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Message from the Dean

Grand Valley State University is proud to be the home of our Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program now in its tenth year. The activities of our scholars and their mentors continue to reflect the spirit of Dr. Ronald E. McNair, and to serve as a model for everyone involved in assisting students to prepare for graduate study.

Special thanks to the faculty mentors for affording these capable students the opportunity to improve their research skills as they begin their post-baccalaureate work.

And congratulations to the 11 GVSU McNair Scholars whose work appears in this edition of the Grand Valley State University McNair Scholars Journal. Your projects reflect well on you, and enrich the life of the university community.



Mary A. Seeger, Dean

Advising Resources and Special Programs



GRAND VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY

Before You Can Make A Dream Come True,

You Must First Have One. —Ronald E. McNair, Ph.D.

Ronald Erwin McNair was born October 21, 1950, in Lake City, South Carolina, to Carl and Pearl McNair. He attended North Carolina A&T State University

where he graduated Magna Cum Laude with a B.S. degree in physics in 1971.

McNair then enrolled in the prestigious Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1976, at the age of 26, he earned his Ph.D. in physics.

McNair soon became a recognized expert in laser physics while working as a staff physicist with Hughes Research Laboratory. He was selected by NASA for the space shuttle program in 1978 and was a mission specialist aboard the 1984 flight of the USS *Challenger* space shuttle.

After his death in the USS *Challenger* space shuttle accident in January 1986, members of Congress provided funding for the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program. The goal is to encourage low-income, first generation students, as well as students who are traditionally under-represented in graduate schools, to expand their opportunities by pursuing graduate studies.



Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program

The Purpose

The McNair Scholars Program is designed to prepare highly talented undergraduates to pursue doctoral degrees and to increase the number of individuals (from the target groups) on college and university faculties.

Who are McNair Scholars?

The McNair Scholars are highly talented undergraduate students who are from families with no previous college graduate, low-income background or groups under-represented at the graduate level for doctoral studies. The program accepts students from all disciplines.

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From Coahoma County to Cook County: The Music of Muddy Waters



Jennifer Goven
McNair Scholar

ABSTRACT

African Americans developed the blues as a reaction to the harsh conditions in the Mississippi Delta. The music found a new home during the first half of the twentieth century when thousands of African Americans migrated to northern cities. Inevitably, the sounds and styles of the bluesmen that journeyed North changed in response to their new environment. My research focuses on the music of Muddy Waters because of his unique experiences in both the Delta and Chicago. This portion of research analyzes Waters' Stovall Plantation recordings, as they are a reflection of his life in the Delta. Later study will explore his early work in Chicago.

It was 1941, late August, presumably a sticky Mississippi afternoon when Alan Lomax and John Work reached Coahoma County, Mississippi. Lomax was a folklorist for the Library of Congress; Work was a member of the Fisk University Music Department. The reason for their trek, Lomax suggests, was

To explore objectively and exhaustively the musical habits of a single Negro community in the Delta, to find out and describe the function of music in the community, to ascertain the history of music in the community, and to document adequately the cultural and social backgrounds for music in the community.¹

Both Lomax and Work understood the importance of capturing the folklore that thrived undocumented in the African-American communities of the South. They shared a common perception of "folklore" that encompassed not only the oldest songs, those considered the most pure by others in the field, but also included the "living folk and their input."² Lomax expresses the importance of documenting the music emerging in the Mississippi Delta when he says, "the portable recorder put neglected cultures and silenced people into the communication chain."³ The purpose of my project is similar although it concentrates on the music of one man as a reflection of his community. This portion of my research will focus on the early life and music of Muddy Waters; I will analyze the lyrics of two particular songs Waters recorded on the Stovall Plantation, "I Be's Troubled" and "Country Blues," specifically looking for lyrical



Steve Tripp, Ph.D.
Faculty Mentor

¹ Robert Gordon, *Can't Be Satisfied: The Life and Times of Muddy Waters*. (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), 37.

² Gordon, 36.

³ Alan Lomax, *The Land Where the Blues Began*. (Delta, 1994), xi.

reactions to the harsh environment of the Mississippi Delta. My final goal is to understand how the Great Migration affected the African American community of Chicago by examining Waters' re-recording of the songs previously mentioned. During the 1940s an estimated 200,000 African Americans migrated to Chicago, twice that of the 1930s.⁴ The increase in industrial production coupled with a significant amount of the labor force stationed overseas during World War II caused the resurgence of African American migration. I want to take a closer look at the impact that moving from Coahoma County, the heart of the Delta, to Cook County, home of Chicago's South Side, had on a bluesman and his music.

Although research on the blues has increased since the 1940s, nothing has been published specifically on the effects that migration had on the Delta-inspired music and its place in the migration culture of African Americans. Generations of African Americans looked to the North as the "promised land" and saw the move as their "exodus." Cutting their ties to the plantation and to the Delta offered African Americans a sense of power like nothing they experienced before. Inevitably, such a journey had an impact on the emotions expressed by bluesmen who took their talents North. Just as they did in the South, bluesmen continued to sing for their community, expressing emotions shared by the many African Americans who left the Delta for Chicago. I chose to study the life and music of McKinley Morganfield, better known as Muddy Waters, concentrating on his life in the Delta and his early career in Chicago.

Waters' career in Chicago redefined the blues. His blend of down-home blues and urban electric sound replaced the classical blues that dominated the Chicago scene when he arrived. His presence is still alive today in the bwaaang of a slide running down the neck of any guitar or in the deliberate distortion of a punk rock band, and his legacy continues to influence generations of musicians.

Work and Lomax arrived at the Stovall Plantation on August 31, 1941 and, with permission granted by the overseer, began looking for Muddy Waters. Son House, Waters' childhood mentor and fellow Delta bluesman, told Lomax and Work that Waters sounded similar to the legendary Robert Johnson.⁵ This excited Lomax. He had come to Coahoma County looking for Johnson, unaware that he had died a few years earlier. He had hoped to record the mythical bluesman that summer. Instead, Lomax recorded a young Muddy Waters, and music has not been the same since.

McKinley Morganfield was born April 4, 1915 to Ollie Morganfield and Berta Grant in an area of Issaquena County, Mississippi, known to locals as Jug's Corner. He was given his father's last name, although his parents never married. Shortly after the birth of her only son, Berta passed away leaving McKinley in the care of his thirty-two year-old grandmother, Della Grant.

Waters spent the first few years of his life on the Cottonwood Plantation in Issaquena County. While living on the Cottonwood Plantation, Waters' grandmother re-christened her grandson "Muddy" because she often found him playing in the rich delta mud.

Like many African Americans in the Mississippi Delta, his grandmother was a sharecropper, cultivating cotton on a small parcel of rented land in exchange for a percentage of her crops. The sharecropping system emerged after the Civil War due to the mutual dependency of plantation owners and African Americans in the South.⁶ The economic system of the South could not survive without cheap labor. Left with nothing after the Civil War, former slaves now needed to make a living and plantation owners found it easy to bind them to the land. It did not take long for the system to develop into what historian Robert Palmer calls "a modern-day feudalism".⁷ Sharecroppers lived throughout the year on supplies provided by the plantation owner. The owners often overcharged sharecroppers fueling the vicious cycle of debt. The provisions, referred to by locals as the "furnish," consisted of a cabin, store credit, and the necessary farming equipment including seeds, mules, and plows. The plantation cabin usually consisted of two rooms with no electricity or running water. After the harvest, the plantation owner took a share of the crop to pay for the furnish and any other expenses incurred over the year. Often, this left the farmers with next to nothing. In 1942, Waters told Lomax his family cleared between \$100 and \$300 dollars per year after paying off any outstanding debts.⁸ Whether or not a sharecropper went into debt at settlement had everything to do with the integrity of the owner who in many cases "fixed the books". Since most sharecroppers had only a rudimentary education, they could not easily dispute the owners' claims. Waters' grandmother

⁴ Robert G. Spinney, *City of Big Shoulders: A History of Chicago* (Illinois: Northern Illinois Press, 2000), 200.

⁵ Gordon, 57.

⁶ Robert Palmer, *Deep Blues*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 9.

⁷ Palmer, 9.

⁸ Lomax, 413.

had no education at all and Waters only completed the third grade. Often, an indebted sharecropper might simply leave one farm for another in an effort to avoid repayment. Most likely, this is the reason Della Grant left the Cottonwood Plantation.

Grant, her son Joe, and a young Waters relocated to the Stovall Plantation in Coahoma County, Mississippi, eighty miles north of Issaquena County some time before 1920. Owned by Colonel Howard Stovall III, the 4,000-acre plantation had a friendly reputation among the African-American population.⁹ Again, Grant made a living as a sharecropper. By the age of ten, Waters, too, worked in the cotton fields. This was common of African-American children living on plantations.¹⁰ Cultivating cotton is back breaking work; at picking-time sharecroppers traveled down endless rows of cotton with sacks strapped to their backs. These sacks could be up to nine feet long and could hold a hundred pounds of cotton. Many plantation owners, in an attempt to keep their tenants from concentrating too heavily on the misery of life as a sharecropper, encouraged them to spend their off time, and their money, on vices like moonshine and gambling. For this reason, Colonel Stovall situated a juke joint next to his general store; this way he could keep a close watch on his workers and on their pocketbooks. Stovall's juke joint was home to gambling, dancing, and what many churchgoers called the devil's music, the blues.

Scholars generally view the blues as a reaction to the dead-end circumstances African Americans faced in the Deep

South including economic disparities, segregation, and intimidation. Although the music did not emerge until the early 1900s, the spirit of the blues had been simmering in the South for years. In *Blues People* Leroi Jones explains

Blues was a music that developed because of the Negro's adaptation to, and adoption of, America, it was also a music that developed because of the Negro's peculiar position in the country.¹¹

Bluesman Memphis Slim agreed, telling Lomax that "the blues come from slavery".¹² The blues did descend from its predecessors, the field hollers and spirituals that developed during slavery. Robert Palmer, author of *Deep Blues*, further develops this idea when he suggests:

Blues is a musical idiom that has drawn on numerous sources, including jump-ups, field hollers (which it most closely resembles melodically), songster ballads (from which it borrowed some imagery and some guitar patterns), church music (which influenced the singing of many blues musicians), and African-derived percussive music (which furnished some rhythmic ideas).¹³

However, crucial differences exist between earlier music and the blues.

The blues and spirituals, the other major African-American musical forms, are significantly different in both content and style. African-American spirituals stem from a combination of African

religions and Christian themes. The content of spirituals is positive and hopeful. They offered the weary and enslaved a place in the world, often referring to themselves as God's chosen people bound for the Promised Land. Spirituals typically followed the call-and-response pattern, an African musical tradition in which everyone contributed. The blues, however, were an act of individual expression in that the singer conveyed his personal dissatisfaction to the audience. The content of the blues is also very different from that of spirituals. The major themes of the blues are alienation, hopelessness, and the recognition that evil and injustice are always present. The bluesman's inability to escape the evil of the world places his focus on the overwhelming power of the devil, an idea that would never find its way into a spiritual. Despite the desolate emotions expressed in blues songs, bluesmen also exuded energy and confidence. Perhaps their resignation to fate freed them from the torture of trying to understand the peculiar situation of African Americans

Muddy Waters' relationship with the blues began at an early age. His neighbor, and later his grandmother too, had phonographs that introduced him to the popular music of the time. Around the age of seven, he began to play the harmonica.¹⁴ At fourteen, he saw Son House perform for the first time.¹⁵ House was a popular traveling bluesman from Coahoma County. Waters recalled that his "eyes lit up like a Christmas tree" the first time he saw him wailing on the guitar with his signature bottleneck.¹⁶ In Robert Gordon's biographical *Can't be Satisfied*, Waters

⁹ Gordon, 11.

¹⁰ Lomax, 412.

¹¹ Leroi Jones, *Blues People: Negro Music in White America*. (New York: William Morrow. 1999).

¹² *Blues in the Mississippi Night*. Features Memphis Slim, Big Bill Broonzy, and Sonny Boy Williamson, as told to and recorded by Alan Lomax. Notes by Alan Lomax. (Massachusetts: Rykodisc. 1990).

¹³ Palmer, 43.

¹⁴ Palmer, 104.

¹⁵ Gordon, 23.

¹⁶ Gordon, 23.

recounts watching House perform; the image Waters provided is that of a son watching a father. Waters' own father played guitar around Jug's Corner, but apparently he wanted nothing to do with raising Waters. Instead, his father influenced Waters through his absence. Lomax, in his book *The Land Where the Blues Began*, suggests that "the degree to which bluesmen experienced the sense of pain and loss that accompanies the disappearance of parents" determined how they sang the blues (Lomax 362).¹⁷ At seventeen, Waters sold the family's last horse, and after giving his grandmother half the profit, he bought his first guitar, a second-hand Stella.¹⁸ Waters' decision clearly indicates his vision of the future and his ambition to be a bluesman, not a farmer.

When Lomax and Work arrived in the Delta, Waters was twenty-six years old. He still spent his days in the cotton fields, but on the weekends, he transformed his cabin into a juke joint where his moonshine and music flowed freely. Waters' weekend parties not only supplemented his income, which Palmer estimates at twenty-two and a half cents an hour, but also made him a popular bluesman among locals.¹⁹ Why Colonel Stovall allowed Waters to run his own juke joint historians can only speculate. Perhaps, Colonel Stovall depended heavily on Waters not only as a farmer but also as an entertainer and a bootlegger.

Despite Waters' popularity on the Stovall Plantation, he never intended to live out his days as a sharecropper. Waters told James Rooney, "I wanted to be a known person, all of my life, that's what I worked for."²⁰ Waters' desires

crystallized when Lomax played back the recording and Waters heard his voice for the first time. Describing this event to Paul Oliver, Waters verbalizes his reaction:

I really HEARD myself for the first time. I'd never heard my voice. I used to sing; used to sing just how I felt, 'cause that's the way we always sang in Mississippi. But when Mr. Lomax played me the record I thought, this boy can sing the blues.²¹

Lomax and Work recorded Waters playing a number of tunes that afternoon; Lomax chose to put two of them, "Country Blues" and "I Be's Troubled," on the album *Afro-American Blues and Game Songs*, released in January of 1943.²² Lomax promised Waters two copies of the record. Less than six months after he received them, Waters abandoned the cotton field, and with his grandmother's blessing, he caught the Illinois Central, Chicago bound.

"Country Blues," the first song recorded on that fateful Sunday in 1941, conceptualizes Waters' image of the Delta and solidifies him as a bluesman. The song "Country Blues" was a Delta standard recorded earlier by Robert Johnson as "Walkin' Blues"; the tune had been passed on to Johnson by Waters' mentor Son House.²³ In his first recording of "Country Blues," Waters wades through a stream of emotions; beginning with his inability to be satisfied and ending with the resolution to leave his worrying, waiting, and half-hearted hoping behind.

In the first verse, Waters expresses his need for a sexual release:

Was getting late over in the evening,
child,
I feel like blowin' my horn.
I woke up this mornin'
Find my little baby gone.

Bluesmen commonly used double-entendres like "I feel like blowin' my horn" to express to their audience, especially the women, that they were in need of what Lomax called "sex and mothering."²⁴ At a basic level, Waters howls for carnal gratification as well as for the return of his woman.

In the second verse:

Well, now some folks say
The old worried blues ain't bad.
That's the miserabliest feeling,
Child, I most ever had.

Waters explains that despite what other folks say about the situation, he is unable to be consoled. This verse conveys his unsatisfied yearning for freedom and his heartache as a result.

In the third verse:

Well, brooks running into the ocean,
The ocean, the ocean running into the sea,
If I don't find my baby,
Somebody goin', gon' bury me.

Waters explains his inability to be appeased. The first two lines express an accepted sentiment shared by bluesmen that heartache and discontent are endemic to their lives. In the last two

¹⁷ Lomax, 362.

¹⁸ Gordon, 23.

¹⁹ Palmer, 7.

²⁰ James Rooney, *Bossmen: Bill Monroe and Muddy Waters*. (New York: The Dial Press, 1971), 107.

²¹ Paul Oliver, *The Story of the Blues*. (Massachusetts: Northeastern University Press, 1998), 9.

²² Gordon, 61.

²³ Gordon, 38.

²⁴ Lomax, 367.

lines, “If I don’t find my baby somebody goin’, gon’ bury me” Waters conveys the passion in which his desires are rooted.

The fourth verse reveals Waters’ misery as he waits for change:

Yes, minutes seem like hours
And hours seem like days,
Seem like my baby
Will stop her, her lowdown ways.

When Waters sings “seems like my baby would stop her, her lowdown ways” he underscores his frustration with his existing conditions.

In the final verse, Waters resolves to free himself from his desolate situation, a decision frequently made by bluesmen:

Well, I’m leaving this morning
If I have to ride the blinds
I feel mistreated, girl,
You know now, I don’t mind dyin’

The escape will not be easy “riding the blinds,” slang for secretly hitching a freight train, might lead to his death. Nevertheless, Waters is unwavering in his commitment to leave, claiming, “I don’t mind dyin.” If the only alternative to the endless wretchedness of waiting for change is death, then Waters resolves to accept his fate.

The theme of “Country Blues” is freedom. Waters expresses his desire for freedom from misery in his metaphoric tale of a low-down woman. Bluesmen often told of the mistreatment they endured at the hands of fickle women. Jeff Todd Titon suggests that “the overt subject matter of many songs, mistreatment (and what the singer will do about it), allows the singer to express

a desire for freedom more concretely.”²⁵ Perhaps Waters used “Country Blues” to express a deep-rooted longing to escape the harshness of the Delta. Waters may have been singing about a low-down woman, but he might also have been singing about the intransigence of Delta racism and African Americans’ limited means of fighting that racism. In this sense, the song reflects a more universal longing than the simple longing for sexual gratification or even romance. Waters makes it clear that his situation is miserable and may always be miserable. Indeed, by the final verses, he wonders how long he will have to wait for change. In desperation, he resolves to risk death in search for freedom.

Waters addresses dissatisfaction with his lover again in “I Be’s Troubled”, the second song recorded on the Stovall Plantation in 1941. Unlike the swelling misery of “Country Blues” which culminates in the final verse with Waters’ decision to leave, in “I Be’s Troubled” Waters states his intent to escape in the first two lines:

Well, if I feel tomorrow, like I feel today,
I’m gonna pack my suitcase, and make my getaway.
I be troubled, I’m all worried in mind,
And I never be satisfied, and I just can’t keep from cryin’.

Waters then outlines his motives in the verses following his declaration to be free.

In the second verse, Waters claims innocence when, by arriving late, he upsets his woman. He sings:

Yeah, I know my little ol’ baby, she gonna jump and shout
That ol’ train be late, girl, and I come walkin’ out
I be troubled, I’m all worried in mind,
And I never be satisfied, and I just can’t keep from cryin’.

This is the same sentiment Waters expressed in “Country Blues”—that misfortune invariably always follows the bluesman.

The next verse reveals Waters’ reason for feeling blue; again, his woman has been unfaithful to him. What is most important about this verse is Waters’ expression of dissatisfaction; this is an underlying theme of many blues songs. The unforgiving Mississippi Delta swamped its sharecroppers in discontent, and Waters describes this bitter bath:

Yeah, I know somebody, who’ been talkin’ to you
I don’t need no telling, girl, I can watch the way you do
I be troubled, I’m all worried in mind,
And I never be satisfied, and I just can’t keep from cryin’.

In the final two verses, Waters encapsulates the theme of “I Be’s Troubled”, dissatisfaction and the struggle for power:

Yeah, now goodbye baby, got no more to say
Just like I been tellin’ you, you’re gonna have to leave my way
I be troubled, I’m all worried in mind,

²⁵ Jeff Todd Titon, ed., *Downhome Blues Lyrics: An Anthology from the Post-World War II Era*, 2nd ed. (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 10.

And I never be satisfied, and I just
can't keep from cryin.

Yeah, my baby she quit me, seem
like mama was dead
I be troubled, I'm all worried in mind,
And I never be satisfied, and I just
can't keep from cryin.
I got all worried gal, and she drove
it to my head.

Waters has presumably been putting up with the deceitfulness of his woman for some time now. Finally, after much warning, he tells her that he has had enough. In the final verse, Waters again expresses the worry and misery he endured because of her continual mistreatment.

Historian J. William Harris describes the blues as a record of the African-American experience in the Delta and considers the bluesmen the embodiment of such experiences.²⁶ African-American communities across the South could relate to the words sung by local bluesmen or even those just passing through. Bluesmen expressed African Americans' desire to feel what it meant to be free, to control their own destiny,

and to be respected. "Country Blues" and "I Be's Troubled" both articulate these themes.

The spirit that gave birth to the blues is the same spirit that eventually carried thousands of African Americans to the North. That spirit, ignited by the desire for freedom, provoked African Americans to break their ties with the Delta and to reach into the hands of their plantation owners and take back their pride. After years of being bound to the land, the act of moving elicited a sense of freedom for African Americans. They longed to taste the power that undoubtedly washed over them while riding the Illinois Central. Thousands of African Americans did savor that freedom during the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1940s, the decade in which Waters migrated North, 154,000 African Americans arrived in Chicago.²⁷ In the urban cities of the North, the blues continued to express African American attitudes toward progress.²⁸

The next phase of my research will concentrate on Waters' reaction to his new environment in the North. The music of Muddy Waters is a tool for

understanding how African Americans felt during the tumultuous years following their momentous migration North. Blues historians often gravitate towards Waters because of his unique experience in both the Delta and Chicago. Both Robert Palmer and Alan Lomax pay considerable attention to Waters, but neither fully analyzes his lyrics. Because he re-recorded "Country Blues" and "I Be's Troubled" in Chicago, Waters provides a window into his worldviews at two exceptionally different stages of his life, occurring in two extraordinarily different places, the Mississippi Delta and Chicago's South Side. Further analysis of Waters' lyrics is necessary to understand the effect of the Great Migration on the emotions of African Americans, who in many ways traded disillusionment in the South for disillusionment in the North. Perhaps the most untainted freedom those leaving the Delta experienced occurred while sitting on the Illinois Central, watching America and all its glory pass them by, captivated by the freedom of the journey.

²⁶ J. William Harris, *Deep Souths: Delta, Piedmont and Sea Island Society in the Age of Segregation*. (Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 191.

²⁷ Palmer, 12.

²⁸ Titon, 2.

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Certainty, Probability, and Stalin's Great Party Purge



Brett Homkes
McNair Scholar

ABSTRACT

In 1935, Stalin decided to purge his own party to consolidate power in the Soviet government. Since the inception of historical research about this event, a debate has developed regarding the number of arrests and deaths of Soviets ordered by Stalin. This study will examine the figures calculated by Western historians to determine where correlation and discrepancy exist. The importance of this research is to assess the reasons why such dramatic statistical differences exist among various historians. The historians' sources show the difficulty of determining accurate figures because of the secretive nature of the Soviet government and only partial opening of Soviet archives.

In 1936, Josef Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU], initiated a Party Purge, the extent of which, measured by the numbers of deaths and arrests of Party members and their affiliates, has proved to be highly controversial. A long-simmering historical debate about this issue surprisingly deepened after the fall of the Soviet Union brought about the partial opening of government archives that many thought would answer all questions. Part of the problem is that the numbers have ideological significance: for example, the lower the figures, the more "normal" the USSR appears, making it possible that it could have become a social democracy on the welfare state model. Conversely, the higher the figures, the more "surreal" the whole Soviet experience seems, making it virtually impossible to believe that it could have mutated into anything that would have prevented ultimate catastrophe.

The most influential participants in the "purge debate" are J. Arch Getty and Robert Conquest. Getty's numbers of deaths and arrests are low in comparison to Conquest's vastly higher figures. Much has been made of Getty's "revisionism" and Conquest has been pilloried as a "Cold Warrior," but a study of the sources used by these two historians better explains how they arrived at their conclusions than do their politics and the rhetoric of their friends and enemies.

In the late 1980s, when Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* began the long-anticipated opening of the state archives, the dispute about the Soviet Union's capacity to develop into a "normal" social democracy gained a new intensity. One of the key questions was, and remains, the extent of the actual human cost of Soviet socialism. Basically, it was a question of scale. Many believed that the archives possessed the necessary evidence to settle this matter once and for all.



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Faculty Mentor

The question of the extent of the terror that Stalin's Communist Party unleashed upon the Soviet people became a battleground for historians. Those who believed that the USSR was in the midst of evolving into a social democracy downplayed the harsh traits and ideology of Stalin's regime. These historians argued in favor of a paradigm centered on "grass roots" mechanisms of modernization such as upward social mobility coupled with the problems of mass industrialization within a ten-year period.

The problem of the human cost of socialism encompasses many subjects, such as forced collectivization and slave labor, but the Party Purge of the late 1930s remains the emblematic focal point. Once seen by traditional scholars as "totalitarian," in the hands of revisionists, who began collecting evidence to discredit "the t-word," the Purge took on a new look. Essential to

the revisionist task was a body count low enough to suggest the credibility of a Soviet Union on the road to social democracy.

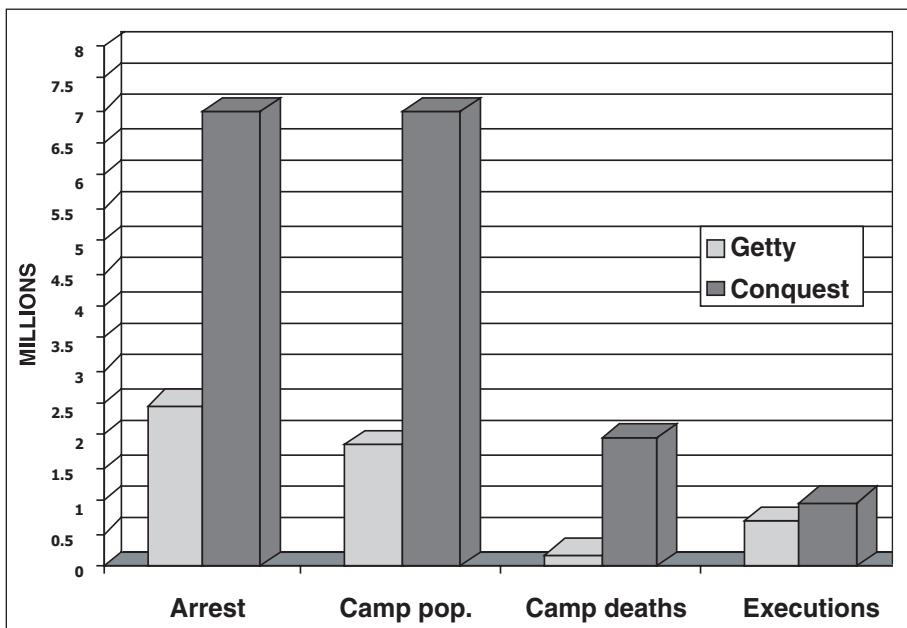
The Party Purge was not the first episode of terror within the Soviet Union. Beginning with the severe policy of War Communism under Lenin, and continuing with Stalin's forced collectivization and mass industrialization, the Soviet people had already experienced extensive pain and death at the hands of the Bolsheviks. But the great Party Purge was unique because it was the first time that the target had shifted to the Party itself.

As a means to further solidify his own power, Stalin used the December 1, 1934 assassination of Kirov, the Leningrad Party chief, as an excuse to begin the cleansing. The project slowly gained momentum as the NKVD fabricated accusations of Trotskyite and Zinovien conspiracies, charging

people within and without the Party of counter-revolutionary crimes. The height of the Purge was from 1937 to 1938 when most of the Old Bolsheviks, Lenin's closest associates at the time of the Revolution, were subjected to humiliating show trials ending in executions and long sentences to the growing prison camp system.

After the fall of the Soviet Union and the partial opening of the archives, Conquest and Getty both focused their research on the Stalinist era, specifically on the Purge. The most notable difference between the two historians' respective works is the scale of their respective totals of arrests, camp populations, camp deaths, and executions within the Soviet Union from 1936 to 1938.

Figure 1. Comparison of J. Arch Getty and Robert Conquest's arrests, camp population, camp deaths, and executions for 1936–1938 Party Purge of the Soviet Union



Robert Conquest, who was born July 15, 1917, attended Winchester College, Grenoble, and Magdalen College, Oxford. Conquest joined the Communist Party in 1937 and fought in the British light infantry during World War II. After the war ended, Conquest left the Communist Party and joined the Foreign Office, where he remained until 1956. He is the author of seventeen books on Soviet history and politics. His best-known work, *The Great Terror*, was published in 1968 and then again in 1990, in a revised edition.¹

In *The Great Terror*, Conquest attempts to explain Stalin's motives and methods as he began the Party Purge. Regrettably, during the 1960s, when Conquest was researching his book, the Soviet Union was a closed society, or in other words, was unwilling to share information with the international community concerning certain events that had taken place within its borders. Although much had been learned from Nikita Khrushchev's famous 1956 XX Party Congress "Secret Speech" and from the campaign of "de-Stalinization" that followed, to estimate the true scale of the Purge Conquest really had no choice but to turn to alternative sources of information. However, the rapid decline of the Soviet Union after Mikhail Gorbachev took power in 1985 opened up many sources of information previously unavailable. Hence, Conquest continued his research and published his revised version of *The Great Terror* in 1990. Conquest concludes that approximately seven million Soviet citizens were arrested from 1937 to 1938, and of these, approximately one million were executed and two million died in camps. Another one million

people remained in prison throughout 1938, and roughly eight million people were confined in the system of NKVD labor camps administered by an organ now known simply as the *Gulag*.

Conquest uses interviews with former inmates of the *Gulag* system as one of his main sources. The transcripts of these interviews are difficult to obtain because Conquest fails to document where they can be found. Nonetheless, independent interviews with former *Gulag* inmates completed by the United States Congress in 1970 confirm Conquest's numbers.

Conquest also relies on several newspaper and magazine articles from the Soviet Union and present-day Russia. These sources include Russian newspapers: *Yunost'*, *Agitator*, *Moscow News*, and *Sotsialisticheskaiia Industriia*. Although these papers and periodicals are not readily available in the United States, I was able to find two articles from *Moscow News* that Conquest uses: one dated week number eighteen of 1988 and the other week forty-eight of 1988. From the week eighteen article, Conquest uses the number of executions within Uzbekistan, approximately forty thousand, to extrapolate figures for the entire Soviet Union.² Conquest also uses the article of week forty-eight, written by Roy Medvedev, a famous dissident who estimates that the number of Purge victims ranges from 16 to 18 million arrests, of which 10 million either died or were murdered.³ One controversial aspect of Medvedev's article is that it originated from an organization called *Memorial*, a famous *glasnost*-era institution still dedicated to preserving the memory of the men and women who fell victim to Stalin's Purge. Some

say that *Memorial*'s agenda promotes higher figures of deaths and arrests in order to demonize Stalin.

Forensic work also uncovered mass graves within the former Soviet Union. In an article titled, "Unearthing the Great Terror," Conquest says about the graves: "Revisionists' estimates for the whole USSR could be tucked into a single corner of...one gravesite of a single minor republican capital."⁴ For evidence that Byelorussian executions numbered somewhere between 250,000 and 300,000, Conquest relies on several articles written about Soviet mass graves. Of course, owing to the impossibility of exhuming all of the many suspected modern mass burial mounds in the Byelorussian region, these totals are difficult to confirm.

One of Conquest's more unique sources is the Japanese Navy's record of ships entering and leaving the enormous Kolyma camp region dedicated chiefly to mining gold in the Arctic wilderness of northeastern Siberia. While Kolyma was in operation, the only way to receive goods or export gold was for Soviet ships to pass through Japanese waters. The Japanese routinely stopped these vessels to perform customs searches, thus recording estimates of the populations of workers' camps and the amount of gold Soviet prisons were producing. The records reveal that each of five ships carried approximately 4,000 prisoners and completed 10 to 11 journeys annually, thus leading to a total of 200,000 to 220,000 prisoners being transported each year.⁵

J. Arch Getty, the best and most famous of the revisionists, was born in Louisiana and received a BA from the University of Pennsylvania in 1972, and

¹ Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 180.

² Kamil Ikramov, "Not Supposed to See it?" *Moscow News*, No. 18, 1988.

³ Roy Medvedev, "The Suit Against Stalin," *Moscow News*, No. 48., 1988.

⁴ Robert Conquest, "Unearthing the Great Terror," *Orbis*, Spring 1989: 240.

⁵ Conquest, *Kolyma: The Artic Death Camps*, (New York: The Viking Press, 1978), 227.

his PhD from Boston College in 1979. Currently, Professor Getty teaches at the University of California at Los Angeles. He is the author of five books and many articles. In his study titled *The Road to Terror*, Getty produces estimates of the number of executions, arrests, camp populations, and camp deaths from 1937 to 1938: total arrests approximately 2.5 million, camp populations from 1.9 million, camp deaths at 160,084 and executions at 681,692.

Throughout *The Road to Terror*, Getty refers to an article written in collaboration with Gabor T. Rittersporn and Viktor N. Zemskov, who compare and contrast several different estimates of the number of “victims” during Stalin’s great Purge, including those by Conquest, Dmitri Volkogonov, and Roy A. Medvedev. In comparison to these, Getty’s figures are much lower and have the advantage of precise archival documentation.

In addition to archival sources, Getty also uses the newspaper *Pravda*, and in particular, an article published on 22 June 1989, exploring the damage that Stalin caused to the Russian economy and people, thereby harming the country’s defense during World War II. The author, G. Kumanev, provides execution figures for 1936 of 1,118 and for 1937 of 353,074. Kumanev comments on the figures arguing that they seemed to be purposefully lowered and/or inaccurate (in Russian, “заниженными”).⁶ Another article used by Getty is in *Pravda*, 14 February 1990. The unnamed author numbers the 1930–1953 executions for “counterrevolutionary and state crimes” at 786,098. According to the article, the source for these figures was the KGB.⁷

The most significant source used by Getty is the *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv*

Rossiiskoi Federatsii (GARF); from the documents he found there, Getty creates a table of figures for arrests and sentences. These derive from documents in *fond* 9401 of the NKVD archival material. Getty also uses *fond* 9401 for other statistics, such as those concerning persons banished in efforts to collectivize agriculture, and those executed from 1937 to 1938.⁸ Getty utilizes another *fond*, 9414, for figures of the number of prison inmates in the beginning of 1938 and camp deaths and camp sentences from 1935 to 1940.

