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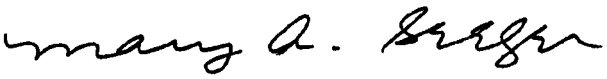
Message from the Dean

On behalf of the University, I congratulate the McNair Scholars whose hard work and research are reflected in this year's GVSU McNair Scholars' Journal. Your endeavors are a source of pride to the faculty and staff and a model for other students to emulate.

I offer special thanks to the faculty who served as your mentors, and I look forward to seeing each of you among the leaders, professors, and scholars of tomorrow.



Mary A. Seeger, Dean

Academic 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.

Program Services
The McNair Scholars are matched with faculty research mentors. They receive academic counseling, mentoring, advising, and GRE preparation. In addition to the above services, the McNair Scholars have opportunities to attend research seminars, conduct research, and present their finding orally or written via poster presentations. In the first semester of their senior year, the scholars receive assistance with the graduate school application process.

Funding
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2003 McNair Scholars

Affectation: "Masculinity" and Mass Culture

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ABSTRACT
In response to the claim that there has been insufficient substantial critique of "masculinity's" archaic and ambiguous perceptions, this project aims at establishing awareness of society's processes and mechanisms, allowing for dissection of the attributes, understandings, and implications of the universal and particular denotations and the prescriptive descriptions of "masculinity" by mass culture. By contrasting while combining various theories and identifications of "masculinity" through the film Fight Club, this examination outlines the various crossroads negotiated in cultural ambivalence, where innate and essential parameters are inappropriate. Elimination of "the natural" in non-identity is a potential catalyst for revolutionizing the epistemological and ontological structures of the human person.

I

I will be investigating the notion, identity, and assumptions of masculinity through its relation to contemporary mass culture. The necessity for this investigation reveals itself in light of two developments in theoretical dialectic: firstly, the cultivation of the age of sexual difference, where sex/gender entails consequence in philosophical discourse, and secondly, the various thinkers who have put "nature" and the identification with "the natural" into question, most significantly the challenges to the idea of "human nature." The concern will be "what *is* 'masculinity'?" accounting for existence in and as the age of Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*, of capitalist consumerism, and of the domination of the image, resulting in a detachment of masculinity from its former anchoring in the "natural". That is, what are the implications and visceral consequences of identity that is no longer comprised of "essential" qualities that dictate necessary characteristics for *being*? This is even more the case with gender identities that harbour no indispensable conditions or traits for the existence of men or women, such as the archaic notions of male providers to female nurturers and sexual intercourse strictly as a heterosexual activity for the purposes of procreation.

With the Frankfurt School's central contention that identity is passively formed in and through the encounter with mass culture, the existential recital of gender prescriptions leads to the enquiry of the mechanisms of masculinity's construction and manufacture as performance and the implications of such development. That is, whilst in the present age of the grand illusion, how does "masculinity" exist and perpetuate with relation to its past and future? For this enquiry, I will consult and coalesce the works of third wave feminist philosophers, namely Judith Butler, as well as social and

political theorists, including the works of those in the Frankfurt School, and French philosophers such as Theodor Adorno, Guy Debord, and Louis Althusser. With an amalgamation of these theories, I will illustrate the methods through which masculinity has become a cultural performance, a portrayal, and not the fulfilment of any sort of "intrinsic" function or impulse.

In response to the claim that there has been insufficient substantial critique of the archaic and ambiguous perceptions of "masculinity," I aim to establish awareness of the processes and mechanisms that govern, manipulate, and comprise society. More specifically, through dissecting the attributes, understandings, and implications of the universal and particular denotations and the prescriptive descriptions of "masculinity" ascribed by mass culture, I wish to undo contrived attitudes towards gender identities. What this verbose goal signifies is the manner and methodology that structures and perpetuates the "acceptable" understandings of "masculine" gender. One could say that the history of thought in the West, authored by men, is itself a history of writing about masculinity. This version of history has credibility, however, only if one assumes a fixed "nature" for sex and gender. If no such assumption exists, then the issues are more complex and subsequently need reconsideration. This article contemplates what it means to examine masculinity as a product of culture and as a certain performance.

The essay will contrast and combine various theories and identifications of "masculinity" as they are rendered through the screen of popular culture. Then, the film *Fight Club* will be used to cite specific examples in mainstream media of the examination that outlines the various crossroads in cultural and existential ambivalence, where innate and essential parameters of identity are inappropriate. The film *Fight Club*, with the novel as its basis, is the centre point of commencement because it expresses modern society's ambivalence regarding the status of "masculinity." It contends with these questions: What is it? What is required of men in relation to themselves and to other men? What sort of political, economic, and moral issues are at stake in this "requirement"? How do political and economic schematic processes construct, out of a kind of necessity, images of masculinity? How does this construction perpetuate patriarchy? What does this construction offer for paths of overcoming patriarchal oppression through rethinking masculinity? To divest and respond to these questions, I shall draw upon the postmodern, para-Marxist, and feminist thinkers and theories mentioned earlier to contend with the issues of anti-humanism, artistic intention, and gender assembly and interpretation. The aim of the project is to analyse these negotiated crossroads to illuminate both the necessity and possibilities of thinking about "masculinity." This thinking is crucial if we are to become aware of and eventually overcome the violence and injustice of patriarchal oppression. I seek to eliminate "the natural" in the Frankfurt School's understanding of "non-identity" I as a potential catalyst for revolutionising the epistemological and ontological structures of the human person.

II

Fight Club has implications beyond that of box office earnings and merchandising, making it more than a film. It is a symptom of a fundamental ambivalence in contemporary life about the meaning of *masculinity*. To underscore these tensions in the scope of a larger and much graver crisis, we can understand them as indicators of an elemental flaw in placebo of civilisation. Let us begin with an examination of the symptoms of this ambivalence in the film's conflicts, after which we will draw out the theoretical context and consequences of these ambivalences. Before that, however, we shall establish the contextual atmosphere surrounding and leading up to *Fight Club* to better grasp the relevance of the film.

To appreciate the impact and relevance of *Fight Club*, we first need to reminisce and review the developments and overall ambience of mass culture during recent history, spanning the past thirty years, to explore the three most prominent and dominant media of music, cinema, and television. It is in these arenas of cultural manipulation that the most dramatic challenges to and subsequent responses of society and its multifaceted agenda occur, making *Fight Club* exemplary of where masculinity now stands: in crisis.

To begin with music, more accurately the genre of rock 'n' roll in which the importance of rock music's development into sub-genres of ultra-masculine edged heavy metal, the short-lived but highly important glitter rock, and the over-the-top jollity of the glam rock movement of the mid-1980s serves to amplify the necessity of performance and to eliminate challenges to the "masculine" ideal that it perpetuates. The "metal" sub-genres stand out as unique in their presentation and interpretation of "masculinity" by both performers and audience, ultimately dwelling in an ambiguity that goes unquestioned by many rock patrons and personnel. Key to this ambiguity that adds the "glam" to the "metal" is the appropriation of traditionally feminine elements of style by rock bands on stage, in music videos, and in all public appearances. Stan Denski and David Scholle (*Men, Masculinity, and the Media,* 51) comment on the ambiguity built into the excessive images of rock stars by noting,

> heavy metal is often cited as the most straightforwardly coded example of masculine, macho posing in rock 'n' roll (thus the genre of 'cockrock')…. [However,] heavy metal bands extend a curiously macho image, while stylistically feminizing the 'male body' (or perhaps 'masculinizing the feminine')…. Genders are neither true nor false, but are only produced as the truth effects of a discourse that attempts to anchor identity.

Glam metal hair is not just long – it is moussed, teased, and who-knows-what else; musicians apply copious amounts of make-up to soften and add emphasis; they are adorned in exaggerated and accessorised clothing such as scarves, low-slung leather pants and jeans, and open shirts to name a few. The metal performance entails more than simply dressing up the rockers to sexualise their "maleness" with a "femininised" costume; it permeates attitude, behaviour, and persona; that is, the presentation of rock 'n' roll becomes an identity[II]. The performative bodily gestures of glam metal involve a variety of expressions and gesticulations, including exaggerated protective, fearful, and aggressive sexual gestures, fists forward in the air, back tilted forward, guitar hoisted from the crotch, and jutting of the lips. All are means of expressing "erotic aggression," where "badness = maleness" (*Men, Masculinity, and the Media, 50*)[III]. This distinctive demonstration, both consciously and subconsciously, of the unprecedented concoction of feminised masculinity or masculinised femininity exemplifies the ambiguity cultivated and commandeered by the mass culture's musical apparatus.

Fight Club is representative of the crisis of "masculinity." I want to focus on three key scenes that exemplify the crisis that, without inflexible and predetermined stationing in the "natural," flesh and blood men must existentially manifest in their "masculine" identity. Simply stated, what kind of "man" can, ought, and will one become in and through an economy of existence perpetuated by images designed for mass consumption? This internal tension appears in a scene where the main character, anonymously known as "the narrator," confronts the destruction and loss of his material possessions, which he repeatedly refers to as "his life," by mourning over pitchers of beer at an isolated roadhouse with his new friend Tyler Durden, seductively portrayed by Brad Pitt. In another scene, in which the character Tyler addresses the members of fight club about their collectively ambivalent place in history, the film glimpses the ambiguity and depressing effects of "masculine" identity formation by way of the Frankfurt School's understanding of mass culture as "the culture industry"[IV]. The final scene that I wish to emphasize involves the conflicts of emulating male role models, particularly the relationship between father and son. This scene is one of the most intense of the film, consisting of Tyler giving the narrator a chemical burn. Each of these scenes incorporates a different connotation of the affectation of "masculinity," bringing to bear witness to the external and internal discord of contemporary "men."

For the first scene under consideration, the eleventh of the film, the narrator copes with the conflict of materialism through the substitution of identity with commodities. This can be broken down into three parts. First, Tyler attempts to regain perspective on the issue by contrasting the damage of the narrator's possessions with the emasculation of John Wayne Bobbitt, saying that things could be worse. Second, Tyler follows this with a harangue regarding the superfluity of commodities inessential to human survival, "…in the hunter-gatherer sense of the word." Finally, the climax occurs when Tyler lists those things in the culture industry that delimit human potential, with a key point of dialogue that leaves Tyler concluding, "We're consumers. We are by-products of a lifestyle obsession…." Tyler then spits sardonically to the narrator, "Well, you did lose a lot of versatile solutions for modern living. The things you own end up owning you" (*Fight Club*, scene 11). This is where Tyler realigns the narrator's perspective with not only his recent loss, but also in regards to his civilized being.

The second scene under scrutiny shows Tyler presiding over the members of a fight club, detailing the cultural pitfalls of feckless aspirations to iconic figures and roles. Tyler's speech better expresses this:

> Man, I see in Fight Club the strongest and smartest men who've ever lived. I see all this potential. And I see it squandered. God damn it. An entire generation pumping gas, waiting tables, slaves with white collars. Advertising has us chasing cars and clothes, working jobs we hate so we can buy shit we don't need. We're the middle children of history, man. No purpose or place. We have no Great War, no Great Depression. Our Great War's a spiritual war. Our Great Depression is our *lives*. We've all been raised on television to believe that one day we'd all be millionaires and movie gods and rock stars. But we won't. We're slowly learning that fact. And we're very pissed off" (*Fight Club*, scene 20).

The scene concludes with Tyler assigning everyone to pick a fight with a stranger and to lose. Tyler uses this crucial monologue to darken both the atmosphere and the message of the film in an attempt to jolt self-awareness.

The last scene I shall explore is the aptly named "Chemical Burn." This is one of the two most forceful and concentrated scenes of the film, entailing three significant components. The initial component of the scene lasts only a few seconds but carries one side of an important paradox. Tyler thoroughly and purposefully wets his lips and softly applies them to the narrator's hand, leaving a small, damp trace of saliva in the shape of a kiss. Tyler then shakes lye onto the narrator's hand, chemically burning it. The next component and climax of the scene have Tyler roaring amended existentialism and religion to the narrator, who is gasping and writhing in pain, compelling him, through shouts and slaps to the face, to "stay with the pain" and not to escape reality by meditation. Once Tyler has the full attention of the narrator, he appeals to the inherited ambivalence that stems from a man's primary male role model: the father. Tyler takes this to the level of the father as God by sermonizing,

> Our fathers were our models for God. If our fathers bailed, what does that tell you about God? …You have to consider the possibility that God does not like you, He never wanted you. In all probability, He hates you. This is not the worst thing that can happen. …We don't need Him. …Fuck damnation, man. Fuck redemption. We are God's unwanted children? So be it. (*Fight Club*, scene 19)

The climax of the scene comes to a close in the third component when Tyler releases the narrator's still searing hand, and the narrator leaves the lye to burn, accepting his pain. Only after the narrator acknowledges his mortality and consents to pain does Tyler pour vinegar on the burn to neutralize the chemical. Tyler leaves the narrator with these prophetic words: "only after we have lost everything, are we free to do anything" (*Fight Club*, scene 19).

I have chosen these three scenes for their common thread yet diverse illustration of the issue of modern ambivalence in "masculinity." In the first scene, the narrator proclaims his security and identity by and within his material possessions, moreover, through the progressive accumulation of these commodities, he believes himself near being "complete." However, his conversation with Tyler refutes this as accurate and ultimately proves fatal. That is, by associating his ontology with the unattainable goal of capitalist ownership, the narrator places his identity among the commodities and objects that he desires to collect. Furthermore, identity and self-identity by and within consumeristic mass culture is fundamentally problematic and inevitably damned to self-destruction as human mortality decisively indicates that "you can't take it with you." The second scene characterizes the culture industry as identity forming by way of representations of glamorised and iconic figures as ideals for existence. The ambivalence observed in this is that of lacking and failure. Combine that with the ambivalence depicted in the third scene of fatherless progeny who has no tangible model of masculinity and turns to images offered by culture. All are instances and symptoms of the crisis in identity, for us "masculine" identity, and makes *Fight Club* such an exemplary case of "masculinity."

That understood about the substantiality and relevancy of *Fight Club*, what does this mean for the meaning of *masculinity*? How is masculine identity intelligible such that these ambivalences become both possible for and understandable to a mass audience? To answer these questions, I will turn to the works of Judith Butler, Guy Debord, and the critical theory of the Frankfurt School (viz., Adorno). In these works, we see that the very contestations of "natural" identity replaced with notions such as performance, image, commodity, and non-identity make the ambivalences of *Fight Club* possible. As we shall see, *Fight Club* is the consequence of an awareness of mass culture's construction of identity, where that awareness – however traumatically, however wrought with anxiety – opens possibilities for thinking "masculinity."

III

Guy Debord establishes and describes the idea of the spectacle as a mass dissemination of images responsible for changing the fundamental categories of reality. It is a tool used to facilitate and cloak the exploitation and alienation of the proletariat[IV]. False consciousness, commodity fetishism, and capitalism's ideology, as described by Karl Marx, further concealed and entrench themselves into the system, reinforcing and sanctioning all forms of alienation that Marx denotes. In late capitalism's spectacular society, mass culture presents itself as the only permitted possibility for being; that is, life is transformed into a representational life through consumption of images. Debord distinguishes that it is the economics of images rather than the images themselves that replace and become reality by stating, "the spectacle is not a collection of images; rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images" (Debord, 4). The massive stream of images representing life is not a mere distraction from it but more complexly poses as the way "life" is "lived." Because images and illusions are social reality in the spectacle, reality itself must be negated to allow the images and illusions to replace and become the new reality. The representation of existence destroys and

assumes the role and capacity of being; in other words, unreality becomes reality; then, reality becomes unreality in the perpetuating succession of mass culture.

Culture is being. One exists only in so much as one participates in culture; that is, culture defines an individual, if even conflictingly. A hermit or a recluse chooses to dwell without civilisation, yet he is nonetheless defined in its terms because the withdrawn life is only intelligible in (opposing) relation to society. In this way, an individual's ontology, epistemology, and visceral existence are and can be only as cultural. Contemporary being, as consumers of mass culture that dominate the West, though is effectively colonising globally, renders one's cultural-existence to that of scripted presentation. The mechanism of mass culture is the systematic and thorough contrivance of "desire." The system establishes and perpetuates the mutual need for materialistic consumption, thereby embossing identity as that of mass culture consumer with all of its implications. The case is not, however, an über-elite clique of masterminds plotting in secret and operating through social structures to further their own ends by exploiting a credulous public; neither is society itself an entity occupying the subject-placeholder, acting upon a predicate of populace. Rather, the constituents must be taken as a totality of the processing apparatus of being, where existence is necessarily told in the passive voice. The relation between victoriousness and victim, then, is mutual because the generation of wealth is reciprocally obligatory by the society and its civilian accomplices, who are often desirously oblivious. The process of existence oppressively profits and accrues lucre through bourgeoisie and proletariat collective operation. That is, both the prosperous and subjugated simultaneously desire social desires, thereby perpetuating the deterministic cycle of civilised being. Zealously striving to satiate manipulated and manufactured "desires," the modern citizen-consumer inherits the synthetic cravings and sempiternal aspirations of the self-sustaining, cyclical process of cultural-being. Affectation is manifest in culture such that the only available and allowable existential modality is ingrained performance. The individual is the actor portraying culture's script of being, authored by "desire."

The spectacle that is contemporary being conveys the ideology of society by working to reinforce the notion of a "properly progressing" existence that affirms the influences of the dominant political and social groups. The cycle of the spectacular society is neither random nor indiscriminating. That is, the mechanism of mass culture serves a purposeful totality. Guy Debord elaborates this spectacular function in addressing the benefactors that profit within the system:

> For what the spectacle expresses is the total practice of one particular economic and social formation; it is, so to speak, that formation's *agenda*. It is also the historical moment by which we happen to be governed. (11)

The images present themselves as "good" and "necessary" to create a passive acceptance for the enormous "positive advancement of civilisation" manifested in the spectacle. What this implicates for "masculine" identity is unchallenged acceptance of "natural" options for acceptable male roles. That is, the varying degrees of masculinity exist only in relation to those deemed worthy of representation by the imposing agenda of mass culture.

In describing and contemplating the mechanistic yet passive formation of identities by the apparatuses of mass culture, it is imperative not to associate a duality or separation between society and citizen, where culture is a distinct subject acting upon, or even through, a differentiated individual. It is not the case of "das Man," autonomous and oppressive, versus "the people," innocent and subjugated. Rather, it is a hermeneutic compromise of the timeless debate of "nature versus nurture" with the terms slightly amended from their traditional meanings. Cultural identity, that is to say identity as such, is manifest. This means that the "nurture" of the denizen by all cultural institutions and social apparatuses of family, school, government, et cetera yield intrinsic, formulative qualities that reflect the norms of the nurturing institutions. Adding to this, the genetic composition that mysteriously produces one's characteristics and developmental factors in person making contributes to one's "self" and the capability of autonomous existence. Nevertheless, this latter statement is not the signification of "nature" in the discrepancy of these prior two sentences. "Nature" becomes "natural" by the unquestioned internalisation of the institutional "nurturing," such that they become the natural character of the denizen. That is, the absorption of "nurture" as identifying one's "essential" values, morality, and desires interpolates institutional mandates as innate qualities of one's "self." It is in this mildly convoluted method that the nurturing of naturalised nurture manifests identity; in this examination, manifestation of gender identity is the focus. Manifest gender identity in mass culture's terms is the condition for the possibility of the affectation of "masculinity."

"Masculinity" in contemporary existence, and perhaps throughout its history, is a potent affectation that tyrannically administers pejorative conceptions of "the natural" and "the appropriate." It is an illusion-yielding performance that embodies the striving

for genuineness, a fondness and affection for inherent instinct, and a laboured exertion to achieve what should be effortless and thus exists as affectation. "Masculinity" is an assumed behaviour that disguises as intrinsic intuition, though it is merely a brilliantly artificial pretence of the idea[IV]. Although an assumed presentation, "masculinity," is not an obsolete selection of impulse or caprice. The affectation of "masculinity" stems not from "nature" nor from marginal choice, it is akin to a personality trait or idiosyncratic mannerism. That is, a man who clears his throat whenever finished speaking or a family that makes a plethora of gestures when conversing acts in a manner that suggests habitual conduct etched into their personalities; their mannerisms come across as "natural" but are alterable with conscience effort. In much the same way, "masculinity" is a performance more deeply embossed than mundane choice yet a subjective option apart from some "natural essence."

"Masculinity" as affectation, then, calls for the discussion of its traits, symptoms, and expressions as they have and currently do existentially delimit and exploit. In showing "gender" to be culturally constructed, feminist philosophers have challenged traditionally parsimonious roles of gender and have allowed for copious outlets of gender performance. Judith Butler takes this idea of a gender continuum, in which due to the awareness of the construction and interpretation of gender by culture, people of either "sex" are able to perform genders beyond "masculine man" and "feminine lady", to its logical conclusions by directing the challenge of gender as socially manipulated to the idea of "sex." Butler argues that sex, historically conflated to gender producing and preserving "male men" and "female women", is itself a societal product. To intentionally confluence sex with gender, Butler seems to undo the labour and accomplishments of her philosophic precursors in feminist thought; however, she progresses from the wisdom of the past to elucidate the constructed nature of "sex" as prior philosophers have already exposed to be the case with "gender." Butler articulates this directly by saying,

> …the idea of gender should not be conceived of merely as the cultural inscription of meaning on a pregiven sex. Rather, notions of gender must also take into account the very apparatus of production through which the sexes themselves are established. (11)

To again equate sex with gender, hence debunking the self-sufficiency and unanimity of "nature" and the "sexes," Butler discredits the assumptions that are establishing and guiding the way we understand sex and sexuality, namely that "sex" is "natural", indisputable, pre-cultured. The critical examination of these assumptions reveals the totalising effect that culture has over its unwitting subjects.

"Sex" is perpetuated as a duality through the appropriation and approval of channels of desire. Children are instilled with culture from the moment of birth; a crucial stage in this enculturation is the conditioning of desires. Desires are conditioned through the labelling and associated reward and punishment of proper and improper desires and expressions of these desires. Proper desire is that which is directed and applied to the opposite "sex." Young "male" role models are usually hulking, suave, heterosexual men such as Superman, James Bond, and fathers. Young "females" are to idealise submissive, superficial women who are dependant upon a man for economical, existential, and ontological provision; the personification of such is Barbie. These desires are continually programmed and reprogrammed by means of regulative practices that parade as customary, traditional, and necessary. From women wearing restrictive costumes of high heels and skirts to men trained to be chivalrous and aggressive, the regulation of desire and behaviour is culturally embossed into our being. It is the enactment of tariffs on desire that permits and reifies the concept of "naturally" having two sexes.

Judith Butler takes aim at the political implications and limitations encountered by critical evaluation of the problematical universalising of sex and gender terms – *women* and *men* – that detrimentally assumes a predetermined and ridged coherent, gendered identity. This, or any, constitution of gender is inconsistent and incoherent because of the dramatically varying understandings of gender throughout history and across cultures and, moreover, because of the crucial intersection that gender has with race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and regionality. These networks of cultural classification mechanisms are deliberately misrepresented as separate entities under which a person falls, depending upon the criteria in question. In actuality, however, these forces work in tandem to systematically regulate and preserve the binaries necessary for the current power displacement in contemporary and quondam societies. In this quotation from "Subjects of Sex/Gender/Desire" an article in *Feminisms*, Butler summarises the indispensable impact that race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and regionality have on the formation and conception of gender. She states, "as a result, it becomes impossible to separate out 'gender' from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained" (*Feminisms*, 278). The lattice of traversing images and prescriptive labels of gender, race,

class, ethnicity, sexuality, and regionality all comprise the complexity of the individual self, illustrating the harmful absurdity of fixed identity.

IV

I have argued in this essay against the traditional and antediluvian concepts of gender identity. I have maintained that "fixed," "natural" identity does not exist and is inappropriate in our contemporary age of spectacular existence. In *Fight Club*, we see exemplary illustrations of the existential ambivalence that strains both external and internal tensions in the modern "man." In the works of Butler, Debord, and Adorno, the theoretical foundation of prescriptive, performative gender identity verifies the need for reconsideration of conventional understandings and simultaneously raises questions about future directions of theory and practice. Subsequently, we face both newly provoked and time-tested questions, but we do so with fresh footing. Paramount among these is the possibility and potential implications of liberation. Because of the points I have made here, the possibilities of liberation do not apply only to the base underpinning of ontology, but they also become relevant as corporeal political issues. With the application of non-identity, have we left ourselves in an existential "no-man's-land" (pun intended)? It is apparent that questions yet remain; nevertheless, having the more accurate perspective from which to take up these issues, we are better equipped to critically contemplate their complexity.

Notes

[I]See Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, 183-189.

[II]"Acts, gestures, and desires produce the effect of an internal core substance, "which wrongfully conveys the idea of 'essential/natural' sex, "…but these [antics] are produced on the surface of the body. Such acts are performative; that is, what we read as gender is constructed through a performance that is repeated" (Denski, Stan, and Scholle, David. "Metal Men and Glamour Boys: Gender Performance in Heavy Metal." *Men, Masculinity, and the Media*. Ed. Steve Craig. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. 1992. 41-60).

[III]Stan Denski and David Scholle conclude, "…regardless of a certain level of play with gender signification, heavy metal does not bend gender outside of a dominant view of heterosexual definitions…. Heavy metal may shift some outward signs of gender, but it leaves untouched the constructed core identity of binary sex, and unchallenged the dominant power relations of gender" (Denski, Stan and Scholle, David. "Metal Men and Glamour Boys: Gender Performance in Heavy Metal." *Men, Masculinity, and the Media*. Ed. Steve Craig. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. 1992. 41-60).

[IV]See Adorno, *The Culture Industry*, 98-106

[V]See Marx, *Selected Writings*, 65-81

[VI]Michel Foucault regards that "…sexuality is not a fixed, natural fact, but is better understood as the 'set of effects produced in bodies, behaviors, and social relations by a certain deployment deriving from a complex political technology'" (Denski, Stan, and Scholle, David. "Metal Men and Glamour Boys: Gender Performance in Heavy Metal." *Men, Masculinity, and the Media*. Ed. Steve Craig. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. 1992. 41-60).

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A Nuyorican Looks Back: Reflections In Words and Images

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ABSTRACT:
A Nuyorican Looks Back is an artistic project that draws upon my experiences as a young Latina immigrant in New York City in the 1950s and 1960s and addresses the issues of memory, identity, ethnicity, gender, culture, community, and family. The piece, composed of original images, text, and performance, is presented via a multimedia project and was inspired by the work of author and photographer Wright Morris. Morris – most notably in The Inhabitants (1946) and The Home Place (1948) – introduced the idea of the photo-text; a hybrid artform of images and words that creates a fictionalized account of his personal memory and demonstrates how individuals can discover meaning in their lives through the creation and reception of art. With this project, I hope to inspire others to use artistic expression to reflect upon the challenges and successes of discovering both their own cultural uniqueness and our universal human desires.

Inspired by the Works of Wright Morris

"This recombining of the visual and the verbal, full of my own kind of unpeopled portraits, sought to salvage what I considered threatened, and to hold fast to what was vanishing."
Wright Morris

> From that first moment of awareness people have sought a piece of time's living substance, an arrested moment that would authenticate time's existence. Not the ruin of time, or the tombs of time, but the eternal present in time's every moment. From this spinning reel of time the camera snips a sampling of the living tissue, along with the distortions, the illusions, and the lies, a specimen of truth (Wright Morris, *Time Piece*, 139)

It was time to go back and make peace with my past and myself. My thoughts go back to a happier time in my life. We were poor but my parents made me see life through rose-colored glasses. I had no clue what was going on in the real world. It was just a matter of time before I would take the glasses off and see life as it really was. The harsh reality of surviving as a Puerto Rican in the 1950s and 1960s in New York City was the beginning of a long journey. I hoped my project would conjure up feelings and emotions that would awaken my understanding of the bumps and turns in my journey. For the past twenty

138th Street

- Sirens…the melodic sounds of the City…
- Hot and humid…the pavement is smoldering…
- The sounds of its people in the streets…

years, I have been having a conversation with myself through my writing. My doodling on paper may not have made sense to anyone else, but it has helped me on countless days and nights, particularly when I wanted to make choices that would hurt me as well as others close to me. In recent years, I began to look at life through a different lens.

Creating images has brought me to another level. As I look through my camera lens, I make unconscious decisions that become evident when I am in the darkroom. Often I am pleasantly surprised by the images that appear before me. There were many people during Wright Morris's time that did not agree with his technique. Roy Stryker who headed the Farm Security Administration (FSA) did not like the fact that there were no people in Morris's photographs. President Roosevelt created FSA in order to enlighten the American public of the plight of farmers during the depression. Mr. Stryker believed that in order to make a social statement we needed to show the plight of human suffering. Morris, on the other hand, believed that omitting the people from an image actually enhanced its hidden meaning. Stryker advised Wright Morris to include people, but Morris refused to take his advice. Morris eventually had to give in because he made more money with writing than with phototext. Just like life, my project will continue to evolve. Just because my story is unique to my struggles, doesn't mean that others do not have stories of their own.

Reflection: Abuelita

> Closing my eyes to see clearer
> Hoping to take a look into my past
> Abuelita prays to the saints and offers bread and wine
> To grant her a wish. "If only my granddaughter will not see
> The color of my skin. If only my granddaughter will love me as I am."
> I couldn't understand. What is this?
> Not love my Abuelita? Because her skin was black
> As night. What were these stupid notions? Where did they come from?
> And why did my aunts and uncles stay clear of the burning sun? Was it that bad in America?

This is the land of opportunity. Where anything is possible. Or is it? I took a deeper breath and let my thoughts wander. Wander to the small Caribbean island called Puerto Rico, where the water was crystalline blue, and children's laughter resounded through the hills and the rain forest. Where the *coqui* sang their song serenading the babies to sleep. It was a magical place. My mother never wanted to leave the island, but she had to follow my father. He was sure he would find work and make lots of money. As soon as we left the island, my mother began to slowly slip away. She was homesick, and her cries to go back were never heard. My father got a job in a sheet metal factory, and after 25 years of service, he got a watch. My father had secrets of his own. Before marrying my mother, he fell in love with a free-spirited woman in our hometown. I never knew what her name was, but I did know that my father loved her dearly – even more than my mother. I will never forget my mother saying how she found letters bound together with a ribbon, tucked neatly in a box under some suitcases. She knew who they were from. It broke my mother's heart, and still she couldn't go back to her island. She had to remain in our new American apartment.

My memories growing up in New York City are somewhat fragmented. I look at old photographs so that I do not forget my past. I do not want to forget the faces that have made me who I am. Sometimes I can smell a particular fragrance and it takes me back to a time and place where I felt loved. I was a cute little girl. Big brown eyes and lots of curly brown hair. My mother would always tell me how I would never crack a smile. People in the town would say I was antisocial. Even at a young age I was stubborn, just like my Papa. My Papa was very handsome. He had an exotic look. Women all over town would swoon over my Papa. He was "Mr. Cool" from the small coffee town. He loved hats, and he knew just how to use them to further enhance his coolness. Even though my Papa was known for his coolness, he always melted when he was with his little curly

La Familia Pacheco

- We looked like a happy family, but behind those smiles there was too much pain…

tops. I was the "mango of his eye." I knew how to get my way then, but as I got older, that talent subsided. My mother was the opposite of my father. She was quiet and shy. Her whole life centered on my father and me. Along the way, she would suffer, and along the way she would look back and reflect on what her life had become. Unfortunately, my mother found it difficult to find happiness until her grandchildren were born. The grandchildren gave her the boost she needed. During the last years of her life, she would dote on her grandkids and give them the love that only a grandparent knew how to give.

Reflection: Going Back

I was soaking it all in. Sounds of intermingling melodic rhythms and the clattering of metal, horns blowing, sirens screeching. People going nowhere not looking to what's ahead. I was one of them again. I stared but did not see. I listened but did not hear. Hearing all the sounds, trying to separate each note from one another. I closed my eyes and took it all in, and I breathed. Sitting at a bistro early in the morning in the heart of the East Village, I was looking out of the window and daydreaming of a time 35 years ago when I walked around

I Close My Eyes and Remember

- The journey through the dark tunnel will slowly emerge into the sunlight and help us to finally see the truth…

with my high school friends. It had not changed much. I remember walking and listening to the groups of the day: the Beatles, Rolling Stones, and Temptations. I would wear bell-bottoms and an Afro. I was discovering, like everybody else, who I was and where I belonged. I had a crush on this guy named Ritchie. He was a cigarette-toting guy, long hair, army jacket, your typical hippie. My friends would say that I wanted to be white because of my taste in men and music. At home though, my mother was always playing all the hits on Radio WADO, a popular Hispanic radio station in New York. Even though I didn't know it then, the words and music were being imbedded in my mind. I never hooked up with Ritchie perhaps because he had a thing for one of my best friends, who happened to look like Cher. *I guess I was the wrong color, and my hair was not straight enough. I hated myself in those days. I wanted so much to blend in. I felt betrayed by my parents to have given birth to a café latte child*. For the longest time, I questioned my existence. I wanted so much to have a gringo for a boyfriend. Many years later, I was ashamed of having these thoughts, especially since the one true person who loved me with heart and soul was my own Abuelita.

Reflection: Knish

My husband and I were walking down Battery Park when we came upon a hot dog stand. I immediately ran up to the cart and looked around feverishly. My husband wanted to know what was all the excitement. "Knish," I told him. "They have knish." My husband clearly thought I was crazy, but he humored me. You see, when I was growing up and going to school in Manhattan one of my favorite snacks was a knish. Knish is a Jewish pastry made of potatoes and spices. People would usually have the hot dog man slice the knish in half and spread some mustard. I always wanted

It's Never the Same

my knish plain and warm. As usual, my husband just sighed and let me enjoy my knish. As I took the first bite, I suddenly became sad. My husband asked me what was the matter. I told him, "I had waited twenty years to sink my teeth into a New York knish, and now that I have, it doesn't taste the same." *The flavor was not what I had remembered it to be. I was disappointed and even though it didn't taste the same, I still finished the knish. I thought to myself, "Why did the knish have to change." I liked it the way it was before. In fact, I liked everything as it was before.*

Reflection: Insecure

I have always been insecure. Besides being insecure about my color, intelligence, and ethnicity, I was insecure about my body. When I was about 10 years old, I woke up with a bad pain in my belly. I went to the bathroom and discovered this brown stain on my underwear. I cried out to my mother, and my mother rushed to see what was going on. I told her I was dying, or perhaps I soiled my pants. Mother left the bathroom and returned with this rectangular shaped pad. She told me that I was now a young woman and that I would be experiencing this for most of my life. I began to cry because I didn't

Through the Looking Glass

Through the mirror…what do I see…
Ageless wonder staring at me…
Lines and lines of years gone by…
Some of them good and some filled
with lies…

want to be soiled. I didn't want the pain either. At that time, the pads did not stick to your underwear. You had to wear this silly belt, which I thought was confusing enough. On those special days of the month, I didn't want to go to school. I felt that everybody would know that I had the "you know". Of course, no one knew. How could they? Unless, of course, I didn't change often enough, and it would seep though my underwear and onto my skirt. That never did happen to me, thank goodness. After months of becoming a "young woman", I noticed I was getting plumper and growing in the chest area. By the time I was eleven years old, I was wearing a "B" cup. My body was always in transition. When I reached full puberty, I got unwanted attention from much older men. *Walking the streets, especially during the summer was very uncomfortable. The catcalls and innuendos thrown at me from all kinds of men. I felt so dirty and wanted the floor to open up and suck me into the pavement*. It was at that time I decided to become a nun. I wanted to be so much like the *Flying Nun*. Of course my aspirations of becoming a nun subsided as soon as I entered college. My mother was very relieved.

