosh* found a small but enthusiastic following. Much in the same vein as the popularity of anime shows in the US, with fan bases not a large chunk of the population but very enthusiastic, *Boosh* gained attention and fans within a short period of time, despite its 1 a.m. time slot. And similar to anime fans, who usually start out with one show that opens her eyes to the larger variety of anime available, and even to the culture of Japan where anime originated, *Boosh* can be seen as a prime example of the Uses & Gratifications theory (Baran, 2008) among American audiences.

Part of the BBC’s appeal is that it offers a widely available, but thoroughly unique alternative to American media offerings. Because of the power and size of the American television industry, almost every country in the world is constantly exposed to a stream of American content. Most people in this generation have grown up culturally bilingual,

due to this exposure. Americans are unique in that they are the only sizable example of a culturally monolingual people. The content of the BBC and ITV’s offerings in the US appeals to a set of people, who, much like anime fans, desire a television experience unlike the one that they are constantly immersed in.

Personally, this is where my interest in British television arose. I caught one episode of the (as yet unadapted for American audiences) pop quiz *Nevermind the Buzzcocks*. The humor was of a brand that simply is not offered in standard American fare. My consumption of this media product, available to me (and anyone else worldwide with an internet connection) online, has caused a ripple effect that has opened my eyes to a new culture, gratified my yearning for content I have not been able to find domestically, and has made me a consumer of many British television products.

The Uses and Gratifications theory applies to the exportation of British products and services due to the fact that Britain is *not* considered a global hegemony. It is because I do not often see content such as that produced in the UK that the British programs I watch fulfill an unmet desire. This status as a non-hegemonic nation, however, actually facilitates a quiet but powerful spread of British content that, while battling against the tide of American content, has begun to rival the power and profit of its stateside competitor.

The expansion of the BBC, and to a lesser extent programs from other British networks like ITV, GTV, etc. simply speaks to the concerted effort by British television to assert itself as a ubiquitous cultural force. Because of the global identification and, to some extent, vilification of the ubiquity of American media, the BBC is free to assert their cultural mark without being seen as hegemonic. In fact, though, their influence is expanding quite rapidly, and looks like it will continue to do so in the near future.

CONCLUSION

When the word ‘hegemony’ is mentioned in a global media setting, often, two stereotypes are enacted. The first is that of a first-world aggressor, almost always Western, and more times than not American. The second

is that of a third-world victim, defenseless in its fight against the dominant mother culture being imposed on its inhabitants. However, the reality of mass communication globally is much more nuanced than this black and white portrayal. It is true that American media culture is a force to be reckoned with. With cultural powerhouses such as Hollywood, a film powerhouse that cannot be denied in terms of its power internationally, America is certainly considered an international media giant. However, those who are inundated with the images and products of this media empire are not passive victims of an unstoppable force. Many across the globe are aware of the unique status America plays in media culture. This includes Great Britain, a cultural powerhouse in itself. The BBC's response to American media hegemony is an example of the awareness of, and resilience of, global powers. The television industry, while often dominated by images produced in America, has a unique look on British screens. With a powerful domestic television market, and a concerted effort to export programs abroad, the BBC defies normal expectations of what it means to be anti-Hegemonic. In the words of David Brent (fictional manager in the UK version of *The Office*):

"I don't look upon this like it's the end, I look upon it like it's moving on, you know. It's almost like my work here's done. I can't imagine Jesus going, "Oh, I've told a few people in Bethlehem I'm the son of God, can I just stay here with Mum and Dad now?" No. You gotta move on. You gotta spread the word. You gotta go to Nazareth."

Much like David in his trek to a metaphorical Nazareth, British television must keep up with the ever-changing demands of the global marketplace. When the success of British programs have proven their worth, the time must come when the markets expand to new, untapped lands of profit and success.

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