Getty also employed documents from the Federal Archives in other publications. For example, several times throughout his article entitled “Victims,” he cites GARF documents as sources for the number of deaths and arrests during the Purge. He employs documents from *fond* 9401 to compare percentages of convictions and arrests during 1937–1938, and *fond* 9401 documents also appear throughout the article.

Because of the wide discrepancy between the figures arrived at by the accepted authorities on the subject, chiefly by Conquest and Getty, the most recent books on Stalin’s Purge avoid the question of numbers. One suspects that this also is done to avoid appearing to be a “Cold Warrior” like Conquest or a “revisionist” like Getty. For example, in her widely acclaimed 2003 book on the *Gulag*, Anne Applebaum effectively avoids giving specific numbers in terms of arrests, executions, and deaths within the camp system.⁹

When comparing historians’ conclusions, analyzing the sources is very important. Conquest utilizes a wide variety in compiling his totals. However, there is little or no supporting documentary evidence. Getty, on the other hand, has more precise numbers, but they are derived from a very

narrow range of sources. Also, Getty’s estimates lack credibility because they are implausible in light of the evidence accumulating from forensic archaeology, the oral tradition, and other non-archival sources.

This is part of a larger pattern of research differences, a tradition born out of the nineteenth century “old history” and the emergence of a 20th century “new history.” Old history emphasizes the importance of documents primarily from archival sources, while new history takes into account a much wider range of sources such as sociology, economics, psychology, anthropology, and archaeology. Getty is squarely in the “old history” tradition, whereas Conquest was compelled to rely on “new history” evidence.

These two historians are at odds in the debate over the potential transition of the Soviet Union into a social democracy because of the methods and sources used to determine the number of Purge victims. Regardless of whether or not their personal ideologies support or deny the theory of social democracy, the evidence they present will be used by scholars far into the future.

At present, what we can say, without checking out the sources ourselves, is that Getty’s figures can be taken as a reliable minimum and Conquest’s as a reliable maximum. One is a certainty and the other a probability, and at present they are so far apart that even specialists in the field of Soviet history are reluctant to choose. Let us hope that future generations will be more apt to diversify their sources and consider both archival documents and non-archival evidence to come to a consensus about what is certainly one of the greatest atrocities of modern times.

⁶ KG Kumanev, *Pravda*, No. 173., June 22, 1989.

⁷ *Pravda*, No. 45, February 14, 1990.

⁸ J. Arch Getty, *The Road to Terror*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 588.

⁹ Anne Applebaum, *Gulag*, (London: Doubleday, 2003), 571.

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Not Separate but Still Unequal: Disparities, Invisibility and Bias in Access and Quality of Health Care in Michigan



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McNair Scholar

ABSTRACT

Current research points to race and ethnicity as predictive of disparities in access and quality of health care. A 2002 Institute of Medicine Study found that African-American patients tend not to receive the same type of care as White patients, even when controlling for socioeconomic status. Self-reported perceptions of racial bias within the patient provider relationship, from the patient's perspective, are analyzed to uncover the subtle ways perceptions of differential treatment based on racial bias work to create barriers or perpetuate disparities in health outcomes for African-American breast cancer survivors in Michigan.

Introduction

Breast cancer, like other forms of cancer, is an equal opportunity killer. Cancer cells pay no attention to the race or ethnicity of the body in which they reside. Cancer cells do not care about the biology or genetics of the body they inhabit. They go about their divisions, invisible to detection, until they have created a critical mass identifiable with current diagnostic tools. When it comes to mortality from breast cancer, despite 40 years of civil rights struggles in America, this equal opportunity killer may take an unwittingly given advantage, cloaked in the guise of racial bias, and thereby ravage African-American women's lives unequally.

This study seeks to discover if perceptions of racial bias directed towards African-American breast cancer survivors by health care providers is contributing to the measured disparities in health outcomes. While it is likely that racial bias is not the only factor contributing to higher mortality rates for African-American women diagnosed with breast cancer as compared to White women, current evidence points to race and ethnicity as predicated of disparities in access and quality of health care despite socioeconomic status (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2003). A 2002 Institute of Medicine Study found that African-American patients of similar socioeconomic status tend to receive lower quality treatments than White patients (Dept. of Health and Human Services, 2003, p.4). The American Cancer Society states, "additional factors that contribute to the survival differential include unequal access to medical care and a higher prevalence of coexisting medical conditions" (American Cancer Society, 2004, p. 20). Other studies, however, point to additional persistent barriers even in the absence of financial constraints (Arbelaez, Cooper, & Saha, 2003, p. 1713). According to National Cancer



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Institute data, death rates for African-American women are higher than for White women at all age ranges (National Cancer Institute, 2000). Disparities in outcomes, with deadly consequences for African-American women, can be seen in the five-year survival rates of the disease. Data from the Surveillance, Epidemiological, and End Results (SEER) cancer registries, between the years 1992-1998, document five-year survival rates for White women at 87.6 per 100,000 and African-American women's five-year survival rate at 72.5 per 100,000 for the same span of time. During the years 1979 to 1996, the rates of breast cancer actually declined for White women, but African-American women and other women of color did not experience any decline in the rate of the disease during the same period of time (Layde & Marabell, 2001, p. 120).

Despite these significant disparities in health outcomes for African-American breast cancer survivors, many White Americans are unaware of the inequalities in access to health care. Researchers conducting a recent poll commissioned by Harvard Forums on Health found that African Americans and Hispanics living in the United States are much more likely to recognize that minorities do not always have an equal level of health care (Late, 2003, p. 1). The same poll found that many White Americans are unaware that such disparities exist. In fact, the researchers found that 57 percent of African Americans and 49 percent of Hispanics felt health care providers treated minorities differently (Late, p.1)

Context for Proposed Study

This study hopes to contribute to the ongoing dialogue between researchers looking at ameliorating disparate health outcomes for African-American breast cancer survivors. Allowing women to speak in their own words of their experiences during treatment may

elucidate patterns in healthcare delivery that may be negatively influencing outcomes. Perceptions matter. Perceptions of bias, aside from adding to the cognitive load women need to manage, may compound the unequal brunt of disease borne by women who are already fighting for their lives.

This study addressed issues that are difficult for some to talk about: breast cancer and racial bias. Breast cancer was not mentioned publicly until the 1980s, and racism is a topic that is often unaddressed, despite its harmful mental and physical consequences. Racism is not a subject that is discussed dispassionately, nor should it be. This study hopes to help break the silence and push for an ongoing, thoughtful dialogue about how intentional or unintentional racism may be contributing to the disparities in outcomes for African-American breast cancer survivors. Perhaps, because there is no intent, White providers may be unable to "see" racism and the biased assumptions and actions that may flow from this mindset. People of color, however, are aware of the bias because they experience its effects. This racism invisible-intentional or not-may have deadly implications for delivery of quality care. This study does not seek to castigate healthcare providers; this study asks these questions to raise awareness and start a dialogue about how this racism may be telegraphed, intended or not, to African-American women who are being treated for breast cancer.

According to Dr. Lisa Ikemoto (2003), "provider bias can directly translate into less effective health care for patients of color" (p. 96). A study conducted by Kevin Schulman in 1999 (Schulman as cited in Ikemoto, p. 96) surveyed seven hundred and twenty primary care physicians who took part in video interviews with actors portraying male and female, black and white patients. Physicians referred African-American

women at the lowest overall rates. The critical race theorist Paul Kivel argues that we should assume that racism is at least a part of the picture in self-reports of racial bias, and "in light of this assumption, we should look for the patterns involved rather than treating most events as isolated occurrences" (Kivel as cited in Rothenberg, 2002, p.128). Ikemoto maintains that health care providers trumpeting of the values of "objectivity and universalism do not shield them from the racism, nativism, and ethnocentrism inherent in dominate culture" (Ikemoto, p. 97).

Scope

The lifetime, national risk for breast cancer in women is one in seven (American Cancer Society, 2004, p.19). The lifetime risk of breast cancer in Michigan is similar to national rates. Each year over 7,000 women are diagnosed with breast cancer and 1,400 women die of the disease (Olszewski & Wisdom, 2004, p. 20). Breast cancer is second to heart disease as the leading causes of death and, on average, results in a loss of 18.4 years of life to women (Olszewski & Wisdom, p. 20). African-American women have a lower incident rate of breast cancer compared to White women; however, African-American women have a significantly higher mortality rate from the disease (Olszewski & Wisdom, p. 20). African-American women have a 36.9 per 100,000 rate of mortality nationally and 35.9 per 100,000 rate of mortality in Michigan, as compared to White women who have a 27.2 per 100,000 national death rate and a 27.3 per 100,000 death rate in Michigan (CDC, 2003, p. 2).

Breast cancer is not preventable; but, if it is detected and treated early, outcomes improve significantly, which leads to reduced mortality and increased survival time (Olszewski & Wisdom, 2004, p. 20). One of the most deadly outcomes for African-American women

with breast cancer is the fact that African-American women are diagnosed at distant or later stages of the disease 42.3 percent of the time, compared to White women at 29 percent (Olszewski & Wisdom p. 20). A late diagnosis of breast cancer not only subjects women to longer and more toxic treatment regimens, late diagnoses rob women of years of life. The overall survival rate for African-American women is 73.5 percent compared to 88 percent for Whites (Olszewski & Wisdom, p. 21). Another disparity in health care, which may contribute to poorer outcomes for African-American breast cancer survivors, is the fact that African-American women are under-represented in clinical trials of cancer drugs and treatment regimens. Another alarming trend, according to a recent study, found that "the proportion of trial participants who are black has declined in recent years" (Murthy, Krumholz, Cary, & Gross, 2004, p. 2726).

Other than age, more than 80 percent of breast cancers have no known risk factors (Olszewski & Wisdom, 2004, p. 20). Less than 10 percent of breast cancer is due to inherited genes (Burstein, Miller, & Mocharnuk, 2002, p. 3). The remaining 90 to 95 percent of breast cancers happen randomly (Burstein, Miller, & Mocharnuk, p. 3).

Hypotheses

While the factors contributing to disparities for African-American women's experiences with this disease are likely to be multifaceted, this study seeks to examine only a small piece of the puzzle. This study seeks to uncover how perceptions of bias operating within the patient provider relationship may be contributing to the late diagnosis and poor prognosis for African-American women with breast cancer. While most healthcare providers believe prejudice and discrimination to be "morally abhorrent and at odds with their

professional values, healthcare providers, like other members of society, may not recognize manifestations of prejudice in their own behavior" (Smedley, Stith & Nelson, 2002, p. 162). Therefore, with the idea that subtle perceptions of bias could be contributing to poor health outcomes for African-American women with breast cancer, this proposed study seeks to ask the following:

- Does the perception of provider bias change the care seeking behavior of African-American women or influence the importance the women place on preventative mammogram screening in the first place?
- Does racial bias work to limit physician recommendations for follow-up screening or further investigation such as biopsy of African-American women?
- Do perceptions of bias create barriers for African-American women in access or compliance with appropriate adjuvant therapy?

Methods

My research project began by identifying African-American breast cancer survivors who were diagnosed and treated for cancer while living in Michigan. Several phone calls were made to network with women to identify survivors willing to either take part in an interview or complete a questionnaire for this study. Two breast cancer survivor support groups were contacted to solicit volunteers.

Seventy questionnaires were mailed or emailed to breast cancer survivors, and four completed questionnaires were returned to me. Four women took part in face-to-face interviews. The same questionnaire was used for both the survey and the interviews.

The questionnaire included a series of open and closed questions to explore the women's perceptions of bias while undergoing care. Questions were asked to determine if perceptions of bias limited care seeking, compliance, or other health-related behaviors. To control for lack of insurance coverage, only women with some insurance coverage were included in the sample. The age ranges were confined to women who are between 35 to 65 years old, and socioeconomic status information was gathered using questions addressing yearly income, occupation, and number of years of educational attainment. The women must have received medical treatment for breast cancer in Michigan within the last ten years. Confidentiality was assured to each woman through a randomly assigned number. Questions were asked to identify and control for racial concordance between patients and providers. The sample was gathered using a snowball method, which is a way of gathering names of potential interviewees from the women who have already been contacted. Initially, the women will likely have been treated while living in similar geographical regions, but as the snowball expands, it will lead to women from various locales, which will control for regional differences in health care service providers.

While this is a qualitative study, insightful gleanings could serve as a guide to better conceptualized and tightly measured future studies. The purpose is to probe survivors for how perceptions of bias within the patient provider relationship may compound their diagnosis of cancer in ways that White survivors do not experience. Patterns within the reports of the women's experiences will be identified to understand if subtle, verbal and nonverbal cues, are working to alter behavior, which may directly or indirectly be contributing to poor outcomes. The questionnaire probes for

knowledge of common age appropriate preventative screening services and unintended barriers of access to appropriate evidenced-based health care for these women. Questions probe for inappropriate comments, “gut feelings,” and personal experiences that the women perceive were in response to, or resulting from, their race.

Definitions

For the purpose of this proposal, disparities will be defined as “differences in time spent trying to get healthcare, information about healthcare not being available in the same ways to different groups, quality or availability of insurance, transportation, and other factors that act as deterrents” (Casanas, Coello, Parsons, & Rocco, 2003, p. 39). Prejudice is defined in the realm of psychology as “an unjustified negative attitude based on a person’s group membership” (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2002, p. 162). When prejudice is reasoned to be a valid individual worldview it is likely to become normative for that individual (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, p. 162). For the purposes of this study, healthcare providers could be physicians, physician assistants, nurses, or other allied healthcare workers.

History of Health Care Inequality

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once said, “of all the forms of inequalities, injustice in health is the most shocking and the most inhumane” (cited in Farmer, 2003, p. 173). Despite the gains made for people of color since the start of the civil rights movement, disparities in health outcomes continue to this day. This issue is important from moral, personal, and economic perspectives. Disparities in health outcomes exact costs in dollars for all of us; however, people of color disproportionately pay with their lives. Disparities cause avoidable disabilities and escalations of poorly managed

chronic conditions result in expensive, avoidable complications, and may lead to increases in hospitalizations. This downward loop of worsening health leads to increased costs for the individual and for the public health programs many people depend on for health care (National Health Disparities Report, 2003. p. 6).

The idea of overt discrimination may seem alien to most people born after the civil rights struggles of the 1960s in the United States. Books and films shape knowledge of life in pre-civil rights America for many citizens. For others who lived it, the first-hand accounts are woven into familial history, shaped with each retelling of the day-to-day struggles for the basic human rights each American holds dear. Feagin and Sikes (1994, p. 204) report that one historic study of overt discrimination is the Tuskegee Study, which began in 1932. According to Fegin and Sikes, the American government promised 400 African-American men free treatment for “Bad Blood” a euphemism for syphilis. However, they report that medical treatment was withheld, and the study allowed the men to go untreated for syphilis four decades. No new drugs were tested and no effort was made to establish the benefits of any of the older forms of treatment.

A more recent study, conducted in 2000, found that doctors rated African-American patients as less intelligent, less educated, and less likely to comply with medical advice than White patients, even after income and education levels were controlled for (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2002, p. 11). Another study found that African-American respondents were less likely to trust their doctors and more likely to trust their insurance plans (Boulware, Cooper, LaViest, & Ratner, 2003, p. 1). Additionally, studies show that African-American patients rank their doctor visits less participatory

when there is lack of racial concordance between patients and providers despite provider gender (Cooper-Patrick, et al. 1999, p. 588). Research does suggest, “provider’s diagnostic and treatment decisions, as well as feelings about patients, are influenced by patients’ race and ethnicity” (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson p. 11).

Support for the hypotheses of this proposal can be found in a study done in 2002, which suggests three possible mechanisms working to create disparate health outcomes as measured in minority patients. These mechanisms are located within the provider side of the exchange and include: “bias against minorities, greater clinical uncertainty when working with minority patients, and beliefs or stereotypes held by the provider about the behavior or health of minorities” (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2002, p. 9). Studies show that minority patients are aware of the bias held by providers towards them, and recent studies report that minority patients feel they have lower quality interactions with their doctors (Arbelaez, Cooper, & Saha, 2003, p. 1713). The hypotheses of this proposal ask if patients’ awareness of provider bias holds implications for their health outcomes. A study that lends credence to the hypotheses of this proposal presents evidence that even “small numeric differences on perceptual measures can have important effects on health and health care” (Doescher, Fiscella, Franks, & Saver, 2000, p. 1161). This study found that a “1-point change in the medical skepticism score (range 1-5) was associated with an 11 percent increase in total mortality” (Doescher, Fiscella, Franks, & Saver, p. 1161).

Bias may be communicated in ways from providers to patients without the providers’ awareness that such attitudes are being projected. Bias may be overt and conscious, or may be unconscious, and due to origins which

"arise from virtually universal social categorization processes, bias may exist, often unconsciously, among people who strongly endorse egalitarian principles" (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2002, p. 10). These same researchers have found that "socially conditioned implicit prejudice may be manifested in healthcare providers' nonverbal behaviors reflecting anxiety (e.g., increased rate of blinking), aversion (e.g., reduced eye contact) or avoidance (e.g., more closed postures) when interacting with minority rather than white patients" (Smedley, Stith & Nelson, p. 162). This awareness of provider bias may perpetuate disparate health outcomes by working to alienate patients from the treatment decision-making process.

Racism is present in every day life and is obvious in popular culture (Hall, Harrell, & Taliaferro, 2003, p. 243). Racism is not only present in individual acts of bias and interpersonal discrimination, it is also present in the relationship between health and health outcomes (Hall, Harrell, & Taliaferro, p. 243). These acts of discrimination and interpersonal bias act as "salt in the wounds previously inflicted by a host of negative life events whose relationship to racism is often cloaked" (Hall, Harrell, & Taliaferro, p. 243).

Social cognition theorists study how people make sense of other people and the "processes that underlie social perception, social interaction, and social influence" (Fu & van Ryn, 2003, p. 248). Psychologists have focused on social cognition for several decades, which has resulted in a "massive body of evidence with significant implications for understanding how race/ethnicity influences provider behavior" (Fu & van Ryn, p. 248). Studies show that patient perceptions are important and do recognize that communication, both verbal and nonverbal, influence patient's behavior (Cooper-Patrick, et al., 1999, p. 588).

With the knowledge of race and ethnicity as an influence of provider behavior, this study suggests that further investigation of how intentional or unintentional bias of providers works to create poorer health outcomes for African-American women. Studies show that African-American women are less likely to receive recommendations for mammography at age appropriate intervals (Fu & van Ryn, 2003, p. 252). Women who are less likely to receive recommendations for mammograms are more likely to be diagnosed at a later, less treatable stage of disease. Literature shows "that to a large extent, racial/ethnic bias differentials seen in staging are the result of lower screening rates" (Cutter & Jacobellis, 2002, p. 1148). According to the Physicians Insurers Association of America (as cited in Steyksal, 1996, p. 1), "the most expensive and common medico legal claim against physicians is delay in the diagnosis of breast cancer."

There are many confounding factors within the study of disparities, including racial and gender patient/provider concordance, type of hospital or clinic or geographic variations, co-morbidities, and compliance with medical recommendations (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2002, p. 42). Yet studies show that despite adjusting for all of these confounding factors, disparities in outcomes for African-Americans continue to predominate in cardiovascular care (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, p. 42). Though most studies have examined racism and its contributions to disparities in cardiac care, fewer studies have examined the role of bias in relation to breast cancer. It is a logical question to ask if the same sort of mechanisms documented in disparate outcomes in heart disease could be contributing to disparate breast cancer outcomes.

Critical Race Theory, Social Constructs and Access to Quality Health Care

The impetus for this study is grounded in critical race theory. The disparities minorities face in access to quality health care, as compared to people in the majority population, grow out of historic and contemporary inequities (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, 2004, p. 1). The complex tangle of health systems, administrative and bureaucratic processes and policies, as well as individual healthcare providers and patients they treat, coupled with the patient provider interactions, weave together to create a complex matrix that contribute to inequalities in treatment for minorities in the United States (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, p. 1). This complex matrix also includes racial and ethnic stereotyping, bias, socioeconomic status, language, and cultural barriers, which work to limit access and quality of health care (Smedley, Stith, & Nelson, p. 1)

Critical race theory has grown out of examinations of the legal system of the 1970s in America. Legal scholars Derrick Bell and Richard Delgado began to challenge the slow pace of racial reform since the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s (Jenis & McDowell, 2004, p. 82). The advances of the Civil Rights Movement have been legally challenged to this day in an attempt to disregard race for a "color-blind meritocracy" (Jenis & McDowell, p. 82). Critical race theory offers a broad social perspective for assessing the speed and direction of this country's policies in relationship to race and has been used in education, law, and the social sciences as a lens with which to analyze historical power relationships between groups of people in this country (Jenis & McDowell, p. 82). Critical race theory recognizes the ongoing implications for people that have grown out of the legal history of this country's racist past.

Dr. Harold Freeman, 1997 Chair of the President's Cancer Panel, quoting Albert Einstein, said, "What you see depends on where you stand" (Einstein as cited in Freeman, 1997, p. 2). Einstein made his remarks to describe the point of view from which scientists approach scientific investigation of race, which he knew all too well, are often shaped by social and political thought.

Because there is no language to describe the experience of racism or of growing up a minority in America, critical race theorists "attempt to inject the cultural viewpoints of people of color, derived from a common history of oppression" (Casanas, Coello, Parsons, & Rocco, 2003, p. 39).

The assumption that underlies critical race theory is the idea that many interactions of privilege that Whites take for granted happen without any conscious thought. In everyday interactions, the privileges and power of invisibility happen with no awareness of how these interactions might be different for those who do not share the same physical features. These privileges, apart from their intentions or conscious choices, influence lives in large and small ways. Whites do not often face racial profiling which affects, for example, the ability to move freely through a store without security people following, or driving a car without worrying if skin color will single the driver out for undue harassment by law enforcement.

Discussion

The women who took part in interviews ($n=4$) and responded to the questionnaire ($n=4$) reported experiencing no perceptions of racial bias during their treatment for cancer. Every woman reported being treated by healthcare providers of a race different from her own, and each woman responded that her relationships with healthcare providers were excellent. None of the women said they would be

more likely to talk about their health issues with a provider of the same race; this was true both in the questionnaire and within the interviews. The women all responded that they did not know how their care might improve if their healthcare providers were of the same race. The questionnaire respondents (QR) and the interviewees reported that the healthcare personnel they encountered always treated them with dignity and respect. They all responded that racism has not influenced the care they received.

All of the women reported that they were able to take all of the medications and follow all of the guidelines and recommendations for their illness. They all reported they were given ample time for questions, and they all felt they were well informed by their healthcare providers. Every woman reported having a primary caregiver and reported having trust in this person. The follow-up cycles varied for each woman, and they reported being seen by surgeons and oncologists. The QRs and interviewees were all in their early fifties when diagnosed, and none of the women reported any recurrences of disease.

It is interesting to note that the women who took part were at Stage I when diagnosed with cancer. The women were of similar socioeconomic backgrounds, worked in white-collar occupations, and all reported having some college education.

Limitations

The study design may have contributed to the non-findings. Perhaps women who have had negative experiences with healthcare providers are less likely to take part in the first place. Perhaps it is too frightening for women to consider perceptions of bias while being treated for a potentially life threatening disease. The questionnaire and interview question design was not pre-tested, and the questions chosen could be

altered to probe more deeply into the subtle interactions between patients and providers. Gender bias is likely to be a confounding issue and difficult to tease out within this study of perceptions of bias and health outcomes. All of the women who took part in this study were from similar education and socioeconomic backgrounds. Each woman was Stage I at diagnosis. It is important to note there is little regional variability among the women in the current sample. The small sample size offers a narrow snapshot of the range of interactions expected to be analyzed for this study.

In response to concerns about the bias that can occur when measures of health status are based on self-reports, Williams, Neighbors, and Jackson (2003) conducted a longitudinal study of African Americans which revealed that "no association between baseline measures of major depression or psychological distress and subsequent reports of racial discrimination" (p. 204). Researcher bias is another limitation, especially for the face-to-face interviews. A more robust study design is planned for winter 2005, which will include ethnographies of African-American and White survivor group meetings, to better capture the essence of patient provider relationship.

Conclusion

The data collected from the women who took part in this study does not uncover perceptions of bias within the patient provider relationship. This is more likely to be due to the study design than a conclusive finding. Researchers who conducted a study on discrimination in health outcomes recently concluded that, "one of the critically important issues for future research is to improve the assessment of discrimination in health studies" (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003, p. 202). These researchers also acknowledge the serious

methodological issues and inadequate assessment of discrimination in health status in many studies, but states that “nonetheless, the consistency of the finding that discrimination is associated with higher rates of disease is quite robust” (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, p. 202).

As Dr. Sandra Harding (cited in National Cancer Institute, 1997, p. 14) said, “individual scientists can best avoid racist bias in their work by identifying their own values and studying the history, philosophy, and sociology of science; and since human values change slowly, the lessons of the past remain of great relevance.” Future research must strive to measure the way perceptions of discrimination adversely effect health behaviors and create negative emotional states, which may contribute to physiological responses and their subsequent impact on health (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003, p. 205).

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Identification of Histidine Decarboxylase Expression using a Histamine Antibody Staining Technique



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ABSTRACT

Cells containing histamine were identified in a third instar brain of a normal *Drosophila melanogaster* larva using a whole-mount staining technique that detects histamine. The histamine antibody staining was performed on intact tissue to easily identify cells that likely use histamine as a neurotransmitter in the brain. Results indicate that mutants in the *Hdc* gene do not have detectable levels of histamine in the central brain of larvae. The methodology used and these results should allow an examination of mutants that may be defective in spatial regulation of the transmitter, histamine.

Introduction

A neurotransmitter is a chemical used for neuronal cell communication. Histamine has been identified as a neurotransmitter in *Drosophila melanogaster*, where it functions in a variety of sensory systems, including the visual system. For example, histamine has been implicated in mechanosensory neurons that are required for behavioral functions such as grooming (Melzig et al., 1996). Histamine has been localized to a variety of other locations, most notably in the central nervous system of adults (Buchner et al., 1993) and larvae (Python and Stocker, 2002). The functional role that histamine may play in the central nervous system is not yet known in the adult or any other developmental stage.

Histamine is synthesized by a decarboxylation reaction from histidine by the enzyme, histidine decarboxylase (HDC). Mutations in the gene encoding this enzyme, *Hdc*, were identified by screening for defects in the on/off transients of the electroretinogram (ERG), an extra cellular light which evoked retinal response that is recorded in the compound eye (Pak, 1995). From this ERG screening approach, the mutant *Hdc* alleles *Hdc^{P211}*, *Hdc^{P217}*, *Hdc^{P218}* and *Hdc^{JK910}* were obtained (Burg et al., 1993). Both HDC enzyme activity measurements and histamine content assays indicated that most *Hdc* mutant alleles caused a lowering of histamine levels, while one mutant allele in particular, *Hdc^{JK910}*, had no histamine detected (Burg et al., 1993). The *Hdc^{JK910}* allele was therefore thought to be a null allele, as no *Hdc* gene activity or histamine was normally detected in the mutant's tissues (Buchner et al., 1993; Burg et al., 1993). In comparison, the *Hdc^{P211}*, *Hdc^{P217}*, and *Hdc^{P218}* mutant alleles contained varying levels of histamine in the photoreceptors, while no histamine was detected in the central brain. From the mutations identified,



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the *Hdc* genetic region was identified physically, molecularly cloned, and DNA sequenced (Burg et al. 1993). By inserting a normal *Hdc* gene, that was isolated from normal flies, into mutants lacking *Hdc* function, it was shown that the wild-type *Hdc* gene completely restored HDC function in the *Hdc*^{K910} mutant. From this “rescued mutant”, it was determined that normal *Hdc* gene expression was localized to a defined genomic DNA region of about ~7.4 kb (Burg and Pak, 1995). The rescue of the *Hdc*^{K910} mutant along with other functional studies has provided definitive evidence that histamine is a neurotransmitter used by photoreceptor cells (Sarthy, 1991; Burg et al., 1993).

Photoreceptor and mechanoreceptor cells can take up histamine from exogenous sources (Melzig et al., 1998). It has also been suggested that some histamine-containing cells may not be able to synthesize histamine, but rather, may take it up exogenously. This result would suggest that these cells may utilize histamine differently than photoreceptors, where histamine's use as a neurotransmitter has been widely accepted (Stuart, 1999). For a cell to synthesize histamine, it must express an mRNA from the *Hdc* gene which will then be translated into histidine decarboxylase. Cells that contain *Hdc* mRNA will likely be able to synthesize histamine. Identifying cells that contain *Hdc* mRNA and comparing their location in tissue to those cells already identified to contain histamine will identify the cells that can synthesize histamine. This has been done with limited success in the adult, where regions containing histaminergic cells had been identified to be regions that may contain the *Hdc* mRNA (Burg et al., 1993). However, the methodology used could not resolve single cells, and it is important to identify the cells that contain both histamine and the mRNA for the transcript to be able to state

that these cells synthesize the transmitter, histamine.

Hdc mRNA localization at the cellular level is now possible, using non-radioactive methods to label and detect the cells containing *Hdc* mRNA *in situ* (Tautz and Pfeifle, 1989). This *in situ* hybridization technique could use an *Hdc*-specific RNA probe to identify the cells that express *Hdc* by binding to the mRNA transcript which would then be detected by antibodies. While the original purpose of this project was to develop the tissue *in situ* technique to detect *Hdc* mRNA in larvae, it was decided, during the course of the work, to concentrate on further histamine staining to guide which developmental stage(s) the *in situ* hybridization should be done. In this report, we present data indicating that the histamine antibody can be used to detect cells in intact *Drosophila* larval brain tissue and that we can identify alterations in histamine staining in brain tissue from various *Hdc* mutant alleles.

Methods

Cultures of normal and *Hdc* mutant *Drosophila* were grown in bottles at 25°C. The heat accelerates their growth rate, with the larvae developing into adults in about 10 days total. Flies go through four major developmental stages: embryo, larva, pupa, and adult stages (Demerec, 1994). Bottles containing food from a prepared mixture were used to transfer adult flies every three days. Larvae were removed from the bottles when they were climbing on the bottle sides and dissected with fine forceps under a microscope.

Larvae brains were dissected in a 2% 2, 4-carbodiimide fixative in phosphate buffer (pH ~7.2; on ice) and kept in a well plate that also contained the fixative (on ice). After three hours in the fixative, the brains were washed twice in Ringer's solution for durations of 0.5 hours each. The brains were then washed in 5%

swine serum with 0.3 % Triton X-100 in an isotonic phosphate buffer for one hour. Next, the brains were incubated with a histamine antibody (Panula et al, 1989), diluted 1:1000 in an isotonic phosphate buffer with 0.3% Triton X-100 (TBST) and 1% swine serum at 4°C overnight. After at least 16 hours incubation at 4°C, the brains were set out at room temperature for one hour, after which they were washed twice for 0.5 hour each with TBST+1% swine serum. Next, a one-hour incubation with swine anti-rabbit-immunoglobulin, diluted 1:40 in TBST+1% swine serum, was done. Afterwards, two additional 0.5-hour washes were done with TBST+1% normal swine serum. The next step was a one-hour incubation with a rabbit peroxidase-anti-peroxidase complex, which binds to the swine anti-rabbit immunoglobulin, diluted 1:200 in TBS+0.3% Triton X-100. The brains were then washed in TBS+0.3% Triton X-100 before reacting with 3,4-diaminobenzidine (DAB). The DAB solution contained 30 mg DAB, 0.3% H₂O₂ in 10 ml TBS+0.3% Triton X-100. The reaction between the enzyme that is bound to the antibody, horseradish peroxidase and DAB, creates a black precipitate. Therefore, the black dots (fig. 1) represent cells that contain histamine.

Results

Histamine staining with normal larva brain was done, results from which are shown in fig. 1. There appears to be a symmetric distribution through the ventral ganglion of histamine-containing cells. In other staining experiments, the axons from these cells and connections in the central nervous system are also visible (not shown). This picture illustrates staining typically found in various larval developmental stages, indicating 10 sets of cells along the ventral ganglion. There are also three sets of histamine-containing cells in

both brain hemispheres, indicated by the arrows. One set of cells seems to be located at the junction between the ventral ganglion and the brain hemispheres. This is the maximum number of histamine-containing cells found in the staining experiments carried out. These results compare favorably with those of others who have done histamine immunocytochemistry on the same developmental stages (Python and Stocker, 2002). Table 1 contains a summary of results obtained from histamine staining done on various *Hdc* mutant brains. In the brains of all mutant alleles examined (*Hdc*^{P217}, *Hdc*^{P218}, *Hdc*^{JK910}), histamine staining was not detected in the central brains using the technique described and used in this report (see table 1).

The histamine-containing cells appear to be neither efferent nor afferent neurons, since they reside in the brain and their axonal branches are restricted to the brain. They do appear to synapse to rows of cells, and the staining that we were able to obtain appears identical to that of others who previously had reported histamine staining in normal brains (Python and Stocker, 2002). The histaminergic cells identified in these studies may be related to the central brain cells identified in earlier studies, as later developmental stages do retain a number of these cells through metamorphosis (T. Tomasiak, pers. commun.).