Reflection: Grandfather

I never spoke of my grandfather. Perhaps because I did not want to remember him. My grandfather never married my grandmother, but they had nine children together. In fact, he never gave his name to any of his children until they were much older. He was of Spanish stock, and in those days it wasn't acceptable to marry someone of dark complexion and wiry hair. It still happens today, but it is not as obvious. Abuelita was not good enough to marry, but she was good enough to bear him children. Abuelita never complained. She was a saint to put up with him. I remember one particular day when I was staying at their house. My Abuelita was taking a nap, and my grandfather asked me to sit on his lap. I was a child and did not know any better. *The one thing I do remember is that I felt very uncomfortable and frightened. Too frightened to let anyone know. To this day, no one ever found out what happened in my grandmother's living room.*

Abuelita Querida

Grandfather

Reflection: Herman Ridder Junior High School

I was in the school orchestra in Junior High School 98. I attempted to play the violin. Never made it to first violin, but I learned a little about music. My mother would always close my bedroom door when I would practice. She claimed I needed to concentrate. Perhaps it was

High in the Tower
I plucked my strings
Trying to squeeze a note from my violin.

better that way. Noise pollution was not an offense in those days. Our teacher was amazed with the sounds coming from our instruments. He was patient and guided us through three years of grueling rehearsals. Some of us actually sounded good. As for me, I was too busy checking out the boys in the band. Especially the ones that played the saxophones. I wonder what became of…? My favorite piece was Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*. Yes, our group did manage to pull it off. We sounded quite good actually. The music sounded urban and sexy and, of course, we were that age when our soaring hormones left us in a puzzled state.

Reflection: Adios Abuelita

It was the middle of the night. My mother gently woke me up. She told me to get dressed because we were going to Abuelita's house. We took a cab to my grandmother's house. We came to the stoop of 1452 Wilkins Avenue and as we slowly walked up the stairs, I had a funny feeling. I knew something bad was going to happen. Abuelita had been ill for quite some time. *I still remember the day I first met my Abuelita. Abuelita was the great granddaughter of African slaves, and she was made to believe that she was not like everyone else because of her skin color. My parents left Puerto Rico and we were heading to Abuelita's house. There was much anticipation.*

Fire Escape Blues

- I sit here on the fire escape…listening
- To the music…the beat making me move
- To and fro…Taking me to the land
- I once knew…I once loved…Yearning
- To go back…

She wanted so much for her granddaughter to love her. It didn't help matters when she heard her granddaughter was antisocial and did not smile for anyone. When we arrived at my Abuelita's first apartment on Freeman Street, everyone was waiting in anticipation. As soon as we were introduced to my grandmother, I smiled and went into her waiting arms. It was quite amazing. But lucky for me, whenever I got into trouble, I would always hide behind Abuelita because I knew no harm would come to me. Now, as we came closer to Grandmother's bedroom, I could hear the sobbing of my aunts and uncles. I didn't go into her bedroom. My parents didn't want me to see her. I sat in her rocking chair and just rocked back and forth. As the bedroom door opened, I could see my father sobbing uncontrollably. All I could see was the bed and a small white sheet. Nothing moved except my father's shoulders. I couldn't cry. No tears would fall down my face. I didn't want to know the truth. I kept rocking back and forth hoping that my Abuelita would soon come out and hold me tight. She never did, and eventually I did cry. It was several months later in the middle of the night that I suddenly had this strange pain in my throat, and the only thing that would relieve this pain was my crying out, and then the tears began to flow. My Abuelita was gone now. Who was going to protect me?

Reflection: Spring of 1997

As I look at the computer screen, I see my life flash before me. I'm 48 years old and where am I in my life? I've been with many men. Can't seem to get it together. What is wrong with me? Why do I go into the same pattern? I'm not bad looking, and yet, I can't hold on to anything. I want to finish something. I want to write and finish something. Something meaningful. . .something that my father would have been proud of. Yes, my father. My mother, whom I loved, never had any confidence in my abilities. I was always too fat, had no personality, and wasn't sociable. I grew up thinking I was a great big mess. On top of that, I was a young Hispanic woman trying to see where I fit in. I grew up watching TV and old movies. I wanted to be a part of the fantasyland where I would someday find my prince charming and ride off into the sunset and live happily ever after. I used to make believe I was the star of the day. I transformed myself into that person. I wanted to be beautiful in the eyes of modern America. I didn't want to be Hispanic. In junior high school when they voted for the prettiest, one of my friends got the honors, but some of my classmates felt I was prettier than the winner. Of course, I didn't believe them because, you see, they were black and how can they judge beauty. I wanted to be a fair-skinned beauty. How terribly wrong I was. Throughout my whole life I felt this insecurity. When I arrived at college, I still had self-doubts, and I figured the best way to win boyfriends was to give myself to them. Many times I got hurt, many tears were shed because I was not loved for me, but what I could give to their raging hormones. In the morning light, I was cast away and soon forgotten, until the next young man came along. To this day, I do not know who my daughter's father is. All I know was that he was black. The blacks thought I was beautiful, and I felt great. When I drank, I became a lush, and who wants a lush, no matter what color they may be. Drinking would wash away my pain and guilt. I was torn between being a good Catholic girl and the social misfit of the day. I didn't love myself. Many years went by and I still gave myself to a man to be loved. I gave myself altogether. My first long-term relationship was one of the most frightening experiences of my life. Shortly after my daughter was born, I met my first husband at a local community college, and I was swept away with his lines and his total attention to me. The courtship lasted two months before we decided to live together. My mom said that under no circumstances should my daughter live with that man. Deep down inside she had an instinct that this man was up to no good, and as it turned out. . .she was right. Like always, she was right. It took

Te Vas? Por Fin

- When I see you, tremble
- When I think of you, I tremble
- When I caress you, I tremble
- When I cry for you, I tremble
- When I feel the bruise, I tremble not…

two long years of physical and verbal abuse. No, I guess I didn't love me. If I did, I would have left a long time ago. I desperately needed attention, and he gave me that all right. It wasn't until that late afternoon in September of 1986, when I was on my way back from a therapy session, that I finally realized what I was doing to myself and to my family. I was traveling on the subway heading home; in the train across the platform, the police and paramedics were trying to revive a heart attack victim. By the looks on the faces of the policemen and the paramedics, it was clear the man would not make it, and it was clear that I wouldn't make it either if I remained in that relationship. That day I went home and phoned my mother to come and get my daughter and me. This time I would not go back. That was the first day of my changing life. One more page had been turned.

I have more lessons to be learned but in the end, I think, my life will be that much richer because I took a road less traveled. This project has been a catharsis for me in that I was able to look at what has happened in the past and use these experiences in a creative way to turn difficult situations into hopeful ones. Recently, when I was presenting my project, someone asked me how long it took to put it all together. After a long pause, I replied, "my whole life." As soon as I said this, I knew I was coming to terms with myself and heading in the right direction. As in life, my project will be evolving and changing through the years, but it will be worth it.

"Experience is not what happens to you; it's what you do with what happens to you."
Aldous Huxley

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Revising the Lessons of the Masters

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ABSTRACT
Themes of authentication and displacement explored by Henry James in The Portrait of a Lady, a novel later refigured by W. Somerset Maugham in his The Razor's Edge, have been adapted by V.S. Naipaul in Half a Life. The novels combine to produce an intertextual discourse concerning the post-colonial product of England's imperialistic appetite that dominated much of the world over the past three centuries. The tangled links between the three books, and particularly Naipaul's examination of the imbricated layers of self-authentication and imperialism that inform James and Maugham, are the focus of my study.

V. S. Naipaul has remarked:

> [the] idea of the pursuit of happiness [is]… an elastic idea; it fits all men. It implies a certain kind of society, a certain kind of awakened spirit…. So much is contained within it: the idea of the individual, responsibility, choice, the life of the intellect, the idea of vocation and perfectibility and achievement. It's an immense human idea."[1]

This quote could serve to preface his novel, *Half a Life*, wherein his protagonist, Willie Chandran, looks for happiness while trying to come to terms with his family lineage and the post-colonial realities of his native country. The quotation could serve as well to introduce Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady* or W. Somerset Maugham's *The Razor's Edge* since the characters' concerns are principally the same in all three novels.[2] The authors' repetitions of this theme are not merely a coincidence; however; they are canonical counter-discourses[3] that result in an intertextual discourse among the three novels concerning the pursuit of happiness and authenticity that spans four continents over 120 years. The international prejudices and assumptions contained in each tale not only comment upon each other, but in doing so they provide dialogues that are fundamentally concerned with post-colonialism and imperialism.

Readers will recognize the connection between these three novels when they trace the allusions in *Half a Life*. In this text, Naipaul names his protagonist after the British author William Somerset Maugham and opens the novel with "Willie"[4] inquiring about the origin of his middle name. He is called, his father tells him, after "a great English writer" befriended when [t]he author came to India to get material for a novel about

spirituality" (Naipaul 1). The novel he is speaking of is Maugham's *The Razor's Edge* and the story Naipaul tells in *Half a Life* is a canonical counter-discourse of Maugham's theme: a quest for self-authentication within the realm of the Other. The characters sent on this thematic journey are Willie Chandran in *Half a Life* and Laurence (Larry) Darrell in *The Razor's Edge*, but they owe the inspiration for their travels to the character of Isabel Archer in Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady*. The connection between Maugham and James is made in the first chapter of *The Razor's Edge*, which can be read as a preface, wherein he justifies the production of his novel and mentions James by name as one who, like himself, has tried to delineate the cultural characteristics of a foreign people. In addition to this reference, Maugham names one of his characters Isabel and creates her in the physical and socioeconomic likenesses of James's Isabel.[5] Thus, all three novels are associated thematically, and the latter two exist as refigurements of their predecessors.

The thread that binds these novels together, besides their comments on their antecedents, is the protagonist's search for happiness embodied as the authentic self. Having identified a discontinuity between their desires and their indigenous resources, Isabel, Larry, and Willie look to foreign lands to remedy their deficiencies. By setting themselves against their Otherness, which is nineteenth-century Europe for Isabel, twentieth-century India for Larry, and twenty-first-century England and Mozambique for Willie, the characters are able to see themselves in relief, which gives them ownership over the colloquial traits they have acquired by what James calls "mutual social attrition."[6] The characters use these traits to define themselves and therefore authenticate individuality.

Henry James begins this discussion by placing American and European societies in contrast, setting his protagonist, Isabel Archer, in Europe, and figuring her surroundings as the antithetical representation of her character. In doing so, he is at once criticizing Europe and idealizing America. James's critical take on European society is evidenced in a letter he wrote to W. D. Howells concerning the production of *Portrait*: "My novel is to be an Americana – the adventures in Europe of a female Newman, who of course equally triumphs over the insolent foreigner" (Edel 72). He chastises European society for its reliance on traditions and manners because such impositions disregard individuality in favor of capitulation to the contrived while valorizing the freshness and ingenuousness of the American spirit. Further, James laments the American inclination to consider Europe as a cultural model for sophistication without regard for the peculiarities that characterize its aristocracy. By modeling Isabel as a mimic of American culture and romanticizing her characteristics, James allows for a more dramatic juxtaposition of her against her Other.[7] This difference is most directly perceived by observing the changes that occur in Isabel's character in relation to the duration of her time spent on European soil. Early sketches of Isabel reveal a radiance that, when it is confronted with European company, fades by wear and constriction into a lackluster impression hardly reminiscent of its original design. The point that James illustrates with Isabel's decline is that Americans, by idealizing the projected superiority of European society, ultimately subjugate themselves. James's dogged pursuit of his international theme is an attempt to foster an American identity that eschews any dependence upon European protocols. Such politically motivated inclinations establish him as an early postcolonial writer.

Having identified this tension, Maugham responds to James's position from an interesting angle. In his canonical counter-discourse to *Portrait*, Maugham takes on the challenge of writing back from the center to the periphery in order to answer some of James's assertions. But rather than trying to defend Europe, he sought to deconstruct the "myth of America" that James had helped to create.[8] By the 1940s when Maugam began to write *The Razor's Edge*, he was considering an American consciousness that was drastically different from that which James had known. Over the preceding sixty years, America had made an immense fortune, placed itself at the forefront of the scientific frontier, amassed the third largest navy in the world, played a definitive role in the outcome of World War I, and had been called upon to do the same in World War II, all of which contributed to what Maugham perceived as an American arrogance. This attitude is expressed in a passage where Isabel tells Larry her take on international affairs. "Europe's finished," she says. "We're the greatest, the most powerful people in the world. We're going forward by leaps and bounds. We've got everything" (Maugham 73). With this passage, Maugham fills an American mouth with an imperialistic notion, thus aligning the two cultures and dispelling any ideas that one may be more honorable than the other.

Throughout the novel, Maugham employs Isabel Bradley as Isabel Archer's moral opposite in order to express the differences he saw between James's America and his own. While Archer is drawn as faultless and pristine, Bradley is presented as materialistic and arrogant. Bradley is concerned with artifice but not at all with experience or wisdom or tenderness. Instead, she gravitates

towards the pleasures afforded by money and social position and indulgence, things that James would consider European preoccupations. To Isabel Bradley even love is secondary to money, an opinion she shares with her uncle, Elliot Templeton,[9] who believes that "a marriage arranged with proper regard to position, fortune, and community of circumstance has every advantage over a love match" (Maugham 34). The reader knows this when Isabel breaks off her engagement with Larry to marry Gray Marutin,[10] even though besides Larry she had "never loved anyone else in all [her] life" (Maugham 163). When James's heroine considers a similar choice, she has this to say:

> [p]ray, would you wish me to make a mercenary marriage – what they call a marriage of ambition? I've only one ambition – to be free to follow out a good feeling… Do you complain of Mr. Osmond because he is not rich? That's just what I like him for. I've fortunately money enough; I've never felt so thankful for it as to-day" (James 331).

This parallel construction dramatically contrasts Archer's and Bradley's desires; Archer is moved to act for love, Bradley for money.

Maugham's cynical evaluation of American society is further portrayed by Bradley's persistent jealousy when she is confronted with Larry's engagement to Sophie MacDonald. More than ten years after her union with Gray, having duped herself out of the chance for love, Isabel still harbors such strong feelings for Larry that she cannot tolerate the idea of his being with another woman. Her regret causes her so much anguish that she undertakes the sabotaging of Larry's relationship, an act that results in Sophie's death.[11] This scene also finds its equivalent in *Portrait* when Isabel is offered the opportunity to run away with Caspar Goodwood after she has learned that her husband had only married her for her money. She is broken-hearted and realizes that "she had never been loved" (James 562). Despite her anguish, Isabel once more makes a decision that her selfish successor would be incapable of; she honors her commitment by leaving Goodwood and returning to her husband.

By juxtaposing Isabel Archer with Isabel Bradley, Maugham proclaims the reproachful lack of rectitude in the American consciousness and thus aligns the cultures James had thought opposed. This being done, Maugham turns his attention to replacing the idealistic void that he had created by destroying James's mythical America. For this he turns to the East. In 1943 and 1944 when Maugham was writing *The Razor's Edge*, the British Empire was dissolving and India was preparing to become an independent nation. In this way, twentieth-century India resembled nineteenth-century America, a nation looking for an authenticity that would allow it to break free from the grip of imperialism. And as James had contributed to the myth of America, so did Maugham contribute to the Orientalization of India. Through the experiences of Larry Darrell, Maugham presents an image of India that is idealistic and majestic, and by using an Occidental to promote the subcontinent as a land of ready salvation, Maugham is attempting to salvage some of the legitimacy of Western values that Isabel Bradley had deflated. Larry represents Maugham's hope for both the Western and Eastern worlds, and he has been endowed with the purity and inquisitiveness that found its origins in Isabel Archer. He is, like her, a seeker of happiness and authentication, but with one fundamental difference: while Archer's happiness is primarily concerned with cultural matters, Darrell's is concerned with the spiritual.

Larry is first sent to Europe to seek authenticity, but what he finds there is disappointing to him. Unlike Isabel Archer who is able to capitalize on her American traits, Larry finds that he is much less of a novelty in Europe than he is an overabundant commodity; he is not able to see himself in relief and eventually gives up and plans his return to America. But when his ship makes a stop in India, he decides to stay and study its exoticism. Here he finds with great ease the enlightenment he has sought, which is ironic because the religious experience he has at the ashram so closely resembles the one that he had had at a monastery in Alsace. In each he had simple shelter, ample reading time and materials, instruction upon request, and hours of meditation at his disposal; but in the West he found his labors futile and did not accept the religion available because he had the means to question it, whereas in the East he embraced the teachings of the Brahmins, in part because he could not understand them. Larry explains to Maugham that his misgivings with Christianity are grounded in his refusal to believe in a God that would condemn a man for his sins, which Larry believed to be the result of heredity and environment, yet he praises Hinduism because each person's condition is a result of his previous life's misdeeds. The distinction between what he condemns and praises is so fine as to not be relevant at all. Larry admits that as an Occidental he cannot "believe in [the teachings of the Hindu religion] as implicitly as [the] Orientals do" and states that he can "neither believe in it or disbelieve in it" yet he sets about living his life by its codes (Maugham 266). During his time spent in India, Larry lives as a second-rate citizen in awe of the otherness of the Indian people, a period of denial for Larry which is illustrated by his adoption of Indian dress and his acquirement of a sunburn

so that "unless… attention was drawn to [him] you might have taken him for a native" (Maugham 273). Larry's search for authenticity ends in his becoming an imposter. He denies his Western self in favor of a contrived personage based on a religion and a people he is incapable of understanding. He ironically gives to Hinduism the faith that he had been told by a monk was a requirement for belief in Christianity. He chose to believe in difference for the sake of difference.

What Maugham failed to realize, and what Naipual perceived, was that Maugham had idealized India in the exact manner that James had America, thereby subjecting *The Razor's Edge* to the same criticism it offers *The Portrait of a Lady*. In *Half a Life*, Naipaul suggests that by romanticizing a foreign culture, Maugham had ignored the commonalities of human nature; no one culture is implicitly chaste: both good and bad, religious and secular, corrupt and honest people reside within all cultures. For Naipaul, happiness and authenticity can only be found within ourselves; looking for them in another culture is futile because all that can be defined by setting one's self against a foreign backdrop is difference in cultural conditioning, which is less a signifier of self than of community.

Naipaul picks up the narrative with his refigurement of Shri Ganesha, the Indian holy man who helped bring Larry salvation. Naipaul, like Maugham, first sets out to deconstruct the idealistic renderings of his predecessor by reworking the main character from the idealized land. Shri Ganesha, Maugham's characterization of Sri Ramana Maharsi, an Indian holy man whom he had met while on a promotional tour in 1938, appears as Willie's father in *Half a Life*. Maugham encountered the holy man when he regained consciousness after having fainted prior to a speech he was supposed to deliver. When Maugham awoke, Sri Ramana Maharsi comforted Maugham by telling him "[s]ilence is also conversation" (Coetzee 117), a line which is repeated verbatim in Larry's recollections of Shri Ganesha's imparted wisdom (Maugham 295). Maugham, obviously taken by the exotic man, makes his character the facilitator of Larry's Eastern education. Naipaul begins his story at the moment Maugham meets the holy man but offers the reader a much less romantic depiction of him than Maugham does. Naipaul writes him as a devious man who is more commendable than condemnable.

Half a Life begins with Willie's father telling him the tale that led to his first encounter with Somerset Maugham. Chandran explains that he had taken a vow of silence in order to avoid persecution for "something [he] had done" (Naipaul 4). During the course of this silence, Chandran met the writer and provided what "foreign critics [saw as] the spiritual source of *The Razor's Edge*" (Naipaul 5). As Naipaul writes in the details that determine Chandran, the reader comes to understand that the circumstances, which chanced the meeting between the mendicant and the author in the temple's courtyard were less than honorable. Chandran, in a misguided pursuit of "civil disobedience" (Naipaul 23), chose to make a "sacrifice of himself" (Naipaul 11) by heeding Mahatma Gandhi's call to protest casteism by "marry[ing] the lowest person [he] could find" (Naipaul 12). The person he married was Willie's mother, and his decision to do so was independent of compassion for the woman. He explains to Willie that after the marriage he

> grew everyday more ashamed of her, [so much so that he] took a vow of sexual abstinence, [the failure of which was] very swiftly punished [with her becoming pregnant]. (Naipaul, 32-3).

Chandran goes on to reveal that at Willie's birth "[a]ll [his] anxiety… was to see how much of the backward could be read in his features" (Naipaul 33). It is clear that Chandran, even within his own family, perpetuates the prejudice that his sacrifice was supposed to combat. After hearing his father's contemptuous story of dissatisfaction and regret, Willie responds by telling him, "I despise you" (Naipaul 35). This declaration marks Willie's independence and segues into the second and third portions of the book that tell the remainder of his story.

It is with Willie's quest that Naipaul intends to answer the claims of his predecessors. He first addresses what he believes to be Maugham's misconceptions by writing Willie a mosaic past of exploitation and betrayal that he has been bequeathed by his father and his nation. Willie, whose father is a Brahmin and mother is a backward, has considerable trouble defining himself in India's class-based society. He belongs nowhere. Because of this, he is sent to a missionary school led by Canadians in accordance with his mother's wishes; there, she believes, the West can provide Willie opportunities that the politics of casteism would deny him. So from the very beginning, Willie understands that he has been cared for by outsiders, rather than by his own countrymen, and believes that no opportunities are available to him in India. Willie learns to depend on his conception of the West as the source for his desires and dreams. First, he thinks he might be a missionary, then, a writer in British literary circles, and then, an estate man in Mozambique – an imperialist. Each desire is a denial of his self, each dream an escape from and reflection of India's past.

Naipaul is characteristically critical of India when he begins his story by looking past the days of British colonialism to the beginning of the

decline for this Maughamian utopia. He suggests that the root of India's trouble lies not in its colonization but in its peoples' long history of idealistic passivity. According to Willie's father, the troubles began for India when it was conquered by the Muslims and simply increased with British colonization, not because of the change in government – that had actually regularized India's situation somewhat because the British brought law and some sense of order – but rather because the Indians had allowed their population to increase beyond their capability to support it. In addition to this condemnation of his country in general, Naipaul adds his distaste for Mahatma Gandhi in particular. Gandhi's politics and methods of resistance are questioned with the character of Sarojini. Sarojini is strongly influenced by her uncle on her mother's side who, as the leader of a firebrand, strongly contests Gandhi's political methods. She favors the firebrand's militant opposition to imperialism and casteism over Gandhi's passivity. She believes that India's citizens have a responsibility to improve their country's condition for posterity and disapproves of Willie's decision to abandon his people in order to seek another life elsewhere.[12]

Sarojini's convictions concerning political responsibility create a tension between her and Willie that is expressed in her letters. She is constantly criticizing Willie for his capriciousness and continues to warn him against becoming idle like his father. Sarojini herself, though, has done little to advance the quality of life for her people and flees to Europe because of a relationship with a German photographer. In this way, Sarojini represents Naipaul himself – an outside critic of a system she is not working to change, condemning others for their indolence.

After *Half a Life* has taken us with Willie as he fails to find authenticity in England's academy and Mozambique's aristocracy, we are deposited with him at Sarojini's home where he recounts to her the ways in which he has spent and wasted his time. Here the reader learns all of the details of Willie's life abroad. We learn how he searched for love and purpose in England. How he came to marry Ana, which was more a marriage of convenience so that he could have a secure home after he left the university. How that marriage eventually failed and how it was that he ended up alone and directionless in his early forties. By following Willie's life story, we learn what it is to be displaced in the world, how the turmoil of his youth spent in a postcolonial country led to his desire to be anything but what he was born, and how his attempt to deny his parentage contributed to his perpetuation of those characteristics that had been so debilitating to his ancestors.

Taken by itself, it is easy to consider the story of Willie's life to be the result of the colonial tragedy that dominated much of the world in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. That may or may not be true, but in addition to this we also become aware of a different possibility when we consider *Half a Life* as part of a dialogue. The three protagonists, as I have suggested, are searching for their authentic selves by contrasting themselves with Otherness. Having become disenchanted with their ordinariness, each desires difference: Isabel Archer seeks high culture and refinement; Larry the understanding of life through religion; and Willie identity. Each has benefited from certain advantages and suffered from other deficiencies, yet they are all equally dissatisfied. They traveled to America, to England, to India, to Mozambique, to anywhere in the world pursuing either the center or the periphery, but the demons they fled and the treasures they sought remained illusory. The exoticism of the Other became more seductive which causes them to deny nationalism and tradition in search of more romantic cosmopolitan identities. Difference is always seductive, and as James has shown with Isabel, Maugham with Larry, and Naipaul with Willie, it most certainly always will be. What James had stated to be an American concern and Maugham had extended to the Western world, Naipaul has taken around the world. The idea that the perusal of happiness is a universal condition, as suggested by Naipaul, may be one of those unique circumstances where romance and reality combine to set forth a truth about human circumstance. If the pursuit of happiness is a universal condition, so must be the frustration that serves to fuel the search – an ironic lesson for a world that has become increasingly fragmented by nationalistic politics.

Notes

[1] Quote taken from the speech "Our Universal Civilization" delivered by Naipual at the Manhattan Institute on the 30th of October, 1992.

[2] While the connection between *Half a Life* and *The Razor's Edge* has been cited in contemporary criticism by J.M. Coetzee, the connection between *The Razor's Edge* and *The Portrait of a Lady* was not mentioned by reviewers' of *The Razor's Edge*. After consulting articles from *Atlantic Monthly*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, *Saturday Review of Literature*, *The New York Times*, *The New Republic*, *The New Yorker*, *Time*, *Booklist*, *New Statesman and Nation*, and *Weekly Book Review*, I have discovered only two mentions of Henry James and none of *The Portrait of a Lady. The Atlantic Monthly* article speaks of how Elliot Templeton "might have been tailored by Henry James," ("Quest" 127) while *The Times Literary Supplement* notes how Mangham "handles his Jamesian method with conspicuous resource" ("Modern Mystic" 341).

[3] Helen Tiffin identifies canonical counter-discourse as a sub-grouping of counter-discursive theory wherein a "post-colonial writer takes up a character of characters, or the basic assumptions of a British canonical text, and unveils those assumptions, subverting the text for post-colonial purposes" (Tiffin, 17).

[4] Maugham was called Willie affectionately by his family, a fact which Naipaul uses to accentuate the familiarity he suggests between the characters of Willie's father and William Somerset Maugham.

[5] Maugham's Isabel, in addition to her name, is also characteristic of James's Isabel physically. She is sketched as "a tall girl with [an] oval face, straight nose, fine eyes, and a full mouth… She was comely though on the fat side, which I [Maugham] ascribed to her age, and I guessed that she would fine down as she grew older" (Maugham 22). Isabel Bradley is introduced into the novel in her late teens whereas James's Isabel is introduced in her early twenties and would have already outgrown such an awkward stage provided it ever existed. Isabel Archer is first described as "a tall girl in a black dress, who at first sight looked pretty" (James 13) and upon closer examination became "unexpectedly pretty" (James 14) as she was "slim and charming" (James 15). This likeness is much nearer to Isabel Bradley's second introduction to the reader after ten years has elapsed between scenes. She returns to the reader in her late twenties or early thirties and is described by Maugham as being as "slender as anyone could wish" and she "had acquired ease, self-possession, and assurance… She had chic to the tips of her rose-painted nails" and was "ravishing" (Maugham 138-9). Isabel Bradley and Isabel Archer came from similar socioeconomic backgrounds as well. Both had been raised in upper-middle class homes where money was not a principle want, but neither was able to look forward to an ample inheritance; they would each have to supplement their allowances somehow. But, while Archer had no conception of money or desire to obtain it, Bradley was driven by the desire to be extremely wealthy and to spend it luxuriously.

[6] In a letter to his mother dated 13 October, 1869, James writes of the differences between Americans and Europeans. He states that "[t]he pleasantness of the English… comes in great measure from the fact of their each having been dipped into the crucible, which gives them a sort of coating of comely varnish and colour. They have been smoothed and polished by mutual social attrition." This quote speaks of the tendency of people to consciously and unconsciously adopt the characteristics, assumptions, prejudices, and tastes of their communities.

[7] Because all the characters in the novel are American-born, save Lord Warburton, James defines Isabel's Other through his characterizations of Gilbert Osmond and Madame Merle who, because of the duration of their stay in Europe, have become representative of European society. As Isabel is experiencing her first real exposure to European society, she is most representative of what James believes is embodied in the American spirit. She is youthful, innocent, pure, earnest, genuine, and, most of all, naïve. Her character is implicitly irreproachable. Madame Merle and Gilbert Osmond, however, because each of them has been in Europe for longer than they had lived in America, have been lured into uselessness by their perceptions of European society. As it is revealed through their conspired plot to deceive Isabel and relieve her of her fortune to provide for their own parental inadequacies, they are irresponsibly idle, artificial, and appearance driven. That is to say that European society is built on tradition and habit. While such a statement does not necessarily demonize Europe, it does suggest it is in opposition to the American ideals of individuality and innovation.

[8] In his article "The Myth of America in *The Portrait of a Lady*," Leon Edel writes that with *Portrait* James's intention "was to paint Isabel within a 'myth' of America" and continues that "[h]e endowed her with many American qualities and many American beliefs" (Edel 8).

[9] Elliot Templeton is Isabel Bradley's uncle on her mother's side. He is an American expatriate living in France who has become, like Gilbert Osmond and Madame Merle, fitted to the ideologies of the European lifestyle.

[10] Gray Marutin is Larry's childhood best friend. He is the son of a successful Chicago stockbroker and is being groomed to take over his father's firm which, prior to the stock market crash of 1929, held great promise of making him extremely wealthy.

[11] Sophie MacDonald was a childhood friend of both Isabel and Larry. She married young, had a child, and was happy until a car crash took the lives of her husband and child. After the accident she became extremely depressed and her life became ruled by drugs, alcohol, and sex. Larry sought to bring her out of this by marrying her, but Isabel wouldn't allow it. Under the guise of friendship, Isabel offered to help Sophie pick out a wedding gown, but at the moment they were supposed to meet, Isabel was absent from the house and had planted a bottle of liquor in the waiting room where Sophie was placed. The temptation proved to be too much and Sophie drank the liquor and reentered her life of drug and alcohol abuse. She left Larry without reason or ceremony and was eventually found murdered: all results, Maugham suggests, of Isabel's tampering.

[12] Sarojini expresses her discontent with her brother's actions in corresponding letters. She at one point writes to Willie that his friend Percy Cato, who is "off to work with Che in South America… Should be an example to [him] (Naipaul 121), but later admits that though there is "serious work to be done in Africa," she does not think "that it will be done by [Willie]" (Naipaul, 123).

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Perceptions of Minorities Criminal Involvement in Grand Rapids: Community and Media Dialogue

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ABSTRACT

This study examines media over-representation and its effects on community perception. The research examines the perception of racial/ethnic involvement in violent crimes in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Grand Rapids Police Department arrest reports for violent crime were dichotomized by race/ethnicity and compared to news articles reporting violent crimes found in the Grand Rapids Press to determine if a disparity exists between those data sets. To measure public perceptions, questionnaires were administered concerning racial/ethnic groups and their likelihood to commit violent crimes. The overall intention is to provide a better understanding of root causes of minority disparity within the Criminal Justice System.

Introduction

There is ample evidence that shows social and economic inequalities exist between the dominant groups and ethnic minorities in U.S. society. Many of these discrepancies result from years of inequality and differential treatment of minorities. Historically, institutions have enforced norms that differentiate its citizens, with preferential treatment towards the dominant group and negative treatment towards minorities. The laws, customs, and traditions of the past have had an effect on our current thinking concerning race and ethnicity. Our traditional institutions and ideology have a tendency, once they have been set in motion, to continue on that same course unabated. The history of enslavement, segregation, and inequalities that have occurred in the U.S., while less prevalent today, may not be entirely extinguished from society but instead may be concealed. That is why institutional discrimination continues to be a problem in today's society.

The objective in this research is to explore causes of over-representation of minorities in the prison system by examining possible root causes of minority disparity in the Criminal Justice System. Minority over-representation in penal institutions is a complex problem with many facets. I aim to examine media influence on this social problem. This research examines how often minorities are depicted in the news and assesses if the number of news stories reported are over-representative of the amount of violent crimes minorities are actually committing in comparison to their counterparts in the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan. Additionally, this study examines such depictions and whether there is any significance in how the Grand Rapids population, to which the news is reported, views minorities and their likelihood to commit violent crime. Their views are assessed through a

questionnaire aimed at finding the general public perception of minorities' involvement with crime.

Police reports of violent crime, defined as robbery, willful killing, murder, assault, and sexual assault, were obtained for the months of January through December 2001, and the race and ethnicity of the offenders were sorted and categorized. News articles reporting violent crime found in the *Grand Rapids Press* were also categorized by race and ethnicity and compared to the criminal arrest data set. With the purpose of investigating if a discrepancy exists between news articles reporting violent crimes of a given group and the actual amount of crime committed by that group. A survey was also constructed with the purpose of understanding how individuals in Grand Rapids felt about racial/ethnic groups and their likelihood to commit violent crime. These questionnaires aimed at finding the public's perception of minorities, with respect to criminality, were handed out in Grand Rapids. This study examines the city of Grand Rapids as a sample for the larger, broader problem of inequities in the likelihood of arrest and length of imprisonment in penal institutions amongst racial and ethnic groups.

Literature Review

Numerous studies (Wellaman, 1977; Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967; Knowles & Prewitt; 1965) show that people of color are more likely to live in areas of extreme poverty, with limited life chances such as no employment opportunities, a high incidence of drug use and abuse, and crime. These circumstances have led to a prison population that greatly over-represents minorities in relation to their presence in the overall population in the United States. Previous research has confirmed that a bias exists within the U.S. Criminal Justice System due to the disproportional representation of minorities within the prison population. This circumstance is the result of policies and police tactics applied unevenly amongst racial and ethnic groups, such as over-policing in urban neighborhoods and racial profiling (Cole, 1999).

The effect a prison record has on minorities is great. The social stigma placed on ex-convict minorities who have been labeled as criminals tends to create difficulties in obtaining steady work once they have been released from prison (Cole, 1999). Along with the stigma placed on former criminals, divergent treatment develops within the society. Stereotypes which represent minorities as criminals or as individuals with a greater propensity towards criminality are borne out of this stigma. This continues the cycle of poverty for minorities, that is, actions are based on negative perceptions (profiling), creating negative outcomes (stigma) inhibiting minority involvement with formal institutions (employment).

The society we live in, formed by our customs of the past, has been discriminatory towards minorities. The institutional discrimination mentioned earlier forces minorities into a cycle of poverty, whereby their access to the means of success are denied. Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court stated in a case involving race that:

> It is unnecessary in 20th-century America to have individual Negroes demonstrate that they have been victims of racial discrimination; the racism of our society has been so pervasive that none, regardless of wealth or position, has managed to escape its impact. The experience of Negroes in America has been different in kind, not just in degree, from that of other ethnic groups. It is not merely the history of slavery alone but also that a whole people were marked as inferior by the law. And that mark has endured. (Anderson, 1973, p. 175)

The discrimination of the past and the laws born out of this discrimination, while they may have been partially erased from our legislature, clearly are not erased from everyone's belief system or our institutions as a whole.

One of the journals examined involving institutional inequities was the *Grand Rapids Police Department Preliminary Traffic Stop Summery: Quarterly Report* printed in 2000. This document was very relevant to my research, crucial information concerning who and how often the Grand Rapids Police Department stops an individual were presented. This document displays that black and Latino males have a 2.6 and 2.0 times greater chance of being arrested during a traffic stop than white males (GRPD, 2000). Black males are subject to a total search of their vehicles during a traffic stop 35% of the time, Latino males 26% of the time, while white males are only subject to a total search of their vehicles 16% of the time (GRPD). This data shows a discrepancy in likelihood of arrest in traffic stops. Black males led in number of arrests and were also the subject of the most total searches of their vehicles than any other racial or ethnic group in the study. White males lead the category of verbal warning by police officers during a traffic stop. The differential treatment that occurs during traffic stops, the increased probability that a black male's entire vehicle is searched and the likelihood that a white males will be issued a verbal warning could be one of the reasons that black males led in arrest during traffic stops (GRPD).

In the *Community Forum on Race Relation in Grand Rapids* (Michigan Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights (MACSCCR), it is stated that in Grand Rapids, minority populations are

concentrated into 44 of the county's 344 census blocks and are in the central and near southside area of Grand Rapids. In approximately 54% of the entire Grand Rapids census blocks, minorities are less than 4% of the population. In the central city census block (downtown), where most arrests were made and over 40% of the household incomes are under $10,000, minorities accounted for more than 50% of the residents. In 17 of those central city census blocks, minorities accounted for 80% of the residents (Michigan Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1998). The segregation of minorities into impoverished areas of the city can help create the inequality in traffic stops for black males, given that minorities are concentrated into low-income areas, which garners more traffic by police officers.

The residential segregation of citizens in Grand Rapids makes it possible to distance or limit social intercourse. Michael Woods of the Catholic Diocese of Grand Rapids said

> I am convinced at this moment that if we were to ask 1,000 white folks if they were racist, they could be attached to a lie detector, say no and pass. I think that is the real problem…the denial and the ignorance that helps to perpetuate racism. [Furthermore,] part of the reason racism is able to perpetuate itself is the distances, the absence of relationships, the absence of dialogues of people not knowing each other. What the dialogues do is put people in front of each other in the same proximity…and that changes reality. (MACUSCCR, 1998, p. 26)

This racial isolation can create social isolation and alienation between different races or ethnicities in Grand Rapids.

Tension can often stem from both employment and unemployment. Data shows that Caucasians in Grand Rapids account for 88.6% of the population, yet they constitute 92% of the employed labor force (MACUSCCR, 1998). Caucasians were the only racial or ethnic population to have the percentage of employed citizens (88.6%) greater than their percentage of the population (92%). Employment is further segregated in the white-collar and blue-collar sectors of employment. Table 1 shows the highest paid category in the white-collar sector, Officials and Managers; 95.5 percent of these positions were held by Caucasians who again make up 88.6% of the total population. African Americans who are 6.7% of the population made up 2.6% of the category. Latinos who are 3% of the population held only 1% of these positions (MACUSCCR). Caucasians constitute 94.4% and 93.3% of the category, Sales Workers and Clerical Office Workers, while African Americans represented 3% and 4.4%; Latinos represented 1.4% and 1.6% (MACUSCCR). Minorities, who are 11.4% of the population in Grand Rapids, were underrepresented in every white-collar category (Officials, Professionals, Technicians, Sales Workers, and Clerical Workers) at 8%, while Caucasians, who are 88.6% of the population, exceeded in every white-collar category making up roughly 92% of the highest paid job sector.

Additionally, in the blue-collar sector the highest skilled and highest paying category, Craft Worker, is occupied by Caucasians in 93.5% of the cases; 2.9% and 2.4% are occupied by African Americans and Latinos respectively; both rates lower than their presence in the population. In the Laborer and Service Worker category of blue-collar work, African Americans make up 7.2% and 9.3%; Latinos make up 5.4% and 3%, both rates are either consistent with their presence in the population or exceed it (MACUSCCR, 1998). Minorities are continually clustered into the lowest paying jobs while Caucasians occupy the highest paying jobs in Grand Rapids. Minorities make up 6.9% of the skilled trades, yet represent 23.6% of the service workers, occupations with the lowest wages and most menial tasks. Four out of every ten minorities in the labor force in Grand Rapids work in the lowest paying occupations available in Grand Rapids (MACUSCCR). These discrepancies are hard to ignore. The segregation and/or concentration of minorities into impoverished areas and low paying jobs can create negative perceptions or stereotypes about minorities.

Table #1: *Civilian Labor Force by Minority Group in Grand Rapids, 1998*

	African Am.	Am. Indian	Asian	Caucasian	Latino
1. Officials and Managers	1,301	170	277	48,506	511
	2.6%	0.3%	0.5%	95.5%	1.0%
2. Professionals	1,896	103	365	51,711	483
	3.5%	0.2%	0.7%	94.8%	0.9%
3. Technicians	492	47	139	13,139	279
	3.5%	0.3%	1.0%	93.2%	2.0%
4. Sales Workers	1,649	207	407	52,137	794
	3.0%	0.4%	0.7%	94.4%	1.4%
5. Clerical and Office Workers	3,100	242	303	65,374	1,114
	4.4%	0.3%	0.4%	93.2%	1.6%
6. Craft Workers	1,714	325	348	55,325	1,427
	2.9%	0.5%	0.6%	93.5%	2.4%
7. Operatives	6,283	596	1,061	65,819	3,638
	8.1%	0.8%	1.4%	85.0%	4.7%
8. Laborers	1,662	154	231	19,827	1,257
	7.2%	0.7%	1.0%	85.7%	5.4%
9. Service Workers	5,838	430	562	54,080	1,902
	9.3%	0.7%	0.9%	86.0%	3.0%
10. No category	773	66	79	8,492	1,137
	7.3%	0.6%	0.7%	80.4%	8%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Furnished by: Michigan Employment Security Commission, Information and Reports Section. Note: The first line represents the total number of individuals in an occupation. The second line represents the percentage of the total occupation's total.

The discrepancies found in Grand Rapids have created tension between the races and ethnicities in the city. Lawrence H. Borom, President of the Grand Rapids Urban League, attributes the racial tensions found in the African American community to the sense of frustration and powerlessness due to the high levels of poverty (MACUSCCR, 1998). In a recent exposé published in *Take Pride*, an African American newspaper, it was discovered that infant mortality for African American children in Kent County was double that of any other group. According to Walther Mathis, President of *Take Pride*, the racial tensions are heightened due to the Grand Rapids media, which is dominated by white people, leaving the minority view point muted (MACUSCCR). Several testifiers before the Michigan Advisory Committee on Civil Rights expressed concerns about the local news coverage in the Grand Rapids area. The negative depictions of minorities creates a reinforcement of negative stereotypes that impedes equal opportunity for minorities; an impression that minorities make negative contributions to a community rather than positive contributions can create alienation towards the minority community by the larger community (MACUSCCR). The literature I reviewed has been very important to the research being conducted and provides great insight into the inequities that exist within Grand Rapids and the tensions created by these discrepancies in the community.

A study conducted by Michael J. Leiber and Kristin Y. Mack (2002)

focused on the differential treatment that occurs amongst juveniles in the judicial system in the state of Iowa. The study found that probation officers use different causal attributions (internal vs. external attributions) to assess the criminal behavior of minorities and white youth. Leiber and Mack reported that minority youth involvement in crime was seen as related to internal or dispositional attributions such as attitudinal problems, e.g. lack of individual responsibility, while delinquency among white youth was attributed to external causes, e.g. impoverished conditions. Because internal attributions resulted in perceptions that youths were at a higher risk for re-offending, decision-makers recommended longer sentences for minorities than whites. By delving into the subjective qualities that influenced the construction of a case, Leiber and Mack found that the values and beliefs of decisions-makers created a legally recognizable, yet racially stereotypic, image of an offender that influenced the decision-making process.

A similar study conducted by Albonetti and Hepburn (1996) examines the joint effects of age, minority status, gender, and prior offenses on the decision to defer prosecution and recommend referral of felony drug defendants to a drug treatment program. They found that race coupled with prior offenses and being older in age increased the likelihood of prosecution; minorities with no prior offenses also had increased likelihood of prosecution; younger minorities with prior offenses increased the likelihood of participation in a drug diversion program.

The studies conducted by Albonetti and Hepburn (1996) and Leiber and Mack (2002) display the differential treatment that occurs within the prosecutorial stage in the criminal justice system. The negative stereotype that is placed on minorities in regards to crime affects how or to what degree the justice system prosecutes minorities compared to white youths. The discrepancies are in part due to stereotypes held by those who are in decision-making positions and may involve personal biases developed towards a given race or culture which can negatively affect minorities during prosecution and can lead to longer sentences and rejection from diversion programs, assisting in the over-representation of minorities in the criminal justice system.

Theoretical Assessment

The major theories used as the framework of this research are the self-fulfilling prophecy perspective and the labeling and conflict theories. Each provides an understanding of underlying effects that may result from misrepresentations in arrests and news reports related to perceptions.

Labeling theory explains how labels, particularly negative labels, can inhibit the opportunities of an individual and create negative feelings about general groups of people. Conflict theory discusses the possible reasons for power conflicts between classes and how inequalities and discrimination can have benefits for one class at the expense of another. This study evaluates the perception of the Grand Rapids community with respect to violent crime and those perceived to be the main perpetrators. Reasoning for this component of the research is largely rooted in the perspective within labeling theory called the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Self-fulfilling prophecy was first employed by Robert Merton in *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1957) and was described as a false definition of a situation evoking a new behavior which makes the original false conception come true. This perspective will help to understand how generalized negative perceptions a community holds regarding a particular racial or ethnic group can result in negative outcomes for those racial or ethnic groups negatively stereotyped. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1971) conducted a well-known experiment exhibiting self-fulfilling prophecy. In this study, twenty percent of the students from each of eighteen elementary classrooms were randomly chosen and the teachers were informed that those students were "intellectual bloomers." Those students who were randomly given the label "intellectual bloomers" scored four points higher on IQ test than the rest of the children. This experiment displays that the result of expecting a high performance can lead to a higher performance; conversely, expecting a low performance can lead to a lower performance. Perceptions that certain segments of society are more prone towards criminality can have the effect of creating more criminality within that segment of the population based on the expectations the larger community holds for that given group. If the larger community and institutions in that community feel that a certain group or groups of people are more likely to commit crime, more crime may be committed than normal by those groups given the expectations of the community. If a negative behavior, i.e. committing violent crime, is perceived by the larger community to be more prevalent in minority conduct, then it is important to understand why and how these labels could be constructed and imposed on minorities by the larger community.

The labeling theory takes a symbolic interactionist outlook towards crime or deviance. Symbolic interactionism interprets symbols and the meanings assigned these symbols such as language, gestures, and objects. The differences in how cultures interpret these symbols found in society can affect how cultures interact with one another.

Labeling theory examines how the dominant culture's interpretation of an action affects those individuals labeled by society and the affect it has on the individuals.

Lemert (1951), focuses on the social construction of deviance and describes deviance as a product of society's "reaction" act, assigning a "deviant" label to the person. Labeling theory is critical to understanding the creation of boundaries between deviance and compliance and whom these boundaries inhibit and enable. Lemert's concept is outlined by primary (initial "deviant" act) and secondary (any subsequent "deviant" act) deviance. According to Lemert, primary deviance is the "actor's" initial (a person's first negative interaction with authority) act that causes an authority figure (criminal justice system) to label them a deviant. This reaction by the authority figure will remain primary to the "actor", as long as the labeled "actor" can rationalize the process (dispute charges through the judiciary branch) as a function of a socially acceptable role (prove innocence and retain non-deviant label).

If the "actor" who is labeled deviant reacts to the negative label by accepting the deviant label (convicted of crime) and continues to involve themselves in other deviant acts (further crime), this is termed as secondary deviance. This creates the critical factor towards becoming a career delinquent, movement by "actor" into deviant subculture (Dahrendorf, 1979). The "actor" (convicted deviant) surrounds himself with persons who can provide moral support and self-justifying rationale and may develop new forms of deviance in this environment. If minorities in Grand Rapids are labeled by judicial and/or media institutions (arrested or reported) as committing more crime, this can create a general negative perception among the general population towards an entire group or groups of people with similar characteristics. Those characteristics that may be similar are housing and/or neighborhoods, occupations or annual income and/or racial and ethnic indicators that can be used to identify and easily categorize groups of people as criminal. These characteristics can result from the lower wages found in minority groups in Grand Rapids and the clustering of minority neighborhoods discussed earlier. Labeling theory is very concerned with the one-on-one interaction created between those who are labeled deviant and those who are not, and subsequently segregated populations. Labeling helps to understand how the dominant culture imposes itself on sub-cultures in society; another theory must be used to explain the "why" in this question.

Conflict theory is utilized in this study to bring a macro-based understanding of the actions that occur in society and discussed in this study. In the view of conflict theory, certain forms of deviance represent behaviors that are in conflict with those powerful segments of society that shape public policy. Deviance in and of itself is a socially constructed category, thus a situation becomes criminal because a law defines it as such. Conflict theory views society not has shared values, but the outcome of struggles between two classes. Deviance is rooted in society's economic system, which has laws that are created to protect the interest of the ruling class. Laws are used to legitimize intervention by society's institutions of correction and control (i.e. police, family, religion, etc). These apparatuses often work against the poor and/or powerless, reflecting a certain institution's specific norms and values, which in capitalism emphasizes buying goods and accumulating wealth. The means to attain goods are out of reach for segments of society due to differential treatment by policy makers and law enforcers, creating wants but inadequate means for attaining the goals that society has created. This phenomenon tends to send a good proportion of members of society into a spiral or state of ambivalence, often referred within the realm of sociology as *anomie*. This kind of institutional discrimination is very evident in current drug laws which have placed longer prison sentences, as well has heavier fines, on people arrested with possession or distribution of crack, predominately sold in lower-class neighborhoods. While individuals arrested for cocaine, a purer form of crack used predominately by affluent drug users, receive smaller fines and shorter sentences (Feagin, 1991).

These theories provide the foundation for my research. The study uses the self-fulfilling prophecy perspective to understand the effect negative perceptions the larger community holds for sub-cultural communities can have for the sub-cultural community. Labeling theory is a framework to investigate any differential treatment that may appear in the criminal justice system and in the news reporting media regarding the involvement of racial/ethnic minorities involved in and/or associated with violent crime. Conflict theory uses a macro-level of analysis to understand the conditions that can create a disproportional representation of minorities within the criminal justice system from an institutional perspective. These conditions include laws created to prohibit any actions that threaten those in positions of power and protect the interest of the wealthy and the dominant ruling class. Existing inequality helps create a negative perception leading into labeling theory. This in turn helps us to understand the labels that are attached to different segments of society, especially those labels that involve crimes committed by those in the urban lower class. The negative perceptions of racial/ethnic minorities can create

negative outcomes; the expectations the community and institutions hold for a generalized group can create more negative activity than normal based on the expectations the community holds for that general group following the self-fulfilling prophecy perspective. The negative image the media creates towards minorities can help create negative acts from the segment of society negatively labeled by the larger society.

Methodology and Design

To conduct this research, I obtained the arrest reports from the Grand Rapids Police Department for the year 2001. The arrest reports were for violent crimes defined as assault, robbery, willful killing, sexual assault, and murder. These categories were selected with the assistance of Captain Rex Marks of the GRPD, who suggested them has meaningful and appropriate categories. These statistics were separated and categorized by race/ethnicity and compared to news articles in the local newspaper, the *Grand Rapids Press*. The study evaluates if minorities are over-represented in violent crime news articles relative to the number of crimes committed by minorities for the year of 2001 in Grand Rapids. The third data set used in this study was a questionnaire which provided an understanding of how individuals in Grand Rapids perceive different groups and their likelihood to commit violent crimes.

In gathering the data for this study, I encountered a few problems that I did not anticipate. In gathering the GRPD statistics used in the study, I have no knowledge as to weather those individuals who were arrested were actually found guilty of the crime charged. This occurred because cases may still be pending at the time the data were collected from the GRPD The files used in the study were only of individuals arrested for crimes, but may not have been incarcerated for the crime.

Forty-five violent crime news articles in the *Grand Rapids Press* were found and retrieved from the internet site www.Mlive.com, which retains archives of old Michigan newspapers. The website's search engine was used to find the violent crime news articles for the time frame of the study, 2001. Due to time and financial constraints of the study, it was not possible to take into account other mediums of news such as television or other printed press. These other news sources would have given the study a deeper perspective on how minorities are presented in news to the larger public.

A questionnaire instrument was the third data set used in this study. This instrument was designed to explore the perception of both racial/ethnic minorities as well as Caucasians on issues such as violent crime perpetrators, media coverage and distortions, and their attitudes towards minority stereotypes towards committing such crimes. Due to the extent of this research and the limited length of time, the sample population surveyed turned out somewhat narrow in scope. The questionnaire's sample population primarily included, but was not limited to, Grand Valley State University (GVSU) students. This occurred because I am a GVSU student and had greater access to students as a sample population. Another drawback of having mostly college students is that students tend to be aware of the tactics used in the questionnaire to assess discrimination amongst the general population towards minorities; the students know how to disguise any negative feelings or stereotypes they have about minorities.

When administering the questionnaire in the general community, it became apparent how difficult it is to survey the Latino community. Since the questionnaire was in English some unskilled factory workers in Grand Rapids could not complete the survey. The flaw resulted from the language barrier many Latinos face in the U.S. – a critical factor taken for granted by the researcher. The length of the survey also made it unfavorable for workers, who were on lunch break at the factory. Clerical workers avoided me or would take the questionnaire and return it incomplete or untouched. Future research would include English and Spanish surveys and appropriate time to complete the instrument as well.

Findings

A survey instrument, which consisted of a questionnaire, was developed with the aim to assess the public perception of minorities in relation to crime. The questionnaire consisted of approximately thirty-six questions, developed with the assistance and advice of Dr. Dennis Malaret. More specifically, the instrument was designed to assess the public perception in Grand Rapids towards crime in general and, in particular, crimes and its association with ethnic minorities.

The sample population in the study consisted of students at Grand Valley State University, clerical workers and administrators at a factory in the Grand Rapids area, along with educators and staff in the Grand Rapids Public School system. The survey is utilized in this study to evaluate if an over-representation of minorities in violent crime news articles and a negative perception of minorities exist in Grand Rapids and if the two phenomena are corollary.

The sample population was comprised of 62% women and 38% men. The age of the participants are as follows: 67% of the participants were 20-29; 10% were 30-39; 5% were 40-49; 7% were 50-59; and 9% were 60 and over. The racial composition of the survey group consisted of 64% Caucasian, 28% African American, and

8% Latino. The economic standing of the respondents was comprised as follows: 10% reported making an income under $10,000; 25% reported income of $10,000 to $20,000; 19% reported making $21,000 to $35,000; 14% reported making $36,000 to $50,000; 3% reported $51,000 to $65,000; and 9% reported making over $66,000. Interestingly, a total of 7% of the respondents reported Don't Know/Not Sure and 9% simply did not respond to this question.

In assessing some of the most salient findings as reported by the Grand Rapids Police Department data set, the researcher found that for the year 2001, African Americans accounted for 56% of violent crime arrests. Additionally, African Americans comprised 45% of mentions in news articles reporting violent crimes. On the other hand, Caucasian's arrest for violent crimes consisted of 29% of the cases and 30% of the news article mentions involving violent crime. Latinos, however, consisted of 10% of the violent crimes arrests. Interestingly, Latinos appeared disproportionately overrepresented amongst criminal involvement mentions in the media, comprising 21% of all mentions. Latinos appeared to be over-represented in news articles by over 10%, the highest percentage of any racial/ethnic group that was over-reported. This phenomenon of over-representation could have further implications in that it can lead to bias by the criminal justice system. Despite the fact that not all minority groups are being over-represented by the *Grand Rapids Press* news articles, the general institutional practices can often lump these groups together. This can be caused by similar economic situations that can result from occupational and/or residency similarities, or other media institutions, therefore negative misrepresentations of one minority group can engender similar patterns of bias towards other minority groups within this area of study.

Table 2

Characteristics	n=	% of Sample Population
Gender	55	
Male	21	38%
Female	34	61%
Age of Respondent	55	
20-29	36	67%
30-39	7	10%
40-49	3	5%
50-59	4	7%
60 and over	5	9%
Race/Ethnic Background	55	
African American	16	28%
Caucasian	35	64%
Latino	4	8%
Household Income	55	
Under 10,000	6	10%
10,000-20,000	14	25%
21,000-35,000	11	19%
36,000-50,000	8	14%
51,000-65,000	3	3%
66,000 and over	5	9%
Don't Know/Not Sure	3	7%
Did Not Answer	5	9%

Table #3: *News Articles Reporting Violent Crime*

	# of Articles	%
African American	21	45%
Caucasian	14	30%
Latino	10	21%
Asian and/or Pacific Islanders	1	2%
N =	46	

Note: Percent totals may not add up to 100 due to rounding. *(Grand Rapids Press, 2001)*

Table #4: *Violent crime for 2001 in Grand Rapids, Michigan*
figures furnished by the Grand Rapids Police Department

	Assault	Robbery	Sexual Assault	Willful Killing	Murder	Total
African American	330 56%	90 58%	16 47%	7 70%	5 71%	448 56%
Caucasian	178 30%	45 29%	8 24%	0 0%	2 29%	233 29%
Latino	56 9%	14 9%	8 24%	3 30%	0 0%	81 10%
Unknown	23 3%	5 3%	2 6%	0 0%	0 0%	30 4%
Total	587	154	34	10	7	792

Note: Percent totals may not equal 100 due to rounding

The survey had some interesting findings in terms of how minorities were perceived by non-minority respondents. A direct question asked "*which of the following groups do you think is most likely to be involved in violent crime?*" and the respondents were given various choices between racial/ethnic groups. From this question, 41% of the respondents agreed that African Americans commit more violent crimes; 30% selected Latinos; 17% selected Caucasians; 5% selected Arabs; 2% selected Asian or Pacific Islanders; 25% answered Don't Know; and 12% did not select an answer. When compared to other racial/ethnic groups, African Americans and Latinos were selected most often by the sample population as being involved in violent crime. In the questionnaire, questions 16 through 21 stated "*I believe violent crimes are committed by…*" and different racial/ethnic groups were inserted at the end of this statement. The respondents were given the choice to strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree. The responses given by the surveyed population were as follow: 1% believed that Asians are more likely to be involved in violent crimes; 35% indicated Latinos; 54% indicated African Americans; 25% indicated Arabs; 43% indicated Caucasians; and 20% indicated Native Americans. These findings clearly show that African Americans and Caucasians were identified as the groups most likely to commit violent crime. The finding from the sample population agrees with the data from the GRPD arrest records: Caucasians and African Americans are the two groups who are perceived as and who commit the most violent crime in Grand Rapids. Arab and Native Americans had relatively high perception of likelihood to commit violent crime, according to the respondents, yet this group was not reported in any category indicating criminal activity in neither arrest reports from GRPD nor *Grand Rapids Press* news articles. Any negative perception towards Arab Americans may have been triggered by the aftermath of the September 11th attack on the N.Y. World Trade Center and by other Arab vs. non-Arabs global conflicts. Additionally, the instrument was administered less than two months before the second anniversary of September 11th, which could have had some influence in how the respondents expressed their feelings and beliefs. Similarly, perceptions towards Native Americans could have come from external sources (i.e. media, Hollywood, distorted history, etc.) other than the *Grand Rapids Press*.

Table #5: *Perceptions of Minority Groups Involvement with Violent Crimes*

Race/Ethnicity	% of Sample Population
African Americans	41%
Arabic	5%
Asian/Pacific Islander	2%
Caucasian	17%
Latino	30%
Native American	0%
Don't Know/Not Sure	25%
Did Not Answer	12%

Multiple selections were possible, may not add up to 100.

Table #6

Statement	Percentage of the Sample Population that Agree or Strongly Agree
I believe violent crimes are mostly committed by:	
African Americans	54%
Arabs	25%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1%
Caucasians	43%
Latinos	35%
Native American	20%

Multiple selections were possible, does not add up to 100

As part of the questionnaire instrument, direct statements such as, "*For the most part, I believe violent crimes are committed by Asians*" were included. The individuals then had the opportunity to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree with such statement at varying intervals. Other questions (See Appendix, questions 17-22) included attempts to evaluate how the individual being surveyed viewed other minority groups and whether the individual felt these "*different groups*" are more likely to be involved in criminality. This questionnaire involved bold statements with varying intervals of agreement or disagreement to gauge how an individual felt about other cultures and/or races. Attitudinal perceptions, either positive or negative, may not always reflect an individual's truthful feelings due to the fact that the individuals may not consider themselves as biased.

Biased or prejudice feelings may not be forthcoming. For this reason, questions that clearly identified the race/ethnicity of hypothetical criminal offenders were used along with questions that did not specify race/ethnicity. These questions involved differences from the dominant group in Grand Rapids regarding social class, culture, and socialization and were formulated to indirectly associate minorities. The realities of minority

clustering in occupation (low-wage earning jobs), residency (low-income housing areas), and socialization (differences in gestures, speech and dress than the dominant class) were used to identify perception of minorities by the sample population. Indirect questions implicating these characteristics were developed to assess the sample population's perceptions of a minority's likelihood to commit violent crime.

Questions indirectly involving race/ethnicity findings were much more significant. Interestingly, 69% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that violent crimes are committed by the poor. Of the population sampled, 46% agreed or strongly agreed that violent criminals come from a culture that encourages crime. Interestingly, 39% of the sample population agreed or strongly agreed that violent criminals lack the values of a traditional American citizen. We could make the generalization from these statements that the vast majority of the non-minority respondents believe violent criminals are not raised within the American culture and society, thus are likely to come from other cultures and societies. Although minorities are not directly indicated, one can infer that these statements are referring to minorities.

In reference to media portrayal of violent criminals with regards to race/ethnicity, 38% of the sampled population agreed or strongly agreed that minorities were fairly portrayed by the media, yet 56% of the same sample population agreed or strongly agreed that there is a bias in the way the media portrays crime.

Approximately 58% of the sample population reported receiving their information from television news, 38% from newspaper, 30% from personal experience and friends, 23% from family, and 12% reported as "Other" as

Table #7

Statement	Percentage of the Sample Population that Agree or Strongly Agree
I believe violent crimes are more often committed by the poor	69%
Those who commit violent crime, do so because they come from a culture that encourages crime	46%
Those who commit violent crime, lack the cultural values of the traditional American citizen	39%

Table #8

Statement	Percentage of the Sample Population that Agree or Strongly Agree
The news reporting media accurately portrays violent criminals in regards to race/ethnicity	38%
There is a bias in the way the media portrays crime	56%

Table #9

Where Does Your Information Come From?	Percentage of Sample Population
Television News	58%
Newspaper	38%
Personal Experience	30%
Friends	30%

their news source with no specifics provided. A contradiction appears where the sample population feels that particular racial and ethnic groups are responsible for violent crime (African Americans and Latinos), yet also that a bias exists in how the media portrays crime. Latinos, an ethnic group over-represented in the *Grand Rapids Press*, is considered to be a racial/ethnic group largely responsible for violent crime according to respondents. In concluding this section of the research, it is important to remark that this sample population consisted of mostly traditional undergraduate college students at Grand Valley State University. A further elaboration of this research would include incorporating a larger sample population where a more diverse sample population can be used. Such research will certainly help to understand the nature, extent, and complexity of the problem under scrutiny.

Concluding Remarks

The inequities concerning the disparity between arrest rates compared with population rates for minorities is a prevailing problem in our current society. Minority over-representation in negative media depictions, traffic stop pretexts, arrests, and prison populations have led to negative perceptions of minority groups by the general population. Contributing to the already serious problems facing minorities in terms of negative depictions by the media and negative perceptions by the general public (the labeling perspective process) is the continual clustering of minorities into low-wage jobs and segregated housing areas in Grand Rapids. This in turn tends to reinforce (self-fulfilling prophecy) the negative perceptions of the general public and media in the individual and may lead to eventual class conflicts (as delineated by conflict theory) associated with income inequalities.

The study set out to examine minority over-representation in violent crime news articles relative to the number of actual crimes committed in Grand Rapids for the year 2001. A questionnaire instrument was also developed and administered within Grand Rapids to evaluate public perception of minority's likelihood to commit violent crime in Grand Rapids. These three instruments of research posed some limitations in the formulation of this research.

Gathering statistics from the GRPD arrest reports for the year 2001, the researcher had no knowledge as to whether those individuals who were arrested were actually found guilty and imprisoned for the crimes. Additionally, a number of cases were still pending at the time the data was recorded at the GRPD At the time the data was submitted by GRPD in the spring of 2003, the number of cases ending in incarceration was omitted, making it difficult for the researcher to know which of those cases did result in actual incarceration. Thus, the files used in this study consisted only of those individuals who were arrested for crimes, but who may not have been incarcerated for the crime.

The violent crime news articles used in the *Grand Rapids Press* were gathered from the Mlive internet site (www.mlive.com). Due to the scope of the research and time constraints, it was not possible to take into account other mediums of news such as television and other printed press. These other news sources may have shed light on how minorities are represented in news to the larger audience.

The questionnaire's sample population was limited to mostly Grand Valley State University students. When administering the questionnaire in the general community, difficulty was faced with Latinos who only spoke Spanish since the questionnaire was written only in English language. It became apparent that many Latinos could not complete the survey within the time frame allowed or simply could not respond to any of the questions because they could not read in English. Additionally, the length of the questionnaire created problems with potential participants who could not or did not find it pertinent to dedicate their lunch time to answer the instrument.

Throughout this study, the researchers found that Latinos are over-represented in violent crime articles relative to the number of violent crimes committed for 2001 by a margin of about 10% compared to other ethnic/minority groups. African Americans were under reported by about 11% compared to Latinos. Given the opportunity, the African American under-representation found in violent crime may not have been such for other types of crime such as drug violations, traffic stops, etc. Although my data did not display an over-representation for all minority groups, this does not necessarily mean other minority groups may not be over-represented in other criminal statistics or misrepresented in other forms of media in Grand Rapids. Here we leave an opened window to further research on this area. The media looked at in this study was limited to one form of media and further study into different types and forms of media, including where in the news it is being placed, could be used in order to have a clearer perception of how minorities are being portrayed. Roughly 30% of all of the total violent crimes committed in Grand Rapids for 2001 had a race/ethnicity designation as unknown and as a matter of speculation, it is possible that some of those individuals could have belonged to a Latino or any other race/ethnicity group.

Future research in this area would include a larger sample population and a questionnaire developed in both English

and Spanish. Further research would attempt to expand on the number of media sources used such as television and other printed press. Grand Rapids can be used as a microcosm to be compared to a more macro-level of analyses (i.e. to a national level) to assess the nature, extent, and magnitude of the problem in Grand Rapids as well as in West Michigan at large as compared to the larger U.S. society.

Appendix

Privacy Statement: Your anonymity will be guaranteed. All information furnished in this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential and will be used solely for this research purposes.

Please fill out this questionnaire as honestly and truthfully as possible. Since your name will not be asked, it is important that you record the answer that best suits your opinion. Please complete the entire form which will not take more than 12 minutes. This is not a test, therefore NO answer is right or wrong. Thank you for your time and for participating in this research.

1. State your gender: ____ Female ____ Male

2. Among what age group do you fit in: ____ 20-29____ 30-39____40-49
   ____ 50-59____ 60 or older.

3. Would you consider yourself primarily:
   ____ African American ____ Caucasian
   ____ Arabic ____ Latino
   ____ Asian/Pacific Islander ____ Native American
   ____ Don't Know/Not Sure
   ____ Other (Please Specify:_____)

4. In which geographical area do you live within Grand Rapids?
   ____ North East (Specify _____)
   ____ North West (Specify _____)
   ____ South East (Specify _____)
   ____ South West (Specify _____)

5. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
   ____ 8th grade or less ____ Some High School
   ____ High School Graduate or GED certificate ____ Some College
   ____ Associate Degree (2 years) ____ Refuse to answer
   ____ Bachelor Degree(4 years) ____ Some Technical school
   ____ Technical school graduate ____ Higher Education (MA/PhD)

6. Which of the following categories best describes your household income from all sources?
   ____ Under $10,000 ____ $10,000 to 20,000 ____ $21,000 to 35,000
   ____ $36,000 to 50,000 ____ $51,000 to 65,000 ____ $66,000 and over
   ____ Don't know/not sure

7. What kind of work do you normally do? That is what is or was your job called?
   ____ Operators ____ Precision production craft
   ____ Educators ____ Professional occupations
   ____ Technical ____ Support occupations
   ____ Farm laborer ____ Sales
   ____ Administrative ____ Social Worker
   ____ Service occupations ____ Non-profit organization
   ____ None of the above ____ Managerial occupations
   ____ Other(Specify_____)

8. Are you currently working?
   _____Full-time(35 hours or more)
   _____Part-time (1-34 hours)
   _____Out or work for more than one year
   _____Out of work for less than one year
   _____Homemaker
   _____Student
   _____Retired

Question 9, 10, 11 asks you about what is your perception of violent crime in the Grand Rapids area. As you read the following questions and/or statements, please indicate whether you STRONGLY AGREE, AGREE, DISAGREE, OR STRONGLY DISAGREE.

9. There is a serious violent crime problem in Grand Rapids, acts of violence against individuals injuring or harming the victim such as rape, assault, murder, armed robbery, and so on.
   _____ Strongly Agree
   _____ Agree
   _____ Disagree
   _____ Strongly Disagree
   _____Don't Know/Not sure

10. What area of Grand Rapids do you consider suffers from the highest number of violent crime?
    _____North East (Specify _____)
    _____North West (Specify _____)
    _____South East (Specify _____)
    _____South West (Specify _____)

11. What types of crimes occur in the specified area? Please check all that apply.
    ___Assault
    ___Burglary
    ___Robbery
    ___Murder
    ___Theft
    ___Rape
    ___Larceny
    ___Hate Crimes
    ___Other (Specify_____)
    ___No crime at all

12. To the best of your knowledge, which of the following groups do you think is most likely to involved violent crime?
    _____ African American _____ Caucasian
    _____Arabic _____ Latino
    _____Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Native American
    _____Don't Know/Not Sure
    _____Other (Please Specify:_____)

13. How serious would you say is violent crime in your neighborhood?
    _____Very serious problem
    _____Serious problem
    _____Somewhat a problem
    _____No problem at all
    _____No comment

14. Where does your information come from?
    _____News,
    _____Newspapers,
    _____Movies,
    _____Statistical reports,
    _____Personal experience
    _____Friends
    _____Family
    _____Other(Specify_____)

15. What kind of violent crimes do exist in your community?
    ___Assault
    ___Burglary
    ___Robbery
    ___Murder
    ___Theft
    ___Rape
    ___Larceny
    ___Hate Crimes
    ___Other (Specify_____)
    ___No crime at all

For the following statements please indicate to what extent do you Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree with each statement

16. For the most part, I believe that violent crimes are committed by Asians.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. For the most part, I believe that violent crimes are committed by Latinos/Hispanics.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

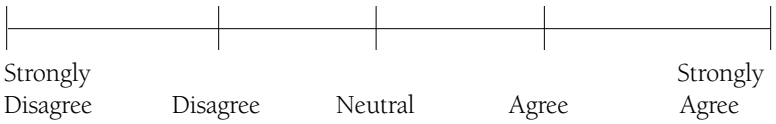
18. For the most part, I believe that violent crimes are committed by African Americans.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

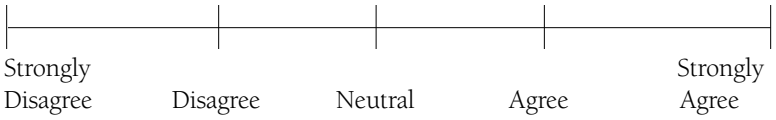
19. For the most part, I believe that violent crimes are committed by Arabs.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

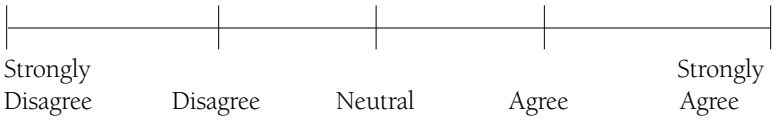
20. For the most part, I believe that violent crimes are committed by Caucasians.



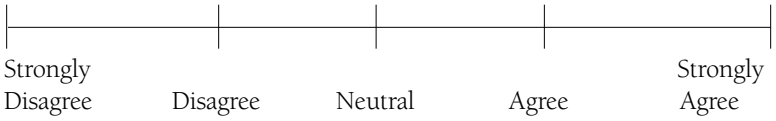
21. For the most part, I believe violent crimes are committed by Native Americans.



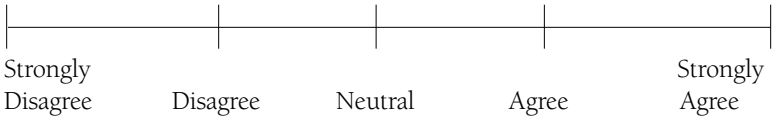
22. On the average violent crimes are more often committed by the poor.



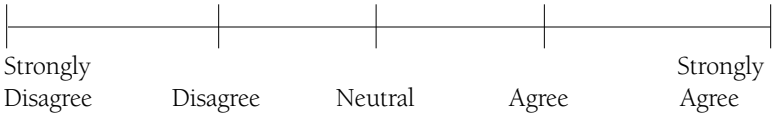
23. Those involved in violent crime do so because of cultural deficiencies on the part of the perpetrators.



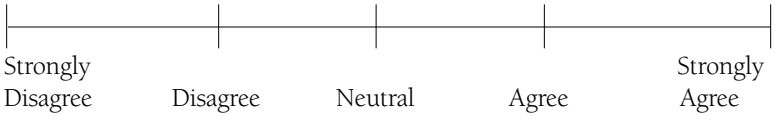
24. Those who commit violent crime, lack the cultural values of the traditional American citizen.