Figure 1. Histamine localization in the CNS of a normal 3rd instar larva

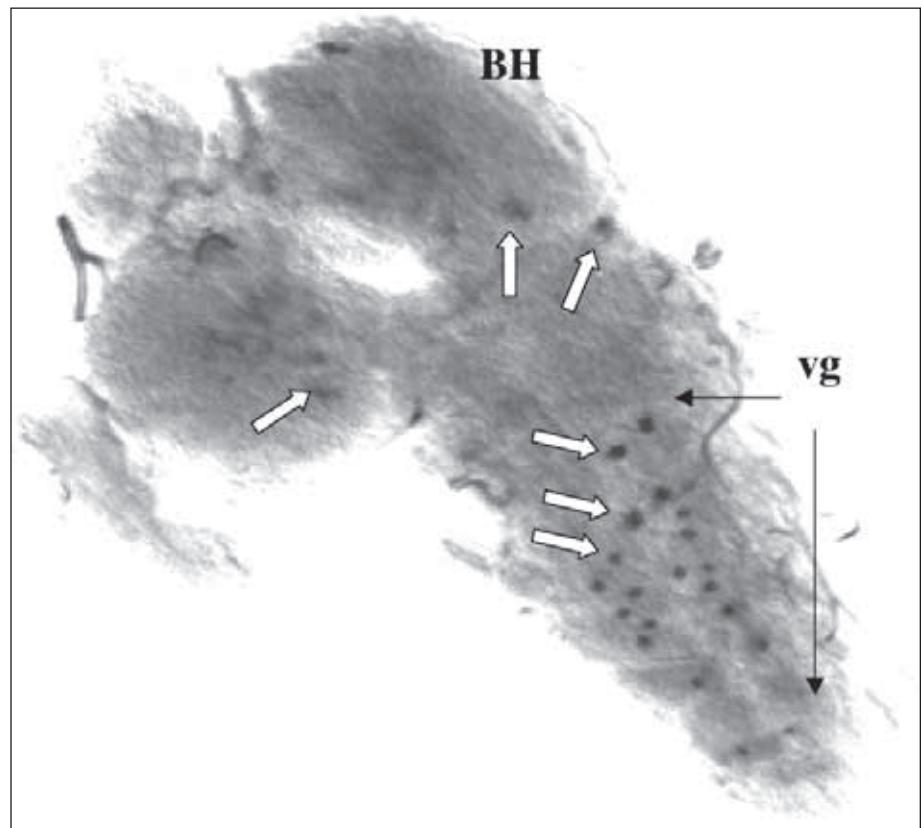


Table 1. Summary of mutant staining in 3rd Instar larval brain

	normal	<i>hdc</i> ^{P217}	<i>hdc</i> ^{P218}	<i>hdc</i> ^{JK910}
Histamine staining detected	Yes	None	No	No
# of cells	10 pair in ventral ganglia; 3 sets in each brain hemisphere	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Histamine containing cells in a 3rd instar larval brain. Arrows point to cells containing histamine (darker spots in the tissue). Note that there are 10 pairs of cells in the ventral ganglia (vg) and several other cells in the brain hemispheres (BH). In all *Hdc* mutant alleles tested, no staining such as this was detected, indicating that these mutants have no ability to synthesize histamine this early in development (data not shown). Refer to Rulifson et al. (2002) for more complete descriptions of anatomical structures.

Discussion

Histamine immunocytochemistry has shown that in the central nervous system of the larva, a number of neurons are consistently found to contain histamine. In the ventral ganglia, 11 segments exist: 3 thoracic and 8 abdominal. It is interesting to note that it appears as if abdominal segment 7 does not appear to have histaminergic neurons, while all other abdominal segments have a single pair of neurons. While there appear to be 7 of 8 abdominal ganglia containing a histaminergic cell pair, it is likely that all of the thoracic ganglia each contain a pair of histaminergic cells. These histaminergic neurons in the ventral ganglia may have a regulatory function, as they are located in a central portion of the ventral ganglia and form apparent connections with regions of the central connectives in the ventral ganglion. In addition, they do not send processes out of the central nervous system, unlike sensory or motorneurons that would have such cellular extensions.

In addition to the 10 pairs of histaminergic cells in the ventral ganglia, there are several regions in the brain hemispheres, both medial and lateral in location, where histaminergic cells have been detected. The medial regions may contain histaminergic cells that likely differentiate into some of the adult histaminergic central brain cells. It is known that many neurons survive through metamorphosis and change their shape and function from larva to adulthood (Hartenstein, 1993). Since the number of histaminergic cells is fairly similar between larval and adult stages and relative positions in the nervous systems remain intact, it is possible that these cells identified in the larval brain are the precursors to the adult histaminergic cells. Further detailed study of later developmental stages, examining the cells in this region of the brain carefully, may confirm these identities.

The lateral histaminergic cells in the brain hemispheres of the larva could be neurosecretory-type cells, similar to types that have been implicated in regulating such processes as metamorphosis. Further analysis of these cell types will assist in identifying their putative function more readily, by staining for other transmitters used by the neurosecretory cells of the fly.

The immunocytochemistry done in these experiments was completed before differentiation of photoreceptors occurs; hence, there is no staining of photoreceptor cells or their axonal terminals. Examining the timing of *Hdc* expression can be done more precisely with an mRNA *in situ* approach rather than using a histamine antibody approach. However, the ease and speed of the histamine antibody staining technique has allowed it to develop into a useful analytical tool to assay for histaminergic cells in the intact nervous system. The whole mount staining technique, using a very sensitive detection method, is well suited for permanent mounts. Other staining procedures used to date utilize fluorescent probes, which is a temporary preparation that requires rapid analysis after staining is complete. We hope to use the whole mount preparation results to compare with future staining experiment results as well as *in situ* hybridization experiments in the same types of tissues.

In this study, we were able to determine whether other *Hdc* mutations affected larval staining observed in normal flies. We had already shown through earlier work that the *Hdc^{K910}* mutant has no detectable histamine at any developmental stage (Tomasiak, pers. commun.). It is likely that this mutation disrupts the production of mRNA, as the *Hdc* mRNA was not detected in earlier studies (Burg et al, 1993). The current work extended these observations to the *Hdc^{P217}* and *Hdc^{P218}*

mutants, showing again no central brain histamine staining. These results suggest that the mutants that do allow histamine to be present in small amounts in adult photoreceptors do not allow histamine expression in the larval CNS.

Knowing where histamine is present in the nervous system provides a first glance into where to look for cells containing the *Hdc* transcript. The RNA *in situ* hybridization technique (Tautz and Pfeifle, 1989) may illustrate similar results to this report, but it is not clear whether all the cells will express *Hdc* mRNA until this experiment is complete. Improving our understanding of the genetic control of *Hdc* will allow us to identify the various ways that *Hdc* expression is controlled in this manner. Further experiments combining the immunocytochemical and RNA *in situ* approaches are now set to begin to elucidate how the *Hdc* is regulated, in both normal and mutant flies.

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Gender and Empowerment: Contemporary Lakota Women of Rosebud



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ABSTRACT

Western-European stereotypes still permeate Plains Indian culture suggesting that women were passive and subjugated while men were dominant warriors. This research challenges those stereotypes through exploration of origin and spirituality accounts, kinship organization, historical impact, contemporary and traditional issues, and through first hand ethnographic research of the Sicangu Nation of Lakota people in regards to gender roles. Using feminist critique and reflexive theoretical approaches, information was collected through participant observation and interviews with Sicangu people in 2004. By focusing on how Lakota women have empowered themselves, this research illustrates how women were and continue to be respected, influential members of what is now a matrifocal society.

Introduction

The focus of this research is on understanding women's roles in contemporary Lakota society on the Rosebud Reservation¹ of the Sicangu Nation (see figure 1). In the past and continuing into recent times, Lakota women have been stereotyped as subjugated and submissive (Young 2002:161). However, origin accounts and literature suggest that women's positions in Lakota society vary from women having equal roles to men, to being renowned, and even to leading the Lakota into a new era. Evidence is contrary to stereotypes as offered by the high position of women among the Sioux, the values placed upon virtue, upon childbearing, and upon industry and craftsmanship (Hassrick 1964:164; Medicine 2001:164).

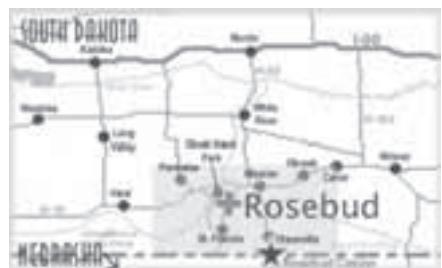


Figure 1. Sicangu Nation in South Dakota
<http://www.rosebudcasino.com/pics/rosebudmap3.gif>

The feminist critique theoretical approach employed in this study focuses on gender roles and traditional explanations of biased images created for colonized peoples through a reflexive methodology. In addition, since gender roles of women are the focus of this research, kinship is examined. Kinship terms are complex and reflect gender, generation, and birth order (Young 2002:159). Relying on a feminist theoretical framework coupled with

¹ The word *reservation* is a western word. One informant told me the term *reservation* refers to a place for wild animals. I would like readers to be mindful as they read the word "reservation" that many people prefer to refer to their homeland as "Indian Country" rather than as a reservation.

a reflexive approach, the methods of participant observation and in-depth life history interviewing are employed. In particular, the research asks: in regards to gender roles, kinship, origin and spiritual beliefs, and contemporary and traditional issues, how much power is vested in contemporary Lakota women at the Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota? The concept of power exemplifies how empowered women are by examining the positive changes implemented in their lives, which places women in positions of being providers and respected members of society.

According to the theoretical models employed and research observations, kinship and ritual, origin myths, and spiritual beliefs should not be ignored. Contemporary issues stem from historical impact. The variables of historical impact, kinship, origin beliefs, and contemporary issues are examined individually and interconnected to illustrate how empowered women are unlike what traditional stereotypes suggest. To the Lakota people everything is interconnected and circular and so is this research, to an extent. For example, contemporary issues are a result of historical impact in which the colonizers tried to eradicate Lakota beliefs and way of life. Today, people are resolving these contemporary issues by returning to their traditional beliefs. Accounting for past gender roles in regards to the above variables will invalidate the stereotypes. The findings also address these variables as they relate to contemporary times. The focus was originally on women until it became clear that both Lakota men and women desire to pull together to restore their nation. The focus on Lakota women does not exclude considering Lakota men's roles and perspectives that reveal how men and women perceive one another.

Demonstration of changes in these variables, especially kinship patterns, over the years supports the idea of

female empowerment. Increasingly, many matrifocal families emphasize matrilateral kin where women have replaced men as providers. People on Rosebud do not fit into neat objective categories especially with the many outside influences. Very strong evidence for women being upheld and influential permeates contemporary society.

Background:

Issues of Gender and Power

Stereotypes of Native American women, in general, and Plains Indian women, in particular, suggest that women were passive and subjugated, and by inference, lacked power. However, a brief review of recent literature creates a different understanding about women from a number of Native American cultures and the Lakota in particular. Stereotypes of the past can be dissolved by reviewing research on the variables of kinship, origin/spiritual beliefs, and historical impact in regards to gender roles along with true depictions of traditional gender roles. Effects of colonization such as alcoholism, poverty, and violence can't be ignored. The reflexive approach emphasizes the importance of taking colonialism into account when considering contemporary situations at Rosebud so the effects of historical impact are included in the background review section. Gender roles, spiritual/origin beliefs, and historical impact are examined in separate categories.

Early Lakota society was misconstrued and misunderstood when interpreted as subjugating to women. Kehoe (qtd in Albers and Medicine 1983:56) explains that women's insights and attention to their roles along with ignoring the ethnocentric, Victorian influenced images of women's proper place in society sheds light on a more accurate depiction of early Lakota society. Lakota society in the past was not male dominated. Women and men had

different complementary roles and their roles in society were considered equally important (Young 2002:161).

A woman caring for children and doing all the work around the house thought herself no worse off than her husband who was compelled to risk his life continuously, hunting and remaining ever on guard against enemy attacks on his family. (Deloria 1944:39-40)

The attitude on division of labor was quite normal, despite how it looked to outsiders.

In Sioux society, men were the protectors, the providers; the women were the homemakers. Unfortunately, popular literature and films have greatly distorted the role of women by depicting them as slaves and household drudges, unequal or inferior to their men. This is far from the truth. The Lakota woman was a total individual, and her physical, spiritual, emotional, and mental makeup were not derived from the Lakota male. She had her own name suited to her personality and ability and did not take her father's or husband's name. (Black Hills Center for Indian Studies qtd in Reyer 1991:5)

Gender Roles

More recent researchers realize that European ideas of society affected researcher's interpretations and observations. Katherine M. Weist wrote that early observers focused on work and marriage of women and this is how they drew conclusions of low status (Weist qtd in Medicine and Albers 1983:31). She reported on observations of women doing all of the work around camp. Men were observed to be having

"fun" as hunters and warriors with many wives through the practice of sororal polygyny. Labor division and polygyny practices were quite functional within Lakota society. Furthermore, there was variability among gender roles so that men and women did not always perform according to the stereotypes. Early observers viewed polygyny as an indicator of lower status for the Sioux woman. In no way did this imply a low status or a threat to her rights but, in many instances, it was the woman who suggested her husband take a younger wife to relieve her of some of her household duties (Medicine 2001).

Negative interpretations of bride price and menstrual taboos were imposed and developed by early observers. Horses were offered in a respectful way to ask a woman's hand in marriage and weren't an economic purchase like early observers believed (Medicine 2001:194). Menstruation taboos in ceremonies had nothing to do with being polluting but had to do with a menstruating woman being observed as powerful. The Oglala Holy Man John (Fire) Lame Deer commented that the Oglalas do not view menstruation, which they call *isnati* (dwelling alone) as "something unclean or to be ashamed of." Rather it was something sacred; a girl's first period was greeted by celebration. But, he continues,

We thought that menstruation had a strange power that could bring harm under some circumstances. This power could work in some cases against the girl, in other cases against somebody else.
(Allen 1992:253)

Women were able to "control the courting process" and owned the tipi along with everything but the man's hunting implements. Both women and men could dissolve a marriage at free will at any time. A man could announce

publicly *wiihepa* or throw away the wife. At the appropriate time, he would approach the drum, hit it, and throw the drumstick over his shoulder, and the act was incontestable (Powers 1990:88). A woman would simply *wicasaihpeyapi*, throw away the man by packing up his stuff while he was gone and leave it outside the doorway, and he had no choice but to take his things and leave (Powers 1990:89).

Another variation in gender roles was the role of *berdaches*. *Berdaches* were men who from the time of youth dressed as women, performed women's work, never married, and were believed to be sacred (DeMallie 2000:726). DeMallie does not describe women's roles but does provide information on the roles of men. His failure to discuss women's roles has been cited as an example of perpetuating subjugated stereotypes about women (Young 2002:162). Various other accounts report flexibility in roles with stories of men engaging in crafts, women who were warriors, dreamers of *Anuk Ite* or Double Woman, and male *berdaches*. An *Anuk Ite* woman could choose between a life of reckless fun and various sexual partners or have all the desirable virtues of being a woman along with being a very skilled artisan (Medicine 2001:128-135). In an analysis of Ella Deloria's narratives, it is pointed out how the *Sinte Sapala Win* (Black Tail Deer Woman) is a reminder to young men to serve their people rather than indulge in erotic fantasy (Rice 1992:30). The story of a girl who elopes with a man who turns into a monster reminds her that a man who waits for a woman in courtship and offers horses to her family proves that he possesses the qualities of a hunter and a father.

Abuse of women is another area where power and gender are inextricably mixed, but there are many contradictory accounts. An account of a story about Crazy Horse says that Crazy Horse cared

too much about his people and was a shirt wearer so he didn't retaliate when No Water stole his wife who returned to him and shot Crazy Horse out of jealousy. The same source gives a quote in regards to the abuse of women. A man's abuse portrays weakness:

At your tipi a dog will make water, and if it happens, take your peace pipe and remember these words and your will power.
(Black Elk 1932: 390)

In other words, there are a lot of things that are insulting, but if I am a chief and someone elopes with my wife, I have to stand it. Take your pipe and control yourself (Rice 1992:31). The practice of cutting women's noses for female infidelity is described in a range from being a rare practice to a common practice. Debra Lynn White Plume writes that a wife batterer was called *ce ni ya* "he thinks with his penis." A wife could make the man leave her lodge if they lived among her *tiyospaye* or extended family. He would, from then on, be known as *ki un ni* "they simply exist" and he could never marry again. Her brothers were obligated by social law to retaliate by speaking to him, beating him, or even killing him. If a wife lived with her husband's family, then her husband's parents were obligated to return her to her home. It was viewed as a broken home and the woman as honorable for leaving a destructive relationship behind. A man who beat a woman was considered irrational and could never lead a war party or own a pipe. He was thought of as contradictory to Lakota law and lost many privileges. A man who killed his wife was thought not to be Lakota any more (Reyer 1991:71).

Origin and Spiritual Beliefs

According to the Lakota origin account, there are very well documented female

figures who exemplify power. *Maka* is the earth spirit created by the spirit of *Inyan* who created the earth but shriveled up when he created *Maka* and gave her all his power (Young 2002:162). Different origin accounts report that an old woman is the one who determines the fate of the spirit world as souls pass on (Young 2002). White Buffalo Calf Woman who is of the *Ikce Oyate* (real people), who emerged to the earth out of the Black Hills, is the one who will lead the Lakota people to a new era and restore the buffalo (Green 1992:99). The White Buffalo Calf Woman is said to be the most influential and important deity of Lakota spirituality (Young 2002). White Buffalo Calf Woman's story is considered the most important to the Lakota people. She taught women quillwork, to avoid men during menstruation, and other roles (Young 2002:162). She taught the Lakota the seven sacred rites or ceremonies, (Powers:1990).

Acknowledgements of the importance of the roles of women are in Sioux mythology and are central to the preservation of the Sioux way of life. Ryer (1991) explains, "Indeed, the most important mythological figure was female, the White Buffalo Calf Woman" (3). Medicine (2001) agrees:

Essentially, this mythic occurrence [the origin story] is constantly invoked by most Lakota people, male and female, indicating the high esteem in which women are held in the culture. (140)

Furthermore, Lame Deer (qtd in Medicine 2001) explains her significant role:

The White Buffalo Woman then addressed the women, telling them that it was the work of their hands and the fruit of their wombs in which kept the tribe alive. 'You are from mother earth,' she told them.

'The task which has been given you is as great as the one given to the warrior and hunter.' And therefore, the sacred pipe is also something, which binds men and women in a circle of love. (141)

Gender roles are complementary at the mythological level as discussed by Powers (1990). White Buffalo Calf Woman or *Ptehincalasan Win* introduced the Lakota to all of their religious traditions but the male trickster, *Inktomi*, taught the buffalo people how to live on the earth's surface once they emerged there (Powers 1990:37). The duality in economic and social roles that ensures the group's survival is reenacted in such ceremonies as the Sun Dance (Medicine 2001:141).

Another example of women in the context of spiritual beliefs related to power is demonstrated by pregnancy and menstruation. *Eglushaka* or pregnancy translates to growing strong and the *wakan* of the female's menstrual cycle could weaken the *wakan* or holy components of male things such as medicine or war bundles (Medicine 2001:141). The times when women are most involved in ceremonies are before a woman loses her virginity and after a woman's menopause ceremonies. Virgins (*Witansna*) can handle sacred objects and carry the Sundance pole. Menopausal women are considered sacred and older women often are in charge of herbal medicines, as well as instructing the younger women about menstruation, sex, and child rearing (Powers 1990:43). One of the major ceremonies is *Is'na awicalowanpi*, 'they sing over first menses' or the White Buffalo Ceremony in English (Powers 1990:43). Women are honored for being able to bear children, which is why the first menses was an important ceremony.

Kinship

Because kinship and family are intimately related to issues of power and social organization among many Native American groups, a brief review of the kinship system is relevant. Grobsmith (1981) provides useful background. Lakota kinship of the past included the *tiyospaye* or extended family system or what was the basic hunting band. Courting took place in the summer when different bands would join together. There was a bilateral emphasis with a patrifocal structure. After WWII, many Lakota lived along the same streams in close proximity. Living in close proximity was the only way left that resembled old kinship/social structure of kinship or *tiyospaye*. The government forced people into clusters that broke up traditional kinship structure even further. Contemporary issues resulted from people being surrounded by strangers. Today among the twenty communities on the reservation there are some who have more traditional values and more of a *tiyospaye* structure. Remnants of *tiyospaye* are evident amongst family who are living in households of close proximity. The Antelope community does not resemble the old *tiyospaye* according to Grobsmith's research (1981). The Antelope community is located one mile from Mission. In the Antelope community, there has been a high degree of intermarriage between Lakota people and non-Lakota people over the years, which has had a considerable effect both on the degree to which native language is spoken and on adherence to traditional kinship roles (Grobsmith 1981: 39). Contemporary issues are related to the breakup of the *tiyospaye* system with historical impacts that have changed communities. Historical impact has given rise to a matrifocal organization as the findings of this research validate. The effects of historical impact on kinship are discussed in the following section.

Historical Impact

Here, the effects of historical impact are examined regarding gender roles, kinship, contemporary issues, and changes that have occurred among the Lakota people due to colonization. Kinship is a good example of a variable affected by historical impact or colonization. Traditional social controls do not operate today. For example, Lakota brothers were expected to follow after sisters to serve as guardians. The behavior of following sisters does not occur due to the break up in *tiyospayes* and reflects acculturation followed by suppression of tradition (Medicine 2001).

Meeting the expectations of *tiyospaye* is difficult in contemporary times. To pull ones own weight, especially for men, strikes at the core of *blokanness* (maleness) and leads to drinking (Medicine 2001:212). The difficulty of pulling one's own weight has to do with the displacement of male's roles. Displacement of men's roles began with the government's systematic slaughtering of the buffalo and forced relocation of Lakota people to the reservations. Men's traditional role of provider and warrior was eradicated. More economic opportunities for women became available because women were able to implement their traditional roles as discussed in this section. *Tiyospaye* systems were the basis of traditional kinship. Mary Crow Dog (1990) describes fragments of the old *tiyospaye* left today. If there is no alcohol then a child is never left alone, is always surrounded and enveloped in love (Crow Dog 1990:29). Historical impact has resulted in homes becoming mostly headed by females (Reyer 1991:5) and many children ending up with their grandparents (Crow Dog 1990:16).

Patricia Albers' (1983) study of historical impact at the Devil Lake Sioux Reservation in North Dakota provides a basis for understanding

historical impact which occurred and is occurring at Rosebud. Albers examines colonial impact by contrasting female status in modern times (1972) to changes in their status since 1870. In this comparison, matrifocal organization and the break up of the *tiyospaye* system is explained. There has been no research like Albers done specifically for the Rosebud Reservation.

From 1870 to 1910 (Albers 1983) women were excluded from treaty negotiations and discriminated against by the United State government. Women were excluded from being agriculturalists so that Sioux customary division of labor was reversed and women would no longer be the "beasts of burden," an imposed stereotype. These changes put men into positions of power along with the federal government making changes to the *tiyospayes* or extended kin group. The United States Government tried to change extended families into nuclear groups so that the Lakota were more like white settlers. According to Albers, the federal government distributed resources (food and other commodities) to the head of the household, which was defined as a man. Agnatic (male) and uterine (female) ties used to shift depending on the season but due to colonial impact, agnatic and patrilineal bias dominated post reservation times.

Albers (1983) also writes about how women found their way to the off reservation market place by selling some of their garden produce and crafts. Women gained power by supervising the distribution of food and material goods in honoring ceremonies. Neither sex had any say in how land was used or what was done with any products that were produced from the land. In these early households, the ideal relationship was for men and women to be proficient in their own activities. Couples shared the products of their labor, physical abuse was not sanctioned, and they

maintained egalitarian values despite the missionaries. Common law marriages and high divorce rates were still common, but women's prestige was declining in Sun Dance ceremonies along with their supernatural powers in curing the ill. Also, women were not included in men's token political positions. Women policed community gatherings and supervised food distribution from collective hunts before reservations came into existence.

Albers (1983) goes on to discuss the colonial impact that occurred between 1910 and 1945. Support of agrarian development support was withdrawn and the government sold and leased Lakota land to neighboring white farmers. Women could receive direct cash benefits from selling the land if they were divorced, widowed, or single and living alone with dependant children; husbands would respect women's claim to this money. As many, if not more, women owned land during the 1940s as men. During the 1930s women lacked training for clerical jobs due to only domestic skills being taught in boarding schools, so most of the low paying government temporary jobs were given to the men. The *tiyospaye* had turned in to loose networks by the 1920s and the older generations couldn't support their adult children. As a result, people began to move into the mission and commercial communities for employment and subsistence. Reliance on grocery stores was building. Families were breaking up so that the wife and children could get ADC that was instituted during the 1930s, which lessened the institution of marriage and increased the likelihood that the wife would provide most of the support for her children. Albers concludes that during these times, the political positions still only belonged to the men.

Recently, a shift towards women being more empowered is revealed. Many women are sole caregivers for

their children as a result of marriages dissolving and the *tiyospayes* breaking a part. Albers discusses modern times that she labels 1968-1972 (Albers 1983:200). Modern times were characterized by Albers as a period when women were increasingly elected to tribal office positions since the 1950s. Also, households began to develop where the pooling of resources occurred. Relatives with no incomes were welcomed into these homes but expected to help with household chores. During this time, she reported that female contributions exceeded or equaled men's contributions in 40% of the households that she looked at. Men and women divided expenses in proportion to income and the largest portion most often came from the wife. By 1972, a shift occurred toward households that were independent of men and controlled by females who made decisions about how to run the household. The emphasis again became uterine with daughters staying at or near home after marriage due to the males not being able to support a family. In 1972, there were many unmarried and separated women with children living in the households of their parents. Kin relied on each other and held a definite sharing relationship. Men with no steady income had come to rely on people in the community, and females such as the wife, mother, sister, or daughter usually supported these men.

Under conditions such as these, it is not surprising that the balance of power should shift increasingly in favor of women. (Albers 1983:217)

Theory and Methodology

Most researchers cited in this analysis of Lakota women realize that European ideas of society have affected researcher's interpretations and observations.

When researchers perceive the asymmetrical relations between men and women in other cultures, they assume such asymmetries to be analogous to their own cultural experience of the unequal and hierarchical nature of gender relations in western society. (Moore 1988:2)

This is where the significance of the reflexive approach lies so the researcher is always examining the role as a researcher and not acting as a colonizer by creating a false reality. Thus, two theoretical approaches guide this research referred to as the reflexive approach and the feminist critique.

Feminist anthropology focuses on gender differences in cultures. Stemming from this general paradigm, the reflexive approach combined with the feminist critique challenges traditional explanations of social relations. Traditional explanations of social relations generated biased images of colonized people to maintain unequal relations between the colonized and their colonizers. The perspective of hierachal social relations highlights the lack of attention to the roles of Lakota women in ethnographic and historic documents, which in turn perpetuates the subjugated, passive stereotype. The feminist critique is meant only to deal with past bias and misinterpretations of Lakota women caused by colonial impact. The following quote illustrates the uneasiness of Native activists towards the feminist critique.

One primary goal of Native activists involves restructuring and reinforcing Indian families. This includes their reevaluation of both women's and men's roles. If Native women are to fulfill traditions of female leadership, they argue, Native men must reclaim their responsibilities so

that the enterprise supporting Indigenous survival and prosperity can move forward. Native women repeatedly fault white feminists for the devaluations of men in their revisionary tactics. Part of a man's responsibility is to protect and provide for his family, as well as to expedite political and social duties. If a man fails in his responsibilities, it falls upon the society's women to instruct, reeducate and remind him of his obligations. Native activists fault Western hegemony and capitalism as systems responsible for alienating so many Native men from their traditional responsibilities. (Udel 2001:8)

Recently attention has been drawn to this issue by a number of scholars. Deloria (qtd in Mascia-Lees and Black 2000) notes:

In the United States, Native American groups, for example, protested images of themselves that had been created in anthropology and some called for closing the doors to anthropological research altogether. (93)

Reflexive anthropologists seek to correct this bias and focus on how unequal power relations are reproduced in fieldwork and ethnographic representations. The above ideology was taken under consideration for this current research project that seeks to examine issues of power and gender among the Rosebud Lakota. Also, according to Moore (1988), in regard to the feminist critique in anthropology:

[we] have to be careful that we're not adhering to western assumptions of personhood and relationship between individuals and society. (39)

Focusing on the individual's experience and perceptions of Lakota society in order to grasp the essence of how people define their own social reality is the goal of the combined methodologies in this research. An emic view was the desired ideal for this research project opposed to an etic view that could never fully understand the dynamics of being a Lakota individual. The qualitative approach of gathering interviews driven by the interviewee and participant observation were chosen so that as many as possible individual perceptions of Lakota women could be recorded.

[The] theoretical shift in anthropology that emphasizes an actor's model of how the world is and how they influence social action rather than models of the anthropologist or the analyst and feminist anthropologists have found this stimulating, because of the central role which feminist analysis of all kinds gives to women's actual experiences. (Moore 1988:38)

I was immersed in Lakota society and introduced to people by volunteering on the reservation at the Tree of Life Ministry in Mission, South Dakota. My taking a colonizer's position by working at the Tree of Life did not seem to be an issue. Tree of Life, run by the United Methodist Church, is a program that repairs homes on the reservation and offers a clothing room with emergency supplies for people in crisis. As people in the community got to know me and felt more comfortable around me, they asked about the Tree of Life to see if they could get assistance.

One of the key informants was the secretary of the Tree of Life, a Lakota woman who was from and grew up on the reservation. She introduced me to people in the community and she was very familiar and informed about the community that she lived in. She

was on the constitutional convention to amend the tribe's constitution and the meetings were held at the Tree of Life. The organization that I lived at did not seem to impact getting to know individuals or how people responded to me. A few people offered for me to live in their homes, gave gifts, and I was invited to many ceremonies and events. Friendships with people were forged, as the role of researcher was kept intact. People in the community are generous in general but how I was welcomed indicates that an oppressive, outsider's stance was not perceived. Both men and women were very open to my presence on the reservation. A few people who were more reserved came to seem comfortable after a month's time of me being there.

The primary research strategy was participant observation enhanced by interviews, primarily of Lakota women. In relationship to the objectives of looking for how much power exists in regard to kinship, social structure, gender roles, and family, relevant information was collected and documented through daily field notes and interview notes. The open-ended interview approach provided rich and specific details as opposed to a less personal survey approach. Quantitative data thus was not the anticipated end product. Rather, this was explicitly qualitative research to gain individual and personal perspectives on the issue of empowerment and gender roles. The results should not be generalized to the entire Rosebud Lakota population. Nonetheless, these approaches enhanced current knowledge regarding this group.

A key anthropological method in anthropology is participant observation. Participant observation targets activities, events and sequences, settings, participation structures, behaviors of people and groups, conversations and interaction. Each place where I volunteered and how each place affected

the research will be briefly described. Field notes, scratch notes, a journal along with methodological, descriptive, and analytical field notes were kept on a daily basis. Keeping a personal journal helped to employ the reflexive approach by accounting for my reactions to other people and to decipher between other people's reality and how I perceived observable phenomenon. This was helpful, for example, when I became frustrated with a family that seemed manipulative and used me to run errands. Utilization of my journal revealed to me how the family had their own style of returning favors in exchange for me driving people around to perform errands. The opportunity to examine the reasons for their behaviors and how the researcher was affecting their social reality by being involved in their lives arose using my personal journal.

Attention to this process of transforming the ethnographer's 'me' to accordance of other's cultural expectations can provide genuine knowledge of the nature of others' selves and societies.
(Davies 1999:24)

An etic view would have ignored the role of men whose insights were regarded as equally valuable to both Lakota men and women. In the field notes, everything that was equally observed among men and women was written down. The reflexive approach is mindful of the loss of information that can occur when one codes field notes with a computer software program. All field notes were coded by hand. Coding notes by hand was done so that the language I used to describe a particular phenomenon would not be missed if the wrong word were chosen for coding the notes. Key words could only be coded by reading through all of the notes and had to account for the conversations

that were recorded. Other people didn't use the same descriptions as I to describe their social reality. For example, a researcher may describe and code for domestic abuse with words such as violence or alcoholism. An informant may describe a domestic abuse situation as, "we were all messed up and I would pick out dudes to fight with" (K's interview).

In addition to participation observation, narratives from three Lakota women and one Lakota man were collected once rapport and trust had been established after volunteering and participating in the community for a few weeks. The length of time required for interviews was flexible and depended upon the subject's available time. Everyone who participated in an interview knew exactly why the researcher was on the reservation. Before sitting down to an interview, informants would read over the informed consent form. I then asked if they had anything in particular they would like to talk about and if they would be comfortable responding to a series of questions or if they would like to just share their life without questions. For three of the interviews, specific questions were asked and the informants would digress. Their digressions incited more questions from the researcher and this led to more specific questions as they related to what the informant was speaking about. These interviews were 60 to 90 minutes long. The interviews followed the pattern of an informal conversation despite the researcher taking notes. The male interviewee wanted to know what the researcher would like to know but had many ideas that he wanted to share, and he talked for two hours without any interruption by me, except when I asked for clarification. With one of the informants, there were three additional interviews collecting a genealogy of her family. Questions about abuse and

others of similar discomfort were not asked of participants but some people on their own accord did share about abuse in their lives. Anonymity was assured and pseudonyms are used here.

In the Field

The Little Hoop Treatment Center had 8-week cycles of in-house living for people with substance abuse issues or co-dependency issues. I volunteered here twice a week and then once a week as time progressed. Personal relationships were built with a few of the staff. Many of the staff who happened to be very involved in the community became key informants. At events like a suicide workshop, methamphetamine workshops, an 18-mile sobriety walk followed by a ceremony, and at *Inipi* or sweat lodge ceremonies are where these staff members could be observed. The number of clients ranged from 5-7 men and women. The clients would share their life stories. I agreed to protect their anonymity as a requirement of being a Little Hoop volunteer. The treatment center's focus was the Red Road recovery approach that fits into Lakota spirituality. The Red Road runs east and west in the Lakota medicine wheel and exemplifies healthy living, unlike the black road which runs north and south.