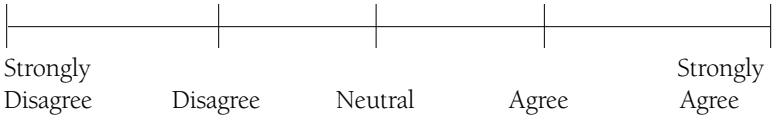
25. Those who commit violent crime, do so because they come from a culture that encourages crime.



26. Those individuals, who commit violent crime, do so because they are too lazy or lack motivation to find jobs.



27. On the average violent crime is due to poor socialization and/or lack of social skills by the perpetrators.



28. Do you know any one who has ever been the victim of violent crimes?
_____YES _____NO

29a. Have you ever been the victim of violent crime?
_____YES _____NO

29b. If yes, what crime were you the victim of?

_____

The following questions pertain to the media and its depiction of crime

30. I believe the news reporting media presents fair and accurate portrayals of minorities in news reports and stories.

Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree

31. The news reporting media accurately portrays violent criminals in regards to race/ethnicity.

Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree

32. There is a bias in the way the media portrays crime.

Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree

33. Minorities are often unfairly represented by the media.

Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree

34. Minorities are often overlooked by the media in regards to crime.

Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree

35. There is no bias in how the media portrays minorities

Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly Agree

36. Any other comments or statements you would like to add?

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Understanding Prehistoric Ceramic Technology from the Grand River Valley

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ABSTRACT

This research focused on understanding the production process of ceramic construction (technological choices of potters) during the Woodland Period in western Michigan. This ultimately provided information regarding choices not only pertaining to style but also to material choices and firing strategies of early societies. The research involved the replication of pottery sherds, which were then compared to a sample of Early Woodland, Middle Woodland, and Late Woodland sherds from sites in the Grand River valley by using petrographic analysis. These sherds were extracted from the Prison Farm (20IA58), Norton Mounds (20KT1), Spoonville (20OT1), and the Converse Mounds sites (20KT2). Technological changes were recorded and analyzed for a small sample of Woodland sherds from these sites that dated between 700 B.C. and A.D. 1000.

Introduction

Ceramics are important in archaeology because they convey information about site chronology (dates of occupation), site function, and relationships with other archaeological sites and regions. In addition, ceramics display information about production, consumption, and distribution practices of the people who made them (Chilton, 1998). The concept of technological style focuses on the relationship between techniques of ceramic production and society. Technological style concentrates on the sequence and use of pottery, as well as its appearance or what it suggests about a culture. The focus is on the makers and users of the ceramics, which provides a glimpse into social relations (Chilton, 1999; Chilton, 1998).

This paper examines Early, Middle, and Late Woodland ceramic collections from the Prison Farm (20IA58), Norton Mounds (20KT1), Spoonville (20OT1), and Converse Mounds (20KT2) sites in western Michigan (Figure 1). The purpose of this study was to define the production process of ceramics during the Woodland period in Michigan (800 B.C to A.D. 1650) and to identify technological choices of potters and how these changed over time. The first objective of this research was to describe the local clays and tempers so that they could be compared to archaeological samples from sites where importation and exchange has been suggested.

The testing of hypotheses concerning material choices through time was another objective of this study. Elizabeth S. Chilton (1998) stated that, "Quartz…is not an optimal inclusion type for cooking pots; it expands much more quickly than clay and can lead to crack initiation" (p. 149). Thus, it can be assumed that potters would eventually select clays that would have a lower percentage of quartz and there would be a declining percentage of quartz in pottery over time. Another

hypothesis that was tested involved temper size over time. It has been suggested that temper size declines as time goes on (Brashler, personal communication, June 18, 2003). Since larger temper sizes are undesirable for firing because they can lead to cracks and poor ceramic quality, it would make sense that the potters would learn to use smaller pieces of temper in their pottery.

Previous analysis (Brashler, Laidler, & Martin, 1998; Brashler, 1991) suggests that there are significant technological differences between Early, Middle, and Late Woodland ceramics that can be identified in the region. Research involving stylistic differentiation and Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) has been initiated, but technological analyses proposed here will incorporate and refine previous preliminary work. Previous research has focused mostly on qualitative stylistic changes between Early, Middle, and Late Woodland ceramics (Chilton, 1998; Garland & Beld, 1999; Kingsley, 1990; Kingsley, 1999). There have also been studies conducted on imported or trade vessels during the Middle Woodland. It has been suggested that most of the vessels in western Michigan during the Middle Woodland period were influenced, traded, or imported from Illinois based on similar qualitative characteristics (Kingsley, 1990; Kingsley, 1999). Unlike most of the previous research, this research focused on technological data and will ultimately be integrated with ongoing stylistic and INAA analyses.

Figure 1. *Map of Archaeological Sites in Western Michigan*

Background

The Early Woodland period spans from approximately 800 B.C. to 200 B.C. (Fitting, 1975). The Early Woodland period in Michigan represents a transition from a foraging society to one that incorporated the cultivation of plants. It is also characterized by the introduction of squash and sunflower, which coincides with the use of the earliest pottery and the construction of burial mounds (Garland & Beld, 1999). Although many sites may lack pottery, Marion Thick pottery, Kramer points, and coil cordmarked pottery are the trademarks of this period. Other early forms of pottery that are believed to have been constructed during the latter part of the Early Woodland period include Shiawassee Ware and Mushroom Cordmarked pottery (Garland & Beld).

The Middle Woodland period refers to when most of eastern North America was dominated by the Hopewellian culture, between 200 B.C. and A.D. 400 (Fitting, 1975). The Middle Woodland era in Michigan reflects strong patterns of elaborate burial mounds (especially in Southern Michigan) and the importance of fishing (Fitting; Kingsley, 1999). This time period depicts several different settings of cultural development. The categories, *Southern Michigan* and

Northern Michigan, are used to clarify the Middle Woodland era in Michigan. In Southern Michigan, Hopewellian expressions are divided into two distinct regional traditions and several temporal phases (Kingsley, 1999). Southern Michigan consists of the "Norton Tradition," which is used to signify Hopewell expressions in western Michigan and the Grand River Valley. However, it has been suggested that Havana and perhaps Ohio Hopewellian people actually moved and settled into western Michigan (Kingsley, 1990; Kingsley, 1999). Norton Tradition ceramics and associated "authentic Illinois" Havana Ware at the Norton Mounds site and other types of ceramics present in this region, such as Michigan copies of Havana Ware, appear to be imitations of original Illinois Havana Ware (Kingsley, 1999). Havana Ware, Western Basin Ware, Crockery Ware, Hacklander Ware, and Norton Ware are all representative of Middle Woodland pottery styles in Michigan (Kingsley, 1999).

The Late Woodland time period extends from approximately A.D. 400 to the time of European contact at about 1650 A.D. It immediately precedes and is the base for the tribal societies that were encountered by the earliest European explorers (Holman & Brashler, 1999). There is evidence of seasonal migrations, regional adaptations, important kinship ties, and food storage. The association of ceramic styles with particular regions indicates regional adaptations. Different kinds of chert were used to preserve relationships with close kin, marriage partners, and other neighbors. These close kinship ties helped groups in times of food scarcity. Furthermore, ceramic styles were very similar, which suggests close relationships among potters and their groups (Holman & Brashler).

After A.D. 1000, chert was no longer given as gifts and boundaries between groups became more strictly enforced. Groups probably traded maize for game (Holman & Brashler, 1999). Earthworks and rock art also surfaced during this time period (Zurel, 1999). The major types of pottery present in the Late Woodland period in the study area are Allegan Ware, Spring Creek Ware, Bowerman Ware, Skegemog Ware, and Mackinac Ware (Holman & Brashler, 1999).

Methodology

This research involved the replication of pottery sherds to begin gaining an understanding of the production strategies and technological choices of Woodland Period potters. An experimental process was employed to control a variety of conditions. First, three different clay sources were chosen for the experimental test-tiles. One source, which was called the Baldwin clay, was taken approximately 20 feet underground from a construction site on Baldwin Street near Allendale, Michigan. Another clay source was taken from a streambed 300 meters from the Spoonville site near the Grand River in Nunica, Michigan. Interestingly, the name *Nunica* means "place of clay" in Anishnabek, the language of the Potawatomi and Ottawa Indians who inhabited the region historically. This was called the Spoonville clay. The third clay source, the Forest Hills Northern clay, was obtained from a streambed tributary to the Grand River east of Grand Rapids, Michigan.

After the clay sources were chosen, three different types of temper were selected to be included in some of the test-tiles. Temper refers to a material, either mineral or organic, that is intentionally added to a clay source to improve its working, drying, or firing properties (Rice, 1987; Shepard, 1956). The three types of temper that were chosen for this study included mica schist, gabbro, and granite. Each rock was grinded and crushed into smaller pieces and then put into separate cups. The cups that included the mica schist and gabbro temper all contained roughly 30 milliliters of temper. Meanwhile, the granite-tempered cups had about 50 milliliters of temper, except for one cup, which only had about 45 milliliters. The overall weight of the temper (in grams) was written on the outside of each cup.

Next, the clay was prepared before it was made into test-tiles. The clay was deposited into a graduated bucket with water. The amount of clay and water was recorded so the process would be easy to replicate in order to make more clay. When the correct mixture of water and clay was achieved, the clay was wedged to reduce the size and number of air pockets. Then, the wedged clay was made into test-tiles by using a 10 cm x 10 cm, 3.5 inch thick template. For each clay source, four test-tiles did not include temper while six test-tiles did include temper. Of the six tempered test-tiles, two contained the mica schist temper, two others had gabbro, and the final two included granite temper. Thus, each clay source had ten test-tiles, four without temper and six with temper for a total number of thirty experimental test-tiles. After the test-tiles were made, tick marks were put onto the back of each test-tile to measure the shrinkage after firing.

The firing of the test-tiles was conducted next. Two separate types of kilns were used: one for oxidation and one for reduction. Oxidation refers to a firing atmosphere that is characterized by an abundance of free oxygen, while reduction refers to an atmosphere in which oxygen is removed from substances or materials (Druc & Velde, 1999; Rice, 1987). For each clay, two untempered test-tiles were fired in an oxidized environment, while the other two untempered test-tiles were fired in a reduced environment. The other six tempered test-tiles were all fired using oxidation. The test-tiles were also fired at two different temperatures: 650 and 900 degrees Celsius.

After the firing of the test-tiles, the amount of shrinkage and Munsell color changes were measured and recorded for each test-tile. Then, parts of each test-tile were cut off and sent to Spectrum Petrographics, Inc. to get them thin-sectioned. Thin sections are approximately 0.03 mm thick (Rice, 1987). The petrographic point counting technique developed by Stoltman (1989, 1991) was used to compare these thin sections with thin sections of ceramics from the selected Woodland sites in western Michigan. Point counting provides a way to measure relationships between matrix and temper in different samples. In addition, qualitative data on the minerals in each rock and a number of other categories of data were recorded. For example, some of the categories were percentage coarse fraction to percentage fine fraction ratio, fine fraction, coarse fraction, optical activity, sorting, grain-size, angularity, and homogeneity. At least one hundred points were counted for each thin section, and the points were recorded on an ordinal scale according to the type and size of each mineral under 100X power. Anything smaller than .0625 mm was recorded as clay "matrix." All other minerals were recorded based on these size categories: very fine sand (.0625-.125 mm), fine sand (.125-.25 mm), medium sand (.25-.50 mm), coarse sand (.50-1.0 mm), very coarse sand (1.0-2.0 mm), granule (2.0-4.0 mm), and pebble (4.0-64.0 mm). Once these data were recorded, a temper size index and quartz-sand size index were computed. (See Stoltman, 1991, p. 108-109 for this formula.) Finally, ternary diagrams comparing percent quartz sand, percent temper, and percent matrix were constructed for the sample of archaeological ceramics and experimental test-tiles. Pie charts were also constructed to compare the components of each clay source and the archaeological samples.

Results

One result of this initial research is that two of the clay sources that were chosen for the experimental test-tiles appear to be very similar while one clay source was very different from the other two. First of all, the average shrinkage of the Forest Hills Northern (FHN) and Spoonville clay sources was very similar and the Baldwin clay was much different (Table 1). The untempered FHN clay had a mean shrinkage of 0.7 cm while the tempered FHN clay had an average shrinkage of 0.64 cm. Similarly, the untempered Spoonville clay had an average shrinkage of 0.625 cm and the tempered test-tiles had an average shrinkage of 0.617 cm. On the other hand, the untempered Baldwin clay source had an average shrinkage of zero cm while the tempered Baldwin clay had a mean shrinkage of 0.2 cm.

Figure 2 illustrates attributes of the untempered and tempered Baldwin clay. It is important to notice the percent matrix and percent quartz for the Baldwin clay. For both the untempered and tempered clays, there was roughly 73-76% matrix, while the percent quartz ranged roughly from 17-18%. When compared to Figure 3 and Figure 4, it is obvious how different the Baldwin clay source is from the other two. The Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays have a much higher percentage of matrix and a much lower percentage of quartz. The untempered Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays have approximately 95-97% matrix while the tempered test-tiles have about 88-92% matrix. Furthermore, the percent quartz for the untempered and tempered Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays were only about one to four percent. It is important to remember that the Baldwin clay came from 20 feet below the ground in a pond excavation while the other two, more similar clays came from streambed contexts. This most likely accounts for the differences between the Baldwin clay and the Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays. It should also be noted that the Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays seemed to fire better than the Baldwin clay.

Table 1. *Mean Shrinkage of Experimental Clay Sources*

	Baldwin Clay	Forest Hills Northern Clay	Spoonville Clay
Untempered Test-tiles	0 cm	0.7 cm	0.625 cm
Tempered Test-tiles	0.2 cm	0.64 cm	0.617 cm

Figure 2. *Baldwin Clay Attributes*

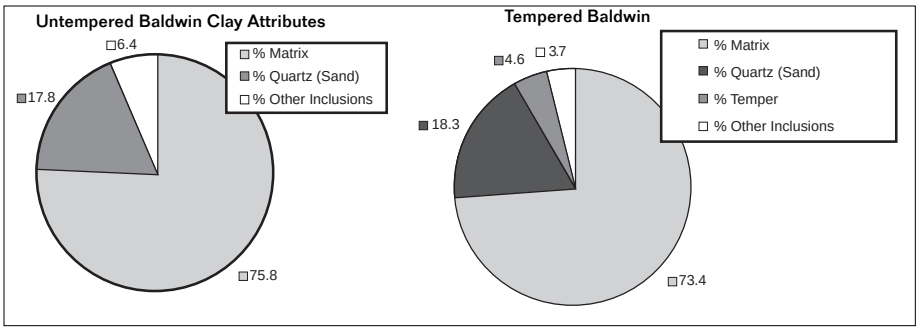


Figure 3. *Forest Hills Northern Clay Attributes*

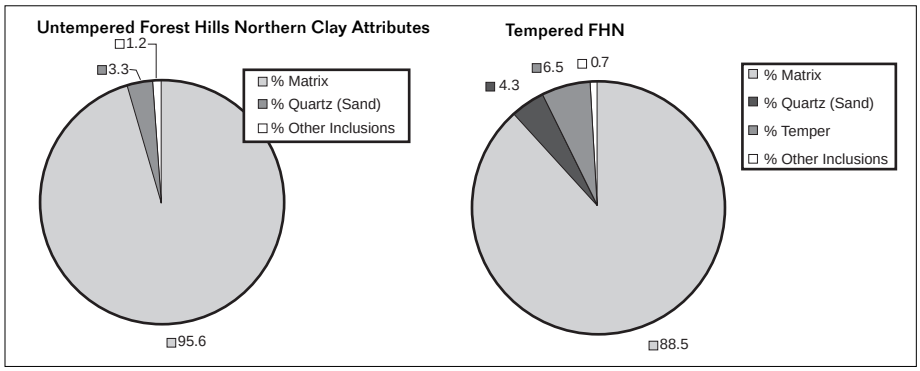


Figure 4. *Spoonville Clay Attributes*

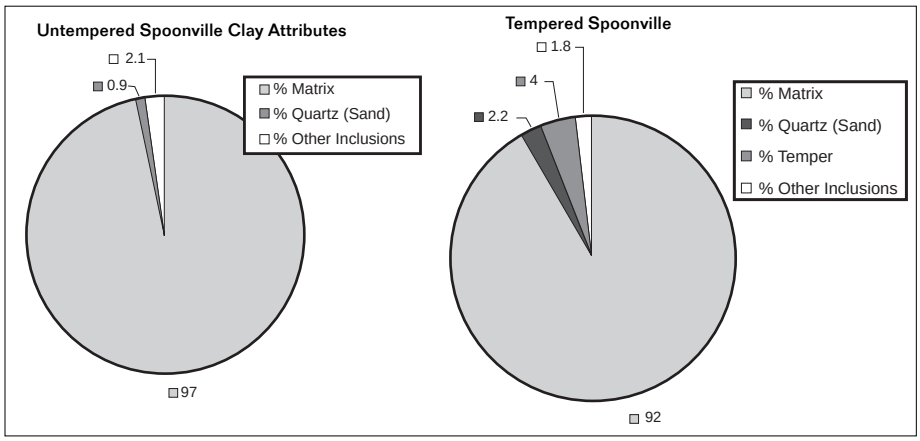
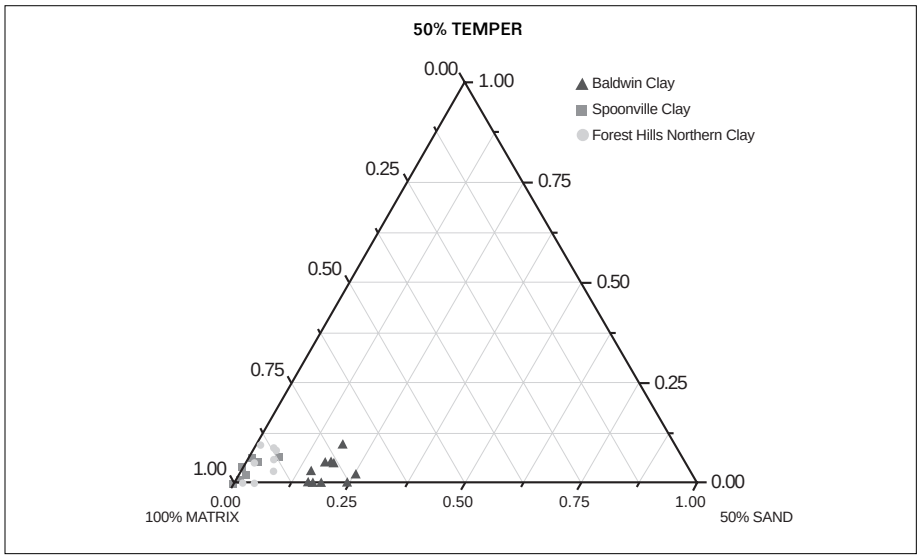


Figure 5. *Ternary Diagram of Clay/Raw Material Attributes*



Once the attributes of the clay sources were investigated, they were compared to archaeological samples from the sites in western Michigan by using ternary diagrams. Figure 5 demonstrates the previously mentioned differences between the Baldwin clay and the Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays. Once again, the similarities between the Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays are demonstrated by the overlapping of the points. The points representing Baldwin clay are clearly separate from the other two.

Figure 6 displays the same data as Figure 5 but the archaeological samples are added according to the site where they were found. Interestingly, the samples from the Spoonville site did not match the grouping from the Spoonville clay source. There is no apparent patterning according to site location. All samples are mostly well scattered. The Prison Farm samples are the most closely patterned but even these have a couple outliers. However, it appears that most of the points from the archaeological sites occur between the 75-87.5% matrix, 0-12.5% quartz sand, and the 10.5-24% temper ranges.

Figure 7 reveals the archaeological sample attributes based on types. Some of the types used, such as Norton Ware, Hopewell Ware, and the *Other* category, were introduced by Kingsley (1990). To gear the types more toward this research, Early Woodland (EW), Early Late Woodland, Hacklander, and Sister Creeks Ware were added. In this graph, instead of plotting all test-tiles being plotted, only tempered test-tiles were averaged and plotted because all archaeological samples, except one, were tempered. One interesting point is that two of the Early Woodland sherds lay as outliers with more percent quartz sand, which makes sense according to the hypothesis that the percent quartz sand would decrease as time went on. However, there are three Early Woodland sherds that lie within the major grouping, which are mostly Middle Woodland sherds. Additionally, the Early Late Woodland sherds pattern nicely together but even these group with a number of the Middle Woodland sherds. Lastly, it is interesting to note that the plotted point labeled *Other* is a limestone-tempered sherd, which was probably imported from Illinois. Limestone-tempered pottery is representative of classic Hopewell Ware that has been imported from Illinois (Kingsley, 1990), but limestone temper also occurs in Hopewell series ceramics from Ohio (Prufer, 1968).

When comparing the test-tile attributes to the archaeological sample, Figures 8-11 illustrate the differences and similarities. Interestingly, when compared to Figures 2-4 of the clay sources, the archaeological samples all have a much higher percentage of temper. For example, the Norton Mounds, Converse Mounds, and Spoonville sites all have about 11% temper while the Prison Farm sample has about 13%. Also, they all have a higher percentage of quartz sand. The lowest percent of quartz sand (4.8%) is from the Prison Farm sample. Spoonville site has 9.2%; Converse Mounds has 13.9%; and Norton Mounds has 15.3% quartz sand. These are all higher percent quartz than the clay sources have. The higher percentages of quartz in the archaeological samples can be attributed to predominance of granitic rock use as temper based on the mineralogical observations. Furthermore, when first analyzing these data, it can be easy to make a mistake and say that because of the percent matrix of between 70 and 79, the archaeological samples are most like the Baldwin clay. However, when examined more closely, one realizes that the much higher percentages of temper account for the lower percentages of matrix and the higher percentages of quartz. As was the case for the experimental clay sources, the more temper that was added, the more it added to the percent quartz. Thus, if the percent temper is subtracted from these pie charts, the percent matrix, quartz,

Figure 6. *Ternary Diagram of a Comparison between Clay Source Attributes and Archaeological Sample Attributes by Site*

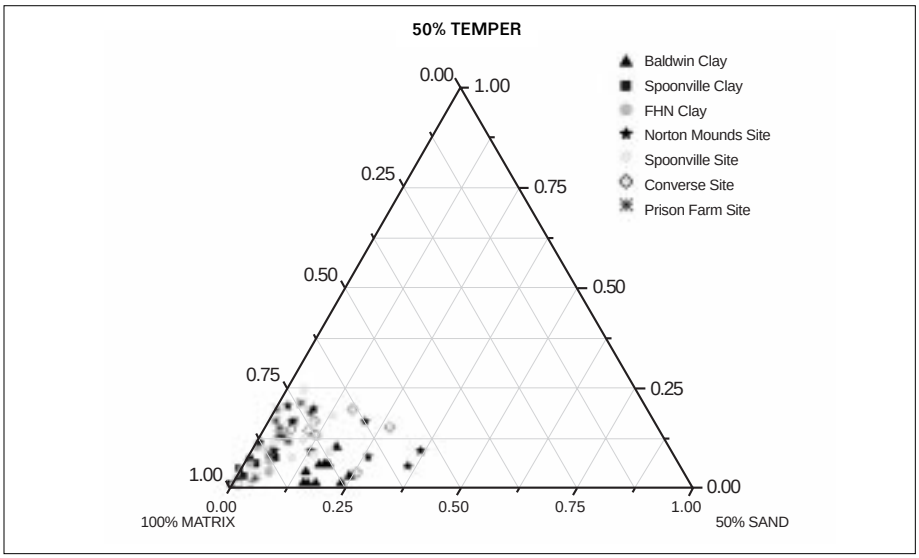


Figure 7. *Ternary Diagram of Archaeological Sample Attributes by Type*

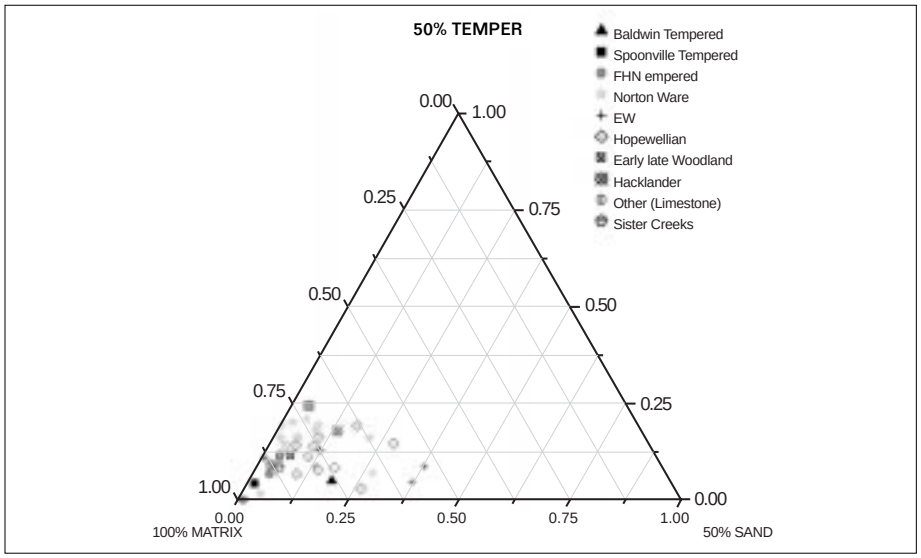


Figure 8. *Compositional Attributes of Norton Mounds Site Ceramics (Note: Includes both Early and Middle Woodland data).*

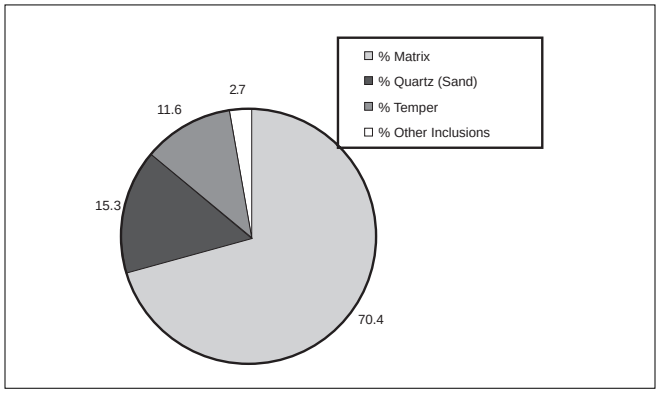


Figure 9. *Compositional Attributes of Converse Mounds Site Ceramics (Note: Includes both Early and Middle Woodland data).*

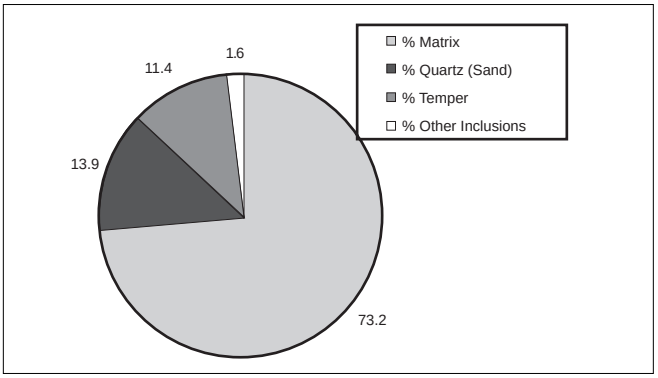


Figure 10. *Compositional Attributes of Prison Farm Site Ceramics (Note: Includes both Early and Middle Woodland data).*

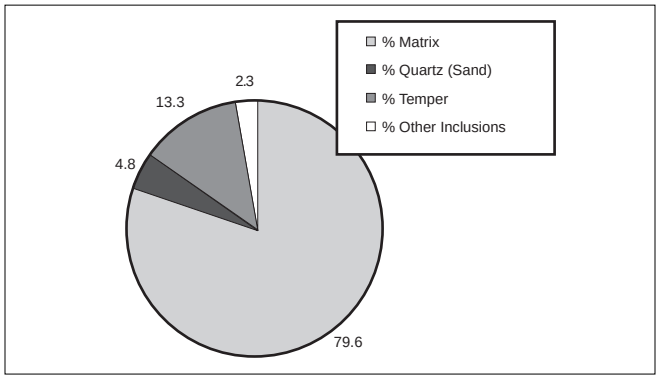
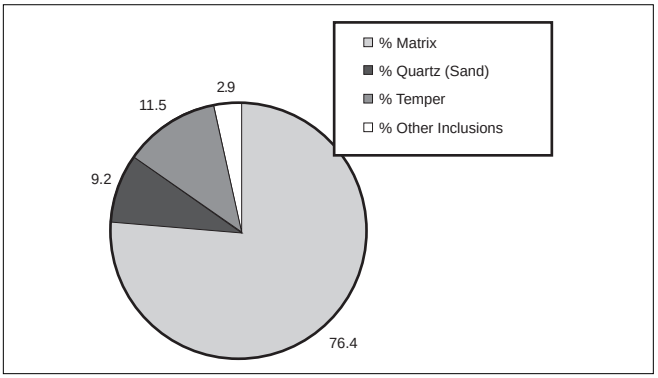


Figure 11. *Compositional Attributes of Spoonville Site Ceramics (Note: Includes both Early and Middle Woodland data).*



and temper would be approximately the same as the Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clay sources.

Figure 12 provides support for the hypothesis that the percent quartz in pottery would decrease over time because potters would eventually learn that too much quartz is not desirable for firing because "Quartz… is not an optimal inclusion type for cooking pots; it expands much more quickly than clay and can lead to crack initiation" (Chilton, 1998, p. 149). The sample of eight Early Woodland sherds consisted of 14.5% quartz while the Middle Woodland sample of twenty-nine had a lower percentage of about 9.96% quartz. Meanwhile, quartz in the Late Woodland sample, though only based on two samples, decreased even more to about 5.05%. Thus, the petrographic analysis of these archaeological samples supports the hypothesis that potters may have reduced the percent quartz over time by selecting sources with less quartz and tempering with rock that has less quartz in it.

The other hypothesis that was tested was that temper size would decline over time due to potters learning how to use smaller pieces of temper in their pottery because larger pieces can lead to cracks. Figure 13 supports this hypothesis. While the sample of eight Early Woodland sherds had a temper size index of 3.954, the twenty-nine Middle Woodland sherds averaged a lower temper size index of 3.622. Meanwhile, the surprisingly high 3.797 temper size index of the Late Woodland sample may be attributed to the low sample size. It can be expected that with a larger sample size, this number would decrease, probably to a lower number than the Middle Woodland index.

Discussion

The first objective of this research was to describe the local clays and tempers so that they could be compared to archaeological samples. First of all, the average shrinkage of the Baldwin clay was much different from the similar Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays. It seems clear that the Baldwin clay source was much different from the Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clays, which both had a much higher percentage of matrix and a much lower percentage of quartz. When comparing the clay sources to the archaeological samples, it was evident that the percent matrix, quartz, and temper of the archaeological samples were most similar to the Forest Hills Northern and Spoonville clay sources, rather than the Baldwin clay.

Previous research has suggested that there are significant technological differences between Early, Middle, and Late Woodland ceramics in Michigan. While most of the previous research has focused mostly on qualitative, stylistic changes between Early, Middle, and Late Woodland ceramics, this research has focused on technological data. This study examined a portion of the production process of ceramics during the Woodland period in Michigan, focusing on two key technological choices of potters (temper choice and clay composition). It appears that there are, in fact, significant differences in ceramic technology through time. Two hypotheses were tested.

The first one had to do with the assumption that potters would eventually select clays that would have a lower percentage of quartz and there would be a declining percentage of quartz in clays selected for pottery manufacture over time. This would be due to the fact that quartz is not the most favorable inclusion type because it can lead to cracks. The results of this study supported this hypothesis. The sample of Early Woodland sherds consisted of 14.5% quartz while the Middle Woodland sample had a lower percentage of about 9.959% quartz, and the Late Woodland sample decreased even more to about 5.05% quartz.

Another hypothesis that was tested was that temper size would decline over time because larger temper sizes are undesirable for firing and potters would learn to use smaller pieces of temper in their pottery. This study's results supported this hypothesis as well. The Early Woodland sherds had a temper size index of 3.954, while the Middle Woodland sherds averaged a lower temper size index of 3.622. However, the surprisingly high 3.797 temper size index of the Late Woodland sample can be attributed to the low sample size of two. Once again, it can be anticipated that with a larger sample size, this number will decrease to a lower number than the Middle Woodland index.

This study included six, raw material sources (three clays and three tempers) and thirty-nine archaeological samples. A larger archaeological sample size from other sites in western Michigan needs to be included, especially a larger Early and Late Woodland sample, to more fully describe with confidence the production processes. Furthermore, due to limitations of time, this paper does not address issues such as firing conditions, construction techniques, and use and discard attributes of the ceramics described. More clay sources need to be studied to better understand the production process by comparing these to a sample of archaeological specimens. Higher level statistical analyses (Principle Component and Cluster Analyses) currently being explored should provide information on which samples are most similar to each other. However, the preliminary results suggest that additional samples and variables need to be considered. This project initiates a much larger study and advances our understanding of the technological choices of potters and production processes during the Woodland period in western Michigan.

Figure 12. *Bar Chart of Average Percent Quartz of Woodland Periods*

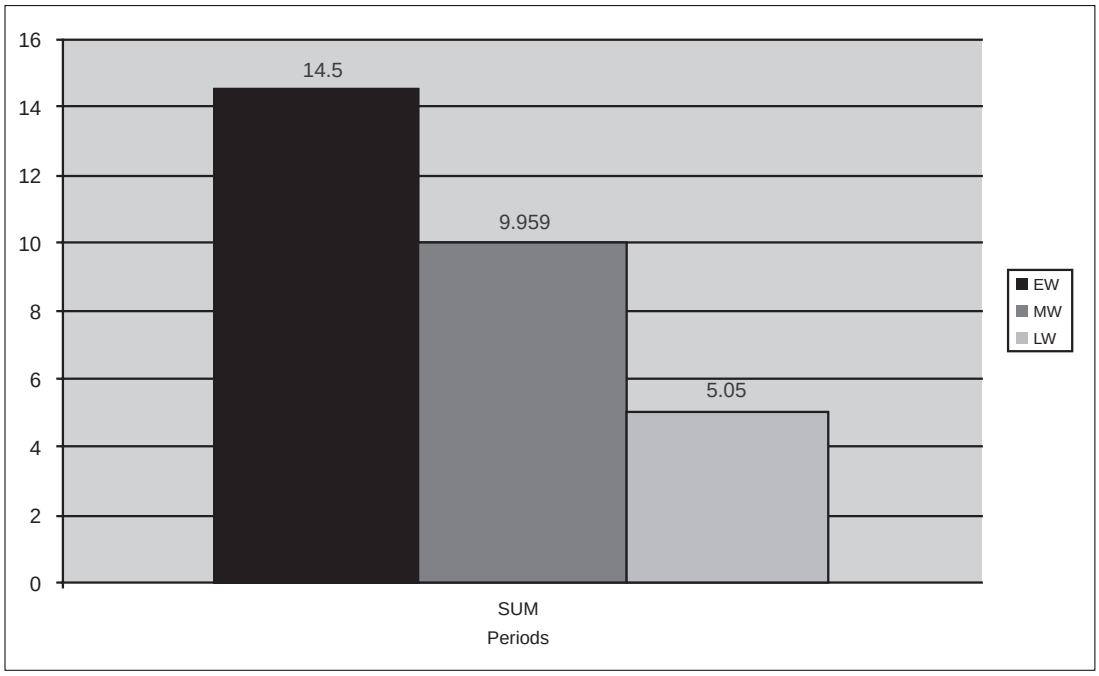
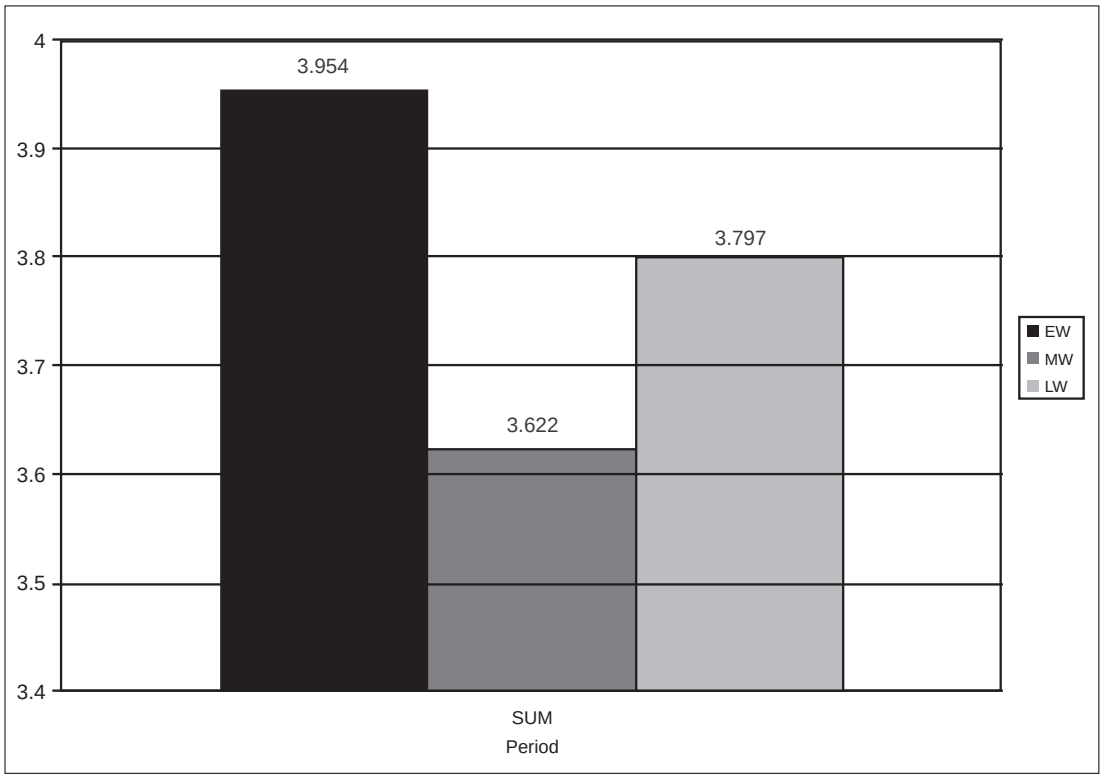


Figure 13. *Bar Chart of Temper Size over Time*



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Religion and Power: A Comparison of Queen Elizabeth I and Catherine de Medici

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ABSTRACT
The religious upheaval of the sixteenth century resulted in widespread civil war and conflict throughout Western Europe. Although England escaped much of the turmoil, France was plagued by the French Wars of Religion. Queen Regent Catherine de Medici struggled to maintain political and religious control in France while Elizabeth I, Queen of England, successfully ruled a religiously diverse nation. The respective constitutional strength of their political situations combined with their religious policy decisions played a powerful role in the fates of the nations they ruled.