I fulfilled two different volunteer obligations at the White Buffalo Calf Women Society (WBCW) by working separately with both men and women. One of WBCW's buildings was a residential shelter for women and their children who were experiencing domestic abuse. Here a couple of women told of how they were empowering themselves. Women were met who were caught in the cycle of alcoholism and dependency on aid from the reservation and the government. Another building housed meetings for men who were sentenced to attend by the court systems due to being charged with domestic abuse. Perspectives of

both men and women were learned and there was the opportunity to meet men who were empowering themselves. The director of the men's program held many *Inipi* ceremonies and spoke profusely about Lakota spirituality. He was an example of empowerment and how he used Lakota beliefs to turn his life around and to grow interpersonally as an individual while he helped other people in his community rediscover Lakota tradition.

At the Tree of Life, I volunteered in the clothing room every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoons. Mostly the same people would patronize the clothing room every week. The most common visitors were the street people, young college students who were often female, grandmothers looking for clothing for grandchildren that they were raising, and people who had just had a house fire. House fires were not uncommon. Some of the people shared about their lives on a frequent basis, and most people talked about their troubles in a casual manner. The Tree of Life provided a secretary who took me under her wing and told me many stories of her life and about what she called "my people." She shared information that ranged from politics to social norms, language, traditional beliefs, contemporary problems, her story of empowerment through spiritual beliefs, general gossip, the latest events and news on the reservation; she also introduced me to many people.

In fact, most people with whom I interacted on a consistent basis and who frequented the places where I volunteered were engaged in activities that promoted the growth of their community along with their own interpersonal growth such as participating in various workshops, traditional ceremonies, or recovery programs for alcoholism. As a result, this research reflects the perspective of Lakota women as seen from people

who live as traditionally as possible in a contemporary society which has been altered from colonial impact.

Findings

As discovered during participation observation interviews, contemporary Lakota perspectives tell of the Sicangu women being revered and upheld. The interviews exemplify people's perspectives of gender roles, kinship, contemporary issues, historical impact, and spirituality. Each of these variables will be examined separately in response to observation and interview questions. The four people interviewed along with the many documented conversations with people during participant observation, which are the most relevant discussions that concern this research, are included in these findings. The findings conclusively demonstrate that women are empowered, respected, influential members of this matrifocal society.

Census Data

The census statistics relate to some of the findings. Before there is further discussion about the findings, the census statistics as they relate to the findings will be addressed. The 2000 Census Bureau statistical and demographic information coincides with the reflexive approach of being leery of bureaucracies' possible tendency to skew stats to favor whatever the bureaucracy wants. The Census Bureau results may be skewed due to the fact that off-trust reservation land was included in their surveys. For example, the 2000 Census reports that 14 homes valued at over 1 million dollars exist on the Rosebud Reservation (U.S. Census Bureau: 2000). No such homes were observed on the reservation. Observations indicate that people were known to lie to officials out of fear. It is assumed that this fear is due to the history that has developed between the Lakota people and the U.S. government. According to informants,

people underreported how many people lived in their homes. One home that I spent time in had 5 people, which was the smallest number of people living together that I observed. This home tended to hold many acculturated values and to have a nuclear family base. The census statistics reported an average of 3.69 people in a home (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). With the high rates of alcoholism, there is much mobility between homes. As a result, it is difficult to ascertain how many people reside in each home. A census of Todd County indicates a population of 9,050 for the year 2000 opposed to the Census population of 10,243 for 2000 as reported for the inclusion of off-trust reservation land (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). The entire reservation lies within Todd County with no inclusion of off-trust reservation land. These facts indicate that at least slightly more than 10% of the people surveyed were residing outside of the reservation. Off-reservation trust land must be where the fourteen homes valued for more than one million dollars exist. Off-reservation incomes could raise the per capita rate per household. The higher or off-reservation income segment of the population is likely to provide statistics that indicate smaller nuclear-like households, greater incomes, more education and employed men, and would skew the rest of the statistical data.

It is difficult to obtain needed information that is applicable to this research from the census statistics. For example, this research is interested in the question: how many grandmothers live with or are the providers for their grandchildren? Qualitative data indicates that many grandmothers care for their grandchildren in their own households. "Grandparents as caregivers" is a statistic that is provided in the census data; however, the percentage of caregivers being either

male or female is not. The percentage of householders over the age of 65 is broken down by male or female in a separate table, but the number of these householders who are grandparents is not indicated. The number of women who are grandmothers by their early to mid-forties cannot be determined by the census statistics because sex and age percentages only provide data by gender for the ages over 65 years old and for the ages between 18 and 21 years old. Similarly, education levels reported indicate fairly equal levels of academic achievement between the sexes. However, informants indicated that women are more likely to achieve at least a bachelor's degree. Regarding employment, one of the U.S. Census tables breaks down difference in male and female employment based on hours per week worked. Other research along with this research observes that many women sell crafts to subsist but the census does not count this as an occupation.

A sample of the census statistics for the Rosebud Reservation is provided in Table 1. Income, housing averages, and prices of homes are skewed by the inclusion of off-trust reservation land. The table only includes who did not work along with the most common type of employment that was reported. Census data supports the notion that the colonized continue to be subjugated by their colonizers who manipulate statistics, which conceals the fact that severe poverty exists within the United States.

Table 1. Todd County (Rosebud Reservation) statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau;

Rosebud Reservation and Off-Reservation Trust Land, SD	#	%	Both Sexes	Female	Male
Population in Occupied Housing Units	10,243				
Total Population					
Female	5,319	51.3			
Male	5,050	48.7			
Per Capita Income (dollars)	7,279				
Household Type					
Total households	2,779				
Family households	2,170			1,238 (44.5%)	932 (33.5%)
Non-family households	609	21.9			
Average household size	3.69				
Grandparents as Caregivers					
Living in household with children 18 and under	702	100.0			
Responsible for grandchildren	517	73.6			
16 Years and Over Who Did Not Work in 1999				1,365	3,263
Most Common Type of Industry (for employed population over the age of 16)					
Educational, health and social services			42.0%	51.8%	30.9%

<http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?>

Kinship

Kinship findings are related to Lakota society being matrifocal. Contemporary issues of alcoholism and poverty as well as the subsequent lack of patrilineal ties are increasing the matrifocal tendency of grandmothers who are householders. Also, women have placed themselves in positions of empowerment with their educations. Existing traditional kinship practices will conclude this section about kinship.

Grandmothers who were the sole providers for their grandchildren frequented the Tree of Life clothing room. The parents of these grandchildren had often disappeared due to alcoholism. A couple of grandmothers expressed their sadness over becoming attached to their grandchildren and then having the parents of the children sober up and want their children back. One woman cared for her grandchildren and took in foster children whose parents were no longer living due to dying from drug- or alcohol-related causes. Many people cared for children other than

their own. A few women complained of the foster care system that was eager to take their children and claim their home as unsuitable even when the children had a loving family. Reservation homes are often considered unsuitable for the foster care system, which calls into question the value of family love and support over the value of western “cleanliness.” Isn’t a home full of love and nourishment with many supporting family members and food suitable regardless of cockroaches running across the floor?

During this three-month project, I met a number of people who were not familiar with their father’s side of the family. One girl lived next door to her father whom she did not speak to at all. Her brother pointed out his father’s house as we drove by but didn’t see or talk to his father. The same siblings’ mother had 10 children by 5 different fathers. Women with up to 11 children who all have different fathers were observed and identified to me by various sources. Informants reported their fathers as disappearing for some

time to end up having a new girlfriend or wife and children fathered by him. The informants weren’t involved with these new families. Alcohol and men finding less work over each generation has affected the family structure. Families have become matrifocal due to the children ending up with the mother or the grandmother. Paternal grandmothers were observed as being caretakers for their grandchildren but on a less frequent basis. There is much mobility with the men who find residence in different places across the reservation or have to move to the cities to find work. One informant pointed out that housing is already scarce but men struggle even more with having their own homes because the tribe only grants housing to families.

Family is an important Lakota value and is at the core of *mitakuye oyasin*, an expression that means “all my relations” and relates all animate and inanimate objects. One informant pointed out societal differences in the definition of poverty as he spoke about his land, spirituality, and family as all

interconnected and relational in his mind. He didn't see himself as a man who should have the "American 9-5 job" but as a man who wanted to be close to his family and in touch with his land and spirituality that is derived from living amongst his people and homeland.

Kinship terms in the Lakota language to describe an uncle or sister, for example, are described in Powers (1990:62). These terms are still spoken today and were observed by this researcher as being spoken most often in the *Inipi* or sweat lodge ceremonies that I intended. The mother-in-law taboo was observed as still being in practice. The mother- in-law taboo is the practice of a child's spouse ignoring the parent-in-law of the opposite sex. It also prohibits the parents-in-law from making eye contact or addressing their children-in-law of the opposite sex. There are families that live together in a nuclear family arrangement (no extended family in the home), and they usually don't drink. Remnants of the old *tiyospaye* system of kinship seem to exist more for survival, and large families that live together pool their resources. I was told that many families gather in one home during the winter in order to share a home with heat and electricity.

Gender Roles

Observations and findings in my research about gender roles focus on work, sex ratios in politics, language, and how men and women are socialized differently. How men and women perceive each other is also discussed in this section. Briefly, the topic of medicine women will be broached. One woman who was a director at a program where I volunteered was very direct and forward with wanting to know what I was doing with my education. She was very enthused about this research being done and offered her office as a source for literary and video resources. She even pointed out to me,

without knowing the hypothesis of my research, how anthropologists have been male and haven't given credit to how much power women have and that the Lakota have a mostly egalitarian society. Women, she said, may have had more power in some areas in recent times.

However in one area, politics, there is mostly male involvement. On the constitutional convention committee, aimed at amending the constitution from the 1930s, two out of the six people were women. Women are in the tribal council, but many people complain that the council is corrupt and doesn't represent the Sicangu Nation like it should. A woman's husband fondly joked that their roles had reversed. For hobby and sale on the Internet, he made crafts traditionally created by women, such as par fleches, bone awls, and spoons. His wife was involved in politics.

Men and women shared their perceptions of their opposing gender. I was told by men, "you're a woman so you are strong and you can do anything." Does this reflect an attitude by men that women are more empowered just because of their gender? Descriptions of women ranged from women being honored and revered to being referred to as the backbone of the Red Nation. Men seemed to speak more favorably of women than vice versa. One man did complain about how poorly his sisters and mom spoke of men and how this affected his self-esteem. It is quite possible that men were uncomfortable sharing any negativity that they may harbor towards women with a woman researcher. A few women would tell me that they were taught never to marry men from the reservation because they are no good and lazy. Women complained of there being no good men to marry. Overall, there was a general respect towards women and men spoke very highly about their mothers. Respect may be due to some of the dependence

on women that men are socialized to project as a result of colonization.

On a couple of occasions and during an interview, the topic of how women and men are socialized differently was brought up. A couple of women complained that women are taught to work, raise children, sew, cook, and take care of their homes, but nothing is expected of the men. Women are expected to do these things and are seen as lazy if they don't. The following excerpt from an interview with P exemplifies how men and women are socialized differently.

Do men have empowerment in their lives or how do they make positive changes to their lives?

Not yet. Women have to be women before men can be men.

Can you explain?

I don't know if you can write this down. Do you know what a castrating bitch is? Assimilation and acculturation have taught men to hate women and so women hate men but women only hate themselves if they hate men. They don't leave men alone so they can grow up and not be made weak by being taken care of.

Why are women taking care of men?

Men are more important, it's what I described to you about the boarding schools. (She was referring to an earlier conversation in which she described how boarding schools taught that men were more important, fed before the women, and why she thinks there are only medicine men now.) Maybe it's because we didn't live right and the men were killed off at young ages. People get victimized

but when treated like a victim they act like a victim.

How do women take care of men?

They let them get away with things they shouldn't. They enable. Mothers enable sons and take care of sons financially or physically. Don't teach them how to move out of homes and be responsible. Somehow girls learn how to do these things. They are shown how to cook, clean, sew, and work.

Women's experiences in the job field differ from men's experiences. During their thirties many women do return to college. This statistic correlates with those provided by the Census (U.S. Census Bureau: 2000). College is a source of empowerment for women. Many more women are reported as attending the local Sinte Gleske University, SGU, which is located in Antelope Community next to Mission on the reservation. The classes are oriented towards social services and secretarial and administrative work that people view as women's work. The most common jobs on the reservation are those with the tribe, school systems, or social services. Many more women than men were observed as employed at these places and in director positions. Government and social services

positions favor women and are viewed by men and women as women's work. One woman attributes more women working to relocation during the 1950s. Not until the 1950s did women start working because of relocation. They could find jobs in the cities. When asked if women's roles have changed, an informant replied that more women work now. I asked if this was because of single mothers. She said that everyone stayed with their babies until they were grown and went to school and then they went to work. Back then women lived

on welfare because there wasn't any childcare but now there is.

Informants reported that their fathers and grandfathers were still finding work up until the 1970s and their moms or grandmothers were housewives. Sometimes, the families had to move to find work. Families could work in sugar beat fields in South Dakota or as ranch hands. Even the men who were interviewed and have college educations aren't maintaining work due to alcoholism. What led to the decline of men working and the increase of women working over the last 30 years? One informant said that men do work but in ways that can't be counted by an official census. She said that the men work hard and don't get credit for it. They do a lot of hard labor like fixing cars for money. One man sold his paintings and danced once a month with an out-of-state group that traveled. To find work he had to leave the reservation. He lived with his mother and siblings that he was very close to. This is the conflict that many people face because families are so valued in Lakota society. They can live in poverty with their families or go to the cities to be the working poor and be isolated from their families.

A couple of informants pointed out how the language has masculine and feminine differences.

Wo is for men and *wa* is for women in language. The letter *O* is for men and *A* is for women. This is an example of how women had their role and place. (N's interview)

Women once had their own names. One woman accredited the language as empowering her because the traditional language had compassion unlike today's language that has changed and is used to gossip about people.

There used to not be competition over roles. Everyone had a role for the tribe to survive and that was the natural order of things.
(P's interview)

P bases this on the old language that was all about self-responsibility. The language changed her life as she reported during an interview. The language didn't put her down instead it empowered her. *Waunisal* means compassion and a long time ago she said, it was meant to have it for yourself.

It was said that grandmothers carry on the oral tradition (Penman 2000). It would be interesting to know at what rate elderly women contribute to Lakota society and what exactly differentiates their roles. Grandmothers often take care of the children, so it would make sense that they pass on oral tradition. Grandmothers are referred to as the carriers of oral tradition (Penman 87). Grandmothers are who to consult with about politics; they are disciplinarians and holders of herbal knowledge (Reyer 1991:11). Finally, sources suggest that men did and do have a higher mortality rate so it would make sense for grandmothers to be the carriers of oral tradition by story telling. However, confirmation of this observation would require more research.

In Theisz (1988:11) and Crow Dog (1990:201) there are brief mentions of medicine women. More research about the existence of medicine women could be done because I was told of there being medicine women in the past on only two occasions during the participant observation phase of this research. The extent to which colonization impacted the existence or frequency of medicine women is a very important question.

Spirituality

Lakota spirituality could be the subject of another paper, so this portion of

the paper will be brief. Spirituality is juxtaposed with the variables of kinship and gender roles. Kinship is spirituality in Lakota terms and one of the most important values is to care for family. Holism and circular thinking among the Lakota emphasize how equally important men and women are because everything is viewed as of equal value. The saying *mitakuye oyasin* “all my relations” exemplifies this statement. *Mitakuye oyasin* also describes kinship beyond biology and fictional kinship ties were commonly built in both and outside of the *Inipi* ceremony. In the sweat lodges, people adopted uncles, sisters, brothers, aunts and grandparents. Historical impacts on spirituality and an interviewee’s description of key women in Lakota spirituality will, also, be included in this section.

Examples of spiritual beliefs as they relate to women and empowerment were provided by observations, conversations, and interviews. For example, on the local radio station, there was a public service announcement for the White Buffalo Calf Women Society walk for violence against women. The story of White Buffalo Calf Woman was told. She had shown herself to two men and one was destroyed by the thunder beings when he had disrespectful thoughts about her. The PSA pointed out that this story traditionally taught men to respect women.

During N's interview, he told me,

The spiritual expression is feminine. The pipe was brought from WBCW and she changed into the most beautiful woman man ever had seen with a voice to match. She taught songs and some of the lyrics in her songs so that the people can live. This is holistic. Spiritual expression is feminine because everything is provided by Tunkushila and planet mother. She gives everything that we need here. In the Milky Way, the

spirit comes to the fork where an old woman is. She will review your life and if you think that you were selfish and lived on the black road, she will push you off the spirit trail and back. You retain these past life memories in consciousness and this determines your value system. We have karmic debts to come back and undo from a selfish life and we keep coming back to undo these debts until we can go to her to return to the center [of the universe].

Historical impacts have affected spiritual beliefs. The following excerpts from a couple of interviews give insight into impacts on beliefs. When I asked about women having different roles than men (I had not meant in ceremonial terms), one informant, P, responded,

We're still stuck under the Catholic Church or the medicine men, thinking that men give life and women suppose to listen to them and not go against them. It's where spiritual abuse comes from. It's when you don't question authority, when you think God is out to get you because God is a man. It's all that voodoo stuff about how you drop the pipe or have moon time and touch the pipe. Everything that is natural that happens to a woman is used against her. I don't know if this is traditional or came from the missionaries.

Another male informant and interviewee spoke a lot about Indian people being holistic thinkers. He pointed out how holistic thinking clashed with white man's middle class, left-brained thinking. For him, lack of holistic thinking was part of the reason that stereotypes were developed, devaluing Lakota women when Lakota society was superimposed with euro-centric values. How can women be inferior to

men when one acknowledges Lakota spirituality, which treats men and women as equals? Based on anecdotal evidence, Lakota spirituality still strongly exists in people's everyday lives. Missionaries, education, and outside influences have affected this holism with what N would call left-brained, materialistic thinking. Holistic thinking can be observed in spiritual beliefs and in the way many people interpret events in spiritual terms. For example, I was driving with a young woman who observed an owl fly across the road and seemed frightened as she told me the owl was a warning bird. My ears were always filled with stories about spirits when I would join a family of various ages by a campfire in the canyons. I was told often about the representations of different parts of nature and had few conversations about what was material.

Contemporary Problems and Alcoholism
Another group of questions related to gender and empowerment are tied to alcoholism.

Alcoholism is a significant problem on the reservation. Alcohol accounts for many deaths along with violence, domestic abuse, matrifocal homes, and people's inability to maintain scarce jobs and homes. The effects of historical impact on traditional practices can be accounted for, to some degree, when alcoholism is removed from the contemporary picture. Alcoholism stems from the atrocities and abuses inflicted upon the Lakota by the United States Government. The slaughter of the buffalo to displace men's roles as hunters and force starving people onto the reservations led to men's frustration and dependence on alcohol which was introduced and steadily supplied to reservations. Wounded Knee, the death of leaders such as Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, withholding of commodities, forced relocation to shoddy land, the taking of the Sacred

Paha Sapa (Black Hills), stealing off water rites, abuses of boarding schools, racism from surrounding towns, forced sterilization, and many more injustices have led to the devastation of a nation of people who have sought comfort in the ongoing cycle of alcoholism. Alcoholism persists in an isolated place where there is not much opportunity and little hope. To the contrary, there is much hope when we look to the effects of people returning to traditional ways and Lakota spirituality. The effects of alcohol repute the variable of historical impact because contemporary problems stem from alcoholism that was caused by historical impact. When we remove the variable of alcohol and hence historical impact, we gain insight into how traditional ways treat women. The historical impacts are never fully resolved, but traditional ways can be viewed more clearly.

Why should there be a focus on traditional ways? Tradition and participation in ceremonies dictate and require sobriety. Sobriety, Lakota spirituality, and traditional ways have been the most influential strategies in people empowering themselves and turning their lives around from complete poverty, institutionalization, abuse, death, insanity, and everything associated with alcoholism. Every sober person or recovering alcoholic that I spent time with had returned to their traditional ways, except one woman who was slowly returning to traditional ways. This particular woman was resolving her conflict of the abuse that she endured during boarding school times. The boarding schools taught her that Catholicism was everything and that she shouldn't believe her traditional Lakota ways.

A more accurate picture of the Lakota's perception of women can be developed when the variable of alcohol is removed. Domestic abuse is cited as a reason why women are not respected in contemporary times. Reality is that

domestic abuse is not related to gender or being a woman. Domestic abuse positively correlates with drugs and alcohol. Observations and informants reported just as many women abusers as male abusers. Often, for men, there is shame in discussing abuse that affects their *bloka* or maleness. Some of the men sent to the White Buffalo Calf Women Society for domestic abuse described their girlfriends and wives as abusive when the women were drinking. On several occasions, I was told about a woman's husband whom had abusive girlfriends and one man shared about having an abusive ex-wife. The common factor was drugs and alcohol. One woman shared about her old hatred for men and how she would pick fights and beat up men while she drank. Another man used to be abusive to women in his past until he found sobriety and returned to Lakota spirituality and traditional ways.

Conclusion

Research focused on contemporary times is required so that the 21st century positions of women are not erased (for an example see Farmer: 2004). The background describes how researchers have demystified stereotypes but also shows very contrary ethnographic accounts and beliefs about particular practices such as the practice of nose cutting for female infidelity. The general consensus is that Lakota men and women lived in an egalitarian society despite some of the contradictions. Contemporary Lakota people report that past society was egalitarian and so is today's contemporary society. With the call of feminism to find out what women's roles had been in societies where male anthropologists focused on men's roles through a western European lens, women anthropologists in the 1970s began to do research to discover what women's roles were. Anthropologists hadn't understood what

they were seeing. Their observations were biased and superimposed from their own culture.

These people [whites] endured great hardships, and all the while they were thinking that our women were slaves we felt that theirs were. It may not flatter the white man, but the Lakota did not think him considerate toward his women. (Standing Bear qtd in Powers 1990:210)

Native activists are concerned with returning to their traditional roles which were egalitarian, and this requires the collective effort of both men and women. Native activists such as Mary Brave Bird, as she wrote in *Lakota Woman*, are concerned with replacing the effects of genocide and forced sterilizations that women claimed the Indian Health Service was still performing in the 1980s. Replacing the effects of genocide means that women want to have many children and not follow the nuclear type families that they feel are a by-product of being a feminist. Lisa Udel in her work calls the having of many children and the pooling of resources between women as "mother-work."

Women haven't suffered loss of roles as much because they can still raise children and engage in mother-work. On Pine Ridge, more women hold down jobs because nursing, teaching, clerical and domestic work are jobs for women that are more readily available. (Udel 2001:8)

Mother work is evident in this research and supports the fact that a matrifocal society is becoming predominant.

Lakota women didn't live lives of subjugation as background research for this project revealed. Colonial

impact has affected men's positions and has ultimately contributed to women being in more empowered positions in contemporary times. Gender roles, spirituality/origin beliefs, along with kinship are measured variables that have always proven women to be respected and influential members of Lakota society. The findings demonstrate this fact. Kinship and spirituality are at the core of Lakota society and examination of these variables alone demonstrates how respected women are. Everything being of equal importance, including all inanimate and animate objects, is best summarized in the saying *mitakuye oyasin*, which means "all my relations." This saying exemplifies the emphasis of egalitarianism that Lakota people place on their own society.

The following statement from an informant best concludes this analysis,

My definition of being a Lakota woman. You live your life so things are better for the next generation. That is the circle. If you lead a bad life you leave nothing behind but a lot of resentments, she laughed. When I first got sober, I looked myself in the mirror and said I am Lakota and I am a Lakota woman. I realized that what they did a long time ago weren't great things but you can live and do the next right things, like you learn. (P's Interview)

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Use it or lose it? What predicts age-related declines in cognitive performance in elderly adults?



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ABSTRACT

Psychologists have suggested two possible causes of declines in cognitive performance with age: declines in cognitive capacity (e.g., working memory), and the level of stimulation in their environments. Fourteen college students (mean age=21 years, SD=1.65), seven middle-aged (40-59, mean age=51, SD=4.8), and five elderly (60+, mean age=74.8, SD=8.3) participants completed a series of assessments including simple and complex measures of processing and reasoning and assessments of cognitive stimulation. The results indicated that working memory declines with age and that these declines predicted performance on complex reasoning tasks while cognitive stimulation was unrelated to performance.

Introduction

Psychologists have long documented a general decline in cognitive performance during the adult aging process (Salthouse, 1996). Recent research has suggested two possible causes for this decline: (1) decline is an inevitable factor in aging or (2) decline is a result of cognitive inactivity (Meiser & Klauer, 1999; Salthouse, Berish, & Miles, 2002). The first hypothesis suggests that with aging comes a decline in cognitive functioning due to a reduction in processing resources available to the reasoner. The second hypothesis suggests cognitive activity will stave off the effects of aging and subsequently maintain cognitive functioning.

Declines in Capacity and Speed

This general decline in the performance of adults may be explained by the cognitive load theory (CLT) (Paas, Camp, & Rikers, 2001). CLT suggests that the limited capacity for reasoning decreases with age and that this decrease is directly related to declines in reasoning and problem solving in later years. Pass et al. (2001) demonstrated a consistent decline in working memory (WM), a system that momentarily stores information available for ongoing cognitive processes capacity with age (Oberauer, 2001).

There are three components of working-memory: (1) the phonological loop, (2) the visuo-spatial scratch pad, and (3) the central executive. Each of these components represents a resource that can be used for processing of different tasks. The phonological loop specializes in momentary storing and rehearsal of serial speech-based codes, as in reciting a phone number until the phone number is dialed. The visuo-spatial component processes information that is coded visually and spatially. The central executive function is the component that acts as a general processing agent for all

else that the other two do not cover. Central executive function also directs all conscious responsibilities, all resource coordinating of activities, and monitors task performance. This function can also donate processing capacity to other functions when the load reaches capacity (Conners, Carr, & Willis, 1998). The phonological loop and visio-spatial sketchpad are used for simple cognitive tasks while the central executive is recruited for complex tasks.

Such a decline in WM capacity should reduce an individual's capacity for reasoning. These declines are found to be more apparent when the task places a greater amount of load on the working memory. When presented with a simple task, the phonological loop is recruited for momentary recitation. When a task requires additional processing, the central executive component of the working memory donates additional processing capacity. It has been suggested that it is a decline in executive functioning that declines with age (Conners et al., 1998). Furthermore, this slowing of information processing appears to begin as early as 40 years old (Myerson, Hale, Hirschman, & Hansen, 1989). The notion of a slowed working memory appears to be linked to an individual's capacity to reason and problem solve.

Capacity, Performance, and Complexity

An additional factor in cognitive performance is the complexity of the problem to be solved (Halford, 1993). The more complex the problem, the more processing resources are required for its solution. Thus, a decline in resources reduces the likelihood of solving complex problems (Halford). Complexity is a measure of the central executive component of working memory and is likely related to performance on complex reasoning tasks.

Older adults show declines in the efficient use of WM capacity and in cognitive tasks such as mental rotation, a simple cognitive task in which subjects are shown a series of letters that have been rotated 45, 90, or 180 degrees. In this task, Roberson, Palmer, and Gomez (1987) found that older adult performance decreased as the degree of rotation increased. Salthouse, Berish, and Miles (2002) found that there is an age-related decline in reasoning capacity. This decline in capacity (i.e., processing space) was a major predictor of age-complexity effects. The authors note that this capacity for reasoning was affected in a number of cognitive tasks including those that are cognitively complex and cognitive tasks that were simple.

One major limitation is that although many studies have examined simple cognitive tasks (e.g., letter rotation), few have examined simple and complex tasks in the same experiment. One type of complex task is logical reasoning. Logical reasoning (e.g., syllogistic reasoning) draws on the central executive in the integration of semantic and syntactic information (Johnson-Laird, 1999).

A second factor is processing speed. Processing speed is a factor in the efficient use of limited capacity in that the faster the processing speed, the more operations can be executed in the same amount of space (Kail, 2000). Slow processing speed has been associated with poor performance by children because they cannot complete the necessary components of the task in the allotted time (Kail & Hall, 1994). Processing speed increases throughout childhood and levels off in adulthood (Kail). Salthouse (1996) notes that there is a gradual speed and efficiency decline with age. Studies by Cepeda (2001) have shown that individuals between the ages of 71-85 show some difficulty in task inertia, that is, the activation of the stimulus-response rule after a change of

task that required a reconfiguration of the cognitive system. This preparation increases the response-time and thus increases the amount of errors especially in the elderly population (Yeung & Monsell, 2003).

Verheggen et al. (2002) found that the slowing of processing time may result in retention intervals being lengthened and may increase the likelihood that stored information will decay. According to the authors, this means that the information-processing mechanism (i.e. processing stream) shows age-related deficits. The authors go on to note that those memory dependent tasks should show a large amount of deficits and can result in a poor performance on cognitive tasks. Many researchers have studied this decline in processing speed.

For example, there is a marked decline in the performance of elderly participants on the Tower of Hanoi puzzle, a task that requires planning and inhibition, two factors that tax processing capacity and speed (Davis & Klebe, 2001). There is much research that has found in an elderly population a reduced ability to manipulate and organize information in the working memory (Campbell & Charness, 1990). The authors go on to note that declines can be the result of a general slowing in informational processing.

“Use it or Lose it”

There is a second explanation for this decline in cognitive performance in the elderly sometimes called “use it or lose it.” This explanation suggests maintaining cognitive function can stave off cognitive decline. Without this maintenance, cognitive operations will begin to atrophy from disuse much like physiological structures (e.g., muscles) that are not used. Salthouse, Berish, and Miles (2002) found it conceivable that with increased age there is a decrease in engagement in cognitively demanding activities. Results are mixed as to

whether engagements in cognitively stimulating activities are related to cognitive declines. Hultsch, Small, Dixon, and Roger (1999) note that older adults seem to have a reserve capacity that allows them to benefit from exposure to performance enhancing environments; furthermore, this exposure may, in fact, be able to predict a reversal of, or at least a maintenance, of cognitive levels.

Performance enhancing environments can be described in many ways, but for our purposes, we will follow Hultsch, Small, Dixon, and Roger (1999) who define a complex environment, or cognitive stimulus, as one with diverse stimuli that requires complex decision making, with ill-defined contingencies that appear to be in contradiction. These authors go on to explain that research suggests that there is a "use it or lose it" component on cognitive tasks and that performance can be moderated by an individual's exposure to complex stimulus in his/her environment.

The purpose of this project is to compare and investigate explanations for decline in cognitive performance due to aging. This will be accomplished by measuring factors in processing capacity and maintenance then comparing these to performance on several cognitive tasks.

We will measure activity levels and three elements of the capacity hypothesis: (1) processing capacity (a measure of phonological working memory or simple capacity), (2) processing speed (a measure of the time to execute cognitive operations), and (3) processing space (a measure of the executive function of working memory or complex capacity). We will then measure simple (e.g., letter rotation) and complex (i.e., syllogistic reasoning) reasoning measures to determine which, if any, of the aforementioned factors best predicts performance.

Method

Subjects

Twenty six subjects from three groups took part in this experiment. The control group was made up of 14 young subjects (mean age=21 years, $SD=1.65$), seven middle age subjects (40-59, mean age=51, $SD=4.8$), and five elderly (60+, mean age=74.8, $SD=8.3$). The control group was recruited from Psychology 101 and Psychology 301 classes at Grand Valley State University; these participants were either given credit or extra credit for their participation. The middle-age and elderly participants were recruited from North Ottawa County Council on Aging and included members and patrons of the senior center. The age breakdown is consistent with mean ages of prior research conducted concerning working memory, on a wide age range of subjects (Myerson et al., 1989; Campbell & Charness, 1990).

Materials

There are three types of measurements in this project: (1) processing capacity, (2) cognitive maintenance, and (3) cognitive tasks. There are two measures of processing capacity: simple and complex. The Word-Span-Simple task (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980) used was the word span measurement. Each participant is presented with a random series of three-letter words at a rate of one per second. After the sequence is completed, the participant is asked to repeat the words in order. The word series range from three-word to nine-word combinations for 16 trials.

The complex task used was the Word-Span-Rhyme-New task (De Beni, Palladino, Pazzaglia, & Cornoldi, 1998). This is the same procedure as the word span with a few additions. The presented words are now two-letter words and after each word is presented, there is a second word presented at a delay. The participant is asked to decide

if the second word rhymes with a target word, blow, and press a paginated button if the word rhymes with the target word or a second button if it does not. For each task, the subjects will be scored on span (number of words correctly recalled) and recall rate (how quickly they recalled words). These tasks were selected to provide a measure of verbal working-memory (Case, Kurland, & Goldberg, 1982).

Maintenance

Salthouse, Berish, and Miles (2002) have used the Activity Inventory and the 18-item version of the Need for Cognition (AINC) noting that it involves a range of cognitive tasks. Participants will also be asked their age, sex, and education level. The specific instructions for the AINC read, "rate how cognitively demanding you feel the activity is on a 5-point scale where 1=absolutely no cognitive demands (e.g. sleeping), 3=moderate cognitive demands (e.g. reading a newspaper), and 5=high cognitive demands (e.g. completing a tax form)" (p. 551).

Cognitive Tasks: Simple

Letter rotation

Roberson et al. (1987) note that the process of letter rotation is analogous to the process involved in the perception of the transformation of externally rotating objects. In this task, one letter is presented on the middle of a computer screen. They refer to this process as mental rotation. The authors go on to note that this mental rotation can be used as a measure of spatial representations and processing and to explain failures and successes in directional consistency in perceptual memory.

Trail making task (TMT)

Stuss et al. (2001) note that the TMT is one of the most widely accepted and sensitive general indicators of the presence of brain dysfunctions. TMT,

Parts A and B require many cognitive processes including motor speed, visual search, and visual perception. Part B requires what the authors refer to as *cognitive alteration* and an ability to modify a plan of action, as well as maintaining two strains of thought concurrently. Salthouse et al. (2000), notes that the TMT is found to be of some interest because it seems to reflect aspects of executive functioning. Activity as factor in capacity: Hultsch, Small, Dixon, and Roger (1999), concluded in their research that there is a relationship between intellectual activity and cognitive function change. The TMT, Part A requires the participant to draw a line as quickly as possible joining the numbers 1-25. The test is arranged on an 8.5 x 11 inch page. Part B requires the participant to draw a line as quickly as possible joining the letters and numbers arranged on the same sized page (1-A-2-B-3...) (Stuss et al., 2001).