The sixteenth century witnessed vast changes in religion, transforming the religious and political landscape of Europe as the Protestant Reformation swept across the continent. Queen Elizabeth I of England (Elizabeth Tudor) faced a religiously divided nation, as did Catherine de Medici, Queen Regent of France. Yet while France descended into decades of civil war, England remained largely at peace. Queen Elizabeth was more successful at governing a religiously divided nation than Catherine de Medici for a variety of reasons. The domestic religious situation each faced and the policy decisions made during their reigns played a large role in influencing the religious situation in both nations. The fundamental power base each possessed also formed an essential aspect of the ability to dictate the national religious situation. Elizabeth Tudor successfully prevented England from falling into civil war while Catherine de Medici was incapable of preventing the outbreak of several religious wars over a period of more than thirteen years, culminating in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572. Yet, given the conditions experienced and the extent of her personal power, there was little Catherine would have been able to do to produce a domestic situation similar to that in England. The royal power enjoyed, or lack thereof, was vitally important in shaping the course of events in both nations over a period of more than thirty years.

As Queen of England, Elizabeth benefited from the expanded royal prerogative over religion established by her predecessors. Royal control over religion in England changed dramatically under King Henry VIII. In 1533, desperate for a divorce from his Spanish wife Catherine of Aragon, Henry led England into a seemingly irrevocable break with the Catholic Church. Royal control over religion was

tentatively pioneered with this move, and royal control was further cemented in 1534 with the passage of the Parliamentary Act of Supremacy, which gave the monarch absolute control over religion within England and supported the break from Rome:

> Albeit the king's Majesty is justly and rightfully is and oweth to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and is so recognized by the clergy of this realm…be it enacted, by the authority of this present Parliament, that the king…his heirs and successors…shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England[1]

With this Act, the monarch gained ultimate control over the Church of England in whatever form they deemed it should take. It required that the clergy also recognize the monarch's supremacy, giving a Protestant monarch a method of removing Catholic clergy from any position of power. With the passage of this act, royal control in England entered a new phase, one marked by expanded power over religion that would be used by King Henry's successors.

Expanded royal control over religion was solidified and used extensively by King Henry VIII's son, King Edward VI, and the Council of Sixteen ruling in the king's minority. Edward took the throne at the age of nine upon the death of his father in 1547, and effective control of the government passed to the Council of Sixteen established in King Henry's will.[2] Under Edward and the Council of Sixteen, the Protestant Reformation reached new heights. In 1549, the Uniformity Bill was passed through Parliament, mass was abolished, and the Book of Common Prayer was introduced.[3] The Reformation in England took on a strongly Protestant tone, further splitting England along religious lines. Edward and his Council faced multiple rebellions against royal authority; discontent simmered among Catholics until Edward's untimely death at the age of sixteen in 1553.[4]

Upon the death of Edward VI, the crown passed to Mary Tudor, Catholic daughter of King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. English Protestants now faced a Catholic crown, one eager to reunite England with the Roman Catholic Church. Mary's reign marked a new phase of royal religious control in England; she used the machinery of royal control to undo its very foundation and return England to the Catholic fold. Following the defeat of the Protestant Queen Jane Grey in 1553, Mary faced little active resistance to her control. As monarch, she was accorded the powers created by her father and used by her brother. However, the one revolt she faced, Wyatt's Rebellion, challenged both her marriage to Prince Philip of Spain and attempted to replace the Catholic Mary with her Protestant half-sister. Mary used the royal prerogative established by her father and expanded by her half-brother to formally reconcile England with the Roman Catholic Church and reestablish Catholicism as the state religion. As stated by historian William Haugaard, "Mary, wholeheartedly loyal to the papacy, could not avoid using the machinery of royal supremacy in order to undo it."[5] In her attempts to restore Catholicism, Mary was forced to use her father's creation of royal prerogative to reunite England with the Roman Catholic Church. Her efforts were met with partial success: Catholicism was formally reestablished as the state religion, and mass was conducted throughout the country.

Upon her death in November 1558, Mary Tudor left behind a nation with an uncertain religious future. Although the Catholic Church had been nominally restored, its future rested upon the need for the English Crown to remain in Catholic hands. Childless, without a Catholic heir, Mary's dreams of fully restoring Catholicism died with her. The crown of England passed to Mary's younger half-sister, Elizabeth Tudor, daughter of King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. When she became Queen of England in 1558, Elizabeth inherited a troubled nation. As stated by historian Wallace MacCaffrey, "The religious problem Elizabeth faced at her accession, like the rest of her untidy inheritance, was a product of her three predecessors' actions."[6] Elizabeth faced a divided nation, split into dissenting religious factions, ranging from those violently Catholic to the extreme Protestants who in 1553 had attempted to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne in order to keep it in Protestant hands. At her accession, Elizabeth recognized an undeniable problem in need of royal control.

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[1] A.G. Dickens and Dorothy Carr, ed., *The Reformation in England to the Accession of Elizabeth I* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 64.
[2] Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 167.
[3] Florence Higham, *Catholic and Reformed: A Study of the Anglican Church, 1559-1662*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1962), 3.
[4] Haigh, 168.
[5] William P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion*, (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1968), 20.
[6] Wallace MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1993), 298.

When she became queen, one of Elizabeth's first concerns was to address the issue of religion. Elizabeth faced the decision to retain Catholicism or restore Protestantism as the national religion. Her personal convictions were nominally Protestant, but Elizabeth viewed the religious question from a political perspective, weighing the potential outcomes of her decision. Ultimately, the political and personal reasons to return to Protestantism succeeded. In his book, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*, commissioned by King James I, Elizabeth's successor, seventeenth century historian William Camden wrote, "In the first beginning of her Reign she applied her first Care…to the restoring of the Protestant Religion…by her own Judgement she perswaded her self to be most true…"[7] As the head of state, Elizabeth reestablished the royal religious prerogative created by her father, expanded by her half-brother, and simultaneously used and abolished by her sister. In 1559, Elizabeth faced her first Parliament to restore the 1534 Act of Supremacy passed by her father. As stated by MacCaffrey,

> The statutes of 1559 that provided the constitutional framework of Elizabeth's new order were straightforwardly political in character…an Act of Supremacy which re-established the Henrician legislation of 1534-6 and repudiated Roman authority.[8]

After much debate, a revised Act of Supremacy was passed, granting Elizabeth the same powers accorded her father:

> For the repressing of the said usurped foreign power and restoring of the rites, jurisdictions and preeminences attaining to the imperial crown of this your realm, that it may be enacted by this present Parliament…that for the reviving of divers of the said good laws and statutes made in the time of your said dear father.[9]

By this act, Elizabeth was granted the title of Supreme Governor of the Church of England.[10] Through the authority of Parliament, Elizabeth was able to repeal all statutes passed by her sister and restore the Anglican Protestantism created by her father in the 1534 Act of Supremacy.

As queen, Elizabeth was largely able to structure the government to her needs and to conform to her religious policy. This aided greatly in consolidating royal control over the religious situation. Upon Queen Mary's death in November 1558, all Privy councilors and many governmental officials lost their authority.[11] As stated by historian J.E. Neale,

> There was a momentary vacuum in administration, and to fill this—to appoint Privy Councilors and to reconstitute the administrative machine—was one of the tasks confronting Elizabeth at her accession…[12]

As queen, she could choose her appointments according to her needs and create a government focused on her policies. Elizabeth, as monarch, required all bishops and officials to take an oath affirming the queen as supreme governor and head of the church. All but one of the Marian bishops refused and resigned their offices, enabling Elizabeth to replace them with bishops of Anglican persuasion.[13] Many other government officials who had not lost their position upon Mary's death similarly refused to swear the oath, resigning their offices instead. Elizabeth faced a relatively easy path of restructuring the government with Protestant officials. Her choices reinforced her religious policy; many appointees were moderate Protestants experienced in government, having either served in her father's nominally Protestant government or in her brother's strongly Protestant administration.

Elizabeth was able to fully dismantle the Catholic Church in England, ridding the Church of relics and mass, and reinstating the 1549 Book of Common Prayer with the 1559 Act of Uniformity.[14] Elizabeth viewed her actions as creating a model to be followed, instituting a permanent church to replace the Roman Catholic Church. She was not inclined to view religion and the church as a fluid, constantly changing entity. As stated by MacCaffrey, "Of one thing Elizabeth was certain…the process of change must end…she saw what was to be done as the final stage of a cycle of reform…"[15] The Anglican Church returned to the

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7 Wallace MacCaffrey, ed., William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth Late Queen of England*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 11.
8 MacCaffrey, 299.
9 Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 319.
10 Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603*, (New York: Routledge, 1994), 14.
11 J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1559-1581*, (New York: British Book Centre, Inc., 1953), 33.
12 Neale, 33.
13 Higham, 7.
14 MacCaffrey, 299.
15 MacCaffrey, 298.

status established under Edward VI, and it was clear there would be little further reform. As queen, Elizabeth was able to assume absolute control over religion and dictate the terms on which a national church would be established.

Queen Elizabeth's ability to dismantle the Roman Catholic Church played an important role in establishing her control over religion. She was able to undermine any control the Catholic Church had over the population by replacing it with a new institution. Many Catholics throughout England either fled to the continent to preserve their religion or converted to Anglicanism. Elizabeth did not face any full, organized Catholic resistance to her policies. Shortly into her reign, she publicly denounced any desire to pursue a course of persecution that had destroyed her sister's reign, declaring that she had no wish to "make for herself a window into men's souls."[16] She required law-abiding behavior from all her subjects, but she did not wish to actively enforce loyalty to the Anglican Church. Elizabeth denounced any persecution or harassment from her subjects of either religious persuasion. Three years after her coronation, in response to reports indicating harassment of Catholics, she announced:

> We know not, nor have any meaning to allow, that any of our subjects should be molested…in any matter either of faith…or of ceremonies…as long as they shall in their outward conversion show themselves quiet and comfortable.[17]

Elizabeth pursued a course of moderation, deliberately attempting to maintain peace within her realm. She assumed royal control over religion, but she did not openly pursue and persecute Catholics throughout her realm as her sister Mary had persecuted Protestants.

In no other role than as the sole monarch would Elizabeth have been able to control the religious situation as she did. Much of her personal power came from that accorded to the crown, granted only to the monarch. Elizabeth refused to marry and share that power, knowing that through marriage, her personal power and control would be largely diminished.[18] As Queen of England, she was protected by the unassailable position of the Crown and supported by Parliament. Legal precedent gave her the power to wield large control over religion. Without the power of the crown to support her position, Elizabeth would not have been capable of instituting the reforms she did or ushering in an era of religious peace. Although Elizabeth's many political decisions and actions played a large role in the success of her reign, her ultimate power rested on her status as the anointed monarch of England.

The religious situation in sixteenth-century France varied sharply from that in England. Throughout the latter half of the century, France was torn apart by repeated civil war and internal strife. Catherine de Medici, widow of King Henry II and Queen Regent during her children's minorities, proved incapable of controlling or preventing the escalating violence, resulting in the outbreak of religious war and culminating in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. Upon the unexpected death of King Henry II on July 10, 1559, the crown of France passed to his sickly fifteen-year-old son, the new King Francis II.[19] For the first time in several generations, there was no absolute, adult monarch firmly in control of the government. The power of the crown now rested in the hands of the Guise family, through their niece, Mary Queen of Scots, who was married to the young king.[20] Control over the impressionable young Francis, and the power of the crown with him, was now held by an ultra-Catholic noble family. There was little Catherine, as Queen Mother, could do to change the situation; her power at this point rested solely on her ability to influence her son. She had no legal power to exercise in her own right. Through the actions of the Guise family, Catherine largely lost control over her son, greatly diminishing any political power she might have been able to exercise.

The Conspiracy of Amboise, a Protestant attempt to take control of the government and King Francis II in March 1560, provided a turning point in governmental religious policy. The government, made aware of the Protestant plans, removed to the heavily fortified castle of Amboise, an easily defensible position. In March 1560, Protestant forces attempted to seize control of Amboise and the royal court. However, their attempt failed miserably, resulting in the death of the leader and the eventual execution of fifty-seven Huguenot leaders. Although the conspiracy actually failed to achieve its goals of taking control of the king and removing the Guise family from court, many changes did actually take place. Catherine, although favoring a policy of moderation, followed through with the executions that were demanded. The

[16] Higham, 5
[17] Higham, 6
[18] Alison Plowden, *Marriage with My Kingdom: The Courtships of Elizabeth I*, (New York: Stein and Day Publishers, Inc., 1977), 82.
[19] Stuart Carroll, *Noble Power during the French Wars of Religion: The Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause in Normandy*, (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1998), 90.
[20] Carroll, 90.

atmosphere at court began to shift, and Catherine took advantage of this. As stated by historian James Westfall Thompson,

> These changes had the double effect, first, of persuading the queen to take the management of affairs upon herself and endeavor to remove the Guise from court; second, in giving the Huguenots…the opportunity of strengthening themselves.[21]

Catherine, although previously either unwilling or unable to involve herself in the management of the kingdom, began to take an active role in shaping religious affairs.

Immediately following the Conspiracy of Amboise, Catherine and the government met at an emergency council to prepare an official response. In the Edict of Romorantin resulting from this conference, King Francis II stated:

> …We, with the advice of our most honoured mother…and men of our Council have decided to restore matters to their old form and state in the hope that…as God in olden times brought an end to sects and diversity of opinion in His Church…so will He do now…we have prohibited and forbidden…all illicit assemblies and public armed gatherings, declaring those who have held them or will attend them…subject to the penalties for treason…[22]

Through this edict, the king attempted to cement a policy toward all seditious Huguenots throughout the kingdom. However, the original intent of repressing all unrest through this edict failed. As stated by historian Barbara Diefendorf,

> Even the Edict of Romorantin, intended as a repressive measure, had weakened the ability of Parlement to prosecute religious deviance by separating the religious aspects of heresy from the secular…[23]

Catherine's first attempt at intervening in religious policy produced a situation far different than expected. Rather than producing a firm governmental stance, the attempt at some moderation created a situation far out of her control.

Catherine's official power as Queen Regent was only established following the death of her son King Francis II and the succession of her ten-year-old son Charles IX to the throne in December 1560. Shortly after Charles' accession to the throne, Catherine was declared Queen Regent and granted much of the power of the crown during her son's minority. Through a negotiated compromise with Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, Catherine assumed joint control of the government. As stated by historian James Westfall Thompson,

> She found means to have it arranged…that she and the king of Navarre…should rule jointly…this move gave Catherine exclusive guardianship of…Charles IX…and assured her at least an equal power in the regency.[24]

As Queen Regent, Catherine was able to exercise the power of the crown. She had the authority to negotiate with ambassadors, appoint persons to office, and kept the royal seal within her possession.[25]

Although regarded as the queen regent and in joint control of the government, Catherine was not regarded as the actual queen. She was not granted the unchallenged power of the crown; as stated by Thompson, "…the absolute authority of the crown was still personal…"[26] and granted only to the anointed monarch. Following the death of Henry II, that absolute authority was greatly diminished. As stated by contemporary historian Jean du Tillet in one of his Five Tracts on the religious situation in France, "Under Henry II…there was division in the realm…but little, if any religious sedition…this erupted under Francis II and increased because of the kings' youth."[27] Although granted many of the day-to-day powers of the crown, Catherine was not able to assume total control. Catherine's inability to exercise absolute authority, as Elizabeth did, played a large role in undermining governmental authority in both the religious and political arenas in the sixteenth century. Elizabeth, as queen, was the sole monarch in charge; although she was forced to contend with Parliament, she was able to make many final decisions. Catherine, although granted the title of Queen Regent and many of the duties attached with it, was not given the absolute power accorded an adult monarch.

Much of Catherine's inability to control the religious situation within France stemmed from her lack of absolute authority. Matters brought

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[21] James Westfall Thompson, *The Wars of Religion in France, 1559-1576*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909), 44.
[22] David Potter, fed. and trans., *The French Wars of Religion: Selected Documents*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 24-5.
[23] Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 173.
[24] Thompson, 72.
[25] Thompson, 73.
[26] Thompson, 73.
[27] Elizabeth A.R. Brown, ed., *Jean du Tillet and the French Wars of Religion: Five Tracts, 1562-1569*, (Binghamton, NY: The Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1994), 79.

before the Queen Regent were also put before the Privy Council, a group of ruling nobles vying for control of the government. Catherine was not able to determine many of the members of the Council as Elizabeth Tudor did, nor did she have as much power over them as did Elizabeth. Catherine faced a group of powerful, at times rebellious, group of nobles—something that Elizabeth did not experience. Historian N. M. Sutherland described the power struggle within the Council,

> The rivalry between the nobles centered on the control of the council through which the authority of the crown was exercised when…the king was ineffective…After the establishment of the regency of Catherine de Medici…all three interests, crown, catholics and protestants, struggled to dominate the council…the crown above all to safeguard peace, law and order…and to impose persecution or secure toleration respectively.[28]

This struggle for power existed because of the lack of an absolute, adult monarch firmly in control of the government.[29] Catherine was unable to fully assume absolute control of the government because of the political situation within the country and her status as queen regent and not the ruling monarch. The Prince of Conde and the Duke of Guise actively worked to undermine Catherine's authority and to usurp royal power. Factional differences and family goals within the council undermined any coherent policy the government attempted to make, and Catherine proved unable to overcome these obstacles in her attempt to negotiate a settlement between the groups.

Catherine's religious goals differed from those of her late husband, King Henry II. Instead of intensifying religious persecution, as her husband had intended and the Guise family had pursued, Catherine instead sought a course of moderation.[30] Catherine's course of moderation manifested itself in a series of edicts and proclamations designed to alleviate social and religious tension; however, her actions had an opposite effect. Although such a policy of toleration proved effective in Elizabethan England, many devout French Catholics and Protestants were unwilling to negotiate such a course of action. There was no support or even acceptance of such a government policy, and Catherine was unable to enforce a plan hated by much of the population. Such a policy succeeded in England due to the combined force of a monarchical decree and the population's support for such a position.

Catherine's first steps toward a moderate course of toleration began in 1561 with the Colloquy of Poissy. Intended to resolve theological differences between the Catholic Church and Protestants, primarily Calvinists, the colloquy itself was a miserable failure. Neither Calvinists nor Catholics were willing to negotiate a peace, and the colloquy ended as divided as it had begun, presenting the government with the dilemma at hand. As stated by historian J.H.M. Salmon, "The failure of the colloquy itself confronted the government with the choice of enforcing the law against heresy or of legally tolerating the existence of dissent."[31] Catherine's first attempt at constructing a compromise resulted in further division along religious lines. Following the failure of the colloquy, the government issued the Edict of Saint-Germain, also known as the Edict of July, which largely restated the terms set forth in the Edict of Romorantin, although it granted Huguenots limited toleration. This edict, as stated by historian Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "horrified confirmed Catholics, and the Parlement of Paris did not register it until 6 March, after a prolonged struggle with…the queen mother."[32] Catherine continued on a course disavowed by the government and hated by the population, both Catholics and Protestants. Catherine was forced to resort to a tool such as the Colloquy in an attempt to negotiate a compromise, something Elizabeth was never required to do. The use of the Colloquy served to demonstrate the lack of absolute authority over the government exercised by the queen regent. Little was resolved by this edict, and tensions escalated.

As queen regent, Catherine faced a divided council with disparate goals. Nobles sought to use the council to fulfill personal goals, further religious aims, or achieve better political standing. This dividing influence played a large role in forming the policies

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[28] N.M. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict 1559-1572*, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, Inc., 1973), 10.
[29] Thompson, 19.
[30] Carroll, 90.
[31] J.H.M. Salmon, *Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 141.
[32] Brown, 16.

issued by the government before and during the French Wars of Religion. As stated by historian N. M. Sutherland, "This three-tiered struggle…may be directly traced through the…contradictory terms and confusing outcome of the…religious edicts issued between January 1561 and January 1562."[33] Catherine was unable to fully control the council or to dictate its policy decisions, a dilemma Elizabeth rarely faced. While Catherine was largely incapable of controlling the council, Elizabeth was able to use it as a tool to construct her policies. Catherine's course of moderation failed to accomplish any of its goals, instead escalating the friction between the groups and within the government. Her efforts at moderation were not well received by Protestants or Catholics. James Westfall Thompson explains, "Every day Catherine's determination to maintain an even balance of the two religions was producing greater tension and more heat."[34] Catherine's efforts at tempering a volatile situation through governmental edicts and actions failed; neither side was willing to discuss any potential settlement, as evidenced by the failure of the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561.

Tensions between Catholics and Protestants erupted beyond Catherine's control in March 1562, resulting in the outbreak of the first civil war.[35] It demonstrated Catherine's inability to prevent the escalation of tensions into full civil war even when exercising control as queen regent. Powerful noble families, divided along religious lines, dominated the civil war as a whole. The war began as a result of a Huguenot attack on the Duke of Guise in the town of Vassy, in which more than thirty Huguenots were massacred. Noble families quickly took advantage of the lack of royal control, dividing into two distinct groups headed by the Duke of Guise and the Prince of Conde, sparking an indecisive civil war that would last a year and produce little results, except to demonstrate the inability of the crown to retain authority and power, and cause the death of the leading Catholic crusader, the Duke of Guise. Although the crown futilely attempted to reassert control, there was little that Catherine, in her role as Queen Regent, could do to prevent the outbreak of war or halt it once it had begun.

Following the end of the first civil war in March 1563, Catherine de Medici once again attempted to regain control over the tumultuous religious situation within France.[36] She immediately set about trying to reorder the kingdom, dealing with every form of decision before her. In order to personally ascertain the condition of the kingdom, Catherine organized a prolonged progress of the country that began in 1564. She intended that the presence of the royal court in heretofore disobedient provinces would reinstate royal control. Her efforts proved partially successful, resulting in an uneasy peace that lasted nearly three years after the Progress began, only to be broken by the outbreak of hostilities in fall 1567.[37]

In an effort to reunite the two sides, Catherine attempted to negotiate a truce between the two with a royal marriage. In 1572, she successfully arranged the marriage of her daughter and sister of the king, Margaret of Valois, to with Henry of Navarre, Huguenot leader. The wedding was intended to represent a truce between the two groups, and thousands of Huguenots came to Paris to witness the spectacle. However, the truce was to be broken by the assassination attempt on the leading Huguenot Gaspar de Coligny on August 22, 1572.[38] The government, believing an attempt to seize the king was underway, quickly ordered an increased guard and secluded itself. Catholics seized Coligny in his home and murdered him, dragging his body through the streets. The death of the Huguenot leader at Catholic hands caused the beginning of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.[39] The government was unable to prevent the slaughter of thousands of Huguenots throughout the city on the night of August 24, 1572.[40] Catherine has long been assumed to be the person responsible for ordering the assassination attempt; however, modern historians have recently reexamined that conclusion.[41] The assassination attempt contradicted her efforts at negotiating peace and undermined the progress made with the royal marriage. Shortly after St. Bartholomew's Day, the fourth civil war began. Catherine's failure to prevent war was complete. For more than twelve years, her efforts were frustrated at every turn.

Throughout their reigns, both Elizabeth Tudor and Catherine de Medici confronted religious strife and

33 Sutherland, 10.
34 Thompson, 126.
35 Sutherland, 20.
36 Salmon, 338.
37 Salmon, 338.
38 Thompson,
39 Thompson,
40 Salmon, 338.
41 For example, see Hugh Ross Williamson, *Catherine de' Medici*, (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1973), 176. Historians such as N.M. Sutherland in *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict 1559-1572*, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, Inc., 1973), and Barbara Diefendorf in *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), have opposed the traditional view of Catherine as the principal agent behind the assassination attempt.

turmoil. However, a comparison of the fundamental differences between the two nations provides insight into the circumstances each ruler faced. Both rulers faced divided nations split along religious lines: Catholic and Protestant. The causes for Elizabeth's successes when dealing with the religion question provide similar causes for Catherine's inability to control the religious situation. Both rulers required a fundamental power base from which to exercise control over all matters religious within their realms. However, while Elizabeth Tudor enjoyed the power accorded the anointed English monarch, Catherine de Medici was denied that similar measure of power because of her status as queen regent rather than the actual monarch.

Elizabeth Tudor gained control over the religious situation within England for a variety of reasons, including her power base as monarch and her ability to undo the actions of her predecessors. The establishment of royal control over religion under her father King Henry VIII created a precedent that proved invaluable. Elizabeth, as monarch, was using a royal prerogative that had been established by her predecessors and validated by parliament. It had been used to solidify the Protestant Reformation under her half-brother and also used by her sister to reinstate Roman control. Her return to Anglican Protestantism was further solidified by her ability to replace the Marian Catholic bishops with those of the Anglican persuasion. Only royal authority could be used to demand an oath of allegiance from all clergy, one that no Catholic official would be willing to take. The rights enjoyed by Elizabeth were frequently denied to Catherine. Elizabeth was granted the absolute power of the anointed monarch. She was also able to peacefully transition from Catholicism to Protestantism due to the precedent established by her father. As queen, she exercised rights Parliament already granted to the monarch. She retained the religion established by her father and solidified by her brother. However, without the basis of absolute power granted to a monarch, she would not have been able to accomplish these feats. Catherine, as queen regent, did not enjoy that absolute power. This lack manifested itself in a series of edicts, proclamations, and meetings designed to negotiate a compromise. However, she faced a divided council, a hostile people, and two groups unwilling to discuss a truce. Her success was dependent on the cooperation of both Huguenots and Catholics, something she was never granted. Her crowning achievement, negotiating a marriage between her daughter and Henry of Navarre, was blighted by the assassination of Gaspar de Coligny and the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. While Elizabeth successfully achieved a period of peace and stability, one may also say that Catherine exercised all of her power in pursuit of the same goal.

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Though Many Have White Skin, their Veins Flow of Black Blood: Afro-Argentine Culture and History during the Twentieth Century in Buenos Aires, Argentina

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Abstract
Although the Afro-Argentine population continued to decline during the twentieth century, the people played an integral role in shaping Argentina's culture through their contributions in the field of dance, literature, and religion. Unfortunately, their vibrant culture and history are often ignored and overlooked because of Argentina's subtle efforts to whiten its population. The purpose of this project is three-fold. First, it aims to recognize the survival of the Afro-Argentine community during the twentieth century. Second, it recaptures the means used to preserve African traditions. Finally, it reveals efforts of Afro-Argentine groups such as La Fundación Africa Vive that have dedicated themselves to reconstructing the Afro-Argentine role in Argentina's culture and history.

Introduction
One of the first things I noticed while studying in Buenos Aires, Argentina, was that there were few, if any, blacks among the city's inhabitants. I lived there for six months and people always assumed that I was Brazilian because of their popular belief that Afro-Argentines no longer exist. However, this is a lie: Afro-Argentines do indeed exist. Africans began arriving in Argentina as slaves in 1534, two years after the foundation of Buenos Aires, and since then they have shaped and transformed Argentina.[i] This paper seeks to draw attention to the contributions of Afro-Argentines to the country's culture and history. To this end, I will recognize their existence despite the country's denial of its black population. Then, I will address the ways in which Afro-Argentines recapture their African past through dance, music, religion, and literature. Finally, I will discuss what Afro-Argentines are doing to reconstruct their history and, in the process, correct lies, misconceptions, and myths about them. In denying Afro-Argentine culture and history, many Argentines may not learn about their families' and country's past. Though many have white skin, their veins flow of black blood.[ii]

Recognizing the Existence of Afro-Argentines
Statisticians often claim, "the numbers never lie." Yet in the case of census information for Argentina over the course of the twentieth century, the existence of the country's black population is often denied or its size is underestimated. The noted Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges remembered that in 1910 or 1912 there was a tenement of blacks on the corner of Uriburu and Vicente López streets and another on Sarmiento Street in Buenos Aires, Argentina.[iii] In 1946, Nicolás Besio Moreno calculated that there were "one and a half million people with

black blood [in Argentina]" and further stated that they could be classified as blacks based upon the United States guidelines, which suggest that people who have a lighter complexion and often might pass for whites would still be classified as blacks.[iv] The following year, in 1947, a national census identified the presence of 15,000 blacks, (5,000 blacks and 10,000 mulattos).[v] By 1963, Afro-Argentines were estimated to number 17,000. Their population declined over the next four years to 3,000 in 1967 but increased to 4,500 in 1968 for reasons which remain unclear.[vi] However, some people have estimated that there were as many as 10,000 blacks "not counting those mixed with dark skinned people in the provinces."[vii] The journalist Narciso Binayan Carmona stated in 1973 that "if all Argentines with black blood were accounted there would be 2-3 million."[viii] Based upon this information, one can see there are discrepancies involving the size of Argentina's black population; their true number probably lies somewhere between what the census counted and people's perceptions.

Present-day statistics tend to agree with what people saw during the twentieth century. This could be due to *El Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos* (INDEC) which forgot to include a box for citizens to identify their descent (*descendencia*) during the last national census in 2001. INDEC later denied that it had forgotten to include the box.[ix] It is interesting to note that when the last national census was undertaken, INDEC included a category for the first time to check if one was of indigenous descent, a change from the last national census conducted in 1991.[x] Their failure to inquire about people of African descent further perpetuates the myth that Afro-Argentines no longer exist. In stark contrast, *La Fundación Africa Vive*, an Afro-Argentine group dedicated to promoting black culture and history, believes that there are currently two million Afro-Argentines (descended from slaves) in the country.[xi] Thus, regardless of how a person may appear (dark- or light-skinned) and whether or not they are aware, many Argentines have black blood.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, miscegenation served to lighten the complexion of the country's black population. Argentina's black male population was already in decline as a result of wars for independence and territorial expansion as well as diseases. Then, from 1880 to 1930, a mass of European immigrants arrived in the country. Most European immigrants were male, thus their arrival led to a surplus of white males and a shortage of white females. Given the pre-existing scarcity of black males, prospective black brides often married white grooms, many of whom were European immigrants. Interracial marriages became common. The children of such unions often had lighter skin giving them access to better education and employment opportunities thereby facilitating their ability to pass themselves off as white.

However, not all blacks who wished to marry selected white spouses. There were black couples, such as the Monteros. The couple had three daughters but due to miscegenation in their family's past, each of the girls was a different shade of brown: the eldest looked black, the middle child resembled a mulatto, and the youngest appeared to be entirely white. "So great were the physical differences… people refused to believe they were family."[xii] However, the Monteros considered themselves black and "had a shelf of books on race and a stack of Aretha Franklin, Roberta Flack, and Ike and Tina records to prove it."[xiii] At the time they were interviewed in 1973, the girls were dating white boys.[xiv] Were they to have married and had children, they too would have contributed to the whitening of the country's black population. As the black population becomes lighter through miscegenation, it will become harder to identify its existence.

The existence of Argentina's black population has been denied publicly throughout the twentieth century. A popular saying in the early 1900s claimed, "in order to see a *black* person one must go to Brazil."[xv] In his book *Sociología Argentina* published in 1913, author José Ingenieros proclaimed, "*Los negros se han extinguido; los mulattos de zona templada son cada vez más blancos. En Buenos Aires un Negro argentino constituye un objecto de curiosidad*, or "blacks have disappeared, mulattos, of even toned color [light brown], are becoming whiter. In Buenos Aires a black Argentine constitutes an object of curiosity."[xvi] Then in 1976, an article in the newspaper *La Opinión*, proclaimed "*Los negros han desaparecido del ambito de Buenos Aires*" or "blacks had disappeared from the vicinity of Buenos Aires."[xvii] Ironically, the article's author Blas Matamoro admitted that "*Buenos Aires fue una ciudad de predominio Negro. Hay quien arriesga un probable 60 por ciento de población de color*" or "Buenos Aires was a predominately black city, there are those who claim that probably 60 percent of its population was people of color." In the very next, issue Matamoro had to make a public retraction in an article titled "*Fe de erratas*," or "Mistake of Faith." Unfortunately, according to Emilio Ruchansky, author of the article "*Negros en Buenos Aires? Fe de erratas*," many people did not notice it.[xviii] Finally in 1996 the country's ex-president Carlos Menem stated, "*En Argentina no existen los negros; ese probelma lo tiene Brasil*, or "In Argentina blacks do not exist, that is a Brazilian problem."[xix] These three public denials reveal Argentina's reluctance to acknowledge

that a black population exists or to come to terms with its black heritage. This is especially true in Buenos Aires, where the city's inhabitants pride themselves on living in the "Paris of South America," or as Juan Bautista Alberdi, author of *Bases y puntos de partida para la organización de la Republica Argentina*, wrote, "*nosotros, los que nos llamamos americanos, no somos otra cosa que europeos nacidos en América. Cráneo, sangre, color, todo es de fuera*," or "…those of us that call ourselves Americans, are nothing more than Europeans born in America. Our heads, blood, and color, are all from outside the country."[xx] Thus, silence about their black culture would be necessary.

One means of perpetuating the silence about Argentina's black culture and history as well as the contributions Afro-Argentines have made in music, dance, religion, and literature was through the country's education system. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, father of the public education system, believed that in order to become a civilized nation, Argentina must not only erase those people whom he considered barbaric (those who were not white) from its instruction in the education system but also genetically, by promoting European immigration.[xxi] While living in Argentina, I realized his plan had worked because he and his followers also erased Afro-Argentines from popular consciousness. When given a chance, I would ask some of my friends what had happened to the country's black population? While they proudly told me that slavery ended in 1813 (though that was incorrect), they believed Afro-Argentines had vanished. According to Jean-Arsene YAO, their views can be best described in this way: "*si hubieran sufrido el efecto de la varita magica*," or "as if blacks had disappeared by a magic trick."[xxii]

Another overlooked aspect of Argentina's black culture and history is the Cape Verdean immigration. These Africans immigrated to Argentina during the late 1930s and early 1940s in search of better economic opportunities. Although Argentina prohibited African immigration, Cape Verdeans were allowed to enter the country because they were from a Portuguese colony. The majority of Cape Verdean arrivals were males and they worked as fishermen, loaders, seamen, cooks, and waiters. The few women that came were employed mainly as domestic servants. Most of these immigrants settled in areas surrounding Buenos Aires like Dock Sur. Somewhere between 8,000 and 10,000 Cape Verdeans live in Argentina today.[xxiii] A large Cape Verdean population still lives in Dock Sur and I had the opportunity to interview Adriano Rocha, a Cape Verdean immigrant. Based upon what he told me, miscegenation quickly lightened their population too. He immigrated from the Cape Verde Islands in 1947 in search of a job and married a white woman. Their children also married whites, and the majority of his grandchildren are white. Though he did not seem to mind, it struck me that this group could also "disappear." However, even if these groups disappear, their contributions have become a part of Argentina's cultural identity.

Recapturing the Afro-Argentine Past

Afro-Argentines have creatively fused their African past with Indigenous and European cultures. They created the tango, *payador*, and the carnival as well as synchronized religious beliefs, which still are celebrated today. They have expressively described their plight in literature. The origins of the tango (a popular Argentine dance) have been attributed to the *gaucho*, or cowboy, of the interior. But the word *tango*, according to Nestor Ortiz Oterigo, author of *Aspectos de la Cultura Negra*, suggests that it is a mispronunciation of the word *shango* that has twenty-three meanings; the most popular are a place of dance, a meeting place to dance, or inciters of dance.[xxiv] The tango has been referenced in documents since the early nineteenth century and it evolved from the traditional dance known as the *candombe*.[xxv] The *candombe* originated with slaves of different African nations who gathered to perform their traditional dances. It eventually evolved into the tango that is danced today.[xxvi] In its inception, the tango was associated with the lower classes and was known to "demark the drama of the poor, on the outskirts of the city, black, *mestizo* [a mix of indigenous and white], *zambo* [a mix of black and indigenous], free, or immigrant."[xxvii] It was not until Carlos Gardel popularized the dance in Europe during the 1930s, that the Argentine white middle class accepted it as a national pastime.

Another art form popularized by the black population was the *payador*. *Payador* is the Spanish word for a singer who improvises while he plays the guitar. This art form originated in the interior of the country and quickly spread to the city.[xxviii] The improvisational nature of the *payador* invites comparisons to today's free style competitions between rappers. The one with the best spontaneous responses wins the competition. The most famous *payador* was Gabino Ezieza (1858-1916) who started his career at age fifteen and his reputation quickly spread. His most famous *payador* competition was against Pablo J. Vásquez, which he won and for which he was awarded an honorary diploma.[xxix] Ezieza is well-remembered and his is one of three black statues in Buenos Aires today.[xxx] Other notable *payadores* were José Betinoti (1878-1915); Federico Curlando (1878-1917); and Juan Damilano (1876-1955), a good friend of Gabino Ezieza who quit performing after the death of his friend.[xxxi] Today in Argentina, the memory of *payadores* is celebrated on

July 23rd and is called "*Día del Payador*."[xxxii]

The carnival, which implemented Afro-Argentine dances in 1771, was a constant reminder of where Afro-Argentines came from.[xxxiii] Percussion, especially the tambourine, arrived with the slaves and heavily influenced the music of the carnival. During this celebration, members of diverse African nations, groups of Africans who share the same ethnicity, would wear distinctive clothing to identify themselves and unite to dance in the streets. [xxxiv] These African *krewes* (groups of people participating in a carnival parade) dominated the carnival parties each year until 1870 at which time white *krewes* began to take over. Still, in 1900, ten to fifteen Afro-Argentine groups with names such as *Estrella de Sur*, *Flor de Cuba*, *Tenorios del Plata*, *Habitantes de la Luna* or names reflecting their African heritage like *Los Negros Benguelas*, or *Los Negros Monyolo* participated in the festivities every year. But as the black population continued to decline, so too did the carnival. By 1930, the parades and the street festivals had stopped, while carnival itself officially ended in the 1970s.[xxxv]

Throughout Argentina's colonial past, slaves synchronized their African religious beliefs with Catholicism. Syncretism took many forms including the veneration of saints. This served as a social marker so that African languages and religions could be preserved. One such example of an Afro-Argentine saint was Saint Benito of Palermo also known as "*el Moro*," or "brown skinned." He was born in Sanfratello, Sicily in 1526 and died in Palermo, Italy in 1589. His parents were slaves from Ethiopia.[xxxvi] Knowing that San Benito had received his freedom and that he was black, probably helped slaves to identify with him and, by extension, Catholicism.[xxxvii] Additionally, in 1838, Juan Manuel de Rosas, who was the first governor of Buenos Aires, named Palermo, a barrio in Buenos Aires, after San Benito because "*en la dirección a Belgrano, [había] una capilla bajo la advocación de San Benito de Palermo,…se le ocurrió bautizar su propiedad con el nombre Palermo de San Benito*," or "in the direction of Belgrano, (another barrio in Buenos Aires) there was a chapel dedicated to San Benito of Palermo and it occurred to him to name his property Palermo of San Benito.[xxxviii] In Buenos Aires, San Benito is still venerated today. A popular saying about him is "*Oro toco, Negro veo, San Benito querido que se cumplan mis deseos*, or "I touch gold, I see black, beloved San Benito grant me my desires."[xxxix] It is interesting that a black saint whose popularity in Argentina originated with slaves has achieved widespread popularity.

The Virgin Mary was likewise made more accessible to the black population through her veneration as the *Virgen de Rosario*, or the Virgin of the Rosary, the *Virgen Morena*, or Black Virgin, and *Nuestra Señora de los Negros*, or Our Lady of the Blacks. The Portuguese in Brazil, where the Afro-Brazilians of Congolese origin synchronized the Virgin Mary with their god Yemanja and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, or Our Lady of the Conception, brought the idea of a black Virgin Mary to Argentina.[xl] Transforming the white Virgin into a black Virgin probably helped the blacks identify with her and possibly associated her with already preexisting female deities in their African religions.

Another example of slaves synchronizing their African religious beliefs with Catholicism is that of Saint Balthazar, patron Saint of Argentina's slave population, who was fused with Balthazar, one of the magi whose feast day is "Three Kings' Day" on January 6. Slaves adopted this feast day and transformed it into an African one affording each nation an opportunity to dance and pay homage to their African past. In 1785, slaves formed a *cofradía*, or religious brotherhood, known as *San Baltazar y las Animas*, or "San Balthazar and the Souls," and subsequently petitioned government authorities for permission to dance "*a la usanza del Africa*" or "old-styled African dances."[xli] The synchronization of religious beliefs provided both material and social support to the growing black native-born population.

Cofradías served as a means through which slaves could come together, although they were always under the control of ecclesiastical powers. This was because "*…mantuiveron una celosa desconfianza… a la posible compra de armas para un levantamiento*," or "they [ecclesiastical powers] maintained a jealous mistrust because they might buy arms to start an uprising."[xlii] Although the Church allowed slaves to participate in these *cofradías*, they feared their socially destabilizing potential. *Cofradías* afforded slaves with opportunites for social interaction to commiserate over their common experiences in bondage. Many of these cofradías continued to exist into the middle of the twentieth century.[xliii]

By the 1960s, Afro-Argentine religious practices were becoming heavily influenced by Afro-Brazilian practices. This is probably attributable to the decline of Afro-Argentines and the increase of Cape Verdeans who sought out the African influence. The first Afro-Brazilian temple in Argentina opened its doors to the public in 1966 and was led by *la mae*, the priestess Nelidad de Oxum an Argentine, who had learned of this religious practice while living in Southern Brazil.[xliv] There are two popular variants of Afro-Brazilian religious beliefs: the more orthodox known as *el batuque*, or nation, and the more synchronized, known as *umbanda*.[xlv] By the 1970s, the number of Afro-Brazilian temples had grown

considerably; a half dozen had been established with the majority being *umbanda*. Today, nearly four hundred temples function legally in Argentina, the majority in Buenos Aires.[xlvi]

Afro-Argentine culture and history permeates the country's literature. Black poets wrote about social injustice and black pride. For example, Casildo Gervasio Thompson wrote the poem "*Canto al Africa*," Hymn to Africa, "evoking the cruelties of the slave trade and described members of the black race as noble and distinguished presenting whites as savages and as destroyers of black families."[xlvii] He was considered to be a true testimony to the black experience because he verbalized black pride, a rare theme in Argentina.[xlviii] The poem begins with a mythical description of Africa, and it ends with the destruction of Africa by European intervention. He proclaimed, "*Sabéis como se llama esa tierra divina y bendecida… se llama AFRICA, oid, Africa bella…es la cuna del Negro: esa es la patria del eterno proscrito que lloro*, "You know what this divine and blessed land is called… it is called Africa, you hear, beautiful Africa… it is the birthplace of blacks: that is for the love of (Africa) internal exile that I cry."[xlix] Also, Horacio Mendizábal wrote a poem titled "*Libertad*," drawing attention to the freedom that was denied to the slaves. He writes, "…*Esa por quien pelearon nuestros padres, esa celeste Diosa de bondad, esa que amaron tanto nuestras madres es la sublime, bella Libertad*, or "that for whom our fathers fought, that heavenly goddess of kindness, which our mothers loved so much is the noble, beautiful, Freedom."[l] These poets have what we consider today to be "Afro-centrism," which is pride to be black.[li] Though their contributions have been ignored or attributed to others, Afro-Argentines have enriched the country's literary culture.

Black newspapers also played an important role among the Afro-Argentine population. They reported on social problems that affected their community such as class struggles between middle and lower class blacks and debated if assimilation into white society would be the best option for the declining black population. The first black newspapers, *La Juventud* and *La Broma*, orginated during the latter half of the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, it was a popular belief that Afro-Argentines no longer existed; however, this was not true as the black newspapers were quick to affirm. In 1900, "*La Verdad*" edited by Bendeto Ferriera and "*La Protectora*," published by the benefit society bearing this same name, stipulated that Afro-Argentines indeed existed.[lii]

Throughout the twentieth century, Afro-Argentines have sought to preserve their African heritage, though it is difficult due to the country's insistence on denying their existence. Nevertheless, blacks maintained their social connections through organizations, such as the Shimmy Club, located in Buenos Aires' *Almagro* barrio, which opened in 1924 and closed in 1973. According to historian Narciso Binayan Carmona, every first Saturday of the month and during carnival blacks and whites would gather and celebrate, dancing the candombe, rumba, a mixture of both, and other popular dances.[liii] Musical enthusiasts would debate the future of African music, while rival dance groups such as the Drummers and the Dancers would face off in competition.[liv] Here the Cape Verdeans and native-born blacks would congregate to pay homage to their African past. These two groups would also come together to sing African songs and dance the *candombe* at another social club, the *Almagre*.

Black organizations not only served to preserve African culture but also played an integral role as support systems. For example, La Protectora (1877-1936), functioned as a labor union. For fifty-nine years, it fought for higher wages. It also provided free medical care for its members and constructed a mausoleum in a cemetery in Recoleta, a barrio in Buenos Aires, where they gave free burials to the deceased.[lv] Other black groups that existed during the latter half of the twentieth century were *Agrupación Patriótica*, *25 de Mayo*, *el Círculo Social Juvencio*, *la Asociación de Fomento General* and *San Martín*.[lvi] These associations provided material and moral support to the black population.

Nevertheless, the pressure to whiten the country's population oftentimes overwhelmed the black community. Cultural aspects that used to be predominately black were taken over by whites. Transculturalation took place in areas such as socialization and music. For example, the Shimmy Club, which started out as an organization promoting black solidarity, also attracted whites, and by the time it closed had a majority of white members. The club appealed to whites, who would come to dance and listen to black music. It officially closed its doors in 1973 after a seven-year push to end it by the Governor of La Pampa Juan Carlos Ongania.[lvii] His persistence in closing the club may have been because he did not like the idea that whites were attracted to black culture. Another example of transculturalation was the demise of the black labor union, La Protectora's, which was possibly due to "white infiltration in which the black members would have lost control."[lviii] No longer addressing the concerns of black issues such as discrimination and racism, La Protectora's focus was probably transformed to better fit the interests of the white majority in the club.

Music also changed. There had always been a fascination with how easy slaves learned to play European instruments like the violin, guitar, and piano.[lix] By the late nineteenth century as the black population declined and European music became more popular, black

musicians began studying abroad. Musicians like Manuel Posadas, who won a scholarship to study violin in Brussels, and Zenón Rolón, who studied the organ in Italy and later became an elementary school music teacher, rejected African influence in music, believing that it no longer fit their social class.[lx] For some blacks this was a form of assimilation into the predominant white class. Such actions made it harder for those Afro-Argentines who wanted to preserve their African past to do so.

Reconstructing Afro-Argentine Culture and History

Today Afro-Argentines have started to recognize their African culture and history and are committed to reconstructing it. Groups such as *La Fundación Africa Vive*, located in Buenos Aires, host free informative sessions such as "The Afro-Argentine Journey" through the *Archivo General de la Nación*. These sessions are intended to introduce and teach the history of Afro-Argentines to the general public. *Africa Vive* was established in 1996 after the founder, María Lamadrid, was detained in the airport for six hours. Attempting to check in, the airline attendant did not believe that her passport was valid because there was no such thing as a black Argentine.[lxi] *Africa Vive* also strives to show that the official government census information is misleading. To this end, *Africa Vive* is conducting its own statistical research to develop a more accurate idea of the number of people descended from slaves. Their estimates suggest that there may be as many as two million. Another organization the Center of Afro-Indo Studies, which is located in the northern province of Santa Fe, also works to promote Afro-Argentine history. Recently the Center of Afro-Indo Studies has organized many conferences and international meetings with African descendents from around the world to change this attitude.[lxii] In addition, social groups like *La Juvencia*, *Los Aparecidos*, and *El Martín Fierro* exist.[lxiii] These groups like the ones before them provide moral and social support, especially since it is a common belief that Afro-Argentines no longer exist.

Educating people about Afro-Argentine culture and history poses a challenge because whites deny its existence and Afro-Argentines themselves have difficulty accepting it. Based upon interviews in the book, ¿*No Hay Negros Argentinos*?, Lucía of Santa Fe, the daughter of a mestiza and a mulatto, writes about what it is like to be a black person from the interior of the country. Growing up, her father taught her that being black was a disadvantage and at home he gave her better clothes, toys, and education than her "white" sisters to compensate for her dark skin.[lxiv] She admitted "*en mi juventud no tenía conciencia de ser negra, vivía sin darme cuenta que la relación con la gente tenía que ver con mi color*," or "during my childhood I was not aware that I was black, I lived without knowing that my relations with people had to do with my color."[lxv] Not feeling she was a part of the black community, Lucía probably felt disconnected and a lack of concern with the Afro-Argentine plight. She later agreed there was no black community in Santa Fe. She stated, "*Solo en el barrio Santa Rosa de Lima están algo concentrados… poco participan de actividades en común, porque pocos de ellos se reconocen como negros. A nosotros desde la Colonia nos han dividido*," or "only in Santa Rosa de Lima are they concentrated, few participate in common activities because few recognize themselves as being black. We have been divided since Colonial times."[lxvi] This highlights a common problem facing blacks: they are reluctant to see themselves as members of the Afro-Argentine community.

Enrique, whose black parents separated when he was young, grew up in a school for orphans. He mentioned that discrimination is not overt, "*En nuestro país es muy, pero difícil, que alguien te agreda directamente, cara a cara con tu color… mucho pasa a tus espaldas*," or in our country the discrimination is rare face to face… usually it is behind our backs."[lxvii] Later he admitted, "*Cargamos con el syndrome de la esclavitud. A nosotros nos tiene evaluados como tipos alegres, deportistas, musicos,... y nosotros, los propios negros, creemos que somos*," or "we are trapped by the slavery syndrome. We see ourselves based upon stereotypes that portray us as happy, athletes, musicians,… and those of us that are black believe that is who we are."[lxviii] In addition, he freely admitted "*hay entre mis hermanos, negros que se avergüenzan de ser negros… ante situaciones de cargadas prefieren pasar desapercibidos*" or "among my brethren there are blacks who are embarrassed to admit they are black and when put in awkward situations they prefer to be unnoticed."[lxix] As a person who appeared to be black and unlike Lucía, who could pass into another racial category, Enrique would have had to accept that he was black, which might have prompted him to learn about his history.

Tomás, a mulatto, from La Plata grew up in a rich family, which probably decreased the amount of discrimination he received. Though his white mother did teach him about black history that is where it stayed, in the past and irrelevant to Tomás. In addition, due to his family's socioeconomic status "*mi papa hizo esfuerzos para que yo no la hiciera (la conscripción en el ejercito)*" or "My father made sure that I would not have to serve in the army."[lxx] In this case, Tomas benefited by coming from a rich family versus Enrique who did not. In Argentina, if a black person has money the assimilation process becomes

easier. Maria Lamadrid, founder of *La Fundación Africa Vive* also proclaims, "*… si han podido estudiar y si han podido blanqurearse son blancos*," or "if blacks have had the opportunity to study, and if they have been able to whiten themselves, they are white."[lxxi] She is probably implying that Afro-Argentines who have access to higher education are economically better off and they choose to assimilate into white society. Though it is more likely that Afro-Argentines who attend universities probably have no choice but to assimilate because of the lack of black students in higher education.

As the number of Afro-Argentines continues to decrease, the story of their contributions to Argentine culture and history must be recognized, recaptured, and reconstructed. If not, future generations will never know that they existed. The statistical saying, "the numbers never lie," does not accurately reflect what has happened in the case of Afro-Argentines, many of whom because of miscegenation no longer appear to be black. Their ability to fuse European, Indigenous, and African cultures in the *tango*, *payador*, carnival, religion, and literature are examples of how they have shaped and defined Argentina. Today, Afro-Argentine groups such as *Africa Vive* are committed to promoting their history, though their biggest challenge is for whites to recognize it and blacks to accept it. Therefore, they must continue the process of correcting the lies, misconceptions, and myths about Afro-Argentine culture and history. If, by chance, one day they no longer exist in Argentina, their legacy will tell another tale.

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[iv] Binayan Carmona, Narciso "*Pasado y permanencia de la negritud*," *Todo es historia*, vol 162, 1980, 70.

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[x] *Censo Nacional de Población Hogares y Viviendas* 2001, (Buenos Aires, 2002), 24.

[xi] "*En Argentina No Hay Negros*," 2 .

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[xiii] Ibid, 81.

[xiv] Ibid, 74.

[xv] Ruchansky, 2.

[xvi] YAO, Jean-Arsene, "*Negros en Argentina. Olvidados pero presentes*" see www.combonianos.com/mn/julio/, 1.

[xvii] Ruchanksy, 2.

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[xxviii] Coria, 96.

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[xxx] Coria, 106.

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[xxxvii] Ortiz Oderigo, 33.

[xxxviii] "El Rosendal de Palermo," Legislatura de la ciudad de Buenos Aires Dirección General de Información y Archivo Legislativo see www.cedom.gov.ar./es/lugaresdelaciudad/paseos/capitulo1.

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[xlix] Ibid, 11.

[l] Op Cit.

[li] YAO, "*Integración e Identidad*," 12.

[lii] Ruchansky, 2.

[liii] Ruchansky, 2.

[liv] Ibid, 3.

[lv] Coria, 89-90.

[lvi] Ruchansky, 1.

[lvii] Ibid, 1.

[lviii] Coria, 90.

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[lxi] El Clair.com "*Una mujer denunció que la discriminaron por ser negra*," 1.

[lxii] Ibid, 53.

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[lxvii] Ibid, 55.

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The effects of zebra mussels (*Dreissena polymorpha*) on the downstream transport of primary production

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ABSTRACT
Zebra mussels established populations in Croton Pond, an impoundment on the Muskegon River in Michigan, between 1999 and 2000. Subsequently, declines in the filter feeding invertebrate communities downstream of the impoundment have occurred. Because of these changes, I investigated the impacts of zebra mussels on the production and downstream transport of phytoplankton in Croton Pond and the Muskegon River. Chlorophyll a concentrations were determined at multiple sites upstream, in the pond, and downstream. In addition, simulations were set up to predict algal biomass had zebra mussels not been introduced into the reservoir. Chlorophyll data indicates that the algal biomass in this portion of the river continually decreased with downstream flow. Clearance rates of zebra mussels were found to be 108 mLind.$^{-1}$hr^{-1}, immediately below Croton Dam while the incubations showed phytoplankton daily production rates to be 1.92 μgL^{-1} in the absence of zebra mussels. These data combined are a strong indication that the changes in chlorophyll a throughout the stream were a result of zebra mussel filtration. Decreased downstream transport of algal biomass may account for declines in other filter feeding invertebrate populations. In addition, zebra mussel filtering rates may directly limit the expansion of zebra mussel populations downstream due to food limitation.

Key words
zebra mussels, chlorophyll *a*, phytoplankton, Hydrolab$_{tm}$, incubations, Croton, Muskegon River

Introduction

The introduction of exotic species to the Great Lakes has caused major changes in these waters over the past twenty years. Researchers have observed changes in both vertebrate and invertebrate populations alike as a result of changes caused by these new species. Among these foreign species, zebra mussels (*Dreissena polymorpha*) have been of particular concern. Filtering rates often lead to an increase in water clarity, which is an indication that phytoplankton are being consumed at a rapid pace.

Zebra mussels are an extremely prolific nuisance species that was first discovered in the Great Lakes in June of 1988 at Lake St. Clair. Researchers believe that the species may have been introduced as early as 1986 (Griffiths et al. 1989). Since then, zebra mussels have spread throughout the entire Great Lakes region and to many waterways in the eastern United States (http://www.anr.state.vt.us 2001). The successful infiltration of zebra mussels results largely from their life and reproductive cycles. A single female can produce over a million eggs during one summer season. This rapid cycle results in millions of tiny veligers that are easily transported by the currents throughout connected bodies of water. Once connected to a substrate, these veligers grow into adult zebra mussels, which are approximately 1 inch in length. Colonies of zebra mussels can reach densities of thousands of individuals per square meter. The average lifespan of zebra mussels in North America is two to three years. Other factors, such as lack of competition, also contribute to the success of zebra mussels. Because zebra mussels are benthic filter feeders, they occupy an ecological niche previously unoccupied by any other species in the Great Lakes; therefore, there is no competition from native species and there are few natural

predators in North American freshwaters. The few that do exist pose no significant threat to the mollusk. These factors combined explain the widespread abundance of zebra mussels in the Great Lakes. Zebra mussels have great impact on phytoplankton and nutrient concentrations of the waters they occupy. Filtering rates often lead to an increase in water clarity, which is an indication that phytoplankton are being consumed at a rapid pace. Studies have shown that clearance rates of zebra mussels in North America to be as high as 516 mLind.$^{-1}$hr^{-1} (Leach 1993).

More recently, zebra mussels have begun to spread inland. Croton Pond, an impoundment on the Muskegon River in Michigan, was probably invaded in the late 1990s. By the year 2000, zebra mussel densities below Croton Dam reached 8,000 m^{-2} and an astonishing 25,000 m^{-2} by 2001. Studies have shown that since their arrival there have been dramatic changes in the invertebrate composition of the Muskegon River below Croton (Luttenton, *per.com.*). There is reason to believe that these changes are a result of lower phytoplankton biomass, a major food source for invertebrates, that is due to filtration by zebra mussels which pulls primary production into the benthos and limits the growth rate of other filter feeders through resource competition (Jack and Thorp 2003). The purpose of this study was to determine how zebra mussels are affecting the transport of phytoplankton from Croton Pond to the Muskegon River downstream from the impoundment.

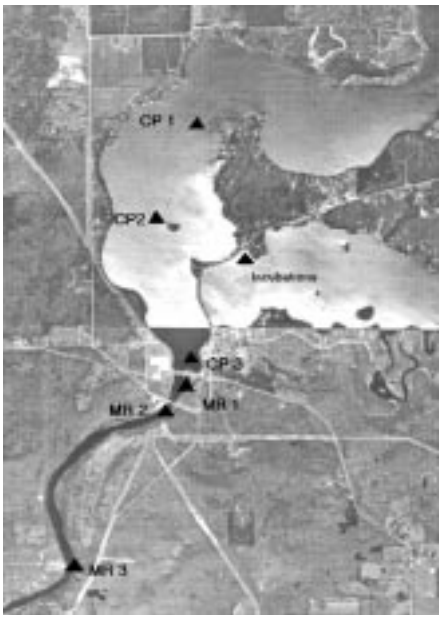

Figure 1. *Aerial map of Croton Pond, Croton, Michigan, May 1, 1993. Courtesy of the United States Geological Survey (http://terraserver-usa.com accessed: July 12, 2003). Shows six of eight sample sites as well as the incubation site.*

Methods

Sample Sites

Eight sample sites, three in the pond and five sites downstream from Croton Dam, were established for this study (Figure 1). The impoundment sites were located in the upper (CP1), middle (CP2), and lower (CP3) sections of Croton Pond (Figure 1). Riverine sites were located immediately below the dam (MR1), approximately 300 m downstream (MR2), at the Pine Street access (MR3), Thornapple access (MR4), and Newaygo access (MR5). These sites were located approximately 1.75 km, 8.75 km, and 18.0 km downstream from Croton Dam respectively (Figure 2).

Incubations were conducted in an isolated area near the middle of Croton Pond (see Figure 1). This site was chosen because it was a protected area of the pond that exhibited conditions similar to sample sites within Croton Pond.

Data Collection

A Hydrolab® was used to measure temperature, percent oxygen saturation, dissolved oxygen concentration, conductivity, total dissolved solids, pH, oxidation-reduction potential, and chlorophyll *a*. Chlorophyll *a* concentrations were used to determine the algal biomass at different points along the river. Samples were taken on four different dates from June 16, 2003 to July 14, 2003, and on each date sampling techniques were the same. Measurements were made at the surface

Figure 2. *Aerial map southwest of Croton, Michigan, May 1, 2003. Courtesy of the United States Geological Survey (http://terraserver-usa.com accessed: July 12, 2003). Shows three of eight sample sites.*

of Croton Pond because this is the water that will pass over the dam and contains all the phytoplankton that will potentially make its way downstream.

Incubations were set up to estimate the productivity of phytoplankton without filtration from zebra mussels. Two incubations were set up in the month of July 2003. For each period, four 10 L-optically-corrected bottles were filled with lake water and sealed 72.5 hours for the first incubation and 44 hours for the second incubation. After the incubation time elapsed, conditions within each of the bottles were determined using the Hydrolab®. Ambient water conditions were also determined before and after the incubations.

Figure 3. *Temperature in °C on June 16, 2003; July 9, 2003; July 12, 2003; and July 14, 2003 in the Muskegon River and Croton Pond, Michigan.*

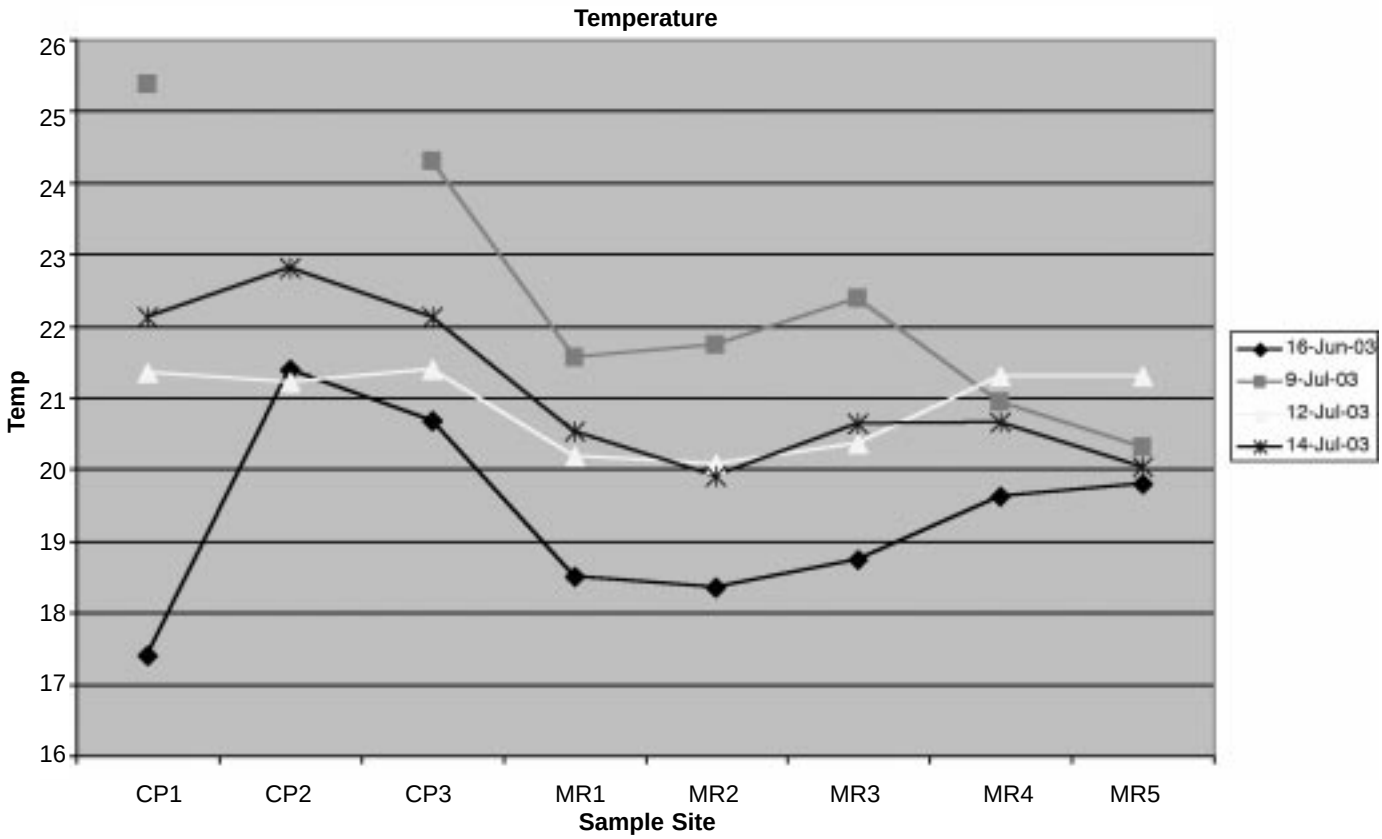

Figure 4. *Dissolved oxygen on June 16, 2003; July 9, 2003; July 12, 2003; and July 14, 2003 in the Muskegon River and Croton Pond, Michigan.*

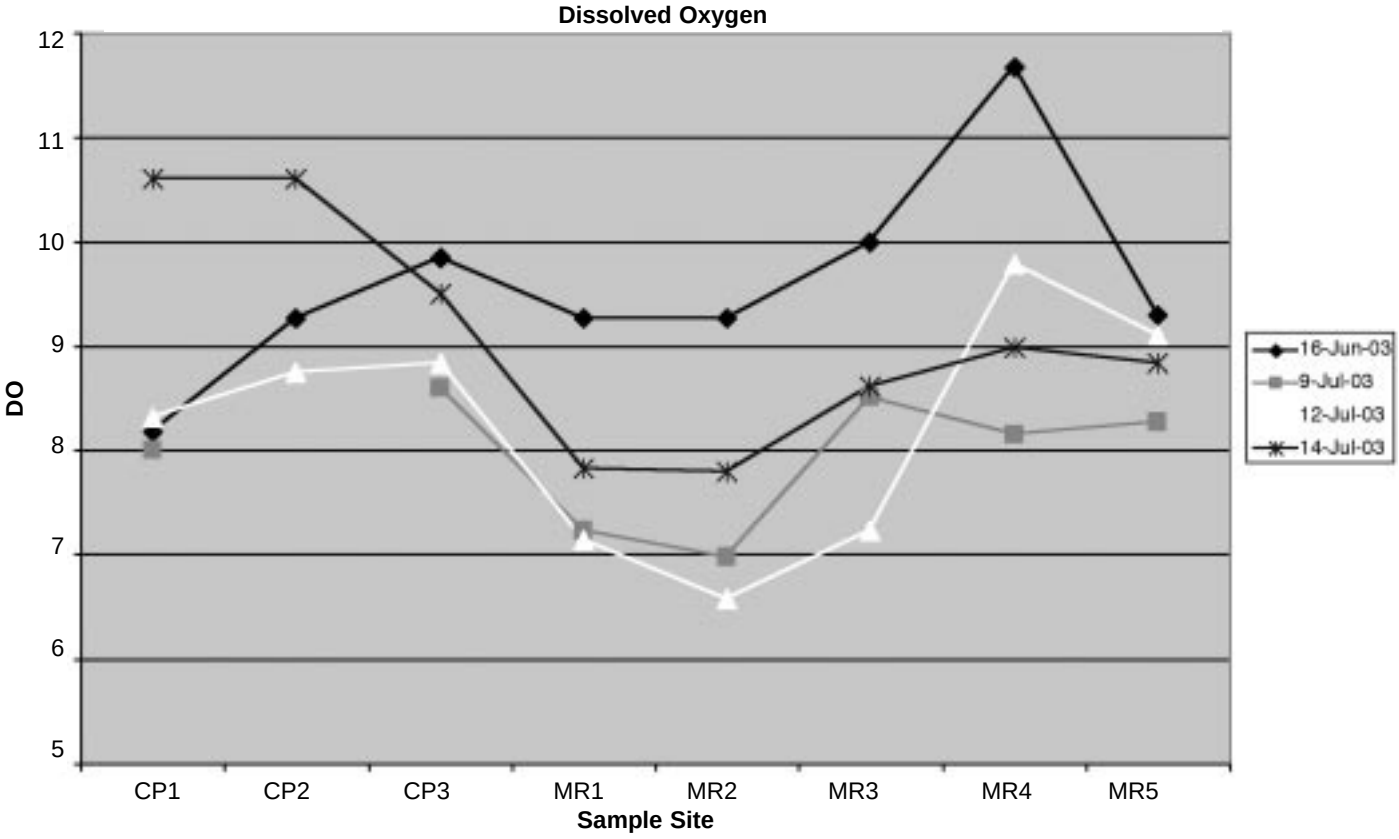

Figure 5. *Chlorophyll a on June 16, 2003; July 9, 2003; July 12, 2003; and July 14, 2003 in the Muskegon River and Croton Pond, Michigan.*

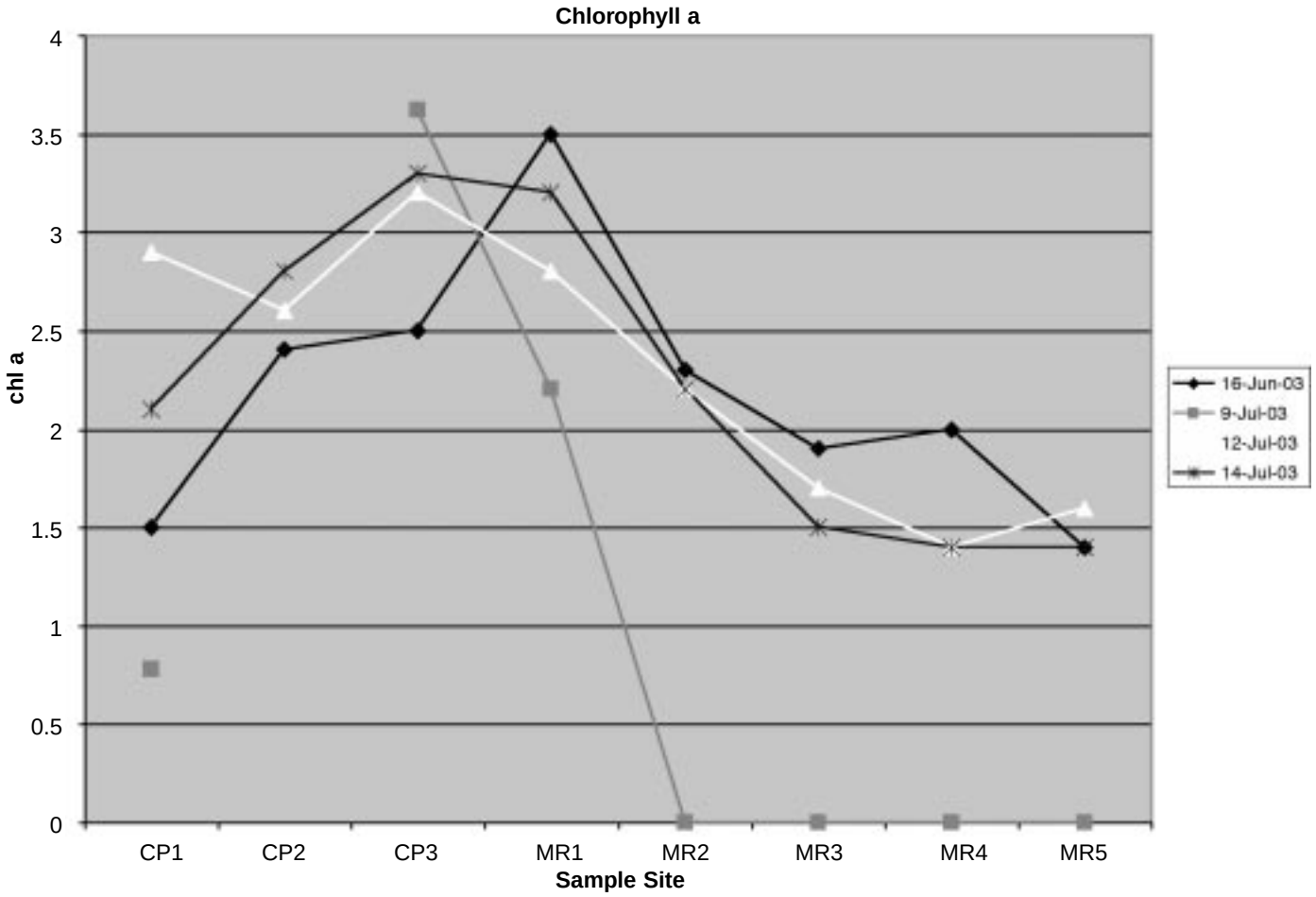

Table 1. *Hydrolab® raw data for the first incubation period from 5:00 p.m. on July 9, 2003 to 5:30 p.m. on July 12, 2003, Croton Pond, Croton, Michigan.*

Incubations Wed. 7-9-03 5:00pm thru Sat. 7-12-03 5:30pm								
	Temp	DO%	DO	SpC	TDS	pH	ORP	Chl *a*
Ambient before	21.21	98.1	8.74	355.7	0.2279	8.65	276	2.6
Ambient after	22.01	101.3	8.90	469.5	0.2229	8.67	272	3.1
Bottle 1	22.82	112.1	9.70	465.8	0.2981	9.07	235	9.8
Bottle 2	22.99	109.8	9.44	462.8	0.2964	9.10	229	6.6
Bottle 3	22.90	117.5	10.10	467.2	0.2990	9.06	221	8.5
Bottle 4	22.58	119.5	10.42	465.1	0.2978	9.12	215	10.4
Average	22.82	114.2	9.92	465.2	0.2978	9.09	225	8.8

Table 2. *Hydrolab® raw data for the second incubation period from 5:30 p.m. on July 12, 2003 to 1:30 p.m. on July 14, 2003, Croton Pond, Croton, Michigan.*

Incubations Sat. 7-12-03 5:30pm thru Mon. 7-14-03 1:30 pm								
	Temp	DO%	DO	SpC	TDS	pH	ORP	Chl a
Ambient before	22.01	101.3	8.90	469.5	0.2229	8.67	272	3.1
Ambient after	24.51	114.1	9.54	468.1	0.3002	8.87	241	3.2
Bottle 1	24.51	121.3	10.11	462.7	0.2961	8.98	242	5.5
Bottle 2	24.56	116.8	9.75	461.2	0.2952	9.03	238	7.3
Bottle 3	24.51	114.8	9.59	461.3	0.2954	9.04	238	7.5
Bottle 4	24.51	112.8	9.42	461.6	0.2956	9.02	238	6.8
Average	24.52	116.4	9.72	461.7	0.2956	9.02	239	6.8

Results

Measurements of chemical and physical variables indicated only slight variation along the river. The data of particular interest were temperature, dissolved oxygen, and chlorophyll *a*. Note that on July 9 there were no readings for middle Croton Pond due to equipment failure.