Cognitive Tasks: Complex

A syllogistic reasoning task was chosen to examine complex reasoning. Syllogisms (i.e., categorical syllogisms) have two premises and a conclusion. Subjects were given 32 syllogisms and were asked to evaluate the conclusion as either "valid" or "invalid." Syllogistic reasoning was chosen because it requires significant processing resources, drawing heavily on the central executive portion of working memory (Johnson-Laird, 1999).

Results

Of the 26 participants sampled in this study, 14 were used as a control group, seven were used as the middle-age group, and five were used as the elderly group. Because of an unequal distribution of age and generally small sample size, care should be taken evaluating cognitive declines across age groups.

Age and Reasoning Performance

There was a significant negative correlation between age and performance on the Word-Span-Simple task $r(26)=-.508$, $p < .005$ (see fig. 1), indicating that with increased age, there is a decline in working-memory performance. This negative correlation was also found between age and Word-Span-Rhyme-New task $r(26)=-.531$, $p < .005$, and again with increased age, there was a decreased working-memory performance.

The Letter Rotation task yielded unexpected results (see fig. 2 and 3). The control group was least likely to identify correctly whether the letter presented was in a mirrored or correct position. We believe that the control group pressed the paginated computer keys as quickly as possible to end the testing session resulting in their poor performance. This notion was supported with the examination of the latencies of the control group $F(2, 23)=22$, $p < .01$. The control group took less time making their decisions on the position of the letter, which was shown by the latencies in milliseconds. As expected, the middle-age group outperformed the elderly group in correct responses $F(2, 23)=8.9$, $p < .05$. Unexpectedly, the elderly group had shorter response latencies in decision-making than did the middle-age group, though this difference was not significant, $F(2, 23) = .9$, $p > .10$. We believe these results might be unrepresentative of the general population of elderly adults due to the small and uneven sample size.

The Trail Making task was analyzed with a 2×2 ANOVA, age of participant X mean number of correct executions, (see fig. 4). As expected, the control group outperformed both the middle-age group and the elderly group, $F(2, 23)=10.1$, $p < .01$ on the mean number of correct executions of the Trail Making task. Again, we believe that these results would be more accurate

with a larger number of participants in each age group.

The Logical Reasoning task revealed a negative correlation between age groups and the mean number of correct responses, $r(26)=-.538$, $p < .005$. There was a positive correlation between participant's performance on the Word-Span-Simple task and the mean number of correct responses on the Logical Reasoning task, $r(27)=.559$, $p < .002$. There was an even stronger positive correlation between the Word-Span-Rhyme-New task and the mean number of correct responses on the Logical Reasoning task, $r(27)=.754$, $p < .001$.

A linear regression was performed to examine the extent to which processing space and stimulation variables would predict performance on simple and complex tasks. Subject performance on the complex working memory task (i.e., Word-Span-Rhyme-New task) predicted 56% of the variance on the complex reasoning task (logical reasoning; $b=.75$, $p < .001$). There were no other significant relations between problem-solving performance and the amount of cognitive stimulation in one's environment (all p 's $> .10$).

Discussion

What factors predict cognitive declines due to aging? Previous research had suggested two factors: decreases in capacity and cognitive inactivity. Our results support the capacity hypothesis but do not support the inactivity hypothesis. Our results demonstrate that the best predictor of performance on reasoning tasks was the measure of complex working memory, which is a measure of executive function. This measure was a particularly good predictor for complex tasks (i.e., logical reasoning). While our results did not support the inactivity hypothesis, we do not believe that these results necessarily provide evidence against the hypothesis. Many factors could have

produced this null result, including low sample size, poor cognitive stimulation survey, and poor problem-solving measures. Moreover, we believe that it is very important that people do not discontinue their involvement in cognitively stimulating activities simply because it has not been proven to be an accurate indicator of problem-solving abilities. It is also possible that level of cognitive activity is what is driving changes in working-memory space. Future research should address this possibility.

The results show, as has been shown in previous findings, that with increased age there is a decrease in working-memory performance. This decline, however, was not well represented in performance on simple problem-solving tasks (i.e. Trail Making and Letter Rotation tasks). This decline was significantly related to performance on the complex task (i.e. Logical Reasoning task). The results of this study indicate that complex working-memory performance (i.e., executive function) is a good predictor of age-related decline in cognitive performance in elderly adults.

Figure 1. Age and working-memory and mean number of correct words recalled on Word-Span Complex and Word-Span Simple

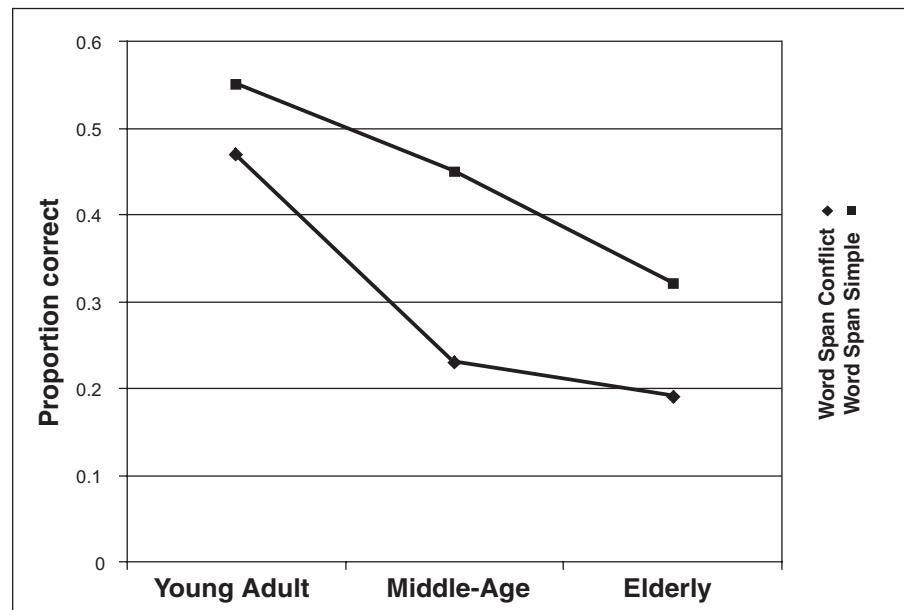


Figure 2. Letter rotation task and the mean number of correct responses per age-group young adult, middle age, and elderly

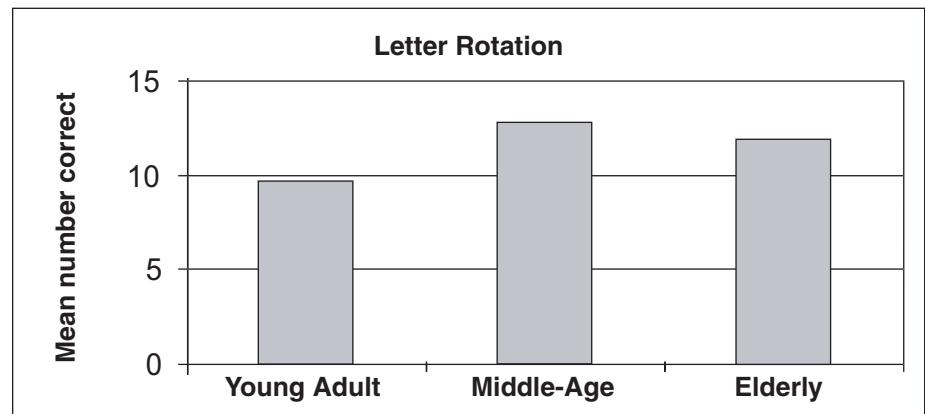
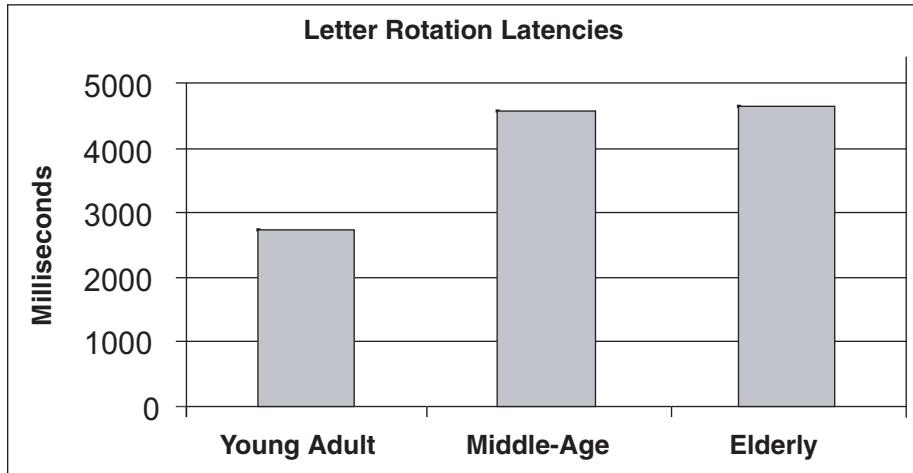


Figure 3. Letter rotation task and latency of responses by milliseconds per age group young adult, middle age, and elderly



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Dysfunctional Cognitions: Associations with Perfectionistic Thinking Utilizing the Positive and Negative Perfectionism Construct



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ABSTRACT

Historically, perfectionism has been associated with symptomalogies such as depression, anxiety, and procrastination (Hewitt & Flett, 1991). However, a newer construct expands and includes both positive and negative aspects to perfectionism (Flett, Russo, & Hewitt, 1994; Frost, Marten, Lahart, & Rosenblatt, 1990; Hamachek, 1978; Norman, Davies, Nicholson, Cortese, & Malla, 1998; Terry-Short, Owens, Slade, & Dewey, 1995). Maximization has been defined by tendencies similar to negative perfectionism. Cognitive distortion has been associated with depression and anxiety; however, little research has evaluated cognitive distortions in relation to perfectionism. This study examines associations of positive and negative perfectionism, cognitive distortion, and maximization. A distinction is made between positive and negative perfectionism as well as connections between negative perfectionism, maximization, and cognitive distortions.

Cognitive distortion can lead to low self-esteem, depression, and high anxiety levels (Burns, 1980); when cognitive distortion is combined with perfectionism it can severely decrease quality of life (Blatt, 1995). Blatt points out that perfectionism, in conjunction with self-scrutiny and self-judgment, can lead to depression, suicide, and decreased satisfaction with accomplishments. The combination of cognitive distortion and perfectionism can be devastating.

Cognitive distortions, including older conceptualizations of perfectionism, have been linked to chronic stress, anxiety, and depression (Brown, Hamm, Craske, & Wickens, 1995; Chang, 1997; Chang, & Sanna, 2001). Cognitive distortions, especially excessive striving to be perfect, have been recognized as contributions to perfectionism (Ellis, 2002). This study explores the relationship between cognitive distortions and the cognitions of perfectionists, especially those of positive perfectionists.

Perfectionism has traditionally been viewed as maladaptive. It has been linked to many psychopathologies including depressive symptomalogies, anxiety, interpersonal problems, problems expressing emotions—especially anger, neuroticism—characterized by an inability to acceptably handle stress, anxious and apprehensive behaviors, and proneness to worry (Blankstein, Flett, & Hewitt, 1993; Ferrari, 1995; Flett, Hewitt, & Dyck, 1989; Flett, Hewitt, Endler, & Tassone, 1995; Flett, Hewitt, Garshowitz, & Martin, 1997; Hewitt & Flett, 1991, 1993; Hill, Zrull, & Turlington, 1997; Mitchelson & Burns, 1998; Norman, Davies, Nicholson, Cortese, & Malla, 1998).

However, a different perspective emerges when the perfectionism construct is expanded to include a positive component, supported by the correlation found between



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normal and adaptive behaviors to perfectionism (Burns, Dittman, Nguyen, & Mitchelson, 2000; Burns & Fedewa, in press; Flett, Russo, & Hewitt, 1994; Frost, Marten, Lahart, & Rosenblatt, 1990; Hamachek, 1978; Norman, et al., 1998; Terry-Short, Owens, Slade, & Dewey, 1995). Positive perfectionists strive for high achievement and can gain a sense of satisfaction even when a goal is not perfectly met. They feel free to be less precise if need be, set realistic expectations, and are able to derive pleasure from the act of striving for a goal. Contrarily, negative perfectionists consistently set unattainable goals and are driven only by the fear of failing to attain these goals (Terry-Short, et al., 1995). Self-acceptance and the retention of self, even in the face of failure, set positive perfectionism apart from negative perfectionism (Hamachek). Therefore, affective and cognitive issues may reflect important differences in perfectionistic tendencies.

Because of the striking resemblance between maximization and cognitive distortions, maximization is explored in this study to identify maximization as a possible adjunctive conceptualization of perfectionism. Previous research by Schwartz, et al. (2002) determined that, when faced with a complex decision, some individuals seek adequate or good outcomes, while others find it necessary to seek the best possible outcome. Maximizers continue to search for the *best* outcome that is available, while satisficers have set preferences and search for an acceptable outcome to meet these preferences. Added options pose problems to maximizers because it is often impossible to examine all alternatives before making a decision. As options increase, the likelihood of achieving the goal of maximization decreases. On the contrary, the goal of the satisficers is to find an option that is "good enough." Added options

do not increase stress for satisficers because satisficers are able to ignore additional options.

Regardless of stature, maximizers tend to be unsatisfied with their decisions. The interaction between maximizing and choice causes regret, depression, and self-blame. Maximization is negatively related to happiness, self-esteem, and satisfaction with life, while positively correlated to depression and regret. This study aims to explore the properties of maximization to establish a correlation between maximizers and perfectionists.

Another method of determining cognitive dysfunction is measuring emotional regulation. Theories of self-regulation and emotion suggest that some forms of emotional regulation may have unintended consequences for cognitive functioning. Two methods of emotional regulation are considered in this study: suppression and reappraisal. Emotional suppression involves concealing outward signs of emotion; emotional reappraisal entails changing how we think about an event to neutralize its emotional impact and is thought to leave cognitive functioning intact.

It is hypothesized that negative perfectionism will be positively related to depression, trait anxiety, and regret while displaying a negative relationship with satisfaction with life. Positive perfectionism is hypothesized to have negative relationships with depression, trait anxiety, and regret, and it is expected to be positively related to satisfaction with life. It is hypothesized that negative perfectionism will be positively associated with cognitive distortions, and positive perfectionism will be negatively associated to cognitive distortions.

It can be hypothesized that negative perfectionism will have more correlations to maximization than positive perfectionism will. Also,

maximization is believed to be related to cognitive distortion, regret, depression, anxiety, and a low satisfaction with life, which is also expected of negative perfectionism. This will give sufficient evidence that maximization is an alternative construct of perfectionism.

It is expected that reappraisal as a means of emotional regulation will be negatively related to negative perfectionism and positively related to positive perfectionism. It is expected that suppression as a means of emotional regulation will be positively related to negative perfectionism and negatively related to positive perfectionism.

Method

Participants

The participants in our sample were 149 male and 195 female introductory psychology students at a Midwestern university receiving credit points for their participation. The mean age of our sample was 19.6 years old ($SD=2.7$). The racial/ethnic composition of our sample was reported to be 89.8% Caucasian, 4.5% African American, 1.7% Asian American, 2% Hispanic, 0.6% American Indian, and 1.4% not provided.

Procedure

Distribution of materials was arranged through introductory psychology courses. Informed consent was obtained and all participants were offered credit for the completion of all of the measures. Upon completion, all participants were fully debriefed and thanked for their participation.

T-tests revealed significant differences in gender for three subscales: the reappraisal subscale of the ERQ ($t=2.62$, $p<.01$), the suppression subscale of the ERQ ($t=-3.44$, $p<.001$), and the performance evaluation subscale of the DAS ($t=2.32$, $p<.05$). However, due to a lack of significant differences in

any of the variables of primary interest, subsequent analyses were conducted on the combined group.

Measures

Positive and Negative Perfectionism Scale (PNP)

This scale assesses perfectionism from a functional or behaviorist perspective. There are two subscales: (1) positive perfectionism, believed to be a type of perfectionism resulting from linking positive reinforcements with antecedent perfectionistic behaviors and (2) negative perfectionism, theorized to be directly linked to negative reinforcements. The PNP (Terry-Short et al., 1995) consists of 40 Likert scale questions with responses ranging from strongly disagree=1, to strongly agree=5. Scores were obtained by summing a coded set of 18 questions representing positive perfectionism and 22 questions depicting negative perfectionism. Cronbach's alphas obtained from our sample were 0.83 and 0.85 for the positive perfectionism and the negative perfectionism subscales, respectively.

State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI-SF)

The STAI-SF is a 6-item questionnaire that measures the long-standing quality of "trait anxiety" (Spielberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1970). This study used a shortened version of the STAI-SF designed by Marteau and Bekker (1992), which consisted of only six trait items. The shorter form maintains results comparable to the full version and remains sensitive to different degrees of anxiety. The Cronbach's alpha for the shortened version of the STAI is 0.82.

The Extended Satisfaction With Life Scale (ESWLS)

The ESWLS (Allison, Alfonso, & Dunn, 1991) is a 25-item scale designed to measure a person's perception of subjective well-being in five areas: (1) general life, (2) social life, (3) sexual

life, (4) relationships, and (5) self. The measure is designed using a 5-point Likert-style scale where subjects indicate their level of agreement with the 25 individual statements. The general life subscale was taken from Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffen (1985). Due to our specific interest, only the general 5-item satisfaction with life subscale was used. The coefficient subscales range from 0.85 to 0.97 for all subscales, including the general satisfaction with life subscale (Allison et al., 1991).

The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D)

The CES-D short form inventory is an 11-item self-report questionnaire for general depressive symptoms. The CES-D short form has four factors including depressed affect, positive affect, somatic complaints, and interpersonal problems (Kohout, Berkman, Evans, & Cornoni-Huntley, 1993). This allows for the assessment of current depressive affect and mood. The Cronbach's alpha for the short form of the CES-D is reported as 0.79.

Automatic Thoughts Questionnaire (ATQ)

The ATQ is a 30-item measure developed by Hollon and Kendall (1980) to measure the frequency of negative thoughts or cognitions experienced in relation to depression. Four facets of depression are taken into account: (1) personal maladjustment and desire for change, (2) negative self concept and negative expectations, (3) low self esteem, and (4) helplessness. Scores differentiate depressed from non-depressed groups. Scores can range from 30 (no depression) to 150 (severe depression). Hollon and Kendall extracted four components that cumulatively accounted for 58.9% of the variance in the scale (Netemeyer, Williamson, Burton, Biswas, Jindal,

Landreth, et al., 2002) including job related attitudes, maladaptive behaviors, and self-esteem/neurotic thinking. The Cronbach's alpha for the ATQ is reported as 0.96.

The Dysfunctional Attitudes Scale (DAS)

The DAS (Weisman & Beck, 1979) evaluates cognitive disturbances, which are believed to be the systematic errors in information processing that are involved with depression. This self-report 20-item measure has seven basic postulates that are characteristic of depressed patients. The seven postulates are approbation, love, success, perfectionism, allowing oneself rights, demands or obligations, and omnipotence or autonomy (Legeron, 1997). A general scoring was used as well as two factor scales of "Performance Evaluation" and "Approval by Others" (Cane, Olinger, Gotlib, & Kuiper, 1986). The Cronbach's alpha for this general scale is reported as 0.89. The Cronbach's alphas for Performance Evaluation and Approval by Others are 0.66 and 0.82, respectively.

Emotional Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ)

The ERQ is a 10-item questionnaire used to determine a subject's method of emotional regulation. The ERQ uses a Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree=1, to strongly agree=7. It was designed using items that reflect two major subscales: (1) emotional reappraisal and (2) emotional suppression. The ERQ-R (reappraisal) uses items such as "I control my emotions by changing the way I think about the situation." The Cronbach's alpha for the ERQ-R is 0.82. The ERQ-S (suppression) uses statements such as "I control my emotions by not expressing them." The Cronbach's alpha for the ERQ-S is reported as 0.78.

Regret and Maximization Scale

The regret and maximization scale (Schwartz et al. 2002) is an 18-item questionnaire that uses a 7-point Likert scale to measure five items focusing on regret and thirteen items focusing on maximization. The measure has four factors: (1) regret, (2) behavioral maximization, (3) shopping behaviors, and (4) high self standards. For the purposes of this study, only behavioral maximization and regret will be analyzed. The Cronbach's alphas for the regret subscale and the behavioral maximization scale are reported as 0.67 and 0.71, respectively.

Results

It was expected that cognitive distortions would be related primarily to negative perfectionism and also to other negative symptomalogies. All findings were consistent with our predictions. Positive perfectionism was found to have no significant relationship with either automatic thoughts or dysfunctional attitudes, which was expected.

It was hypothesized that negative perfectionists would exhibit trait anxiety, high levels of regret, and depressive symptomalogies while having a low satisfaction with life. Results were consistent with the predictions. As expected, no significant results were found between positive perfectionism and trait anxiety, regret, or depressive symptomalogies; positive perfectionism was found to have a positive correlation with satisfaction with life ($r=.16$, $p<.01$).

As predicted, negative perfectionism correlated positively with maximization ($r=.42$, $p<.001$). Results gave an unexpected positive correlation between maximization and positive perfectionism ($r=.22$, $p<.01$). Results of maximization were consistent with previous literature.

It was thought that positive perfectionists would rely on emotional reappraisal; however, no significant correlations

Table #1. Means, Cronbach's alphas, and correlations between positive and negative perfectionism

Criterion	PP	NP	Alpha	M	SD
PP	-----	.14**	.83	68.8	7.7
NP	.14**	-----	.85	61.0	11.3
ERQ-R	.04	-.11*	.82	28.0	6.3
ERQ-S	-.04	.28***	.78	13.3	5.0
REGT	.05	.50***	.79	22.7	5.4
ATQ	-.07	.53***	.96	51.4	17.5
DAS-B	-.03	.59***	.89	81.5	18.8
DAS-F1	.06	.45***	.66	18.1	4.7
DAS-F2	-.03	.57***	.82	26.4	8.0
MAX	.22**	.42***	.70	4.0	0.8
CESD	-.01	.42***	.79	17.3	4.2
SWL	.16**	-.37***	.85	17.6	4.7
STAI	.02	.13*	.82	8.1	4.2

Notes: PP, NP, ERQ, ATQ, DAS, CESD, SWL, and STAI all have N=344 REGT and MAX have N=176; PP=Positive Perfectionism; NP=Negative Perfectionism; ERQ-R=Emotional Regulation-Reappraisal; ERQ-S=Emotional Regulation-Suppression; REGT=Regret; ATQ=Automatic Thoughts; DAS-B=Dysfunctional Attitudes; DAS-F1=Performance Evaluation; DAS-F2=Approval by Others; MAX=Maximization; CESD=Depression; SWL=Satisfaction With Life; STAI=Trait Anxiety.

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

between positive perfectionism and the ERQ-R (reappraisal) were found. Results show that negative perfectionism and the ERQ-R were negatively related ($r=-.12$, $p<.05$). Negative perfectionism correlated positively with emotional suppression ($r=.28$, $p<.001$).

Discussion

Negative perfectionists were more likely than positive perfectionists to display cognitive distortion, making cognitive distortions unique to the cognitive functioning of negative perfectionists. Negative perfectionists were also more likely to use suppression as a means of emotional regulation instead of the less detrimental option, reappraisal. Negative perfectionists were more likely to report higher levels of anxiety, regret, and depression, and lower levels of satisfaction with life. Positive perfectionism correlated strongly with satisfaction with life and was found to have no significant relationship to regret, depression, trait anxiety, emotional suppression, and emotional reappraisal.

The positive and negative perfectionism scale revealed substantial differences, indicating that the distinction between positive and negative perfectionism is both theoretically and practically meaningful. Our findings suggest that positive perfectionists rely on more rational cognitions, possibly even the same underlying cognitions that are used and exaggerated by negative perfectionists. Positive perfectionists set high goals and expectations for themselves, similar to maximizers and negative perfectionists; however, their cognitions are more rational and they are able to accept a decision after making it. Lacking cognitive distortions such as self-doubt and need for approval by others, positive perfectionists do not linger on the possibility that their decision was not the "best" choice. They still have the desire to make the best possible decision; however, they do not second-guess themselves afterward. Maximizers are believed to possess only maladaptive traits; however, results found that positive perfectionists appear

to be a group of maximizers that are not problematic due to a lack of regret. A distinct variation occurs between the cognitions of a positive perfectionist and a negative perfectionist, which further indicates the importance of studying the two separately.

Many similarities were observed when comparing negative perfectionism to maximization. Automatic thoughts, cognitive distortions, negative performance evaluation, and need for approval are apparently cognitive functions that are shared by negative perfectionists and maximizers alike. With both possessing similar cognitions and similar outcomes, a reasonable explanation is that perfectionism and maximization are two methods for explaining the same phenomenon.

Reappraisal as a means of emotional regulation was found to be unrelated to positive perfectionism, which is contrary to the original hypothesis. However, as expected, reappraisal was found to have a negative relationship with negative

perfectionism. Reappraisal was thought to leave cognitive functionings intact, and hence was expected to be related to positive perfectionism; however, no relationship was established between reappraisal and positive perfectionism. This implies, assuming reappraisal leaves cognitive functioning intact, that positive perfectionism must possess some level of cognitive distortion, dysfunctionality, or possibly another means of cognitive processing. Negative perfectionists were unrelated to reappraisal because they exhibit more cognitive distortion; their tendency to internalize problems gives them more vulnerability to expressing negative emotion; however, the need for approval by others keeps them from displaying these negative emotions.

According to the results, evidence is given to further identify positive and negative perfectionism as two separate entities. Negative perfectionism was found to be similar to maximization due to similar outcomes of depression, anxiety, regret, and cognitive distortions.

Cognitive distortions were found to be the cognitive processes of negative perfectionists, while positive perfectionists were found to have a lack of cognitive distortion.

This study is correlational, and due to the limitations of a college sample, generalization and interpretation is limited until further research confirms our findings. Results suggest further research is warranted regarding the distinction between positive and negative perfectionism. More reliable measures of cognitive distortion may be useful for further exploration of how positive and negative perfectionists react differently to everyday life.

Positive and negative perfectionists do think and react differently in everyday life, and these cognitions have contrasting consequences. These differences have distinct implications for further research and for behavioral and cognitive treatments.

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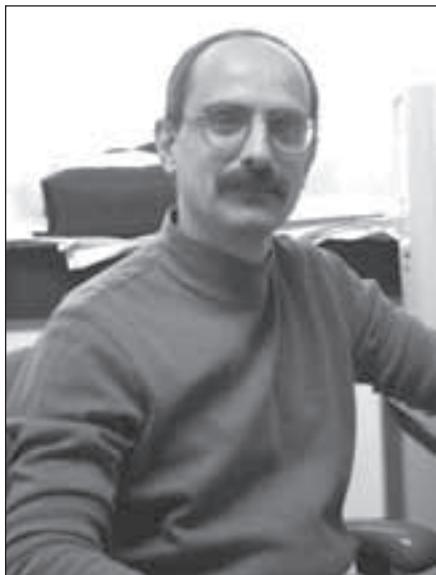
Cultural Influences on the Formation of Interpersonal Intentions



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Abstract

The formation of interpersonal intentions has been a central theme in social-psychological research for over twenty years. Existing psychological models propose that attitudes, social norms, and moral obligations often combine to form intentions. These models will be utilized to develop individual indexes of the relative influence of attitudes, norms, and moral obligations in forming intentions. These indexes will then be correlated with measures of locus of control, self-monitoring, and individualism-collectivism in order to explore the extent to which personal and cultural factors influence the intention-formation process.



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Introduction

The formation of interpersonal intentions has been a central theme in social psychological research for more than twenty years. An intention is defined as a self-instruction to perform a specific behavior and is usually measured as the estimate of the likelihood that a person will perform the behavior. Past research suggested that intentions could be measured through attitudes, although it is very difficult to predict behavior with a single attitude score (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Understanding how intentions are formed, especially those about social behavior, has been considered a major theoretical problem in social psychology because it is linked to the explanation of interpersonal behavior. On the practical side, the prediction of social behavior—especially behavior that is complex and needs to be reasoned through—cannot be accomplished without access to people's intentions about the behavior.

Fishbein and Ajzen's model for attitudinal prediction of behavior suggests that behavior is influenced by a person's intention to perform that behavior and that his/her intention, in turn, is influenced by two other variables: a personal or "attitudinal" factor and a social or "normative" factor (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). The central equation (1) is as follows:

$$B \sim BI = [Aact]w_0 + [NB(Mc)]w_1$$

In this equation, B=overt behavior, BI=Behavioral Intention, Aact=attitude toward the act, NB=Normative Belief, Mc=Motivation to comply with the normative belief, and w_0 and w_1 are empirically determined weights. The behavioral intention in this theory refers to a self-instruction to perform a given action in a given situation; it is the intention to perform the particular overt response that is to be predicted. A person's attitude, or his/her evaluation towards a specific act (as opposed to their attitude towards the object),

is proposed to be a function of its perceived consequences and its value to the individual (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1973). The normative belief component measures the individual's belief of the likelihood that members of a social group expect him to perform the behavior in question. As the equation (1) shows, the effect of the normative belief is modified by the individual's motivation to comply with that expectation.

Triandis (1975) also developed a model for the prediction of behavior similar to that of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). He believes that intentions are a function of different social antecedents (S) including perceived norms, roles, the self-concept, and interpersonal agreements; the perceived affect associated with the behavior (A); and the sum of the perceived consequences associated with that behavior (P_c) multiplied by the value of each consequence (V_c). Different weights, γ , δ , and ϵ , are applied to determine whether the person places more emphasis on social influences, or S , (γ), attitudes, or A , (δ), or consequences and their value to the person, or P_cV_c (ϵ). The equation (2) is as follows:

$$I = \gamma S + \delta A + \sum P_c V_c$$

There are several other approaches to the prediction of behavior. In an effort to integrate the existing theories, including the above mentioned, the National Institute of Mental Health sponsored a workshop in which Fishbein and Ajzen, Triandis, and many other researchers met to develop a common theoretical framework that integrated the core constructs of each theory (Jaccard, Litardo, & Wan, 1999). The model is organized into two sequences, the first of which focuses on the immediate determinants of behavior. The four variables of this component include the individual's knowledge and skills for behavioral performance, the motivation to perform the behavior, environmental constraints, and salience

of behavior. The second sequence focuses on the determinants of an individual's motivation to perform the behavior. The six major variables that influence this component are attitudes, social norms, expectancies, self-concept, affect and emotional reactions, and self-efficacy. Demographic, biological, and other more distal variables are believed to influence through these six predictor variables. In addition, the relative importance of the determinants of behavior may also differ from one population to another.

It would appear from the work reviewed above that culture must play a significant role in the formation of intentions. After all, intentions, according to the theories reviewed above, are a function of, among other things, norms, which are influenced by culture and various social factors. In fact, intentionality itself is a psychological construct that must be at least partially determined by culture, since culture makes a range of behaviors available to us to perform. Despite this connection, cross-cultural research has not paid a lot of attention to this problem.

The present theory deals with the role culture plays in the formation of intentions, at the group level, but more importantly, at the individual level. As implied earlier, self-instructions must have one or more sources—what traditional psychologists have called “attitudes.” The other source may reveal an external influence—what social psychologists have called “norms.” Further reflection, however, reveals that such “external” influences (filtered, of course, through the individual's own perceptual system) may themselves be of different kinds. For example, “norms” may refer to community standards—what a person “should” do. In addition, however, there may be a sense of duty or moral obligation that also drives people's intentions—what a

person “ought” to do. Some past work by psychologists (Davidson, Jaccard, Triandis, Morales, Diaz-Guerrero, 1976) has alluded to that, but for the most part this problem has not been given a lot of systematic attention.

The present study will focus on these three determinants of (or sources of influence on) intentions, and will examine how they may differentially affect the process of intention formation in differing cultural contexts. In particular, this approach predicts that individualists will be influenced primarily by attitudes (affect, personal wishes) in forming intentions. According to Triandis (1993), individualists have an independent self; they choose their goals to fit their individual needs instead of the group's; they behave according to their attitudes, beliefs, and values; and they base their relationships on a cost/benefit analysis of the relationship. He also suggests that collectivist individuals are influenced more by “external” factors. They are more interdependent, choose goals that are compatible with their in-group, and emphasize norms and relatedness versus rationality as determinants of their behavior. However, previous research has not differentiated between different types of “external” sources. In this study, we will explore this problem in depth.

Research participants will be asked to indicate their intentions to perform a number of different behaviors from a variety of domains in their lives (e.g., financial decisions, personal lives/relationships). They will also respond to a number of scales measuring the extent to which they are influenced by attitudes, norms, and moral obligations/duty. Their responses will be analyzed at the individual level in order to create a personal “intention profile” for each subject. In other words, using multiple regression techniques, we will form a model showing the extent to which each subject's intentions are generally

influenced by attitudes, norms, moral obligations, or a combination of the three. In other words, the regression weights will reflect the extent to which attitudes, norms, or moral obligations play a systematic role in determining the intentions of a particular individual.