Temperature remained relatively constant throughout the river. Temperatures on June 16, ranging from 17.4°C to 21.39°C, and July 9, ranging from 20.3° to 25.38°C, had more variance from one sample site to the next than on July 12, ranging from 20.08°C to 21.38°C, and July 14, ranging from 19.97°C to 22.81°C (Figure 3). Within Croton Pond, the temperature increases from upstream Croton to middle Croton and slightly decreases at the downstream sample site. There is a larger drop in temperature as the water passes over the dam. This is probably because the surface water mixes with colder water as it passes over the dam. After that point, the temperatures tend to level off between 20°C and 21°C.

Dissolved oxygen readings varied among sample dates. June 16, the coldest sample date, had dissolved oxygen readings from 8.18 to 11.67 (Figure 4). Concentrations were lowest on July 12 ranging from 6.58 to 9.79. The data for July 9 and July 14 were intermediate between these dates. The lowest dissolved oxygen reading was 6.58.

Chlorophyll *a* had consistent trends among the sample dates. Chlorophyll *a* tended to increase within the impoundment and decrease after Croton Dam. Highest chlorophyll concentrations were at CP3 and MR1, while lowest concentrations were at MR5 (Figure 5). On July 9 chlorophyll *a* readings were 0.78 μgL^{-1} at upstream Croton, 3.62 μgL^{-1} at downstream Croton, and 2.20 μgL^{-1} just below the dam. At the next site, below Croton Street, chlorophyll *a* dropped to 0 μgL^{-1} and never picked up for the remaining sites.

The incubations showed an increase in algal biomass when the water was isolated from zebra mussel filtration. The first incubation period lasted 72.5 hours (Table 1). The ambient chlorophyll *a* reading after the incubation period was 3.1 μgL^{-1} for that period whereas the chlorophyll for the four bottles averaged 8.8 μgL^{-1}. The second incubation period lasted 44 hours (Table 2). The ambient chlorophyll after the incubation period was 3.2 μgL^{-1} and the four bottles averaged 6.8 μgL^{-1}. Ambient data for the incubation periods can be found in Tables 1 and 2.

Discussion

Changes in temperature among sample dates may explain some of the variation in dissolved oxygen data. As temperatures increase, dissolved oxygen decreases; as temperatures decrease, dissolved oxygen increases. This is because colder waters can hold more oxygen in solution. For example, on June 16, 2003, the dissolved oxygen readings were higher when the temperature readings were the lowest. The opposite is true for July 12. The temperatures were higher on this date and corresponded to the lower dissolved oxygen readings. However, the data for July 9, 2003 and July 14, 2003 do not hold true to this trend. Dissolved oxygen concentrations on these dates are higher than the readings for July 12 in spite of the fact that the temperatures were warmer. These data suggest that other factors may influence dissolved oxygen. For example, dissolved oxygen concentrations for July 9 and 14 may have resulted from the intense sunlight on those two dates. There was far more sunlight on July 9 and July 14 than on June 16 and July 12, which would increase the rate of photosynthesis. This would result in increased levels of oxygen for those days. The more constant temperatures during the later dates are possibly a result of the prolonged exposure to the summer season.

In Croton Pond, flow has been greatly reduced and this portion of the river has become more lake-like as a result. With the reduced flow, phytoplankton has the opportunity to incubate within the impoundment before it passes over the dam. Therefore, it was expected that there would be an increase in chlorophyll *a* in the pond from upstream to downstream. This was indeed the case for June 16 and July 14. Because data are missing on July 9, it is uncertain if the same trend would have been observed. However, I believe that there is a strong possibility that the trend continued because the increase was so great from the upstream Croton site to the downstream Croton site. The one exception was on July 12 when chlorophyll *a* decreased slightly from upstream Croton to the middle of Croton and then increased at the downstream Croton site. This slight decrease may have been a result of the numerous jet skis that were being used in this portion of the pond and which may have caused mortality among the phytoplankton or mixing of the water column.

The algal biomass was highest within the pond at the downstream portion for each date. Because the surface water from the downstream portion of the pond passed over the dam, it was expected that these readings would be similar to the site immediately below the dam. Although there was some variance, the chlorophyll *a* concentrations below Croton Dam were similar to the concentrations directly upstream from the dam.

From MR1 to MR5 the data suggests that zebra mussel filtration affects the transport of phytoplankton downstream.

The general trend shows that algal biomass decreases downstream from the dam. The greatest decrease for each sample date is from below Croton Dam to below Croton Street, a distance of approximately 300 m. On July 9, the chlorophyll *a* concentration fell from 2.20 μgL^{-1} to 0 μgL^{-1}, which indicates that the phytoplankton was completely filtered out of the water within this stretch. This was not very surprising for two reasons. First, July 9 was the only date that temperatures at those sites fell between 20° and 24°C, which is the optimal temperature range for zebra mussel filtration (Descy et.al. 2003). Second, this stretch supports the highest densities of zebra mussels. Based on unpublished data (Luttenton, *unpublished data*), there are 25,000 zebra mussels per m^2 in this portion of the river. Assuming this area is approximately 300 m long and the average width is 133.3 m, I estimate the total area to be 39,990m^2. Further, assuming a uniform distribution of zebra mussels, I estimate the total population to be roughly 999,750,000 individual zebra mussels in this small area of the river. Finally, assuming the water was completely filtered, it was possible to calculate the clearance rate of the zebra mussels in this area. Discharge on July 9, 2003 was found to be 1,060 ft^3s^{-1} (USGS data, http://waterdata.usgs.gov/mi/nwis). Converting the discharge to 108,057,086.59 Lhr^{-1} the filtration rate was found to be 108 $mLind.^{-1}hr^{-1}$. This value falls within clearance rates published by Reeders, et.al. (1989) who reported zebra mussel filtration to range from 78-170 $mLind.^{-1}hr^{-1}$.

Below site MR2, zebra mussel populations are very limited, yet chlorophyll *a* concentrations remain low. Furthermore, the concentrations at MR5 were lower than at sample sites upstream. Though time limited the opportunity to rule out other factors, it seems safe to say that zebra mussels are a great factor limiting the transport of phytoplankton down the river and affecting it to such an extent that it does not recover downstream of zebra mussel colonies. Turbulent mixing and physical damage to phytoplankton cells may also partially account for low chlorophyll *a* concentrations at downstream sites.

There are no data prior to zebra mussel colonization in the pond; therefore, the incubation experiment served as a tool to estimate the algal biomass in the pond if there were no zebra mussels. Because the presence of zebra mussels may have changed the composition of phytoplankton substantially, the incubation data may be a very rough estimate of what the actual chlorophyll *a* concentrations would have been. Because the two incubation periods differed in duration, I calculated production rates as $\mu L^{-1}hr^{-1}$, then converted that to an average daily production rate. The average for the first incubation period was 1.89 $\mu gL^{-1}day^{-1}$ and 1.96 $\mu gL^{-1}day^{-1}$ for the second incubation period. This indicates that without zebra mussels the phytoplankton levels could possibly increase on average an additional 1.92 $\mu gL^{-1}day^{-1}$ every day during its transport through the pond. Filtration by the zebra mussels is limiting the amount of phytoplankton produced in Croton Pond, thus greatly reducing the amount available for export downstream.

Conclusions

This study indicates that the introduction of zebra mussels into Croton Pond has influenced phytoplankton, and therefore, affected food resources for filter feeding invertebrates. First, the incubation experiments suggest that zebra mussels are filtering phytoplankton at a high rate, limiting the amount of phytoplankton that is exported over the dam. Second, the high densities of zebra mussels immediately below the dam are clearing the already low concentrations of chlorophyll *a* immediately below the dam. The continuing decrease of chlorophyll *a* as the water flows downstream is an indication that the zebra mussels are altering the phytoplankton composition to a point where it is not able to recover.

Historically, *hydropschid caddisflies* were abundant in the Muskegon River. The low algal biomass downstream may explain why there has been a loss of these filter feeding invertebrates. Without enough food, these organisms are unable to survive in these portions of the river. In addition, zebra mussels may be limiting their own spread downstream. It appears that the mollusk has reached carrying capacity within the Muskegon River. It filters out all of its own food supply, making it virtually impossible for individual mollusks to survive downstream.

Acknowledgements

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A Heuristic Algorithm: Simulating Light Propagation in Orthogonal Polygons

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine the area of light emitted by a source in an orthogonal polygon on a two-dimensional lattice using the cellular automata construction method. By applying this method, an efficient algorithm was tested and developed to determine the area of light propagated. The algorithm, although not optimal, gives a close approximation of the number of cells on the lattice that are to be illuminated. Furthermore, the algorithm acknowledged in this research is sufficient to work with any orthogonal polygon. This research is based on a classical computational geometry problem – the art gallery problem. It is hoped that the results of this research can contribute to finding more efficient solutions to the problem as well as other computational geometry problems.

Introduction

In 1973 during a discussion with other mathematicians, Victor Klee introduced the art gallery problem: How many guards are sufficient to guard any polygon with *n* vertices? The problem was called the art gallery problem or the illumination problem because it resembled a security configuration in an art gallery as well as represented the illumination of an art gallery. For example, if an owner of an art gallery wants to place cameras (source of light) such that the whole gallery will be thief proof, before that owner can configure his/her security setup, he or she will first have to answer a few questions. Questions like "What is the minimum number of cameras required in order to protect the expensive art collection?" and "Where will the cameras be placed so that the whole gallery is guarded?"

There are many forms of the art gallery problem, dealing with many types of polygons. In this research we looked only at using orthogonal polygons to represent a gallery. Orthogonal polygons are polygons that have a set of mutually perpendicular axis, meeting at right angles (see fig. 1). An orthogonal polygon can also be dissected at its vertexes, resulting in squares or rectangles.

Fig. 1. *Set of orthogonal polygons*

Related Work

The art gallery problem is now a classical problem in the study of algorithms. Although it is extended into many forms, most forms deal with the classical idea of "line-of-light" illumination model; one point can illuminate another point, as long as the line segment between the two points is not intersected by any object. In our problem, we restrict the illumination problem to an orthogonal polygon.

One of the optimal solutions created to solve this problem in orthogonal polygons is triangulation. The theoretical basis behind this is simple. If a single light source is enough to light the simplest polygon, a square, then it is evident that a single light source should be enough to illuminate any convex polygon[1]. The problem becomes interesting when the convex polygons take complex shapes. Triangulation deals with dividing the polygon into non-overlapping triangles and placing a source in each of these triangles. This is done because it is known that one source is sufficient to illuminate a simple convex polygon; therefore one source should be sufficient to illuminate a triangle, which is also classified as a simple convex polygon. Because it is also proved that any simple polygon can be triangulated, then any simple polygon triangulated into *n* triangles will need *n* light sources to sufficiently illuminate the entire polygon. However, it is obvious that one light source can sometimes illuminate more than one triangle. In fact, a single source can illuminate up to three triangles: the triangle itself and its two neighboring triangles. Thus, in the worst-case scenario, a polygon would need *n* light sources and in the best-case scenario it would need *n/3* light sources.

Theoretical Basis

Before we begin to compute the minimum number as well as the final position of the sources that will be needed to maximize the illumination throughout a polygon, we must first compute the area of propagation to be illuminated by one source, regardless of the position of that source. Like many other computational geometry problems, a strategy for solving this is to decompose the problem into small sets and begin computation on each set by using a specialized algorithm. Finally, we combine the partial solutions from all sets to form a complete solution to the problem.

We looked at a method that is well known for decomposing complex problems, such as the current problem at hand, into small workable sets. The method we looked at was cellular automata construction. A cellular automata is represented by a spatial lattice consisting of an infinite number of cells aligned in rows and columns. The state of all cells is updated simultaneously according to a local rule and, thus, the state of the entire lattice advances in discrete time steps to form a final state for the whole lattice. For example, the states of some cells neighboring a certain cell are randomly changing; when all the cells neighboring this particular cell take their final state, this is called the quiescent state. Thereafter, this particular cell will change into its final state by evaluating the final state of its neighbors and applying it to itself.

Using the cellular automata construction, we were able to represent an orthogonal polygon. We implemented a 100x100 lattice that consisted of 10,000 independent cells, each of which can have one of five states: *source, open, wall, lit,* or *unlit*. Thus, the polygon, which is represented by the 10,000 individual cells, can be easily divided into small workable portions.

Decomposing a polygon into individual cells makes it easier to dissect a polygon along specific cells. In our analysis, we dissected a polygon along particular cells, which represent positions with critical angles in respect to the cell that represents the position of a source. These critical angles are 0, 45, 90, 135, 180, 225, 270, and 315 degrees. As shown in fig. 2, a polygon is dissected into eight regions along the critical angles in respect to the source location.

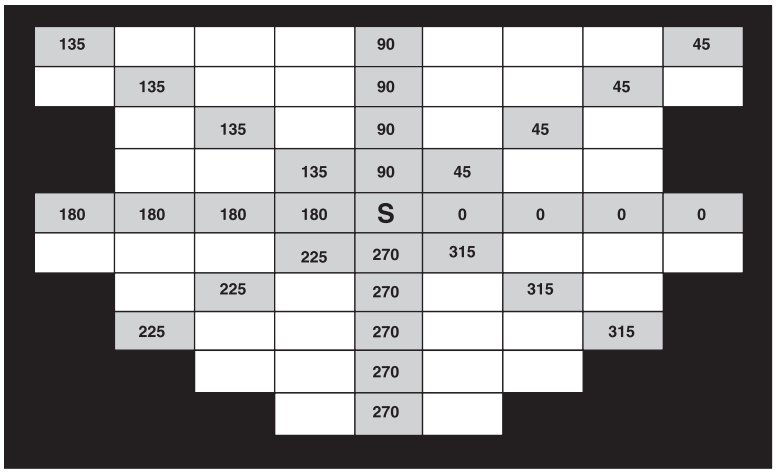

Fig. 2. *A polygon dissected into eight regions*

[1] convex polygon – A polygon such that no side extended cuts through any other side or vertex; it can be cut by a line in at most two points.

Algorithm Analysis

The algorithm we implemented comprised two phases: the orientation phase and the propagation phase. The orientation phase consisted of two steps as well (see fig. 3).The first step in the orientation phase is to determine if a cell lies on a critical angle in respect to the source. This is done by traversing each cell then evaluating the *x*- and *y*-axis positions of the current cell along with the *x*- and *y*-axis positions of the source cell. It was shown that perpendicular angles use a certain type of formula, whereas diagonal angles use another type of formula. These formulas are shown in fig. 4.

The second step of the orientation phase is to assign a region location to every cell. We begin this process by traversing each cell, inspecting neighboring cells, and determining whether one of the adjacent cells has a base angle or if it is a cell that has already been assigned a region. If one of the neighboring cells to a particular cell has a base angle, then using the location of that neighboring cell, we can determine the appropriate region of that particular cell. If, however, one of the neighboring cells has already been assigned a region, then using the location of that neighboring cell in respect to other neighboring cells, we can evaluate the region location of that particular cell.

The second phase of the algorithm is the propagation phase in which we determine if a cell is to be illuminated by a source (see fig. 5). We undergo this phase by traversing individually each cell and, depending on the region of that particular cell, inspect the two critical adjacent cells (see fig. 6). The evaluation of the state of the adjacent cells determines whether the particular cell should change its state to either UNLIT or LIT. For example, if the particular cell we are on during our traversing lies in region 4, then we would inspect the south-east and east adjacent cells. If both of the adjacent cells have the state WALL, then the particular cell will change its state from being OPEN to being UNLIT. If both adjacent cells are illuminated, then the current cell will change to be LIT. If, however, one of the adjacent cells is a WALL and the other LIT, then we would inspect the slope of the particular cell in respect to the source along the slope of the wall and thus determine whether the particular cell should be lit. Another example can be seen in fig. 7, where a DFA[2] simulates the computation of region 7 by determining whether a cell should be LIT or not. Note that the result of the slope from the particular cell in comparison with the slope from the NW cell concludes whether states M_6, M_7, and M_9 are to be accepted, therefore resulting in the particular cell being changed to LIT.

```
ORIENTATION PHASE

Traverse all cells
        If (current cell applies to any base cell
                Set current cell as a base cell

Until Done
Traverse all cells
{
        Inspect neighboring cells
        Determine current cell's region
        Set current cell's slope in respect to the
}
```

Fig. 3. *Algorithm pseudo code: Orientation phase*

```
S=Source Cell
C=Current Cell

0°   – [ (Sy – Cy==0) && (Cx > Sx) ]
90°  – [ (Sx – Cx==0) && (Sy > Cy) ]
180° – [ (Sy – Cy==0) && (Sx > Cx) ]
270° – [ (Sx – Cx==0) && (Cy > Sy) ]
45°  – [ (Cx – Sx)==(Sy– Cy) ]
135° – [ (Sx – Cx)==(Sy– Cy) ]
225° – [ (Sx – Cx)==(Cy– Sy) ]
315° – [ (Cx – Sx)==(Cy– Sy) ]
```

Fig. 4. *Formulas for determining cells with critical angles*

[2] DFA - Deterministic Finite-state Automaton is a model of computation which consists of a set of states, a start state, an input alphabet, a set of accepted states, and a transition.

```
PROPAGATION PHASE

Until Done
Traverse all cells
If (current cell is OPEN)
{
        Switch Case (Region of current cell)
        {
                If (Cell is a base cell)
                {
                        Inspect preceding adjacent base cell
                        If (Adjacent cell is LIT or SOURCE)
                                Set cell state as LIT
                        Else if (Adjacent cell is UNLIT)
                                Set cell state as UNLIT
                }
                If (Appropriate adjacent cells are LIT)
                        Set current cell's state as LIT
                Else if (Adjacent cells are not OPEN)
                {
                        Evaluate the state of adjacent cells
                        If (Current cell's slope passes condition)
                                Set current cell's state as LIT
                        Else
                                Set current cell's state as UNLIT
                }
        }
}
```

Fig. 5. *Algorith pseudo code – Propagation phase*

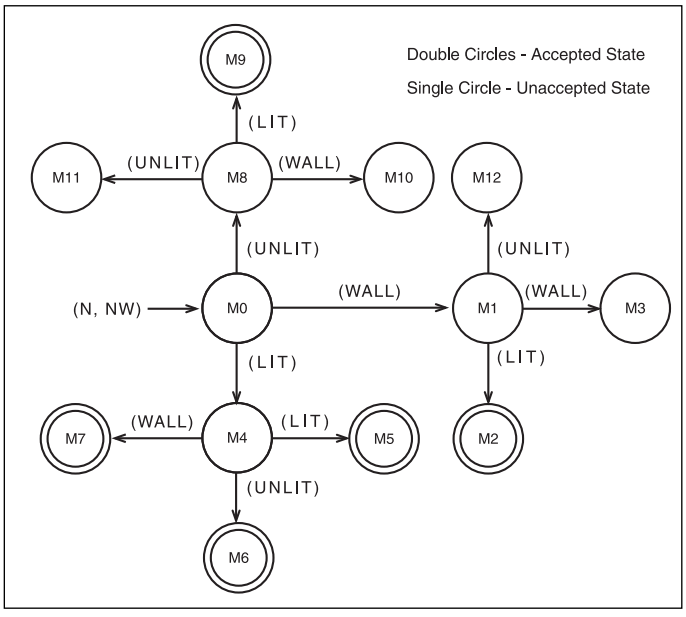

Fig. 7. *DFA[2] of region 7*

Cells in region 1
W and SW cell will be inspected
Cells in region 2
SW and S cell will be inspected
Cells in region 3
S and SE cell will be inspected
Cells in region 4
SE and E cell will be inspected
And so forth…

Fig. 6. *Critical adjacent cells of some regions*

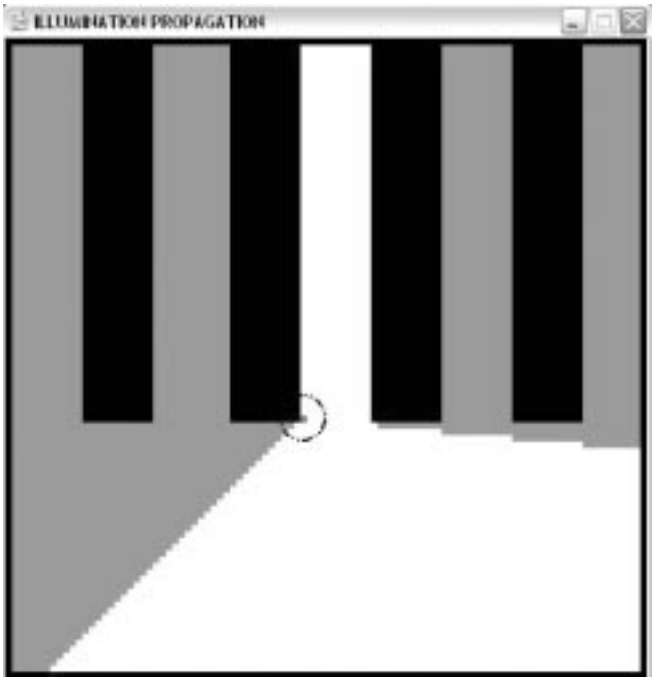

Fig. 8. *An orthogonal polygon with one source*

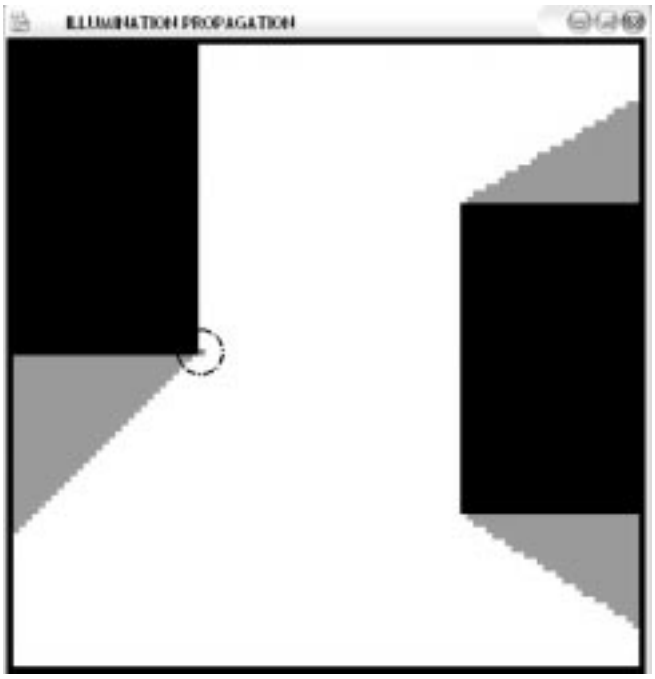

Fig. 9. *Another orthogonal polygon with one source*

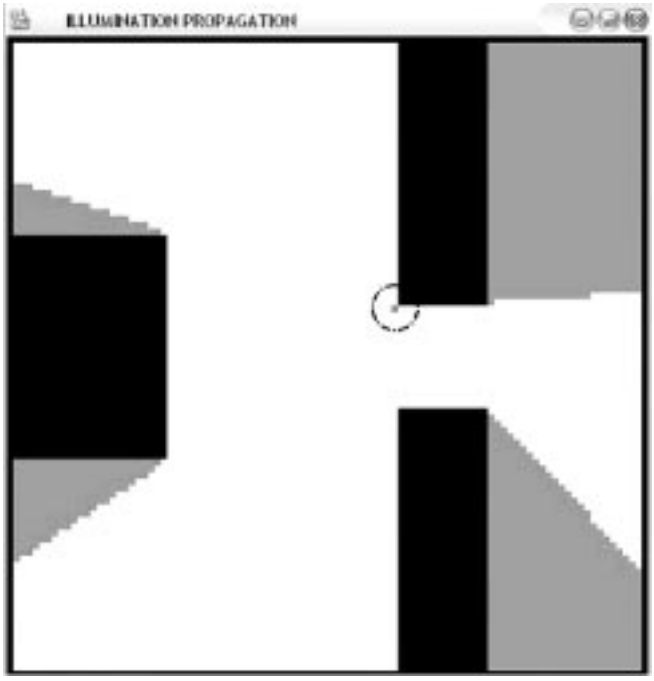

Fig. 10. *Another orthogonal polygon with one source*

Algorithm Complexity

The complexity of our algorithm has been computed to be $O(N^2)$. Although the time complexity seems sufficient to cover small-scale models, it is not an optimal solution for large scale models, which could take a considered amount of time to compute. It is also important to note that the error of approximation, when computing angles between a source and any cell, can be reduced by increasing the number of cells. For example, the fine line error of approximation between illumination and shadows can be reduced by 50% in 100x100 lattice with 10,000 cells, as opposed to a 50x50 lattice with 2,500 cells.

Results

Figures 8, 9, and 10 illustrate some random orthogonal polygons that utilized the fore mentioned algorithm in an application we implemented.

Conclusion and Future Work

The art gallery problem has been approached and studied from different perspectives. Even though the classic idea of the problem is to find the minimum number of guards to guard a polygon with *n* vertices, it gives inspiration to solve many practical problems. Different to many other approaches, the cellular automata method proved to efficiently simulate the use of one guard in the problem. We represented this by illustrating the propagation of light by one source in random polygons. Subsequent to being able to compute the propagation of one source using the algorithm we have presented, we hope to implement this phase into the main problem. Then, we will be able to compute the minimum number of sources needed and the position of those sources in order to maximize the illumination throughout a polygon. Another aspect we would like to investigate in the future is using non-orthogonal polygons, such as complex convex polygons.

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Senior Citizen Access to and Utilization of the Farmers' Market: A Holland Michigan Study

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ABSTRACT
This research examines whether or not senior citizens in the Holland, Michigan area have access to and use of the local farmers' market. The intent is to determine any access issues the elderly population may have in the availability of fresh nutritious produce. It is assumed that many elderly people have poor health, are on a fixed income, have a lack of transportation, and suffer from decreased mobility and social isolation. Because of these limitations senior citizens may not be able to easily obtain fresh produce which may, in turn, impact the nutrition of this group.

Introduction

Senior citizens are the fastest growing segment of the population. People aged 60 years and older are currently 16.5% of the total U.S. population, and this figure is expected to rise to 25% by the year 2030 (Millen, Ohls, Ponza, & McCool, 2002). As the baby boom generation continues to age and health care improves, we begin to see the greatest increase in the numbers of the oldest old, those 85 and older (Longino, 1994; Shankar, 2000). According to Longino in 1990, one in 10 people were 85 years old or older, but by the year 2045, one in five people will be in this age group.

One problem is that as age increases so too does disability or the need for assistance in performing everyday activities. In addition, the elderly often have trouble accessing services such as healthcare facilities, grocery stores, banks, and restaurants due to issues such as poor health, decreased mobility, lack of transportation, low or fixed income, and social isolation (Shankar, 2000; Ervin & Kennedy-Stephenson, 2002). Demographics show that only 9% of people between ages 65 and 69 need assistance with personal care such as eating, bathing, and using the bathroom; however, 45% of people who are 85 years and older need this kind of assistance (Longino, 1994).

This research will explore the issue of senior citizens' accessibility to an excellent source of fresh nutritious produce, specifically the farmers' market in Holland, Michigan. It is my hypothesis that senior citizens in Holland, Michigan will have trouble accessing the local farmers' market due to issues such as poor health, decreased mobility, lack of transportation, low or fixed income, and/or social isolation.

Background

Senior Citizens

Because of the issues of health, income, transportation, and mobility the ever increasing population of senior citizens face, there is a growing body of research concerning the elderly (Sikorska, 1999; Rosenthal, 2000; Litwin, 2001; Guthrie & Lin, 2002). The term senior citizen usually refers to someone who is considered elderly, past middle age, and most often retired (Miriam-Webster, 2002). According to Emrath (1999) "A traditional definition of senior citizen has been anyone who's at least 65, the age of eligibility for full Social Security benefits" (p. 8). Alternatively, Emrath (1999) explains, "based on the law governing age-restricted housing" (p. 9), a senior citizen could be defined as anyone 55 years and older. In addition, senior citizen discounts are often given in restaurants and stores to people who are 55 years old and older. Because age cutoffs vary, for the purpose of this study, I have defined a senior citizen to be anyone who has attained the age of 55 or older.

Until recently, much of the research regarding senior citizens has dealt with issues of access to healthcare and prescriptions, but more studies are starting to focus on the elderly and access to adequate nutrition. Seniors have been shown to be lacking in vitamins D, B_{12} and B-G as well as protein, calcium, magnesium, and zinc while having an excess of total fat, saturated fat, sodium, and cholesterol (Weimer as cited in Shankar, 2000). Access to nutritious foods is important especially for the elderly because according to Ervin and Kennedy-Stephenson (2002), "proper nutrition plays a crucial role in helping them maintain good health and functioning" (p. 3423). Shankar states, "Adequate nutrition directly impacts the quality of life of the elderly, by promoting health and preventing disease and disability" (p. 37). For example, it is estimated that 85% of seniors 65 and older with chronic medical conditions could see improvements with better diets (Schoenberg, 2000).

The idea of assisted living became popular during the mid-1980s as an alternative to the nursing home and as a way to increase senior access to various everyday necessities. (Raymond, 2000). Assisted living facilities are places where residents pay an entrance fee and monthly rent but live fairly independently in a home-like situation (Raymond, 2000; Roberts, 2003). By 1999, there were at least 46,131 of this type of "supportive" housing for the elderly in the U.S. (Raymond). In fact, Cummings (2002) says that in the United States, assisted living facilities are the fastest growing type of residential care for the elderly, with an annual growth rate of 15% to 20%.

Assisted care facilities vary widely but if it becomes increasingly difficult for a person to be independent, assisted care facilities often include paid services such as three meals a day in a common dining room and help coping with daily needs such as housekeeping, transportation, eating, bathing, and taking medications (Raymond, 2000; Roberts, 2003).

Farmers' Markets

There is a growing body of research on farmers' markets. According to Brown (2001), farmers' markets "are generally considered to be recurrent markets at fixed locations where farm products are sold by farmers themselves" (p. 656). Andreatta and Wickliffe (2002) have discussed the rise of farmers' markets and attribute it to "consumers seeking the lowest priced foods and farmers seeking the highest return on their labor investment" (p.168). They describe it as an alternative growing and marketing strategy for the small farmer having difficulties in the traditional wholesale market. It is "a place of business as well as a location for building community, allowing consumers and farmers to become more closely connected" (Andreatta & Wickliffe, p. xx).

Farmers' markets are also seen as community-based efforts that are part of building local food systems which help to increase access to affordable, high-quality, fresh produce (Kantor, 2001). Because of federal grants, many states have implemented farmers' market coupon programs for low income families and senior citizens to improve their access to fresh local produce and improve their nutrition. For example, the Seniors Farmers' Market Nutrition Program (SFMNP) in Iowa was established to promote better health for low-income senior citizens, 60 years and older, by making fresh local produce more accessible to them financially (Russell, 2002). Similar programs have gone into effect in Louisiana (Louisiana Dept. of Agriculture & Forestry, n.d.), Ohio (Area Office on Aging of Northwestern Ohio, Inc., n.d.), and Indiana (Purdue University Dept. of Foods & Nutrition and Cooperative Extension Service, April 19, 2004).

Study Area

Holland, Michigan was founded by Dutch settlers in 1847 (Hope College, 2004). Holland is located on Lake Michigan and is home to Hope College, a private institution. The city has around 35,048 residents, although with tourism and summer cottage residents, there are more people in Holland during summer months (U.S. Census, 2000). The Victorian-style downtown area has been renovated and is complete with art galleries, boutique shops, bookstores, and sidewalks that are heated during the winter months. The city of Holland has won the "Great American Main Street Award" and the "All-American City-Award" for the downtown area. It is also host to the internationally known,

annual "Tulip Festival" (Holland Convention & Visitor's Bureau, 2000). Because of the city's characteristics, there may be more affluence not just among the younger people but among the elderly as well.

Methodology 1

Holland Farmers' Market

The first part of the research was conducted through a six-week ethnographic field school at Grand Valley State University. The class developed and administered a questionnaire using the Andreatta and Wickliffe (2002) farmers' market study as a model to find out who goes to the Holland, Michigan farmers' market located on 8th and Pine streets and why they attend. Besides basic demographic information, participants were asked how often they attend the Holland farmers' market, days of the week they attend, and how long they have been coming to the Holland farmers' market. Other questions focused on how much people were willing to spend, items most often purchased, and reasons for attending the farmers' market.