Participants will also respond to a number of scales measuring stable dispositions: self-monitoring, locus of control, and individualism-collectivism. The self-monitoring scale measures the process of making sure that one's behavior conforms with the demands of the current social situation. The locus of control scale differentiates people who believe that they themselves are primarily responsible for what happens to them from those who believe major events in their lives are determined mainly by other people or forces beyond themselves. The individualism-collectivism scale measures the degree to which people are fundamentally independent vs. interdependent. Each scale will be used to test a different aspect of our approach:

- 1) For the self-monitoring scale, we expect a correlation with the intention profile, such that low self-monitors will be more likely to determine their intentions from their attitudes or personal wishes.
- 2) For the locus of control scale, we are looking for discriminant validity. In other words, we will try to show that the intention profile for each subject is different from simply a sense of having control over one's life. After all, one's sense of personal self-instruction should be psychologically independent of being under the control of others.
- 3) For the individualism-collectivism scale, previous research suggests that individualists will be more likely to be influenced by attitudes

in determining their intentions, whereas collectivists will be influenced by duty (Triandis, Ping, Chen, & Chan, 1998). However, contrary to previous research, we expect that norms will be just as likely to influence individualists as collectivists because all people are subject to the influence of community standards. It is the role of duty that has emerged as a significant difference between individualists and collectivists in recent cross-cultural research (e.g. Miller, 1994).

Method

Participants

Fourteen male and 15 female students from an Introductory Psychology course at Grand Valley State University completed the surveys. They received academic credit for their participation.

Instruments

Intentions

A list of 30 intentions and their underlying components (attitudes, subjective norms, and moral obligations) was generated following recommendations by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) and Triandis (1976). An effort was made to sample intentions from a variety of domains of people's lives, including career/school, personal life/dating, family/marriage/children, helping others, and finances/purchases. Respondents rated the likelihood of the statement on a 7-point likely/unlikely scale. Examples of the measurement of attitudes, subjective norms, and moral obligations for an intention involving family relationships follow:

Example: Intention

I intend to call or talk to my family very often while in college.
likely :____: unlikely

Example: Attitude

Calling or talking to my family very often while in college is
good :____: bad
unimportant :____: important
wise :____: foolish

Example: Subjective Norm

Most people who are important to me think that I should call or talk to my family very often while in college.
agree :____: disagree

Example: Moral Obligation

I feel a moral obligation or duty to call or talk to my family very often while in college.
agree :____: disagree

Individualism-Collectivism Scale

This scale measures the degree to which respondents are individualists or collectivists. Individualists are not as integrated with others and with the social environment as are those who are collectivists (Hui, 1988). They believe they can survive independently and therefore define the self as separate from the group. Collectivists see themselves more as members of a group and define the self as interdependent with others. The scale consists of 29 items that are all measured on a 7-point agree/disagree scale. An example of a scale item appears below:

When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.
agree :____: disagree

Self-Monitoring Scale

This scale measures the degree to which respondents observe and control their self-presentation and expressive behavior (Snyder, 1974). Those who score high on the scale are said to modify their self-presentation and their behavior according to the social situation. Those who score low

behave more independently of the social situation. The scale consists of 25 items, and respondents have to answer whether they consider the statement to be true or false. An example of a scale item appears below:

When I am uncertain how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues. T ____ F ____

Locus of Control Scale

This scale measures the degree to which respondents believe that they are responsible for what happens in their lives or the degree to which they believe that external forces control their destinies (Levenson, 1973). Those who score high believe that they are in control of their lives, and those who score low believe that chance, fate, and powerful others have more control over their destinies. The scale consists of 24 items, measured on a 7-point agree/disagree scale. An example of a scale item appears below:

To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.
agree :____: ____: ____: ____: disagree

Five random orders will be generated for the items of the four scales to reduce any fatigue effects. Research participants will be informed of the general purpose of the study and given one hour to complete the surveys. At the end of the experimental session, each participant will be debriefed about the nature of the study and given a chance to ask questions.

Results

A multiple regression was computed for each subject's responses. The dependent variable was the intention, and the predictors were the attitude, calculated as the mean of three items, social norms, and moral obligations. The central equation of the theory is as follows:

$$I = \omega_1 A + \omega_2 SN + \omega_3 MO \quad (3)$$

In this equation, I = Intention, A = Attitude, SN = Social Norms, and MO = Moral Obligations. ω_1 , ω_2 , and ω_3 are the standardized regression weights computed for each of the three predictors. They were used in subsequent analyses as indexes of the importance of each of the three predictors in the decision-making process of every individual.

One of the results we expected to find was that individuals who scored high on the individualism scale would also score high on the attitude scale as determinant of their intentions. We also expected that individuals scoring high on the collectivism scale would also score high on social norms and moral obligations scales. However, correlations among the three predictors and the individual's individualism and collectivism scores were not significant. The correlation between individualism and attitudes was $r_{I,A} = -.122$, n.s. The correlation between collectivism and social norms was $r_{COL, SN} = -.127$, n.s. Moreover, contrary to what we expected, we found that the correlation between individualism and moral obligations was higher than that of collectivism and moral obligations, with $r_{I, MO} = .252$, n.s.

Correlations were also computed between the predictors and the self-monitoring and locus of control scales. The self-monitoring score was correlated with the social norms score, with $r_{SM, SN} = .409$, $p < .05$; the correlations between the attitudes score and that of social norms and moral obligations were $r_{A, SN} = -.458$ and $r_{A, MO} = -.613$, respectively. Moreover, we did not expect to find any relationship between the individuals' scores on the locus of control scale and any of the other scales. Indeed the results were not significant, except for a marginally significant correlation between the individualists and their chance score (belief that what happens in their life is due to chance), with $r_{IND, CH} = .345$, $p = .10$.

Discussion

Our hypothesis that individualists were going to score high on the attitude scale and the collectivists on the social norms and moral obligations scales was not supported. In fact, though the results were still not significant, the opposite trend was found with the individualists scoring higher on the moral obligations scale. One reason for this outcome could be the small number of subjects that participated in the study. Another reason could be that the data were collected from a sample in an area of high religiosity, and religion usually plays a highly significant role in the formation of an individual's moral obligations.

The correlation between the self-monitoring score and that of social norms suggests that individuals who are high self-monitors—meaning that they adjust their behavior depending on the social situation—also rely on social norms in their decision-making process. This correlation was predicted because high self-monitors follow social norms in order to adjust their behavior according to the demands of the current social situation.

Another interesting result was the higher correlation between the individualists and their "chance" score from the Locus of Control scale. This suggests that individualists tend to believe that chance plays a significant role in what determines the outcomes in their lives. We had predicted that there would be no correlation between the locus of control scores and the collectivism or individualism scores because one's sense of personal self-instruction should be psychologically independent from being under the control of others. These results may also be due to the small sample in our study. Further data collection in order to explore these trends is indicated.

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The Metonymies of Unhappy Families



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ABSTRACT

The current study explores the use of certain writing devices that appear in the works of Leo Tolstoy and Naguib Mahfouz. The study develops an in-depth comparison of how these two authors implement devices such as original similes; description of characters through the narrator, other characters, and themselves; interior monologue; and metonymy to create real characters in real situations. Though the reality of the two worlds differs because of economic, geographical, social, and religious backgrounds, they both reveal the universal theme of family unhappiness, whether in Russia or in Egypt.

"All happy families are alike; each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way" (Tolstoy 1; pt.1, ch. I). Despite the cultural background of any given family, one element always will remain universally the same: if the family is unhappy, they will share their unhappiness with each other in a way that is uniquely their own. Both Leo Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* and Naguib Mahfouz's *The Cairo Trilogy* address the phenomenon of the unhappy family, one essentially Russian and the other essentially Middle Eastern. Though in comparison with one another, the two families appear culturally and, therefore, emotionally and socially different, both authors use the same stylistic writing devices to portray family unhappiness. The influence of Tolstoy's writing style upon Mahfouz's own style of writing in the latter's realistic period yet remains undiscovered territory, though many interviews and descriptions of Mahfouz's writings claim a connection and direct influence on Mahfouz by such Russian realist authors such as Fedor Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. A cultural, emotional, geographical, and social comparison of the characters of these disparate novels logically cannot yield much of an in-depth and logical connection; the focus of comparison then shifts to how Mahfouz displays a striking affinity in the realistic novels of his *Cairo Trilogy* for various stylistic devices that Tolstoy employs in his works, especially in *Anna Karenina*.

Both authors use their prototypes of unhappy families to highlight their own reality as they depict their respective cultures. What Sasson Somekh says about Mahfouz and his purpose of writing also applies to Tolstoy: "His main concern is to tell the story of his own world, past and present, mundane and spiritual [. . .] he is fascinated above all by the process of that change" (112). All of Mahfouz's characters have their own quirks that are realistic



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enough to make them stand on their own within their families. Yet these quirks maintain a harmony with other family members to the point that they still remain well-connected within their element and do not reflect any influence of characters from other Russian literary periods except realism. The authors portray characters one might find in real life, perhaps even the family next door. In this realistic portrayal of the characters, Mahfouz creates memorable personages with an array of characteristics in a family dynamic.

Before we become acquainted with both sets of unhappy families, we must become familiar with the specific devices that Mahfouz seems to have in common with Tolstoy. Both of these authors famously use their similes to emphasize the unusual in the mundane when they describe the characters in their novels.

Both of these authors

[m]ake as little use as possible of the commonplace images and instead try to forge his own metaphor. This is especially evident in a great number of original similes.... Yet the great majority of them convey a sharp observation and original viewpoint. Often the components of a simile are in complete harmony with the context, situation or character described. The images for these similes are, generally speaking, drawn from personal observation of daily life and natural phenomena. (Somekh 135)

Each simile has a dual purpose: to draw the reader to the realistic elements in the novel as well as to parallel the realistic with the nature of the character. In their similes, Mahfouz and Tolstoy recreate sensual struggles through often overlooked and common details of life. For example, the simile "thus their tunes found shelter in his

hospitable soul, like nightingales in a leafy tree" (Mahfouz 15; *Palace Walk*, ch. 2) emphasizes the duality of the family's *paterfamilias*, Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad's personality, and the split role of dictator and fun-loving friend he plays throughout the novel. Similes extend even to the womanizing aspect of his personality as "his affection for Zubayda was starting to go bad, like a fruit at the end of its season (Mahfouz 365; *Palace Walk*, ch. 51). The reader can easily compare these examples in Mahfouz's writing with earlier examples by Tolstoy in *Anna Karenina* as when the young girl in love, Kitty, is torn between the men in her life and the choice that ultimately decides her fate. Though not as frivolous an affection as Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad's, she nonetheless must find the souring fruit of her season in order to make a decision.

Between dinner and the beginning of the evening, Kitty experienced a feeling similar to that of a young man before battle. (Tolstoy 46; pt. 1, ch. XIII)

Thus she further ponders the relationships she has with her suitors and, like Abd Al-Jawad, must act according to how they make her feel. In like manner, Vronsky, Anna's future lover, relies on his feelings when he encounters Anna's husband, Alexei, and tries to form his impressions of this fresh-faced Petersburg native with the slightly curved back, round hat, and sternly self-confident figure who stands in the way of his and Anna's love:

...he believed in him and experienced an unpleasant feeling, like that of a man suffering from thirst who comes to a spring and finds in it a dog, a sheep or a pig who has both drunk and muddied the water. (Tolstoy 105; pt. 1, ch. XXXI)

Vronsky cannot believe that Alexei is real until he encounters him and experiences a feeling that leaves a bad taste in his mouth. All of these similes express situations common to the human race and thus emphasize the reality of the world of these characters however unique they may be.

Tolstoy is the first to use another device which Mahfouz takes up in his descriptions of the mundane life and habits of his characters. Authors reveal the inner lives of their characters in a number of ways, for example through descriptions of the food they eat or the times in which the characters gather. These foods and the appetites these characters have for these foods can tell a great deal about possible underlying flaws of a character. For instance, Kamal, the youngest son and future scholar, has a sweet tooth, which often, at least in the beginning, forms the basis for his decisions. After all, his desire to visit a local pastry shop results in his mother's becoming seriously injured.

They were very slowly approaching the corner of al-Ghuriya. When they reached it, his eyes fell on a pastry shop, and his mouth watered. His eyes were fixed intently on the shop. He began to think of a way to persuade his mother to enter the store and purchase a pastry. He was still thinking about it when they reached the shop, but before he knew what was happening his mother had slipped from his hand. (Mahfouz 182; *Palace Walk*, ch. 27)

Kamal focuses his eyes solely and greedily on the pastry and pays no attention to his mother, who rarely leaves her home to venture outside. He does not notice his mother's needs and fears, which confuse her to such an extent that she falls into traffic and becomes seriously injured as a result of

his negligence. In addition, this event foreshadows the adult Kamal, who constantly shows his unwillingness to settle on the more substantial things of life as he pursues the fleeting ephemera of philosophy instead of the stolid substance of a government career as a source of income.

The kinds of beverages people gather around and the times that are associated with them also can tell much about the nature of a character. Dolly, Tolstoy's example of a long-suffering wife of a womanizer and devoted mother and Mahfouz's Egyptian counterpart, Amina, gather their families together around tea or coffee ceremonies (Tolstoy 75; pt. 1, ch. XXI; Tolstoy 290; pt. 3, ch. XV; Mahfouz 57; *Palace Walk*, ch. 9; Mahfouz 69; *Palace Walk*, ch. 11). This social event is the only activity that never fails to bring the family together and acts as the only stable force in changing lives. These two women's families and households revolve around them; without them and the gathering power they bring "to the table" that represents the only lasting, established tradition on which they can rely, the families' stability founders and eventually collapses.

The books which the characters read also tell much about their personalities. Yasin, the oldest son of the family, provides a stunning example of this device of characterization. He first encourages Kamal to read and love books; however, the books which Yasin reads to Kamal mainly describe exploits. Exploits are an appropriate topic that displays adequately the character of Yasin, who indulges in numerous exploits with women (Mahfouz 57; *Palace Walk*, ch. 9) and may have led to his younger brother's difficulty in grasping the substantial over the ephemeral. Yasin loves the superficial and reads books not for their educational value but rather for entertainment. He similarly is

attracted only to the superficial in his relationships with women; he sees only their outer appearance as a source of pleasure rather than explore their inner lives as a source of lasting love.

On the other hand, the literature people read in these novels can also uplift the souls and establish the real authority of the characters in their pursuit of the spiritual world. Kitty and Amina emerge as two examples of genuine spiritual authority in their households. Kitty, raised in the Russian Orthodox Church and an avid believer in the Gospels, represents the spiritual guide who proclaims life to the dead and contributes to the realization of the meaning of life for her husband, Levin (Tolstoy 496-500; pt. 5, ch. XIX-XX; Tolstoy 811-12; pt. 8, ch. XVII). As a living testament to the sayings of the Quran and the daughter of an avid scholar of the holy book (Mahfouz 221; *Palace Walk*, ch. 33), Amina studies with her son every night in order to ensure his religious well-being. She herself becomes excited at the shrines of the figures of her faith (Mahfouz 71; *Palace Walk*, ch. 11; Mahfouz 181; *Palace Walk*, ch. 27). Thus, both women emulate the books from which they take their wisdom as they educate those around them.

What the narrator reveals about his characters and what other characters reveal about each other and themselves constitute other devices that Tolstoy and Mahfouz implement in their writings. Some examples include Zanuba's description of Yasin as a camel: "My camel, how would I know about passion?" she asked" (Mahfouz 263; *Palace Walk*, ch. 39). Her description of Yasin and his nature is quite accurate; as big as a camel, he also can hold quite a large amount of liquor. But as a man, he also demonstrates a huge capacity for women; he nightly frequents the bars as he seeks more and more liquor and even more opportunities to encounter

women. An honest creature, he, too, describes himself as an animal:

You're the most beautiful creature ever to arouse my passion. Holding your lip between mine...sucking on your nipple.... I'll wait until dawn. You'll find me very docile. If you want me to be the rear end of a donkey cart that you rock back and forth on, I'll do it. If you want me to be the ass pulling the cart, I'll do that. (Mahfouz 260; *Palace Walk*, ch. 39)

He, in fact, is "the ass pulling the cart" as he suggests because he is led by his passion and not by his logic. Finally, the narrator attributes one more animalistic trait to Yasin: that of a bull elephant, another fitting simile given the size of his body.

Intoxicating desire swept through his [Yasin's] body, and he fell on her [Zanuba] like a bull elephant crushing a gazelle. (Mahfouz 270; *Palace Walk*, ch. 39)

Such descriptions emphasize not only the sheer mass of Yasin's body but also the animalistic tendencies that compose his nature.

Another amusing example of a character's dialogue that describes his womanizing occurs in Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. Stepan, Anna's charming brother and Dolly's wayward husband, has a conversation with Levin in which he tries to persuade him of his own behavior toward women especially his wife.

"Why not? Sometimes a sweet roll is so fragrant that you can't help yourself.... No, joking aside,' Oblonsky went on. 'Understand, there's this woman, a dear, meek, loving being, poor, lonely, and who has sacrificed everything.

Now, when the deed is already done—understand—how can I abandon her? Suppose we part, so as not to destroy my family; but how can I not pity her, not provide for her, not try to soften it?" Well, you must excuse me. You know, for me all women are divided into two sorts...that is, no...rather: there are women and there are...I've never seen and never will see any lovely fallen creatures, and ones like that painted Frenchwoman at the counter, with all those ringlets—they're vermin for me, and all the fallen ones are the same.' (Tolstoy 40-41; pt. 1, ch. XI)

Stepan's ludicrous description of women compares them to pastries and values the fallen women over the purity of his wife. His statement only reconfirms his love of the superficially sweet and satisfying and his weakness for the frivolities and cheap thrills of life—not unlike Mahfouz's Kamal. These similes become important in the context of the figure of speech, metonymy, where the part stands for the whole. This device remains Tolstoy's favorite means of characterization. Both he and Mahfouz use metonymy as a recurring trait that remains constant as the circumstances around the characters change. I shall return to this figure of speech later.

One major device, interior monologue, records the changes characters undergo as well as their reflections on the vagaries of their lives. This device offers a variety of clues into the inner thoughts of the characters and how they see themselves. Sometimes these personal thoughts may be as superficial as the characters; at other times, they offer the most shocking revelations. Of course, the level of profundity of the inner monologues exists on the same hierarchic scale as the depth or shallowness of the characters. Amina's interior monologue at the death

of her husband comprises an entire chapter dedicated to her innermost feelings. Not only does it reveal the intensity of Amina's emotions, it also helps to enhance and demonstrate the most vital social aspect of Mahfouz's writings about the downtrodden women of his society (Mahfouz 1209-13; *Sugar Street*, ch. 153). Tolstoy's Anna Karenina reflects not on the death of a loved one, but on her own impending suicide and the nature of death. Though some may not consider Anna's mourning as sublime as Amina's because Anna causes her own suffering out of mistaken jealousy and petulant selfishness, it may be even more profound. Amina loses her purpose in life when her beloved husband dies; Anna may kill herself out of a lack of purpose she only perceives as missing from her existence. Tolstoy assigns several chapters to her contemplation of death because of the complexity of her reasoning and eventual end. Unfortunately, both examples of these interior monologues are too lengthy to quote here.

Of all the devices Mahfouz may have learned from Tolstoy, metonymy seems to be the figure of speech that appealed most to the Egyptian writer. As they use this figure of speech, both authors assign a particular trait—or particular traits—to each character to help them stand out from the others. Because the specific trait remains constant throughout the works, it acts as a reliable backdrop to the events that change the circumstances of the characters' lives. All of the main characters possess a unique trait that will somehow contribute to the unhappiness of their families. Of all of the main characters in *Anna Karenina* and *The Cairo Trilogy*, perhaps Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad causes the greatest amount of misery.

Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad, the most tyrannical figure of the two novels, "is among the few characters who are not passive in the face of events"

(Somekh 118). He is powerfully tall, extraordinarily handsome, enormously vital, and robustly healthy; in addition he sports a stream of gleaming black hair (Mahfouz 92; *Palace Walk*, ch. 14). These outward traits become important because they contribute to his womanizing nature. Later on, these looks begin to fade as Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad begins to age and grow sickly; as Mahfouz repeatedly draws the reader's attention to the change in Al-Jawad's looks, to his loss of handsomeness, he simultaneously tracks his seeming loss of purpose. At the end, Al-Jawad even begins to foreshadow Amina after she loses him to death. Nevertheless, the duality of his nature seems to be more prevalent in Mahfouz's descriptions of him, probably stemming from Al-Jawad's desire to cover up from his family the sinfulness of his actions with the disreputable ladies he visits.

The complexity of this character can be further demonstrated by the fact that he is a man of many faces. He is one person at home ("a resolute, severe face") and another with his friends ("a smiling, radiant face"). He is, again, different when facing his God ("a submissive face"). (Somekh 116)

Al Jawad's whole motivation, besides luring women, is to keep up his façades, which becomes a life long task for him even to the end of his life. Thus, both character descriptions help to connect him to his family and the rest of the characters. His womanizing connects him to Yasin and to a certain extent Kamal, who cannot ever settle down to the substantial and even extends to the latter's preferring the company of prostitutes rather than an actual wife.

Al-Jawad's face of resolute severity also helps to establish the reign of oppression he forces his family to endure which leads to the death of his beloved middle-

son, Fahmi; to the gradual shrinking—without and within—of his wife, Amina; and to the destruction of his beautiful daughter, Aisha. One of the harshest examples of his tyranny comes when he expels Amina from the household and jeopardizes the stability of the family as he separates her from her children (Mahfouz 209-14; *Palace Walk*, ch. 31-32). Eventually, he must reverse his decision because of the intervention of his children and the introduction of several other characters who are to play a major role in the family's future times of trouble (Mahfouz 228-41; *Palace Walk*, ch. 34-35). Al-Jawad often times reserves his face of smiling radiance for his friends and various ladies of entertainment and pleasure. Rarely does he bring this aspect into his household or into close proximity with his family. Nonetheless, cases exist in which his family happens to stumble upon his expression of joy, such as during Aisha's wedding. True enough, Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad is locked away in a room from his family, a tyrant almost alone even at joyous events like a wedding; however, he also enjoys pleasant and joyous moments within his circle of friends contained inside the room. Kamal accidentally stumbles upon his father's other face in this very room (Mahfouz 274; *Palace Walk*, ch. 40). Yasin also provides another example of undesirable consequences when the two realms mix and the wrong face presents itself (Mahfouz 265-70; *Palace Walk*, ch. 39; Mahfouz 337-38; *Palace Walk*, ch. 46).

The only respite Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad finds from his two faces resembles his submissive visage before his God.

He is a genuine and naïve believer, even though he would not refrain from committing numerous acts which, he knows very well, cannot be approved by his Maker. (Somekh 116)

He prays avidly not for his sins to be forgiven, but for an addition of piousness to his repertoire of personalities.

Al-Sayyid's portrait is not a static one. The richness of his psychology and background motivations are not an end in themselves. They are instrumental in producing the tragic climax in which he is eventually placed (Somekh 117).

His main characteristic of duplicity leads him astray instead of providing him the strength and endurance he seeks. In the end he becomes as weak and frail as Amina, who recites the last religious rites over him (Mahfouz 997; *Sugar Street*, ch. 117; Mahfouz 1204-08; *Sugar Street*, ch. 152).

Yasin follows most closely after his father, but to an extreme that is at times difficult to comprehend. Like his father, Yasin is a womanizer. He stands out as a wild, lustful man who does not care what a woman looks like, as long as she is a woman. Mahfouz hilariously portrays this trait in the scene in Goldsmiths' Bazaar and reveals so much about Yasin's flawed character that Mahfouz surprises his audience with Yasin's audacity and inappropriate humor (Mahfouz 77; *Palace Walk*, ch. 12). His uncontrollable, lustful actions prove to be devastating for his family and result in the attempted rape of the faithful house servant, Umm Hanafi (Mahfouz 297-99; *Palace Walk*, ch. 41), as well as in many marriages and divorces. Somekh sums up Yasin's character in one very accurate paragraph:

His three marriages (and two divorces), his assaults on two different aged servants in his father's house, his constant pursuit of big women—such scenes are very enjoyable at first but their repetition is frivolous. In all, Yasin notwithstanding his carefully

elaborated background (again divorced parents; obsession with his mother's indecencies, etc.) is not a deep character. All in all, if we accept E.M. Forster's definition that the flat character is constructed round a single idea or quality, then Yasin is a flat character. The quality around which Yasin is constructed is sex obsession. 'His temperament made him crave the body of a woman, neglecting her personality. Furthermore his attention is always focused on certain parts of her body, never the body as a whole.' (125- 26)

Yasin represents what happens when someone fails to balance self-control with sensuality and lust.

Kamal's features stand for the main character flaw that contributes greatly to his overall unhappiness with life. He is described as

not good-looking like his brothers. He was perhaps the one in the family who most resembled his sister Khadija. Like hers, his face combined his mother's small eyes and his father's huge nose, but without the refinements of Khadija's. He had a large head with a forehead that protruded noticeably, making his eyes seem even more sunken than they actually were. (Mahfouz 53; *Palace Walk*, ch. 8)

Mahfouz perhaps uses Kamal's big head to emphasize the inflated intellect that ultimately gets Kamal nowhere in life. Instead of using his intellect to provide a living, he prefers the idle life of an intellectual. Also, his head merely seems to provide a comic relief for others and induce struggles with himself and those around him (Mahfouz 53; *Palace Walk*, ch. 8; Mahfouz 751-52; *Palace of Desire*, ch. 89). Kamal's

head, like his sweet tooth, leads him nowhere. The character with the most potential remains the least fulfilled, and ultimately the least significant.

Undoubtedly the most important female character in the whole novel is Amina. She is the first character to appear in the novel, and her death marks its end.
(Somekh 126)

Her importance in the novel lies in her role as an anchor and stabilizing force for the family; all the household and family revolve around her. Thus, her attributes and metonymies become vital in understanding the environment and atmosphere of the family. Yet her traits shrink her until she eventually becomes a gray, somewhat taciturn old woman, mainly because of the death of one of her children with whom she is always associated. Mahfouz describes Amina not by her looks, but by what she does and thus emphasizes the serving nature of her personality and the depth she contributes to the family. This depth often times sharply contrasts with the frivolities of the men and shows who really wields the authority in the household. Mahfouz discusses Amina's looks only in relationship to the death of Fahmi in order to capture her own self-induced shrinking and slow loss of purpose that culminates with the death of Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad. Years after Fahmi's death, Mahfouz confronts the reader with an even more downtrodden Amina which rivals her struggles of the previous novel.

She sat there as usual, but time had changed her. She had grown thin, and her face seemed longer, if only because her cheeks were hollow. The locks of hair that escaped from her scarf were turning gray and made her seem older than she was. The beauty spot on her cheek had

grown slightly larger. In addition to their customary look of submission, her eyes now revealed a mournful absent-mindedness. Her anguish over the changes that had befallen her was considerable, although at first she had welcomed them as an expression of her grief. (Mahfouz 538; *Palace of Desire*, ch. 72)

In relation to her husband's frivolous aging that results from fleeting time and profligate behavior, Amina's senescence provides a devastating example of her weakness and pain. And just as Yasin may become a younger version of his father so, too, does the hideously grieving Aisha become her mother's extreme parallel.

Aisha's case often remains quite puzzling. She is known for her beauty, a typical European beauty but an atypical beauty for her culture. Mahfouz uses her looks in a metonymical fashion. Unfortunately, she is all too proud of flaunting these extraordinarily good looks.

Whenever Aisha looked at herself in the mirror, she was immensely pleased with what she saw. Who else from her illustrious family, indeed from the whole neighborhood, was adorned by golden tresses and blue eyes like hers? Yasin flirted openly with her, and Fahmi, when he spoke to her about one thing or another, did not neglect to give her admiring glances. Even little Kamal did not want to drink from the water jug unless her mouth had moistened the lip. Her mother spoiled her and said she was as beautiful as the moon, although she did not conceal her anxiety that Aisha was too thin and delicate.... Aisha herself was perhaps more conscious of her extraordinary beauty than any of the others. Her intense solicitude

for every detail of her appearance made this clear. (Mahfouz 147; *Palace Walk*, ch. 22)

Her looks became the basis for every experience in her life, both joyous and sorrowful. Her beauty lures a police officer to defy time-honored traditions to steal forbidden glances at her through her window (Mahfouz 28-29; *Palace Walk*, ch. 5). Her marriage also results when her beauty catches the eye of the rich Shawkat family who chooses her to be the bride of Khalil (Mahfouz 244; *Palace Walk*, ch. 36). Her concentration on the superficial exemplified by her "intense solicitude for every detail of her appearance" (Mahfouz, 147; *Palace Walk*, ch. 22) extend into her family life, especially into a controversy that sparks the jealous Khadija to condemn the pleasure-seeking lifestyle in which Aisha and Khalil allow their family to indulge. Aisha's daughter, Na'ima, dances; her husband, Khalil, smokes his pipe; and Aisha herself sings. All is indeed well and superficially tranquil, until sickness sweeps away Khalil and their two boys from Aisha's arms. At this point, Aisha's beauty begins to fade prematurely on her own accord revealing her weakness and showing a side of her that surprises the reader. Her "fading" even surpasses her mother's.

Amina's body had withered, and her hair had turned white. Although barely sixty, she looked ten years older, and her transformation was nothing compared to Aisha's decline and disintegration. It was ironic or pathetic that the daughter's hair was still golden and her eyes blue, when her listless glance gave no hint of life and her pale complexion seemed the symptom of some disease. With a protruding bone structure and sunken eyes and cheeks, her face hardly

appeared that of a thirty-four-year-old woman. (Mahfouz 985; *Sugar Street*, ch. 116)

Aisha no longer exemplifies the kind and caring woman she once had been. Instead, her personality transforms into a similar, yet more vindictive personality trait that resides in Khadija. Aisha's new portrait is one of a smoking, embittered bluish shell of woman who has gathered all her hope in one weak vessel of a daughter, Na'ima (Mahfouz 987; *Sugar Street*, ch. 116). Aisha, the great pride of the family, now becomes its greatest burden and forces them to walk on eggshells to accommodate her debilitated state in life.

Gazing sadly at Aisha, she saw the personification of shattered hopes. When she looked at this unhappy face, which seemed to have lost all its vitality, Amina's soul was overcome by sorrow. Apprehensive about distressing her daughter, she had learned to greet Aisha's rude answers and harsh comments with affectionate forbearance. (Mahfouz 988; *Sugar Street*, ch. 116)

Aisha's tragic story parallels to an extreme the devastation of Amina just as Yasin parallels to an extreme the corruption of his father. This cyclical pattern helps to establish the unhappiness of the family that can be passed down from generation to generation with each new cycle greater than the next.

Aisha's weary resting on her weak daughter, Na'ima, further establishes the mother's tragedy and her own personal reliance on beauty.

Na'ima stood out in this group like a rose growing in a cemetery, for she had developed into a beautiful young woman of sixteen. Her head enveloped by a halo of golden hair and her face adorned by blue eyes, she was as lovely as her mother,

Aisha, had been—or even more captivating—but as insubstantial as a shadow. Her eyes had a gentle, dreamy look suggesting purity, innocence, and otherworldliness. She nestled against her mother's side, as though unwilling to be alone even for a moment. (Mahfouz 985-86; *Sugar Street*, ch. 116)

Na'ima presents the strongest case for a metonymy charting the progress of a character through the novel. Aisha still leans on superficiality of beauty, but now on the beauty of her daughter, whom Naguib Mahfouz describes as "insubstantial as a shadow" (Mahfouz 985; *Sugar Street*; ch. 116). There remains nothing to Aisha but a dream of beauty that is pure, innocent, otherworldly, and unable to survive in this world. This revelation slowly kills Aisha and she becomes, in the end, merely a flat character who revolves around the ideal of beauty.

However, Khadija provides the exception to this family's cycle of unhappiness. Although she, too, does not break the cycle of death and torment that plagues her family, she does not shatter like all the others. She remains strong when she, too, loses her son—but to prison, not to death. Khadija, known mostly for her large nose and ill-temper, reflects the brashness and abruptness of her first reactions. Yet, she is also known to balance this temperament with a deep love for her family and a keen sense of motherly protectiveness. Thus, though she never acquires beauty, her looks do not fade; her temperament softens as the others' harden. She balances her gruff temperament when her sense of motherly devotion surfaces. Perhaps she is more prepared for Aisha's bitter responses in the end because she indulged in them from the very beginning.

Khadija seemed to surpass even Yasin in the flabby abundance of flesh and saw no reason to claim she was anything but happy about that. She was delighted with her sons, Abd al-Muni'm and Ahmad, as well as with her generally successful marriage, but to ward off the evil eye of jealousy never let a day go by without some complaint. Her treatment of Aisha had undergone a total change. During the last eight years she had not addressed a single sarcastic or harsh word to her younger sister, not even in jest. In fact, she bent over backwards to be courteous, affectionate, and gracious to Aisha, since she was touched by the widow's misery, frightened that fate might deal her a comparable blow, and apprehensive that Aisha would compare their lots... This oversight did not keep Khadija from lavishing enough affection, sympathy, and compassion on Aisha to seem a second mother for her younger sister. (Mahfouz 1005; *Sugar Street*, ch. 118)

The tables have turned in these sisters' lives, as they do in most families, and a surprising role reversal ensues.

If Mahfouz became a master of metonymy, he may well have learned the lesson of its use from Tolstoy. Although the characters of *Anna Karenina* and *The Cairo Trilogy* should be widely dissimilar because of time, place, and custom, tantalizing similarities between the two emerge, especially in the use of metonymy. Tolstoy's novel begins with a "womanizing" husband in an unhappy family, but this time in a Russian context: Stepan Arkadyich, Anna Karenina's brother. Tolstoy describes Stepan as a handsome, rosy-cheeked man with vitality similar to that of Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad. He also exhibits in his face a restrained radiance that is

similar to the one that plays in Anna's eyes, one that begs to be let out; this image describes a force barely in check, one that can burst onto the scene in a matter of moments (Tolstoy 33; pt. 1, ch. X). His rosy cheeks and handsome façade only point to his sensual nature which cherishes women, wine, food, and all the finer things of life. In fact, in his opening descriptions, Tolstoy almost wallows in the marvelous luxury that surrounds Stepan.

On the third day after the quarrel, Prince Stepan Arkadyich Oblonsky—Stiva, as he was called in society—woke up at his usual hour, that is, at eight o'clock in the morning, not in his wife's bedroom but in his study, on a morocco sofa.... And, noticing a strip of light that had broken through the side of one of the heavy blinds, he cheerfully dropped his feet from the sofa, felt for his slippers trimmed with gold morocco that his wife had embroidered for him (a present for last year's birthday)... 'We'll see later on,' Stepan Arkadyich said to himself and, getting up, he put on his grey dressing gown with the light-blue silk lining, threw the tasseled cord into a knot... (Tolstoy 1-4; pt. 1, ch. I-II)

So much of the description focuses on the luxury and good looks of Stepan that it does not even refer to the argument that Stepan has with his wife; in fact, he does not even remember it until Tolstoy finishes his long description. In reality, he does not even treat the matter with the seriousness that it requires and does everything except reflect on reconciliation with his wife.

After dressing, Stepan Arkadyich sprayed himself with scent, adjusted the cuffs of his shirt, put cigarettes, wallet, matches, a watch

with a double chain and seals into his pockets with an accustomed gesture, and, having shaken out his handkerchief, feeling himself clean, fragrant, healthy, and physically cheerful despite his misfortune, went out, springing lightly at each step, to the dining room, where coffee was already waiting for him, and, next to the coffee, letters and papers from the office. (Tolstoy 6; pt. 1, ch. III)

Stepan is so preoccupied with the little tasks of his life that he neglects the feelings of his wife. However, his actions demonstrate his priorities, in which his wife, Dolly, is not high on his list. He justifies his negligence of matters dealing with his wife with thoughts that he is a relatively young, handsome, and amorous man who should no longer feel obliged to feel tenderness toward the mother of his five children, since she is no longer attractive. In this way, he foreshadows the justification Abd Al-Jawad offers for his nightly activities and rendezvous (Tolstoy 3; pt. 1, ch. II). Superficiality exudes from Stepan's personality and later becomes the root of his money troubles; but the descriptions of his views of life first emphasize the extent to which a certain metonymy of wealth governs his life.

Stepan Arkadyich chose neither his tendency nor his views, but these tendencies and views came to him themselves, just as he did not choose the shape of a hat or a frock coat, but bought those that were in fashion. And for him, who lived in a certain circle, and who required some mental activity such as usually develops with maturity, having views was as necessary as having a hat. (Tolstoy 7; pt. 1, ch. III)

Societal whims and outside appearances dictate to this man who he is and what

he is expected to become. He has no life outside of this society and thus, unlike Abd Al-Jawad, remains a rather flat character throughout the novel as his life revolves around a world of changing fads and fashions.

In contrast to her husband's rich outward appearance, thinning hair and a nervous cheek twitch embody Dolly, Stepan's wife. Perhaps Dolly has faded because of his lack of responsibility to himself and to his family (Tolstoy 10-11; pt. 1, ch. IV). The family and daily cares that force themselves upon her create a terrible strain on someone not entirely strong by nature. She, in turn, neglects the reconciliation with her husband because of housework and the needs of the family.

Meanwhile Darya Alexandrovna, having quieted the child and understanding from the sound of the carriage that he had left, went back to the bedroom. This was her only refuge from household cares, which surrounded her the moment she stepped out. Even now, during the short time she had gone to the children's room, the English governess and Matryona Filimonovna had managed to ask her several questions that could not be put off and that she alone could answer... (Tolstoy 13; pt. 1, ch. IV)

If Stepan parallels Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad in his womanizing, then Dolly most closely parallels Amina as the anchor of her family. Dolly's life revolves around her children. She worries if they are morally corrupt (Tolstoy 271-72; pt. 3, ch. X) and even takes time to attend to their lessons (Tolstoy 567; pt. 6, ch. VI). Though Dolly fails to be as calm as Amina in the supervision of her household, as an aristocratic Russian woman she does all she can to hold her family together despite the unhappiness a frivolous and womanizing husband causes.

Dolly's younger sister, Kitty, holds her family together quite nicely toward the end of the novel when the narrator presents a more mature version of her. However, her ascension to the role of contented, Christian mother and loving, wise wife was not an easy one. Tolstoy most closely associates Kitty in her early years with little feet and beautiful legs, which represent her lack of confidence. She totters around in the beginning trying to find whom she is to marry, how her household will be set up, and what society demands of her as a woman. A skating rink, where she is wobbly on her skates, sets the scene for her developing feelings for her suitor, Levin.

He felt the sun approach him. She was turning a corner, her slender feet at a blunt angle in their high boots, and with evident timidity was skating towards him. (Tolstoy 28; pt. 1, ch. IX)

As she newly enters the realm of courtship, she already shows shakiness in her relationship with men.

A curious use of metonymy unites Kitty, Aisha, and Na'ima. Like Aisha, Kitty is compared with a heavenly body. Where Aisha is the moon in *The Cairo Trilogy*, Kitty is the sun (Tolstoy 28; pt. 1, ch. IX). Also where Na'ima is a rose among thorns, Kitty is a rose among nettles (Tolstoy 28; pt. 1, ch. IX). Both images invoke a sense of beauty and purity, yet ethereal, changing qualities characterize the heavenly bodies and weakness characterizes a rose among hostile objects.

Levin, Kitty's ardent admirer, acts like a bear in peasant clothing; Kitty's childhood nickname is "little bear." These metaphors provide a stylistic basis for the eventual matching of these two people. Nonetheless, the metonymy that links Levin with peasants describes him best; in fact, Levin longs to live

the life of a peasant. Levin's nature refuses to conform to society, and thus his character is often set in fields and hunting grounds around his estate. Ironically enough, though he associates himself more with the peasant style of living, he never fully understands them as his brother Sergei does (Tolstoy 244-47; pt. 3, ch. III). At certain times, he even contemplates becoming one of them and marrying a peasant woman, but something in his musings always alerts him to the fact that the fields are not his place.

Levin had often admired this life, had often experienced a feeling of envy for the people who lived this life, but that day for the first time, especially under the impression of what he had seen in the relations of Ivan Parmenov and his young wife, the thought came clearly to Levin that it was up to him to change that so burdensome, idle, artificial and individual life he lived into this laborious, pure and common, lovely life...All those thoughts and feelings were divided into three separate lines of argument. One was to renounce his old life, his useless knowledge, his utterly needless education. This renunciation gave him pleasure and was easy and simple for him. Other thoughts and notions concerned the life he wished to live now. The simplicity, the purity, and the legitimacy of this life he felt clearly, and he was convinced that he would find in it that satisfaction, repose, dignity, the absence of which he felt so painfully. But the third line of argument turned around the question of how to make this transition from the old life to the new. And here nothing clear presented itself to him. 'To have a wife? To have work and the necessity to work? To leave

Pokrovskoe? To buy land? To join a community? To marry a peasant woman? How am I to do it?' he asked himself again, and found no answer. 'However, I didn't sleep all night and can't give myself a clear accounting.' (Tolstoy 275-76; pt. 3, ch. XII)

His thoughts continually portray a fogginess of thought that resembles the wavering of Kitty and the decisions she must make for her future. This point furthers ties Kitty and Levin together, making their match evident and almost a natural course of events to the reader.

Balding and bad teeth characterize Vronsky, Levin's early rival for Kitty and Anna's eventual love. These two images invoke a sense of decay, which could reflect the decay of his relationships with Kitty, society, and more importantly, with Anna. The deterioration of his relationship with Anna arises mostly from his declarations of his rights for manly independence. Several times he tries to assert his need for independence, and each time he pushes Anna a little closer to the edge of paranoia, loss of control, and death.

Vronsky had come to the elections because he was bored in the country and had to assert his right to freedom before Anna, and in order to repay Sviyazhsky with support at the elections for all the trouble he had taken for him at the zemstvo elections, and most of all in order to strictly fulfill all the responsibilities of the position of nobleman and landowner that he had chosen for himself. (Tolstoy 662; pt. 6, ch. XXXI)

In this case, Vronsky begins to include in his activities reasons to be away from Anna and thus begins to establish a life of his own apart from her. Vronsky

establishes his plan and true intentions for getting Anna used to his male independence.

And so, without challenging her to a frank explanation, he went off to the elections. It was the first time since the start of their liaison that he had parted from her without talking it all through. On the one hand, this troubled him; on the other, he found it better this way. ‘At first it will be like now, something vague, hidden, but then she’ll get used to it. In any case, I can give her everything, but not my male independence,’ he thought. (Tolstoy 645; pt. 6, ch. XXV)

Here the first cracks of separation begin to appear in this unhappy family Vronsky and Anna have created. This is the first time that the reader begins to see Vronsky as he tries to release himself from the amorous nets in which he feels he is trapped. He deplores them, especially since he feels Anna is setting them. Vronsky resents her whenever he is in her presence (Tolstoy 643; pt. 6, ch. XXV). Thus, when he refuses to come home from his mother’s at Anna’s request, he begins the process of breaking free from her ever tightening reins, an action that ultimately leads to Anna’s death and his complete decay (Tolstoy 775; pt. 8, ch. II).

The several images Tolstoy uses to hint at Anna Karenina’s true nature each represent a part of her that cannot be controlled. Tolstoy first portrays Anna’s full body that she carries on her light gait (Tolstoy 61-62; pt. 1, ch. XVIII). The easy way in which she moves surprises Vronsky because of its sensuality. Almost as soon as Vronsky sees Anna, her body begins to tempt him away from his duties to his mother. The reader notices that this fullness is a family trait because, though Stiva also has a full body, his step is quite

lively as well (Tolstoy 1, 6; pt. 1, ch. I, III). Stiva uses his sensual, corporal grace to lure women, while Anna uses hers subconsciously to attract men. She does not actively use her looks for such purposes at first; but later events in the novel make the reader painfully aware of her luring, sensual effect on men, especially when Anna finally meets Levin. The sensuality that she exudes, albeit unconsciously, in the initial train scene later plays an important part in her eventual downfall from righteousness. The initial image foreshadows her later lack of control in all aspects of her life.

Another symbol Tolstoy associates with Anna represents her uncontrollable sensuality expressed in the vitality that begs to be let free from her eyes.

Her shining grey eyes, which seemed dark because of their thick lashes, rested amiably and attentively on his face, as if she recognized him, and at once wandered over the approaching crowd as though looking for someone. In that brief glance Vronsky had time to notice the restrained animation that played over her face and fluttered between her shining eyes and the barely noticeable smile that curved her red lips. It was as if a surplus of something so overflowed her being that it expressed itself beyond her will, now in the brightness of her glance, now in her smile. She deliberately extinguished the light in her eyes, but it shone against her will in a barely noticeable smile. (Tolstoy 61; pt. 1, ch. XVIII)

Anna’s features seem to flirt subconsciously with Vronsky and give him hidden invitations that she could not knowingly propose. This sensuality betrays her real purpose of looking for her brother at the train station. In the

passage, her eyes seem to be satisfied that she has caught Vronsky’s attention when she should be looking for her brother. In addition, although Anna tries to extinguish the light and vitality in her eyes, they betray her as her lips subliminally transfer a smile to Vronsky. Most of her descriptions like “her full shoulders and bosom, as if shaped from old ivory” (Tolstoy 79; pt. 1, ch. XXII) are very sensual in nature and aid the reader in understanding her future choices.

Anna’s curls also betray her inner sensuality and lack of control.

On her head, in her black hair, her own without admixture, was a small garland of pansies, and there was another on her black ribbon sash among the white lace. Her coiffure was inconspicuous. Conspicuous were only those willful little ringlets of curly hair that adorned her, always coming out on her nape and temples. Around her firm, shapely neck was a string of pearls. (Tolstoy 79; pt. 1, ch. XXII)

Only the curls that are breaking free seem to be her most conspicuous feature. These unruly curls come to be associated not only with sensuality, but with the play between control and willfulness. Though she cannot control her curls, she later tries to control Vronsky, who ultimately wants his independence, as he demonstrates when he willfully refuses to answer to her beck and call and return early from his mother’s home.

Anna develops a telling habit in which she slides her wedding ring on and off her finger. Though an unconscious act, it helps to demonstrate the discontent she harbors for her marriage to Karenin and the loose bonds that connect her and her husband. Tolstoy also describes her rings easily coming off her fingers. She

gives them to Dolly's children at play, as though love were merely a game.

Something like a game was set up among them, which consisted in sitting as close as possible to her, touching her, holding her small hand, kissing her, playing with her ring or at least touching the flounce of her dress.... 'I suppose it will be impossible not to go. Take it,' she said to Tanya, who was pulling the easily slipped-off ring from her white, tapering finger. (Tolstoy 72; pt. 1, ch. XX)

The rings in the first part of the quotation act merely as a part of the description associated with her and hold no more real importance than the flounce of her dress. In the second part of the quotation, however, Anna further emphasizes a certain lack of importance she associates with the rings Tanya is easily able to pull from Anna's finger and which Anna eventually gives to her. Perhaps this action foreshadows how easily she gives up her husband and allows him to fall into the hands of such women as Countess Lydia Ivanovna, a manipulating hypocrite. Later, when an Anna, pregnant with Vronsky's child, discusses the unhappiness of her situation—caught in a loveless marriage while receiving her lover only in her husband's absence—her ring shines under a lamp and is contrasted with the whiteness of her sleeve (Tolstoy 361; pt. 4, ch. III). Anna has lost her purity and has consequently tainted her marital vows. The wedding ring gleams only under the glow of an

artificial light and shows through in sharp contrast with the purity implied in the white of her sleeve.

Anna's final degradation into a corrupted woman resulting from her uncontrollable sensuality leads to her suicide as she throws herself under a train. The irony of her character lies in her desire to control another when she cannot even control herself. Anna dies because of her feeling of helplessness; even before she plunges to her death, she experiences her last moment of helplessness when she wishes to save herself, yet finds it to be too late (Tolstoy 768; pt. 7, ch. XXXI). Anna's story thus ends where it began—at a train station. She arrives in Moscow to try to help her brother contain his lust and dies in St. Petersburg when she cannot control her own.

Unhappiness runs rampant in the pages of *Anna Karenina* and *The Cairo Trilogy* and each main character plays a role in either alleviating or creating the chaos that causes the misery they endure. Tolstoy pointedly states in a passage of *Anna Karenina* that there needs to be a balance in all unhappy families.

In order to undertake anything in family life, it is necessary that there be either complete discord between the spouses or loving harmony. But when the relations between spouses are uncertain and there is neither the one nor the other, nothing can be undertaken. (Tolstoy 739; pt. 7, ch. XXXI)

Literary devices illustrate the main characters' unique personalities and how they contribute to the conflict that brings unhappiness to their families. Were it not for the conflict between the womanizing of men such as Yasin, Ahmad Abd Al-Jawad, and Stepan and the resulting strain put on the wives, Amina and Dolly, their stories would merely turn into bland recollections of perfect events that hardly reflect the realities of life. The added interest in these novels lies also in their ability to capture the universality of the unhappy family yet maintain each nation's cultural integrity. Amina's reaction to the weight of the household presents a more orderly and calm approach than that of Dolly's frantic and strained control of household affairs. Yet, each woman in her own way suffers from the strain of being the anchor of the household. Tolstoy and Mahfouz transcend the boundaries of time and place as they use specific devices to portray fictional characters as real people caught up in the universality of unhappiness.

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Investigating the Relationship between Parenting Styles and Delinquent Behavior



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ABSTRACT

Although numerous studies have examined the connection between delinquent behavior and parenting styles in children and adolescents, limited research has been done to determine if there is an ongoing relationship between these variables in the college population. This study included 38 college students and examined the relationship between parenting styles; families studied were authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent, and uninvolved. It was predicted that authoritarian parenting practices would be highly correlated with delinquent behavior, particularly for students with a difficult temperament and low family cohesion.

Introduction

Parenting is a complicated occupation that requires many different skills that work in concert to influence a child's behavior. It can be argued that parents start developing their parenting style even before their first child is born. It is within the first year or two that parents begin to attach to a parenting style that works best for them. Many researchers have noted that it isn't the specific discipline practices that are important in predicting child welfare but rather the overall pattern of parenting (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). When researchers attempt to describe these patterns most rely on Diana Baumrind's concept of parenting styles. In her view, "parenting style is used to capture normal variations in parent's attempts to control and socialize their children" (Baumrind, 1991a, p. 349). There are two points that are crucial in understanding her definition of parenting styles. First, the parenting style typology doesn't include deviant parenting, such as abusive and/or neglectful homes. Second, it is assumed that the primary role of the parents is to influence, teach and control their children.

Baumrind's parenting styles are focused on two main elements of parenting: parental responsiveness and parental demandingness. Parental responsiveness, also referred to as parental supportiveness and warmth, refers to "the extent in which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation, and self-assertion by being attentive, supportive, and compliant to children's needs and demands" (Baumrind, 1991b, p. 62). Parental demandingness, also referred to as behavioral control, refers to "the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole, by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys" (Baumrind, 1991b,

p. 61-62). Categorizing parents according to whether they are high or low on parental responsiveness and demandingness creates four parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative, indulgent, and uninvolved.

Parenting Styles

Authoritarian parents are highly controlling in the use of authority and rely on punishment but are not responsive. They value obedience and do not tolerate give and take relationships with their children. Authoritarian parents do not expect their children to express disagreement with their decisions and rules and do expect them to obey without explanation (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Authoritative parents are warm and communicate well with their children; they are both demanding and responsive. Parents of this style are able to stay in authority and expect maturity from their children. They respect their children's opinions and independence while also maintaining their own positions. This parenting style permits children enough freedom of expression so that they can develop a sense of independence but know the boundaries of rules and obey them. Both authoritative and authoritarian parents have high expectations of their children but use control in different ways (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Indulgent parents are warm and accepting but their main concern is not to interfere with their children's creativity and independence; these parents are more responsive than demanding. They demand little in terms of obedience and respect for authority. They are nontraditional and lenient, do not require mature behavior, allow considerable self-regulation, and avoid confrontations (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Uninvolved parents are both low in responsiveness and demandingness. In extreme cases, this parenting style

might include both rejecting-neglecting and neglecting parents. This parenting style is viewed as the worst of the four. Parents in this style do not establish rules nor do they even care in which direction the child's behavior is headed (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

In order to fully understand the difference in parenting styles, an example from Maccoby and Martin (1983) indicates how each parent demonstrates how they would react to a situation. In the situation, Sally age eight is playing with Kelly age nine, and Sally gets on Kelly's bike without permission and rides away.

An authoritarian parent would say, "Come back this second and give Kelly back her bike immediately." An authoritative parent uses the opportunity to teach the child and says, "The bicycle belongs to Kelly. I know you want to ride it, but why don't you talk it over with her and try to work out a system so that you can have a turn." An indulgent parent would believe that Sally should be allowed to express her impulses freely and does not use the opportunity to solve the problem. An uninvolved parent would simple overlook the whole situation. (p. 48-51)

Parenting Styles and Behavior

Baumrind's parenting styles have been found to predict child well being in terms of social competence, academic performance, psychosocial development, and problem behavior. Research using parent interviews, teacher interviews, and child report consistently finds these characteristics associated with each parenting style (Baumrind, 1991a). Children of authoritarian parents tend to lack social competence in dealing with other children, frequently withdraw from social contact and rarely take their own initiative, look to outside authority

to decide what is correct, and often lack spontaneity and intellectual curiosity. Sons show more difficulties than daughters, and sons are more likely to show anger and defiance towards people in authority. Children of authoritative parents tend to be more self-reliant, self-controlled, willing to explore, and content than other groups. Daughters are more independent than sons; sons are more socially responsible than daughters and associated with better school performance in high school. Children of indulgent parents tend to be relatively immature, exhibit poor impulse control, and have difficulty accepting responsibility for their own actions and acting independently. Children of uninvolved parents tend to lack social competence in many areas, be overly independent, have difficulty determining right and wrong behavior, and experience school problems (academic and behavioral).

Previous Studies

When considering parenting styles and child behavior, there is ample research to indicate that parenting styles are related to delinquent behavior in children and adolescents. However, there is little research that questions the relationship between parenting styles and delinquent behavior in college students. A study done by Weiss and Schwartz (1996), based on the four typologies, consistently yielded results indicating that parenting styles can enhance or diminish acceptable behavioral outcomes in children. In previous studies, authoritative parenting has been associated with positive behavioral outcomes including increased competence, autonomy, and self esteem as well as better problem solving skills, better academic performance, more self-reliance, less deviance, and better peer relations (Barnes, 2002; Baumrind, 1991b; Bystritsky, 2000; Linder, Hetherington & Reiss, 1999; Lomeo,

1999; Petito & Cummings, 2000; Steinberg, Darling, & Fletcher, 1995). In contrast, the authoritarian style has been linked with negative behavioral outcomes including aggressive behavior, decreased emotional functioning, depression and lower levels of self-confidence (Barnes, 2002; Beyers & Goossens, 2003; Pychyl, Coplan, & Reid, 2002; Scales, 2000).

The indulgent parenting style has been related to future delinquency and aggression. Poor supervision, neglect, and indifference are all indulgent parental practices that play a crucial role in engaging in future delinquency. Adolescents from indulgent homes report a higher frequency of involvement in deviant behaviors, such as drug use and alcohol use, school misconduct and emotional, impulsive, nonconforming behaviors (Durbin, Darling, Steinberg, & Brown, 1993; Miller, DiOrio, & Dudley, 2002). With an uninvolved parenting style, children tend to look for acceptance in other places and associate with peer groups with similar family backgrounds (Mounts, 2002). Also, if family environments fail to provide structure, then child conduct problems are more likely to be maintained or worsen.

While many researchers have found a clear relationship between parenting style and the behavioral outcomes of children, other studies have found that there is no clear relationship between parenting style and child psychopathology (Havill, 1996; Olafsson, 2001; Revie-Petterson, 1998). Thus, it is important to note that the influence of parenting style is often moderated or mediated by a number of variables such as temperament (Owens-Stively et al., 1997), gender (Beyers & Goossens, 2003), the child/teen's perception of the parenting style (Paulson, 1994; Slicker, 1998), socioeconomic status and ethnicity (McCarthy, 1995), the age of the child

(Harris, 1998; Revie-Petterson, 1998), religiosity (Feinman, 2001; Lindner & Hetherington, 1999), and family structure or cohesion (Bystritsky, 2000; Webster-Stratton & Hammond, 1999).

Delinquent behavior stems from several factors including: poor academic achievement, low self esteem, lack of acceptance from peers, and unstable family environments. These factors not only influence a person during the transition to adolescence but during the transition into college as well. College is seen as a life journey that many face during the end of adolescence. If parenting styles have an influence on the delinquent behavior of children and adolescents, then it seems likely that they impact the behavior of college students as well. Hickman, Bartholomae, and McKenry (2000) found this to be true when looking at college students. This study found that students with authoritative parents demonstrated greater levels of academic competence, more self-control, and better adjustment. Students of authoritarian and permissive parents demonstrated poor academic grades, poor college adjustment, and lower self-esteem. The same study also indicated that children who have authoritative parents engage in less aggressive behavior than their peers who have experienced other parenting styles. In addition, harsh childhood discipline is strongly associated with the later development of delinquent behavior.

The purpose of this research was to further examine the relationship between parenting styles and delinquent behavior in college students in an effort to replicate previous findings. This research project attempted to improve on the existing literature by controlling for a number of variables such as age, gender, socioeconomic status, religiosity, family structure, temperament, and the different parenting style perceptions of the parents and students. To control for age effects, participants included

college students aged 18 and older and their parents or primary caregivers.

Hypotheses of the study were as follows: (1) delinquent behavior and psychological problems would be higher in students who report experiencing authoritarian and indulgent parenting styles; (2) difficult child temperament would be related to negative parenting styles; (3) gender would also impact outcomes: males would react more negatively to authoritarian parenting whereas females would react more negatively to indulgent and uninvolved parenting; (4) student perception of parenting style would have more of an impact on behavior than parent perception of parenting style.

Method

Participants

The sample included 38 participants both male (17) and female (21) students and 18 parents. The mean age of the students was 23 with a range from 18-43. The students were recruited from psychology and sociology classes at Grand Valley State University. At least one parent of each participant was also asked to participate.

Instruments

The student and parent each completed a demographic questionnaire that included questions about the number of parents in household, number of children in home, socio-economic status (SES), and religious involvement. The parent demographic questionnaire also included questions about past delinquency in the parent, as well as family history of emotional and behavioral problems. In addition, the parent demographic questionnaire inquired about the parent's perception of the child's temperament, as well as problem behaviors noted in the child prior to attending college. The student demographic questionnaire also included questions about the

student's history of delinquency, and any history of family problems. Emotional and behavioral problems were further explored using the *Achenbach Adult Behavior Checklist* (Achenbach, 1991), which the parent completed on the child/student and the *Achenbach Self Report* (Achenbach), which was completed by the student. Both of these measures have approximately 172 items and use open-ended questions and questions that are answered on a three-point scale (0=not true, 1=somewhat or sometimes true and 3=very true or often true) and both render standardized scores on several scales including: Total Problem Score, Internalizing Behavior Score, Externalizing Behavior Score, Anxious/Depressed, Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Aggressive Behavior, Rule-Breaking Behavior, and Intrusive. Reliability and validity information available from the manual (Achenbach & Rescorla, 2003) indicate that these are acceptable measures.

Parenting styles were evaluated using the *Parental Authority Questionnaire* (Buri, 1991). The *Parental Authority Questionnaire* (PAQ) is composed of 30 questions geared to identify the parenting styles used in the home. It includes a five-point scale (1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree) and the individual gives an opinion for each statement. Results of several studies (Buri, 1991) have supported the PAQ as a psychometrically sound and valid measure of Baumrind's parental authority prototypes. Both the parent and the student completed the PAQ.

The *Temperament and Character Inventory* (Cloninger et al., 1994) is a 226 item, true-false questionnaire that measures seven dimensions of personality: novelty seeking, harm avoidance, reward dependence, persistence, self-directedness, cooperativeness, and self-transcendence. A recent study by Brandstrom, Richter,

and Nylander (2003) indicated that the seven-factor model is valid and reliable.

The health in one's family of origin was measured through the *Family of Origin Scale* (Hovestadt, Anderson, Piercy, Cochran, & Fine, 1985). This measure contains 125 questions that use a 5-point Likert scale (5=strongly agree to 1=strongly disagree) that asks for information about how well the family of origin functioned. The Family of Origin Scale has a good internal consistency and good validity (Hovestadt et al., 1985).

Procedure

The participant's identity remained confidential; each parent and student pair was assigned a research number and informed consent documents were stored separately. When the students came in to participate, they first completed the informed consent form document. Then the students completed the questionnaires (the student demographic survey, child's version to the Parental Authority Questionnaire, The Temperament and Character Inventory, The Family of Origin Scale, and the Adult Self-Report), which took about two hours to complete. After each student finished the questionnaire packet, he or she was given a parent packet and asked to place his or her code number on each form and address the envelope. Each student received course credit for his or her participation. Each student received a debriefing form, which further explained the nature of the study and the influence of parenting styles.

Using the information provided by the student, the parent questionnaire packet was mailed to the parent. This packet included an informed consent form, a self-addressed stamped envelope to return the material, the parents demographic survey, the Adult Behavior Checklist, the parent's version of the Parental Authority Questionnaire, and a debriefing form. The parents were asked

to return all documents within 10 days in order to be entered into two raffles for \$50 gift certificates to Grand Valley State University's bookstore.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

The purpose of the demographic survey was to help measure delinquency that wasn't being reported in the Adult Self-Report and to collect information such as age, school classification, GPA, and gender. On this form, delinquency was measured categorically. The participants marked "1" for yes and "2" for no. The responses for each item were summed; therefore a higher number meant less reported delinquency. The total possible points were 50. Delinquency rates were low. For past delinquency $M=45$, $SD=4.44$. For present $M=45$, $SD=2.6$. The average GPA was also higher than expected $M=2.97$, $SD=.58$. In this study, the only two parenting styles that were found among our student participants were authoritarian (17) and authoritative (21).

Of the 18 parents who responded, half were male and half were female. Seventeen parents indicated that they were authoritative and one was authoritarian. The mean number of children in the home was 2.83 , $SD=.10$, and about half of the parents reported that the student was the first-born and the other half third-born. The mean income was between \$46,000 and \$55,000 annually. Religious affiliation was reported as Catholic (7), Protestant (9), or not participating (1). The average church attendance was reported as twice a month to twice a week. Students self-reported higher levels of delinquency in childhood and adolescence than parents reported on the student. Parent reports of their own delinquency indicated higher levels than reported for children. The most common incidents included shoplifting, unprotected sex, underage drinking, truancy, and drug use.

The number of stressors experienced by the family, as reported by the parents, was relatively low. About 22% of the sample reported a history of illness, job loss, job change, financial worries, death, learning problems, anxiety, or depression.

When comparing the student reports of parenting style to the parent reports, only half of the 18 pairs agreed on the style (8 pairs authoritative, 1 pair authoritarian). The other half included students who reported authoritarian parents and parents who self-identified as authoritative.

Hypothesis One

Since only two parenting styles were found among our participants, hypothesis one was only partially tested. A one-way ANOVA of the Parental Authority Questionnaire and Adult Self-Report revealed a significant difference ($F(1, 36) = 16.83, p < .00$). Figure 1 shows the adult self-report score for both parenting styles. As the graph displays, those participants who reported experiencing an authoritarian parenting style had a higher delinquency score than the authoritative group.

Hypothesis Two

A one-way ANOVA (TCI score x PAQ) revealed that the most difficult temperaments were associated with the authoritarian parenting style (see fig. 2). The three scales that showed a significant difference were novelty seeking ($F(1, 36) = 9.1, p = .01$), self-directiveness ($F(1, 36) = 6.8, p = .01$) and cooperation ($F(1, 36) = 16.9, p < .00$). The figure also shows that authoritative parenting style was correlated with the more positive items (cooperation and self-directiveness) and the authoritarian style was correlated with the more negative items (novelty seeking and harm avoidance).

Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three was not supported at all. There were no gender differences found on the Temperament and Character Inventory, the Adult Self-Report, or the demographic survey.

Hypothesis Four

No significant differences were found using parent data and student ASR scores. Thus, parent reports of past delinquency, temperament, socio-economic status, religion, family stress, and parenting style did not significantly impact the students self-report of problem behaviors.

Additional Analysis

In an effort to examine variables that moderate or mediate the relationship between parenting style and college students behavior, family cohesion was examined. Table 1 includes the means and standard deviations for the two groups on each scale. Higher scores means better cohesion. The authoritative families have consistently higher scores.

Table 2 summarizes the result of a series of one-way ANOVAS. Respect, responsibility, feelings, conflict, and empathy were significant at the $p \leq .05$ level. Clarity and openness were significant at the $p \leq .10$ level. To examine the relationship between parenting style and problem behavior while controlling for family cohesion a partial correlation analysis was conducted. The results indicated a significant relationship between parenting style and problem behavior. Authoritative parenting style is negatively correlated with problem behavior $r = -.56, p < .00$.

Conclusions and Limitations

The results of the study indicate that there is a relationship between the student's perception of parenting style and the student's self-report of psychological problems and acting

out behavior in college. Students who reported experiencing an authoritarian parenting style report more problems. These students also report having more difficult temperaments.

Attempts to examine cause and effect relationships and moderating or mediating variables were largely unsuccessful due to a small sample size. For example, many of the mediating variables were assessed only on the parent data sheet (socio-economic status, stressor, childhood temperament, and religion) and only 18 parents responded. In addition, only two parenting styles were represented: authoritative and authoritarian. Although the student sample was approximately equally divided among these variables, the parent sample was skewed toward authoritative. In fact, most student-parent pairs did not agree on parenting style. Therefore, it still remains unclear what impact parent perception of parenting style has on adult behavior. However, previous studies have found that as children age their impressions have a greater impact (Paulson, 1994; Slicker, 1998). Of note are the other discrepancies that existed between parent and child reports. The parents seem largely unaware of the delinquent behaviors their children engaged in during childhood and adolescence and, in some cases, they appear to be unaware of current problems their children are having. The parents that did respond tended to be intact families with college age children who reported few problems. The families were middle class and regular church attendees. Therefore, there was little variability in the parent data which may have contributed to the lack of significant results.

The other finding of note was the significant relationship between parenting style and family cohesion. Authoritative parenting is related to high levels of family cohesion. However, parenting style has a powerful

relationship with adult behavior even when family cohesion is removed. This and the other results must be interpreted with caution given the small sample and limited variability.

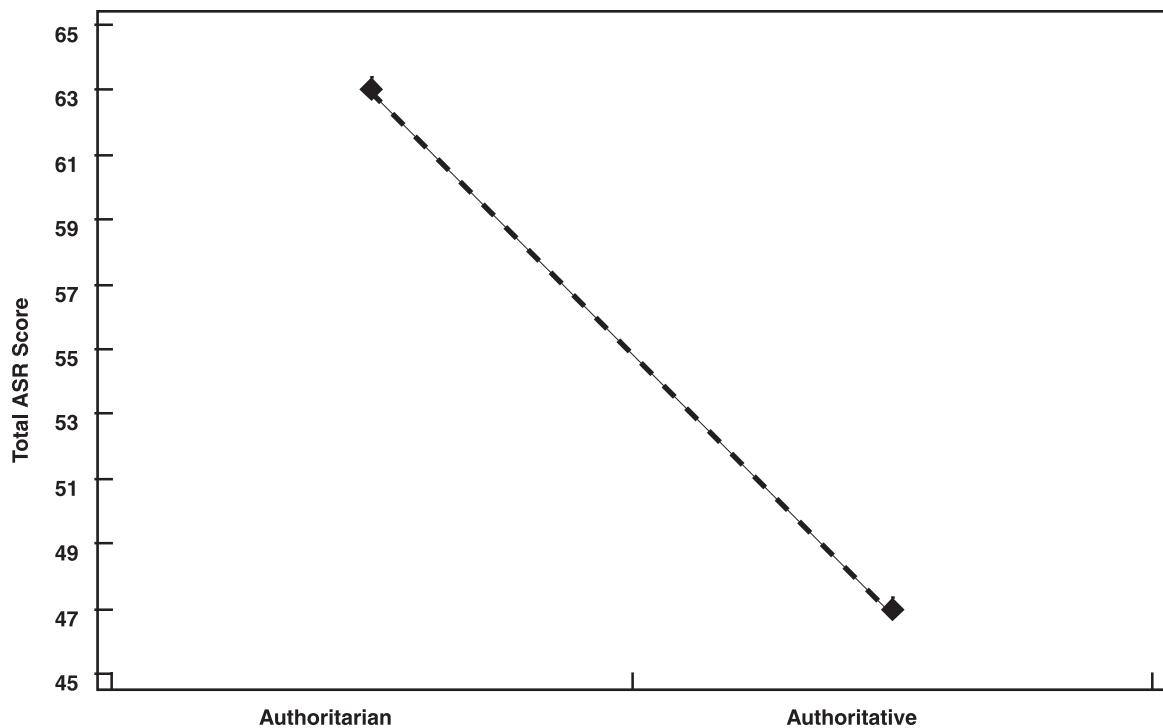
This study coincides with previous research (Hickman, Bartholomae, & McKenry, 2000) in that parents or children reported no permissive parenting style. This is an interesting finding and should be further explored. Perhaps children rarely perceive their

parents as permissive or parents may be reluctant to admit these practices because they may "seem" uncaring. It may be that children of permissive parents do not attend college in large numbers. Again, additional studies are needed to examine this phenomenon.

Further research should include larger more geographically and ethnically diverse samples while continuing to control for the potential mediator and moderator variables. With a larger

sample, it is possible that profiles could be developed. Perhaps children with authoritarian parents will have a difficult temperament that is inhibited and anxious along with relationship difficulties that include dependency and lack of trust; whereas, permissive parenting style results in volatile and impulsive character styles in their children. The measures used in this study could yield much more information with a larger sample.

Figure #1. Adult Self-Report Score (ASR) vs. Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ)



Note: A higher ASR score represents more psychological problems.

Figure #2. The Temperament and Character Inventory (TCI) vs. Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ)

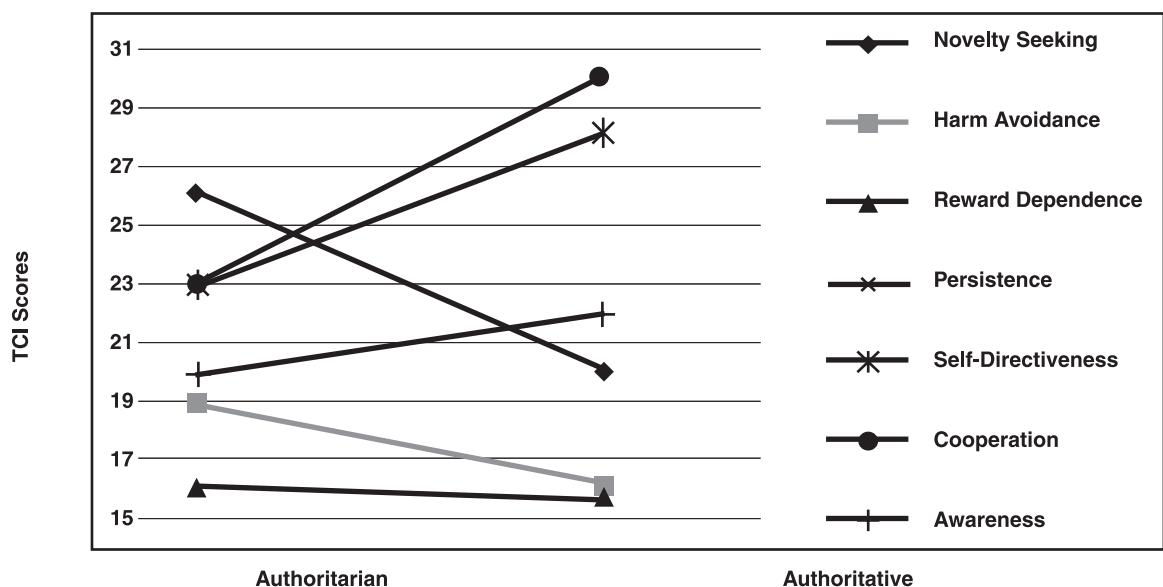


Table #1. Statistical Descriptive (FOS)

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Clarity	Authoritarian	16	13.5625	3.26535
	Authoritative	21	15.1429	1.93095
Responsibility	Total	37	14.4595	2.67285
	Authoritarian	16	12.1250	2.52653
Respect	Authoritative	21	14.0000	2.38747
	Total	37	13.1892	2.59099
Openness	Authoritarian	16	13.2500	3.53082
	Authoritative	21	15.5714	2.20389
Acceptance	Total	37	14.8919	3.04175
	Authoritarian	16	13.8750	3.38378
Feelings	Authoritative	21	15.6667	2.15252
	Total	37	14.8919	2.85564
Mood	Authoritarian	16	14.4375	4.27346
	Authoritative	21	15.2381	2.54764
Conflict	Total	37	14.8919	3.37296
	Authoritarian	16	14.3750	3.36403
Empathy	Authoritative	21	16.3810	2.37647
	Total	37	15.5135	2.97790
Trust	Authoritarian	16	15.6250	3.96443
	Authoritative	21	16.9048	2.58660
Conflict	Total	37	16.3514	3.26782
	Authoritarian	16	12.3125	3.55375
Empathy	Authoritative	21	14.6667	2.26569
	Total	37	13.6486	3.08415
Trust	Authoritarian	16	13.6250	3.79254
	Authoritative	21	15.7143	2.53264
Trust	Total	37	14.8108	3.26461
	Authoritarian	16	02.7500	2.75000
Trust	Authoritative	21	02.6838	2.68328
	Total	37	02.6964	2.65634

Table #2. ANOVA (FOS)

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Clarity	Between Groups	22.680	1	22.68	3.385	0.074
	Within Groups	234.509	35	6.70		
Responsibility	Total	257.189	36			
	Between Groups	31.926	1	31.92	5.327	0.027
Respect	Within Groups	209.750	35	5.99		
	Total	241.676	36			
Openness	Between Groups	48.938	1	48.93	6.028	0.019
	Within Groups	284.143	35	8.11		
Acceptance	Total	333.081	36			
	Between Groups	29.150	1	29.15	3.859	0.057
Feelings	Within Groups	264.417	35	7.55		
	Total	293.568	36			
Mood	Between Groups	5.821	1	5.82	0.505	0.482
	Within Groups	403.747	35	11.53		
Conflict	Total	409.568	36			
	Between Groups	36.541	1	36.54	4.524	0.041
Empathy	Within Groups	282.702	35	8.07		
	Total	319.243	36			
Trust	Between Groups	14.873	1	14.87	1.409	0.243
	Within Groups	369.560	35	10.55		
Conflict	Total	384.432	36			
	Between Groups	050.328	1	50.32	6.030	0.019
Empathy	Within Groups	292.104	35	8.34		
	Total	342.432	36			
Trust	Between Groups	39.640	1	39.64	4.033	0.052
	Within Groups	344.036	35	9.83		
Trust	Total	383.676	36			
	Between Groups	4.292	1	4.29	0.584	0.450
Trust	Within Groups	257.437	35	7.35		
	Total	261.730	36			

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Psychopaths in the Courtroom: A Preliminary Report on Judicial Sentencing for Violent Offenses



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ABSTRACT

Every day, judges are faced with making decisions about a defendant's potential risk as it relates to setting bail, sentencing, and a variety of other contexts. In making these decisions, judges must balance issues of fairness and protection of the individual rights of the accused with protection of society from dangerous predators who may commit future acts of physical or sexual violence. As professionals who are not specifically trained in violence assessment, judges must rely on others, including probation agents, attorneys, and expert witnesses, for information to assist in their decision-making. Through expert witnesses and up-to-date training of criminal justice professionals, judges should have access to a significant body of knowledge regarding the risk factors that are known to be related to future violence, particularly risk factors such as psychopathy which has been found to be the single best predictor of future violence in a wide variety of populations. A preliminary study was carried out in western Michigan counties using transcripts from sentencing hearings of violent offenders convicted of rape, felonious assault, or homicide/attempted homicide to determine whether known risk factors influenced judges' decisions regarding sentencing and whether such information impacted a judge's decision to depart from the Michigan sentencing guidelines. Results suggest that risk factors are often not mentioned during the sentencing hearings and that when they are, they rarely appear to influence judicial decisions. In particular, no mention of the term psychopathy or of expert testimony related to risk or of the names of scientifically validated instruments for assessing violence risk was found in all transcripts reviewed. Implications of these results for professional training and improvement in judicial sentencing are discussed.

Introduction

Given the central position that a judge assumes in the criminal justice system, as the gatekeeper of the civil rights of the accused as well as the guardian of public safety, it is paramount for them to rely on the most effective methods possible when sentencing an offender. In Michigan, the state legislature provides guidance to judges in the form of "sentencing guidelines" to standardize the sentences for criminal offenses. At the same time, recognizing that special circumstances may warrant exceptional handling of a particular case, the law permits judges to "depart" from the guidelines either giving a sentence that is more lenient or more strict. However, offenders who commit a particular crime are not equally likely to commit that same crime, or to commit additional crimes, in the future. Particularly in the case of violent offenders, it would seem reasonable for judges, in their decisions about appropriate sentence length and whether or not to depart from the sentencing guidelines, to consider those risk factors which indicate that a given offender is at high risk for future violence.

For the past two decades, scientists in the field of risk assessment have been developing the scientific basis to more precisely estimate the degree of recidivism risk posed by a given offender for future violence (Hanson & Bussiere, 1998; Quinsey, Harris, Rice, & Cormier, 1998). In particular, there have been significant advancements in identifying variables that show high correlations with violent and sexual recidivism as well as in the development of standardized tests and instruments that are scientifically validated to measure these variables.

Among the hundreds of risk factors studied as possible predictors of future violent behavior, psychopathy has emerged as the single most valuable predictor variable among widely

differing populations (Monahan et al., 2001; Rice & Harris, 1997; Cornell et al., 1996). For example, in a study of male forensic inmates, instrumental (premeditated) offenders could be reliably distinguished from reactive (provocational) offenders on the basis of violent crime behavior and on degree of psychopathy when group differences could not be attributed to participant age, race, length of incarceration, or extent of prior criminal record (Cornell et al., 1996). Psychopathy is a pervasive personality style that consists of interpersonal (manipulative, deceitful), emotional (lack of remorse, callousness, superficial emotions and relationships), and behavioral (aggressive and impulsive behavior, lack of future plans, parasitic lifestyle) factors (Hare, 2003). Frequently confused by both mental health professionals and legal professionals with the psychiatric diagnosis of Antisocial Personality Disorder, psychopathy represents a distinct, but overlapping construct (Hare, 2003). Over the past decades, a primary scientifically validated measurement of psychopathy has emerged: the Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) (Hare). Various other risk assessment instruments have also been developed for assessing the possibility of an offender's future risk; these instruments have been published (Quinsey et al., 1998; Webster, Douglas, Eaves, & Hart, 1997) and are available to professionals who are in a position to provide relevant information to the courts faced with making sentencing decisions for violent offenders.

This current state contrasts markedly with an evaluation of the field conducted by Loftus and Monahan (1981) over 20 years ago. At that time, Monahan concluded that mental health professionals assessing risk of future violence based solely on their experiential opinions were accurate in

predictions of violence only one out of three times. Despite these scientific concerns, the courts emphatically indicated that this type of information was very important in making judicial decisions, particularly those related to sentencing where the judge must balance civil rights with public safety (*Barefoot v Estelle*, 1983). More recently, in the landmark decision of *Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals* (1993), the U.S. Supreme Court clearly placed the role of gatekeeper for scientific expert testimony on trial court judges. Given the responsibility indicated in *Daubert* and the current status of the science of risk assessment, particularly of psychopathy as a risk variable, one would expect that judges would routinely make use of expert information related to risk in a wide variety of contexts including both civil and criminal proceedings. Unfortunately, available information suggests that this is not the case. Both the personal experience of one of the authors as well as a recent study of clinical versus forensic psychologists (Tolman & Mullendore, 2003) and also a study of circuit court judges in Michigan (Tolman & Buehman, 2004) suggest that both mental health and legal professionals are often unaware of the scientific meaning of the term "psychopath" and are even more unaware of the existence of scientifically validated instruments to measure the construct of psychopathy and to evaluate potential risk. Adding to this disconnect, roughly 50% of the judges surveyed by Tolman and Buehman confused psychopathy with psychosis, which can exist concurrently with psychopathy but is a distinctly separate diagnosis and disorder.

Given the potential value to society and the courts of identifying the risk factor of psychopathy along with other known factors that increase an offender's risk for violence, this study proposes to evaluate how often

the concept of psychopathy is used in trial court decisions, specifically in western Michigan. Further, it is important to understand the basis for testimony regarding psychopathy or risk and to determine how often judicial decisions are based on scientifically sound assessment methods such as the Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) and the Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Screening Version (Hart, Cox, & Hare, 1995) versus more primitive and biased forms of assessment such as unsupported opinion. It is also equally important to see what type of professional (psychologist, psychiatrist, social worker) is addressing the issue of psychopathy as a risk variable because the administration of the instruments requires specialized training and a high degree of professional judgment. Only by understanding current practices can progress be made in developing a plan to address existing problems and enhance the ability of the justice system to manage violent offenders. This study may also convey a sense of whether or not psychopathy is becoming more recognized in court and whether or not expert testimony concerning the possible psychopathy of an offender is considered admissible.

Method

Case Selection

Given the time allotted for the completion of this research project, this preliminary investigation was held to a rather limited jurisdiction. The goal was to obtain from trial courts in Ottawa, Muskegon, and Kent counties a stratified random sample of sentencing transcripts of three types of offenses that often are associated with psychopathic offenders: criminal sexual conduct in the first and third degree, felonious assault, and homicide or attempted homicide. County court clerks were contacted in each jurisdiction and provided with a description of the rationale for random

selection and a subset of random numbers to use in selecting cases. They were requested to randomly select five cases of each type and to obtain the transcripts of those cases. Only adult cases were selected because these constitute records open and available to the public. Across all cases reviewed the mean offender age was 35.1 years, ranging from 19 to 56, with a standard deviation of 11.6. All offenders sentenced in this study were male.

A random list of cases of each type was generated by the Kent County Office of Community Corrections, but the report from the county clerk indicated that the majority of them did not have a trial transcript. Efforts are currently underway in order to expand the number of cases reviewed for the study. At the time of this report, only 2 cases had been obtained from Kent County; one case was a transcript of a homicide case and one transcript was of a sexual assault. Given the low return at the time of this report, no attempt was made to evaluate potential differences in how jurisdictions handled these cases. All results presented in this study are based on the total aggregate summary of transcripts ($n=19$).

Data Collection Instrument

Each transcript was read and scored using a data collection instrument developed for this study. A copy of the instrument is included in the Appendix. The instrument was divided into three sections: general information, offender history, and sentencing information. The general information section was composed of items assessing the offenders' ages, charges, and jurisdictions. The offender history section summarized the offenders' histories by scoring the variables that were related to violence risk. The scoring for items in this section ranged from 0 to 3 with a 9 given if the variable was not mentioned in the transcript. For

example, the variable "prior criminal history" was scored 0 if the offender did not have a criminal history, 1 if the offender had a non-violent criminal history, 2 if the offender had a violent criminal history, 3 if the offender had both, and 9 if criminal history was not mentioned in the transcript. The sentencing information section was concerned specifically with the judge's sentencing decision and was scored similar to the offender history section to improve the reliability of data scoring decisions. An example of an item from section three would be whether or not the transcript referred to psychopathy or the psychopathy assessment instruments (PCL-R or PLC-SV) in consideration of sentencing; if so it was scored a 1, if not it was scored a 0.

Procedures

The transcripts of the sentencing hearings were scanned for references or arguments that indicated the presence of known risk factors for future violence. These references could have been made by either attorney, by the judge, or by explicit reference to the Pre-Sentence Investigation report (PSI). All such references were then scored according to the scoring instrument.

Results

Offender History

For almost half of the cases reviewed (43%), offender history was not mentioned in the course of the sentencing hearing. In those instances where it was described, four offenders (21%) were noted to have *both* a history of non-violent and violent prior offenses; two offenders (10%) were described with only violent histories; three offenders (16%) were reported to have exclusive non-violent criminal histories; and two offenders (10%) had no reported criminal history. The six offenders (32%) reported to have prior histories of violence would likely be

considered "high risk" for future violent offending.

Substance abuse is a key risk factor related to future violence. In the majority of cases (68%) prior substance abuse was not mentioned in the transcript; four offenders (21%) were reported to have prior possession charges; and two offenders (10%) were described as having no prior substance charges.

With regard to a history of prior sexual offending, once again it was found that the majority of the cases (63%) did not mention this risk factor while seven of the offenders (37%) had been sentenced for prior sexual offenses. However, it is important to note that of the seven criminal sexual conduct offenders, four (57%) manifest behavior that would be considered indicators of sexual deviance (victim was below legal age of consent or the same sex as the offender). This is important because sexual deviance is a key risk factor for future sexual offending (Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2004). The sample group of six homicide offenders was the only group where history of sexual offense was not mentioned for any of the individuals.

A past history of mental illness was noted in less than half of the cases (47%); of these cases, only one person had been hospitalized for mental disorders, a known risk factor for future violent offending (Hodgins & Janson, 2002). None of the offenders was reported to have been found not guilty by reason of insanity in a prior charge.

Sentencing Information

For all nineteen transcripts reviewed, the judge departed from the recommended sentencing guidelines only once. This case involved an offender with a history of mental illness and resulted in the judge departing to issue a lower sentence than was recommended by the probation agent. Only four of the cases (21%) indicated evidence that

the judge's final sentence was affected by the presence of one or more of the risk factors mentioned in section two of the instrument although they were not sufficient enough for the judge to depart from the sentencing guidelines. Although risk factors had been mentioned during the hearing, there was no evidence that this information affected sentencing in seven of the cases (37%), and potential risk factors from section two were not mentioned at all in eight of the cases (42%). Of the four cases in which risk variables affected the judge's overall sentencing decision, the sentence was increased in two cases and decreased in the other two.

Of the nine cases (47%) in which the offender had a reported criminal history, this history was referred to by the judge in only three of the sentences (33%). In these three incidences, the judge still sentenced within the recommended guidelines, neither exceeding nor reducing the amount of time that the offender would serve in jail or prison.

Only one case (5%) involved expert testimony; a clinical psychologist testified concerning an offender's competency to stand trial. No experts were used to assess potential future risk for violence in any of the cases studied. As one would expect, there were no references made to the PCL-R, PCL-SV, or any other type of actuarial risk assessment tool during any of the sentencing hearings.

None of the cases mentioned were concerned with dynamic risk factors. Hanson and Harris (2001) define dynamic risk factors as those that can change and are thought to be linked to acute increases in violence risk. Examples of this type of risk factor include association with criminal peers, impulse control, social skills, use of substances, specific contexts that are related to criminal behavior, compliance with psychotherapy or other treatment, and taking medications.

Discussion

The sample described in this preliminary report was too small and did not have enough samples from different counties in western Michigan to make significant conclusions about the overall pattern of judicial use of risk information in sentencing decisions in Michigan or even west Michigan. This was due mainly to the manner in which the trial court cases, and particularly transcripts of sentencing hearings, were organized and stored by the various jurisdictions studied. The different systems in place in each county for organizing and storing this type of information create a significant barrier to research on the nature of sentencing decision-making and would also presumably hinder access of the public to cases that may be of interest to a variety of interested parties (e.g. victims, victim advocacy organizations, news reporters). If studies of the type presented in this report are of interest to legal and mental health professionals and the public, it may be useful for the state to consider establishing more consistent systems for information storage and retrieval. This would also benefit researchers interested in studying criminal activity based on specific types of offenses.

The authors intend to continue the study to expand the sample, perhaps including additional counties in western Michigan, in order to address the central questions of the study.

Michigan legislators would probably be pleased to note that judges rarely departed from the sentencing guidelines. In fact, departure occurred only once (5% of cases), and that case was a *downward* departure (a lesser sentence than recommended) due to the defendant's history of mental illness. The judge's reasoning from the transcripts was unclear, but he specifically stated that the offender's behavior had caused "significant

harm" to himself and to society. As noted above, serious mental illness is associated with increased rates of criminality and violence (Hodgins & Janson, 2002), so the rationale for a downward departure in this case is unclear, but may reflect a tendency toward leniency to a person who was seen as having suffered from his illness and who needed treatment. In any case, given the literature on risk factors and future violence, one would expect judges to carefully consider offender histories of significant mental illness in their consideration of the appropriateness of a sentence.

Further, the fact that there were so few departures for these individuals convicted of *violent crimes* raises two important issues. First, although the Supreme Court clearly charged the trial judges as "gatekeepers" for scientific information (*Daubert v. Merrell Dow*, 1993), the role of the probation agent who prepared the Pre-Sentence Investigation in these cases was critical. Judges largely appeared to accept at face value the PSI conclusions regarding the appropriate sentence based on the offender's history. In Michigan, probation agents calculate an abbreviated risk assessment as part of the PSI based upon a formula that was developed in an internal study conducted by the Department of Corrections over a decade ago. This study and the formula, to our knowledge, were never cross-validated nor subjected to peer review. As indicated in the Introduction, the field of risk assessment has made significant strides in the past decade in improving knowledge, technology, and instruments for assessing risk of physical, and especially sexual, violence. These instruments have been rigorously tested and evaluated across populations, time, and offense type. In contrast, there was no indication that the formula used by probation agents has been updated or reviewed since it was created, and at

this point it should not be considered a reliable source of risk information.

In addition, the personal experience of the first author suggests that while probation agents are doing the best they can with the information they have been given, they are sorely undertrained in the very areas one would hope they would be knowledgeable about: static (historical) and dynamic risk factors that relate to a given offender's potential for future criminal and violent behavior. Obviously, these areas of knowledge are critical to decisions about sentencing length and feasibility of community supervision. The Department of Corrections does not currently require any background or expertise in this area when agents are hired, and it does not appear that agents are provided sufficient training to be aware of major advances in these areas. This last condition reflects an ongoing barrier that exists, in general, to incorporate current scientific findings into the legal process. Thus, judges are left to rely on risk information reports comprised from an outdated instrument and prepared by persons who are not aware of the most critical findings in the area.

It was typical for negotiations to occur during the sentencing hearing between the defense attorneys and the prosecuting attorneys over the issue of the accuracy of the scoring used in the PSI which has implications for the recommended sentence. Again, the judge's final decision for sentence is based in part upon the outcome of these negotiations. However, the facts that no mention was made in any transcripts about the term "psychopathy", there was no use of experts to provide at least a risk screening, and the high rate of hearings where key risk factors were not even discussed or mentioned at all suggest that the attorneys involved in these discussions were likewise unaware of the importance of known risk factors for criminal, sexual, and violent

recidivism. Otherwise, one would assume that the attorneys (particularly the prosecuting attorney) would have raised the issue during the negotiations. As mentioned in the Introduction, for the same type of crime (e.g. felonious assault, or even a sex offense), a set of offenders may have significantly different individual risk for committing that same crime or another crime in the future. The interests of fairness, as well as the concern with public safety, would suggest the need to consider the risk context of each offender in order to best protect society while protecting individual rights and reducing the burden on our societal resources.

There are several potential reasons why these sentencing hearings may have been so sparse in their consideration of important risk factors for future violence (in only 21% of the 19 cases were risk factors explicitly considered). First, while judges and other criminal justice professionals, including attorneys and probation agents, are accustomed to dealing with issues of risk in general, available evidence (Tolman & Buehmann, 2004) suggest that these professionals are not aware of advances in the understanding of specific risk factors and how they relate to violence; likewise, they appear to be unaware of the development of risk-specific instruments that have been scientifically validated. Thus, the relative lack of consideration of these factors in sentencing decisions may not be surprising.

Second, one could argue that even if judges were unaware of these advances in science, they could rely upon experts to provide that information to the court. However, the presence of experts in the court is usually contingent upon the court, or the attorneys involved in the case, recognizing the need to engage such experts and knowing which experts to use. Recent studies (Tolman & Mullendore, 2003; Tolman

& Buehmann, 2004) have indicated that there are significant differences between "clinical" and "forensic" psychologist experts in their ability to provide to the courts useful information related to risk for violence and that both courts and non-forensic clinicians often assume that risk issues are clinical, not forensic, questions. Perhaps for that reason, they do not consider the utility of forensic experts, trained in doing these types of evaluations (i.e. they do not see the need for "clinical" input in many of these types of cases).

Third, because the authors did not review the actual PSI reports in these cases, it is possible that these reports did, in fact, provide detailed information about known risk factors for criminal, violent, and sexual recidivism and that such evidence was so compelling that questions did not arise during negotiations regarding the sentencing guidelines and were essentially stipulated to by all parties. For the reasons given above, this explanation seems unlikely but cannot be totally ruled out.

Fourth, it is possible that many of the risk factors for potential violence were included in the PSIs and that judges considered that evidence but did not see fit to comment on it because they did not believe the information was sufficient to justify a departure from the sentencing guidelines. Although Michigan law is somewhat vague on when judges may depart from the guidelines, it indicates that a departure can occur when the judge believes there is a significant reason to do so and when that departure can be justified by the available evidence. As was clear from the lack of input of specialized forensic experts and the use of specialized risk instruments in the cases studied, judges may have felt that there were insufficient reasons to consider departure or to enable justification of such a position. Apart from the issue of

judicial knowledge of violence risk and accurate risk assessments, it is probably very important to better understand judicial reasoning regarding sentencing departures and how judges view the impact of scientific evidence during considerations of future risk.

As an example of some of the above issues, consider the issue of sexual deviance. Half of the cases in this sample involving sexual offences presented evidence of sexually deviant arousal patterns. Not all persons who commit a sexual offense have patterns of deviant sexual arousal; those that do represent a subgroup of offenders who raise greater concern for public safety. Previous research (Rice & Harris, 1997) has found that deviant sexual offenders sexually recidivated even faster and to a greater degree than non-deviant psychopathic offenders. Furthermore, using survival curve analyses, Rice and Harris found that the group of sex offenders at greatest risk for committing another sex offense (several times the rate of all other sex offenders combined) were individuals who were both psychopathic and sexually deviant. The interaction of these two dimensions is a good example of how both factors should be considered in

evaluating the sentencing options that would best be used to protect society from future crimes.

Obviously, these issues are important both to defendants in the criminal justice system and to the public. If judges and other professionals in the criminal justice system are relatively unaware of the importance of these findings in forensic psychology, then it behooves us as a society to ensure that they receive adequate training that would enable them to differentiate the types of experts and testimony most likely to be useful or at least to know what instruments to look for and what risk factors to consider in sentencing violent offenders. If there are system barriers, including legal theory, case law, and sentencing guideline policies, to the use of this information, then it would be helpful to work with policy-makers to educate them so that better policies could be developed to protect the rights of the accused while making society safer. There are also problems within the professional fields themselves (Tolman & Mullendore, 2003); those involved in professional training need to do a better job in teaching new professionals about the boundaries between clinical and forensic expertise and the need to work

within one's boundaries of competence. Doing so would make experts in court more credible to the courts and would enhance the ability of the courts to trust their judgments.

This study should be completed by finishing the data collection or perhaps by expanding it to include a more representative sample of western Michigan counties. This would enable the analysis to determine if there are significant differences between jurisdictions or if the issues noted in this report are commonplace. Research is also needed to better understand the training, strategic thinking, and use of expert testimony by attorneys who are often the professionals that drive the presentation or lack of presentation of this type of information in the court. Finally, research into understanding the barriers that exist between science and the application of that science to the criminal justice system is sorely needed. If we can better understand the elements that constrain our ability to make better decisions, we may be able to move closer to a vision of a safer, yet fair, society.

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Appendix

Trial Court Scoring Instrument

Case ID # _____

Sentencing Decisions x Future Risk of Violence

Variable names are in ALL CAPS; instructions are in *italic*

Section 1: General Information

AGEOFF: Age of Offender: _____

OFFTYP: *Circle the correct type*

Offense: (1) Criminal Sexual Conduct

⇒ If CSC, indicate type: CSCTYP (1)st Degree (2)nd Degree (3)rd Degree
(2) Felonious Assault
(3) Homicide/Murder 1st Degree

JURISD: *Circle correct location*

Jurisdiction: (1) Kent County (2) Ottawa County (3) Muskegon County

Section 2: Offender History Information - circle the correct information according to the record

For ALL variables, score 9 if the record does not mention the issue at all.

PRIVIO:

Prior Criminal History: (3) Both types (2) Violent (1) Non-violent (0) None

“Violent” includes convictions for offenses causing physical or emotional harm exclusive of sexual offenses and substance charges. This category includes assault, arson, kidnapping, any crime with a weapon, domestic violence, and stalking. “Intent” crimes such as attempted murder ARE considered to be violent.

“Nonviolent” are convictions for crimes that do not involve direct contact with a victim or the causing of physical harm, e.g. trespassing, theft or B&E without confrontation, fraud, vandalism, technical probation or parole violation, escape, etc.

PRISUB:

Substance Abuse: (2) Distribution (drug pusher) (1) Possession (0) No Hx

This category includes prior convictions for substance related offenses. If the convictions were only for possession or use of substances, score 1. If the convictions included more serious use of substances including marketing or distribution or intent to distribute, score 2.

PRISEX:

Sex Offenses: (3) Both Types (2) Contact Offenses (1) Non-contact offenses (0) None

This category scores prior convictions for sexual offenses of any type. Sexual offenses that do not involve physical contact with the victim would be scored 1 (e.g. trespass at night/voyeurism, exposure, exhibitionism, obscene phone calls, possession of child pornography, public indecency, gross indecency). Offenses that involve penetration or direct contact with the victim would be scored 2 (e.g. CSC 1st or 3rd, creation of child pornography, rape, etc). Offenders with a history of both types of offenses would score 3. Convictions for prostitution-related charges would NOT be counted. “Intent” crimes such as attempted rape or intent to commit rape, WOULD count.

SEXDEV:

Sexual Deviance: (1) Yes (0) No

Score a 1 if there is any evidence that the defendant has a history of deviant sexuality including sexual attraction to children, same-sex victims of sexual offenses. If the defendant has only committed sexual offenses against opposite sex adult victims (e.g. rape), score 0.

MHHX:

Past Mental Illness: (3) Hx of psychosis (2) Hx of hospitalization (1) Outpatient only (0) No mental health history
Score 3 if there is any evidence that the defendant has been previously diagnosed with some type of psychotic disorder such as schizophrenia, Schizophreniform, delusional disorder, paranoia, psychotic disorder NOS or if the defendant has taken antipsychotic medications (e.g. Haldol, Thorazine, Olanzapine, Seroquel, etc.). If the defendant has NOT been diagnosed with a psychotic disorder, but has been previously hospitalized (whether voluntary or not), score 2. If the person has been diagnosed and treated only on outpatient, score 0. Otherwise, score 0.

NGIHX: ⇒ History of prior acquittal via Not Guilty by Reason of Insanity?

(1) Yes (0) No

Section 3: Sentencing Information; as with Section 2, score all records where there is no information as 9.

PRIHXCON

Is there evidence that the judge considered the defendant's prior risk factors? (1) Yes (0) No

Only score 0 if 1 or more risk factors were present (you scored it in the above list in Section 2) and the judge did not mention it in his/her reasoning. If there is evidence the judge DID consider risk factors that were present, score 1. If no risk factors were evident in the transcript and the judge did not raise any, score 9.

EXPTEST:

Was expert testimony or a report referred to by the judge or attorneys? (1) Yes (0) No

If Yes, answer the following:

EXPCRED: Credentials of expert: (4) MD (3) Ph.D./Psy.D. (2) SW (1) Other (0) None

If the credentials are unknown (e.g. Dr. X), then score 1 and keep a tally on how many "Dr" credentials are mentioned. If the "expert" was a probation or parole agent, then score 1 (e.g. Presentence Investigation Report PSI).

PSYPTHY:

Was reference made to psychopathy or to the PCL-R or PCL-SV? (1) Yes (0) No

OTHRISK:

Was reference made to other known risk instruments? (1) Yes (0) No

Include: HCR-20, SVR-20, Static-99, RRASOR, VRAG, MnSOST-R. Do NOT include instruments like the MMPI-2, DSM, or other diagnostic instruments.

DYNRISK:

Was reference made to any dynamic risk factors? (1) Yes (0) No

Dynamic risk factors are those that change over time and that may be susceptible to change such as: criminogenic needs, impulse control, social skills, use of substances, specific contexts that are related to criminal behavior, psychotherapy or other treatment, taking medications, etc.

SENTRISK:

Is there evidence that the judge's final sentence was affected by the presence of any of the risk factors in Section 2?

(2) Presence increased sentence (1) Presence decreased sentence (0) No effect

Score this item according to available information in the transcript; in his justification of sentence, did the judge refer to these risk factors as shaping the decision?

SENTEXP:

Is there any evidence that the judge's final sentence was affected by any expert testimony or report used?

(2) Presence increased sentence (1) Presence decreased sentence (0) No effect

Do NOT count PSI reports. Same scoring criteria as for SENTRISK.

OTHBAS:

Indicate (freehand) any other basis given in the transcript of factors that influenced the judge's sentencing decision (such as Presentence Investigation Report, victim statement, etc.). Compile this information in another word document called Trial Ct Other Basis.doc



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To fight the war on poverty, our nation made a commitment to provide education for all Americans, regardless of background or economic circumstances. In support of this commitment, Congress established several programs in 1965 to help those from low-income backgrounds and families with no previous college graduates (first generation). The first three programs established were Talent Search, Upward Bound, and Student Support Services. Thus, they are known as the TRiO Programs.

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The Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program is designed to prepare highly talented undergraduates to pursue doctoral degrees. In addition, the goal is to increase the number of students from low-income backgrounds, first generation college students, and under-represented minorities on college and university faculties.

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