The Holland farmers' market is held on Wednesdays and Saturdays from May to November. During the final four weeks of the ethnographic field school, the class attended both market days and put up two tables at the farmers' market in order to disseminate and collect questionnaires. For my research, I then analyzed a subset of questionnaires from people who were 55 years or older because I was interested in finding out which seniors in Holland have access to the local farmers' market and use it. Eight seniors volunteered to be interviewed, but I was only able to interview two people due to time constraints.

Results and Discussion 1

Farmers' Market Questionnaires N=123

Who attends the Holland farmers' market?

The farmers' market questionnaires show that 50 individuals or 41% of respondents qualified as senior citizens, people 55 years or older. Mostly women filled out the questionnaire with 73% of the respondents being female and 27% male. Seven of the eight seniors who volunteered to be interviewed were women and both of the volunteers who were interviewed were women. Of the seniors who visit the farmers' market, 71.4% came from the city of Holland and immediate surrounding areas of Park Township, Holland Township, and the city of Zeeland. The other 28.6% of seniors came from other areas such as Hudsonville, Michigan, Chicago, Illinois, and St. Louis, Missouri (see Figure 1).

Within anthropology and other life sciences, race is not a biologically valid term as all human belong to the species Homo sapiens. Instead, race or ethnicity is a cultural construct. For this reason, our study asked, "Briefly identify your family's ethnic background." Some of the responses to this question included: American-Caucasian, Dutch, Irish-Viking, WASP, USA, Anglo Saxon, Dutch-Mexican, and German. People did not generally define themselves using the standard census racial categories. (See Figure 2.) The census data looks at whether people classify themselves as: White (non-Hispanic), Hispanic/Latino, Black or African American, American Indian, Asian, Native Hawaiian, Other, or Two or More. However, looking at the census data, it is possible to get a general idea of the makeup of the Holland population.

Education

Many of the people attending the Holland farmers' market have a college education. (See Figure 3.) Of the people under the age of 55, 60.3% had a college degree, with 31.5% having a bachelor's degree and 28.8% having post graduate degrees. Senior citizens also reported high levels of education with 55.1% reporting college degrees: 22.4% held bachelor degrees and 32.7% held post graduate degrees. These results are not surprising because Holland is a college town.

Income

Reported incomes for people attending the Holland farmers' market were also high. (see Figure 4) Of those respondents under age 55, 73.2% of people reported making $46,000 or more annually. In this age group, the highest percentage, 22.5%, reported that their annual income was more than $91,000. The data from senior citizens show that 68.3% of this population has an annual income of more than $46,000. The largest percentage of seniors, 22%, make between $76,000 and $90,000 per year, and 17.1% reported making more than $91,000 annually.

The incomes reported for people attending the Holland farmers' market do not correspond to the median annual income of the United States, $41,994, as reported in the U.S. 2000 census data. The annual median income reported for the state of Michigan, $45,047, is slightly higher than the U.S. median income. With a median annual income of $50,316 (U.S. Census, 2000), people living in the city of Holland are on average much more affluent than most other U.S. and Michigan residents. Similarly, 12.4% of individuals in the U.S. live below poverty level; 9.9% of those are 65 years old or older. In Holland, Michigan 10.6% of the population lives below poverty with 6.5% of them being 65 years old or older (U.S. Census, 2000).

Amount Spent at the Farmers' Market

Both seniors, 20.8%, and the younger group, 21.9%, were likely to spend $20 per visit to the farmers' market. Even though both groups were likely to spend about the same amount, the percentage

of produce from the market varied between groups. There were 35.4% of seniors who said they got less than 10% of their weekly produce from the farmers market and 16.7% got between 11-25% of their weekly produce from the farmers market. For the younger group, 25% said they got less than 10% of their weekly produce at the farmers' market, and 25% said the number was between 11-25% of their weekly produce purchase.

Both of the groups, 75% of seniors and 84.5% of the younger group, said they would be willing to pay $1.00 - $1.50 at the farmers' market for an item costing $1.00 at the super market. This response is similar to the findings of the Andreatta and Wickliffe (2002) North Carolina farmers' market research in which 80% of respondents said they would be willing to spend $1.00 - $1.50 for an item at the farmers' market that cost $1.00 at the super market.

Some of the reasons one interview volunteer, Joyce, gave for her willingness to spend more at the farmers' market was that the produce was fresher, higher quality, less blemished, and she felt that the farmers took better care of their produce than did the grocery stores. Another interview volunteer, Patricia, said that it was "worth it" to pay more for fresh local produce and she would be willing to spend even more than $1.50 at the farmers' market for an item priced $1.00 at the super market to support local farmers. She also tried to support local farmers because, "it's a hard life," and she has a family connection to farming.

Why go to the farmers' market?
Questionnaire participants were asked to rank the importance of the following reasons for attending the Holland farmers' market: to buy local food, fresh food, inexpensive food, organic food, or to socialize. Of the respondents who are seniors, 76.2% ranked "to buy local food" as the most important reason for attending the farmers market; 91.3% ranked "to buy fresh food" as most important; 12% said "to buy inexpensive food"; 8% marked "to buy organic food"; and 6% said that socializing was a most important reason for going to the Holland farmers' market.

Participants were also asked to rank the following advantages to using the Holland farmers' market: product quality, product freshness, support of local economy, variety, and value/prices. Product quality and product freshness were both ranked most important by 100% of the seniors responding to the question. Support of the local economy was ranked most important by 64.1%, and variety was most important to 63.6% of seniors. Values/prices were ranked as a most important advantage by 43.8% of the senior citizens.

The two seniors who were interviewed agreed that a lower price was not among the reasons for attending the farmers' market. Interview volunteers, Patricia and Joyce, were more concerned with the freshness and quality of the produce as well as supporting the local farmers and local economy. For Joyce, the farmers' market is part of what "helps make the city work." She considers it to be as much an important part of the community as school and church. Patricia and Joyce both found socializing to be a somewhat important reason for attending the farmers' market. Patricia said it was easy to loose track of time and get lost in conversation at the market because there is always someone you know there.

Methodology 2
The Warm Friend
Most important to this discussion is to first define the term, *access*. What does it mean to have access to something? According to the Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary Tenth Edition (2002) *access* is a. "permission, liberty or ability to enter, approach, communicate with or pass to and from." *Access* is also defined as b. "freedom or ability to obtain or make use of." It is also crucial to mention that for the purpose of this study, I have added to the definition that in order for something to be defined as accessible, it must also be easy to approach, obtain, or use.

The second part of the research was conducted at The Warm Friend on 8th Street in Holland, Michigan, located 0.37 miles from the local farmers' market. The Warm Friend is an assisted care facility located in downtown Holland. There are about 75 residents who, unlike nursing home residents, are fairly independent and free to come and go. Seniors at The Warm Friend have their own apartments, many with access to kitchen facilities, but meal plans are available to all residents. Residents pay a $1,500 non-refundable entrance fee and monthly rent based on the size of their apartments from a 131 sq. ft. single unit without a kitchen renting for $605 per month or a 310 sq. ft. efficiency with a counter and sink for $891 per month to larger apartments equipped with a kitchen. For example, a 500 sq. ft. one bedroom apartment rents for $1,456 per month and an 800 sq. ft. two bedroom for $1,845.

I developed a questionnaire for The Warm Friend community based on the field school's farmers' market research. The survey included many of the same demographic questions as well as questions which asked respondents what items they purchased most frequently and reasons for attending the farmers' market. It also asked *if* residents attended the farmers' market, and those who responded "no" to the question were asked why. Residents responding "yes" to the question were asked how they got to the farmers' market. Questionnaire respondents were also asked if they accessed local grocery stores and/or local restaurants and how they accessed them.

Questionnaires along with two flyers asking volunteers to fill out the questionnaire were dropped off to the front desk of The Warm Friend. After one week, I called to check on the progress and found that no one had yet responded to the offer. For that reason, I set up an appointment for the next week to spend time at the facility to see if I could get people to respond to the survey. By the following week, one person had responded to the questionnaire. I then spent two hours sitting outside the common dining room and obtained one more response.

The week after, I decided on a new strategy and went to the facility's coffee room in the late afternoon. There I found more people were willing to fill out questionnaires. Some residents' eye sight prevented them from filling out the questionnaire which was remedied by my reading the questions and marking the responses. In total, eleven residents at The Warm Friend filled out the questionnaire and one resident agreed to be interviewed, although that interview has not yet occurred.

Results and Discussion 2

The Warm Friend Questionnaire

Who lives at The Warm Friend? (N=11)

Both men and women were equally likely to fill out questionnaires at The Warm Friend. There were five people who marked their gender as male; five people marked female; and one person did not respond to the question. Seniors at The Warm Friend tended to be older than the seniors at the farmers' market who were more likely to be between 55 and 64 years old. None of The Warm Friend's seniors were younger than 65 years old. Eight of the eleven respondents were over 84 years old, two seniors were in the 75-83 age range, and only one senior was recorded in the 65-74 age range.

The question of race or ethnicity identity was omitted from the questionnaire, and I did not ask for any additional information or materials regarding the racial/ethnic make-up of this group. This decision was based on the wide variety of responses on the farmers' market questionnaire, the fact that the responses did not coincide with the census data, and my primary purpose which was to look at the access issues of people 55 years and older.

Education

The educational background of the residents at The Warm Friend was varied. One senior left school in the eighth grade to help the family earn money, and another person marked that they had some high school training. Four senior citizens had high school diplomas, and two of the seniors had some college training. Three people in this group had post graduate degrees and there were no respondents with bachelor's degrees.

Income

As was expected, income was much more difficult to assess. A sample questionnaire was sent to the manager at The Warm Friend in order to get permission to distribute the questionnaires at the facility. He mentioned the only problem residents seemed to have with the questionnaire was the question regarding income levels. Many residents did not want to reveal their income and were informed that any question they felt uncomfortable with they could avoid answering. Three residents responded to the question on income. One resident made less than $15,000 annually; one marked the $31,000-$45,000 income range; and another responded annual income of more than $91,000. There were some residents who could not respond to the question because the children of the family had taken over the financial responsibilities.

Do residents of The Warm Friend use the local farmers' market?

When asked, "Do you attend the Holland farmers' market?" three seniors responded "yes." Two of the respondents accessed the market by walking, and the third had a daughter drive him to the market. In this group there were two males and the other senior omitted the question on gender. Two seniors were in the 75-83 age group and one was over 84 years old.

Seniors responding "yes" to attending the Holland farmers' market were also asked what they liked about the market. One senior wrote that it was reminiscent of the European open-air markets and that they liked the color and freshness of products. Another senior wrote they liked "that it is there." Other responses were that the Holland farmers' market is a nice place and an alternative to the grocery store.

When asked to rank reasons for attending the farmers' market, only two of the three seniors responded. One said "to buy local food" was most important; both ranked "to buy fresh food" and "to buy inexpensive food" as most important. Buying organic food had one mark for being somewhat important and one for being not important; however, one respondent did say he was starting to become more interested in organic products and knew of local places where organic bagels and coffee were sold. Socializing was also ranked as being either somewhat important or not important as a reason for attending the Holland farmers' market.

There were eight seniors from The Warm Friend who said they did not attend the Holland farmer' market. When asked why they did not go to the local farmers' market, the seniors' responses included: too far to walk, no transportation, no need, do not cook, get three meals a day at The Warm Friend. One resident was legally blind

and would not be able to see the products at the farmers' market even if there was transportation there.

Do The Warm Friends' seniors access other Holland locations?

The questionnaire also asked residents if they accessed local restaurants and/or grocery stores. Nine seniors said they did go to local restaurants usually by walking, although a few had a son or daughter who would pick them up and take them out. There are several local restaurants within one block of The Warm Friend. Seniors were also asked if they accessed local grocery stores which are not within walking distance of the assisted care facility. One senior responded "yes" to the question also stating that the local Family Fare grocery store and Wal Mart were accessed through having his daughter drive. There were six responses of "no," but one senior said her daughter shopped at Meijer and brought groceries to her. Four residents did not respond to the question. It is important to note that The Warm Friend has a van that alternates every week to take residents to either the Family Fare or Meijer grocery stores. There is no van that goes to the farmers' market.

Conclusions

There are many senior citizens in the Holland, Michigan area who have access to and use the local farmers' market. These senior citizens tend to be younger seniors between the ages of 55 and 64 years old. They also are more likely to live in the city of Holland, the immediate surrounding areas of Park Township, Holland Township, and the city of Zeeland. The seniors attending the farmers' market also have attained high levels of education; more people 55 years and older have post graduate degrees than the younger group. Along with higher educations, the seniors in Holland have high income levels, the majority making between $76,000 and $90,000 annually. According to Emrath (1999), "the wealth of seniors relative to younger households have increased considerably over recent decades" (p. 8).

It is clear from the questionnaires and interviews that the seniors who go to the local Holland farmers' market place great importance on freshness and on buying local food that supports the local farmers and local economy. This is evidenced by the seniors' responses that price was not a reason or advantage for using the farmers' market and the fact that they are willing to spend more money for products at the farmers' market.

Even though many seniors do have access to and do utilize the local farmers' market, there are many other senior citizens in Holland, Michigan, who are having trouble accessing and using the local farmers' market. As an example, even though the Holland farmers' market is located only 0.37 miles from The Warm Friend, residents are having trouble accessing it and, therefore, do not utilize the facility. Many residents have poor eyesight and several thought the walk was too far. It is important to note that there is an incline and residents would have to walk uphill to get from the farmers' market back to The Warm Friend.

The factors contributing to residents not going to the local farmers' market include poor health, decreased mobility, lack of transportation, and one element I had not previously thought of – lack of need. Many seniors ate meals at The Warm Friend, which has a staff who shops and cooks for the residents. Whether or not a low or fixed income kept seniors from attending the Holland farmers' market was not clear because many residents at The Warm Friend felt uncomfortable disclosing this information, and a few residents were not sure what their income was because family members were overseeing finances. It was also difficult to assess social isolation. Questionnaires were distributed in common areas where the seniors tended to socialize and no one stated that they did not go to the farmers' market because they felt socially isolated or did not leave the facility. Distributing questionnaires to residents' rooms at a later date may help give me a better indication of whether or not some seniors suffer from social isolation.

For seniors who live at The Warm Friend and do use the local farmers' market, the preliminary results of this study support the conclusions of other researchers (Andreatta & Wickliffe, 2002) as well as the field school study. The few seniors from The Warm Friend who attended the farmers' market seemed to be concerned with fresh local produce. Price does seem to be more of a concern for this group than in the other two studies, possibly because the seniors are on a fixed income.

Figure 1

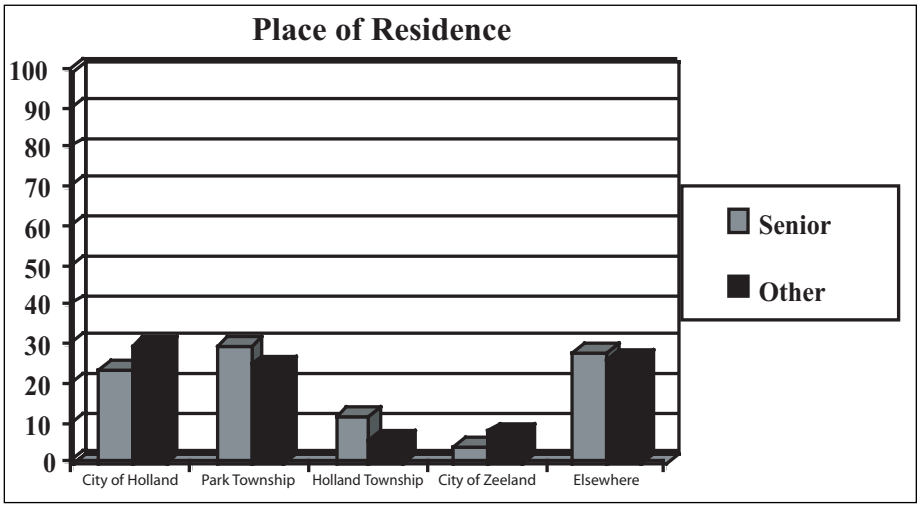


Figure 2

Racial Categories - United States	**Racial Categories - Holland, Michigan**
White (non-Hispanic) = 62.7%	White (non-Hispanic) = 55.9%
Hispanic/Latino = 12.5%	Hispanic/Latino = 22.2%
Black or African American = 12.3%	Black or African American = 2.5%
American Indian = 0.9%	American Indian = 0.6%
Asian = 3.6%	Asian = 3.6%
Native Hawaiian = 0.1%	Native Hawaiian = 0%
Other = 5.5%	Other = 12.4%
Two or More = 2.4%	Two or More = 2.7%
(U.S. Census, 2000)	(U.S. Census, 2000)

Figure 3

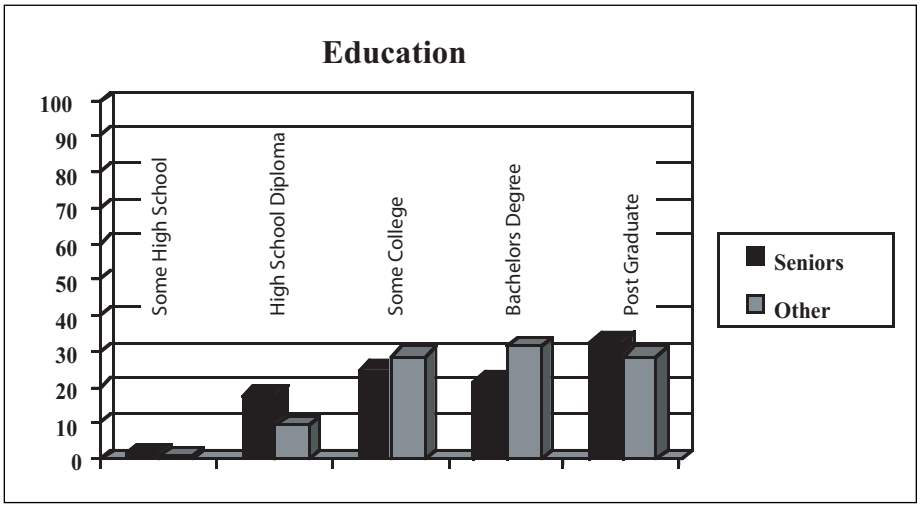
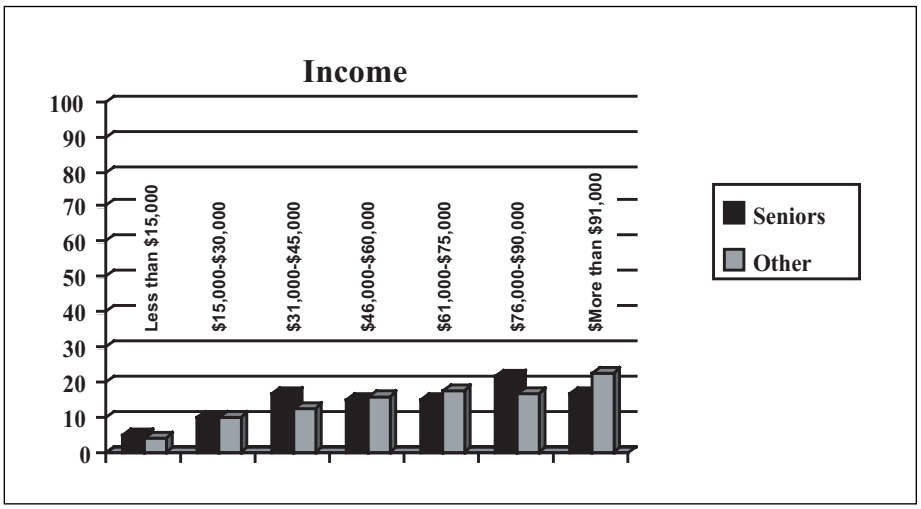


Figure 4



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An Ethnographic Study of Antiwar Protestors

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ABSTRACT
This is an ethnographic study of the recent antiwar protestors, focusing on the activists' objectives and motivations for their participation in antiwar rallies and addresses any discernable personality types. The overall purpose is typical of "verstehen" sociology, which seeks to understand the world as the subjects understand it. I collected data through a "snowball" networking sample of thirty-four Western Michigan interviewees and observation, both participation and non-participation. In addition, a combined survey of Altemeyer's RWA-scale and the Social Dominance Orientation Scale was administered to participants, but will be analyzed in a later study. A qualitative content analysis was conducted and applied to psycho-sociological theories. Protesters' goals and motivations were broken into two categories: objective and subjective motives, resulting in a general profile of contemporary antiwar protestors.

Introduction
On October 26th, 2002, almost 500 Grand Rapids residents and students organized at a local park in disapproval of President Bush's pressures on the United Nations to pursue war with Iraq. These antiwar protestors were not unique to Grand Rapids. They were just a few of thousands of other Americans protesting that evening throughout the nation and millions more throughout the world. On February 15, 2003, the voices began to grow in number, filling the streets with the roars of "No blood for oil," and echoing in a worldwide antiwar protest. On March 20, 2003, America initiated combat on Iraq. Again, demonstrators throughout the U.S., refusing to let their opposition to their government go unheard, organized peace rallies and antiwar protests. Months later, the individuals engaged in the antiwar movement still appear to be active in their opposition to the war with Iraq and maintain involvement both at a personal and public level.

Purpose
As a researcher, my focus will be the antiwar activist. Given that the current war has sparked the largest wave of organized demonstrations against the government since the Vietnam era, my attention is directed toward the individuals involved: What are their objectives and motivations for their participation in antiwar rallies and protests? Essentially, I want to know what it is that inspires them. The overall purpose and goals are typical of "verstehen" sociology in which I seek to see the world the way the antiwar demonstrators see it.

Although beyond the scope of this project, a future expansion would be a comparison with the antiwar protesters of the Vietnam era. Certain similarities may appear obvious such as demonstrations against a perceived unjust war; however, we cannot assume

a direct correlation, both social-psychologically and within the context of their respective American culture and politics, between the present activists and those of roughly thirty years ago.

Method

I used ethnographic methods to develop a general profile of the contemporary antiwar protester. My method for retrieving such information is a three-fold multi-method approach: 1) participation observation as well as non-participation observation in antiwar protests and rallies, 2) intensive interviews with participants and supporters in the recent antiwar movement, and 3) a synthesized forty-three question survey of Bob Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarian (RWA) Scale and the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) Scale. For this study, I rely heavily on interviewing as a means to gather information. R.W. Connell (1994) summarizes an "intensive" research as involving the study of people in their social relations. In addition, it "involves the decoding of personal meanings in an extraordinary fine-grained way" (Connell, 1994: 16). Thus, I interviewed subjects using an open-ended questionnaire with a set number of questions that maintained consistency throughout each interview, although the interview was not limited to those questions. The questionnaire is located in the appendix. Goode and Hatt state that interviewing is a "process of social interaction" and that the data collected during an interview are "derived in an interpersonal situation" (Cicourel, 1964: 74). Remembering the importance of this social process, I conducted interviews at the convenience of the subjects, in a location where she or he felt comfortable, in hopes of stimulating spontaneous and open participation. I attended and observed two antiwar rallies, three teach-ins, and two antiwar/peace promotion meetings.

Sampling was a "snowball" type, in which friendships, referrals, and other social networking techniques guided interviewing. I interviewed thirty-four local individuals that lived in or near Grand Rapids from May 8, 2003 to June 30, 2003. I conducted thirty-two interviews because two of the interviews were with married couples. Also, I am not including one individual in the article because he denied real facts, such as the existence of a war in Iraq and his basic perception of reality was significantly distorted, but I am including him in the demographics portion of the study. The farthest that I traveled for an interview was to Holland, Michigan, which is about forty minutes west of Grand Rapids. However, this resident was not from Holland, just staying there for the summer. I define a "local" resident as anyone living within the Western Michigan area.

This research is methodologically similar to other ethnographic studies such as Arlie Russell Hochschild's *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, Jeffery Jensen Arnett's *Metal Heads: Heavy Metal Music and Adolescent Alienation*, and George Lundskow's *Awakening to Uncertain Future: Case Study of the Promise Keepers*. Numerous other examples could be cited and although the exact topic differs in each case, the ethnographic methods are consistent: to understand people and their activity, relevant to their social environment.

Demographics

I gathered about fifty-five hours of discussion; one tape did not record properly due to a mechanical failure. The sample included fifteen white women, one Arab-America woman, and eighteen white males, ranging in age from 18 to 79. There were ten individuals in the 18-29 category, eight in the 30-39 category, five in the 40-49 category, four in the 50-59 category, five in the 60-69, and two in the 70+ category. As one might expect, all the respondents except for one individual tended to be left-wing liberals, affiliating with the Democratic Party, Green Party, or identified themselves as an independent. Contrary to many stereotypes, the antiwar protestors I interviewed were highly educated. The majority of the interviewees, or 85%, are degree holding; 11% are in the process of getting a degree. Only 4% of the sample did not have a degree.

In addition, many of the respondents have a "worldly" perspective, which was credited to extensive traveling though various countries in Europe, Japan, Mexico, South Africa, the Middle East, and/or South America, both for pleasure and study. It became obvious through my investigations that these experiences abroad influenced the respondents' views. For example, one respondent commented on his recent travels:

> A month ago, I was over in Holland and Belgium for a week on vacation – the first time I've been overseas. It's a very different society. You don't see people over there with flags for their country. They also don't have the concept of 'un-American.' I can't imagine meeting someone saying, 'You're un-Belgian!'

Many of the interviewees referenced their experiences abroad, which I believe greatly impacted their antiwar perspective and conclusions.

Their occupations, include but are not limited to the following: student, professor, retired school teacher, business owner, construction worker, playwrite, interpreter, peace activist.

Interviews

I asked questions in a semi-structured format, meaning I had a list of pre-determined questions. However, all questions allowed for spontaneous

probing. Before the interview, I allowed respondents to ask me questions or express any concern that they might have about the interview. Usually, subjects asked about my research and my background. For instance, they might ask what school I am attending or why I am conducting this type of research. Some interviewees were more suspicious of me than others because of prior negative experiences with undercover police or invasive interviewers. In general, respondents were welcoming and friendly, often giving me gifts such as a plant, calendar, flyers, magazines, information sheets, articles, or suggested books to read. This behavior reflected their devotion to the antiwar movement and also their desire to give something back to me because I was frequently assumed to be "one of them," a thinker with similar beliefs. However, interviewees were not asked or required to give me anything.

Since this study involved intensive interviewing, subjects were allowed and encouraged to exhaust a topic before moving on. Subjects were informed that they did not have to answer any questions that they did not want to, but no one refused to respond to any proposed questions. Although no one overtly objected, the respondents' names will remain anonymous to insure privacy.

To help the respondents relax, I started most of the interviews with normal conversations, which often naturally lead into respondents divulging information about their involvement with the antiwar movement or their opinions of the war. Inadvertently, respondents would sometimes answer questions that were on the list, but hadn't been asked yet. In this case, I would probe these areas for clarity. Also, some respondents were lucid in their discussion, while others sometimes had difficulty articulating their feelings. However, for this article I made an attempt to quote each respondent at least once wherever applicable. Interviews on average took about an hour to an hour and half to complete. My shortest interview was fifteen minutes and the longest was three hours.

Analysis

Consistent with the strengths of ethnographic methods, the primary level of analysis is social-psychological – the interaction of the individual with the group and with the larger issues relevant to an antiwar orientation. Thus, the study does not focus extensively on the movement itself, observable facts or politics of the war with Iraq, nor the relationship of antiwar organizations to other institutions. Although many respondents commented on the aforementioned issues, my goal is not to review the accuracy of the comments.

The actual questions address three main areas: participants' motivation for protesting, opinions and feelings about the war, and their feelings about President Bush and his administration. These areas are then examined and placed into one of two categories: objective motives or subjective motives. Objective motives are defined as justifications and explanations for being antiwar that are based on overt ideas and goals, which are outside of the subjects and to which a protestor adheres such as an "America-First" ideology, "World Community," or "Moral Convictions." Subjective motives are defined as protesters' internal and emotional explanations for being antiwar from which the protester gains personal satisfaction. There are three subcategories under subjective motives: Group Support, Proactive, and Social Justice.

In the following sections, I will explore the most prominent objective and subjective themes discovered in the interviews. It is important to note that the language and choice of wording in the quotations are authentic. In addition, the number of quotations in a section does not imply a predominance of that theme. Responses where chosen because of their capacity to capture specific orientations and motivations. Motivations and goals for each respondent may individually differ from others involved in the movement. For instance, one respondent may fall under the "America-First" ideology and be more proactive than another respondent. This concept is similar to the "salient hierarchy" of motives described by Cicourel (1973).

Antiwar Sentiments and Protestors' Objective Motives

Use of Force

In general, the antiwar protestors were against the principal of wars, yet a majority of them would not identify with being a pacifist. There were four subjects that called themselves pacifists, but the others did not oppose all forms of force. Instead, they would advocate violence as a last resort. Some try to live according to pacifist principals but admit that such ideals might not be realistic. Here are some responses:

> I don't feel aggression is a solution because it leads to more. I am adverse to policies that disregard international laws and sanctity of human life. This war in particular, and most wars, has this as something that is acceptable.

> I am not a pacifist because I don't think the principals work. I am not opposed to war if it is for self-defense purposes – this (war) had nothing to do with that.

> No, not a pacifist because I think there are times when someone might have to use violence or aggression to defend themselves if

> they were being attacked, but still a last resort.
>
> No, I wouldn't consider myself a pacifist. War is OK if we are attacked on our own soil, but I wouldn't be pulling the trigger.
>
> I wouldn't call myself a pacifist because it has been perverted in so many ways to be weak. I prefer 'peacism.'

Those who tended to be pacifist were motivated by moral convictions, religious beliefs, or they believed strongly in the pacifist morality. However, one youthful-spirited philosophical man, who identified himself as a "radical pacifist," took a different spin on why he was a pacifist. He commented:

> Yes, I am against the war. But war to me is…I don't think the primary war is fought with guns. The primary one is the one fought in the minds of the people. It is an ideological, class war.

Many of the interviewees adhere to their principals and try to live by example. Believing in non-violent resolutions also means living those principals, which include opposing wars. Indeed, some respondents were not opposed to all wars, just the one initiated on Iraq because of strategical issues. Respondents suggested that the war on Iraq in particular aroused more antiwar sentiments than compared to past wars because of the "war hogs" currently in office. A Republican military veteran, who usually is pro-military, opposed the manner in which we pursued war with Iraq. He commented:

> We just can't go out and kill the opposition. I liked winning the war, but I don't like the way we went about it. Military action should be a last resort. We should have tried to cooperate with others or use covert operations. We are not going to have any friends left. We not only have to think about today but about tomorrow.

Another man, who referred to himself as a "middle-class suburban white guy for peace," had a similar reaction to the war with Iraq. He wasn't always against war. In fact, he was supportive of the Gulf War, but credits this to his prior ambivalence. He said:

> I am okay with war if it was a direct attack on the US, even though my principals are not supportive of war, but I would have been more understanding. I am convinced that this war happened for economical convenience and politics and generally there is a moral cause attached to rhetoric and patriotic appeal. We could have tried to keep Europe, United Nations, and the US more in harmony with each other. This would have been a much better approach.

Another woman, who did not identify herself as a pacifist, would not completely disagree with all forms of violence if it were in self-defense. This is what she said:

> I don't have a problem with war if it is for self-defense, but we have to be on an equal ground. If China came over tomorrow and blasted the heck out of us – that would be a legitimate reason to retaliate.

In general, the antiwar demonstrators' stance on the use of force is consistent throughout the sample – most advocate non-violent resolutions to conflicts and using violence as a last resort while a few identified as strict pacifists.

Three Antiwar Objective Motives

Respondents often expressed frustration, anger, disgust, and sadness when asked why they disagreed with going to war with Iraq. Since most of the protestors did not firmly adhere to pacifist morality, they did not simply object to the war because they believe violence is always wrong. The protestors' reasons for being antiwar varied among the protestors. I have narrowed the protestors' antiwar objective justifications into three categories, which I call "America-First," "World Community," and "Moral Convictions."

America-First Objective Orientation

America-First antiwar protesters object to the war because they believe that the United States already has a lot of social issues in this country, which are not being addressed. They also feel that the U.S.'s militaristic mentality is not sustainable for the future of the country. A forthright, outspoken young college graduate commented on why she was against the war:

> There are more problems in our own city. We need to concentrate more inwardly. We need to improve ourselves before we can put our views on others.

She also objected to going to war with Iraq because of the loss of lives. However, she was mainly driven by a "think globally, act locally" mentality. Others opposed the war similarly:

> As the war started going on, everyone was consumed with it. Because of the work I do everyday, I deal with phone calls and people with real world, everyday problems; people who are having their kids taken away or can't pay utilities. I still have a job to do trying to help low-income people in Grand Rapids.

> The Iraq situation is not unique. We can't monitor the entire world. If we are, where are we going to start? We already have enough problems in this country as it is.

America-First respondents have a deep concern for the future of the U.S. They very much love and value the United States and believe in what the country stands for. War frightens them because they worry about what social and economical impacts it will have on the U.S. years from now. Here are more respondents' objective America-First motives:

> I don't like the effect that this war is having on our country. We are now in a worse situation. The war didn't help anything.
>
> I am antiwar because war is not necessary, unsustainable for long term, and is ineffective.
>
> We have created this image around the world as being this actively warring country.
>
> I am a concerned citizen of America. I believe in America's principals, what is written in the constitution, but right now, we are not living to those.
>
> We are a defensive nation; we are not supposed to attack. We are not supposed to take what we are not supposed to have. WWII is a classic example of the U.S. defending ourselves and helping those who need help. This is an American tradition: doing good for others.
>
> I am worried about the direction that our country is taking. We've become very militaristic, barbaric, and fascist.

A retired schoolteacher responded similarly:

> We should not resort to war. All the reasons proposed have been unsubstantiated. Don't get me wrong – Saddam was a terrible dictator, but there are many others. Point is, we can't take them all out and make decisions for them…and the lack of complexity of the situation. We have no concept of the history of Iraq. We went to war for oil. We are the 'bulldog' of the world. We are all at risk because we are not understood.

Again, America-First respondents demonstrate that their opposition to the war with Iraq is strongly linked to their devotion, loyalty, and concern for the social and economical future of the United States.

World Community Objective Orientation
Those who hold a World Community view primarily object to the war with Iraq because of the larger social implications the war will have on the Iraqi citizens and the world, the economy of Iraq, and international relationships. These antiwar protesters believe that because of a lack of empirical evidence, such as the existence of weapons of mass destruction, America has set a bad precedence on international relations. Protestors with a World Community view commented:

> My major oppositions to the war are that it is illegal, we didn't have the global community's support, and this was not a defensive war. And there is no evidence of weapons of mass destruction.
>
> I'm against this war because it is unnecessary, unethical, and there is no evidence. We have destroyed friendships and it is not fair. This is a case of the big guy picking on the little guy.
>
> I feel that I am a citizen of the world. I am against the war for many reasons. I think that modern technology of war is not justifiable. All weapons are mass destructive.
>
> I am not only objecting to the war itself, but the context of American foreign policy…this shift to imperialism. This war is a small case in the direction of the American foreign policy.
>
> We are going to destroy ourselves with the kind of weapons that we have. It's just a matter of time. I'm a mother with two kids and I don't see the same life that I had in their future or my kids' children. We're at the top of a slippery slope to the bottom.
>
> The U.S. is hypocritical. We once supported the regime. I think it is best to try to let the Iraqi people free themselves. Our economical sanctions have disabled the Iraqi citizens. And there is no evidence of weapons of mass destruction.

A young activist and organizer encompassed the World Community perspective perfectly. This is what she said:

> First being, I don't think it (the war) is a good political move in terms of the United States' foreign policy. It is not diplomatic. Going to war shows we lack diplomacy and it is going to fuel the fire for terrorism. We don't have Asama Bin Laden from Afghanistan. We don't have Saddam. We don't have weapons of mass destruction. We came up empty handed.

War to the World Community group was an objective motive because they believed that a war causes great harm on the world as a whole and has larger social implications on both Iraq and the US. World Community respondents protested the war because they felt there was not enough justifiable evidence to go to war and also contend that this war caused great harm to the Iraq citizens. In addition, they are alarmed about the direction of America's foreign policies.

Morality as an Objective Orientation
Other protesters object to the war based on strong moral convictions. These convictions are tied to religious beliefs, pacifist morality, or simply because they believe killing is wrong despite the circumstance. One man in his thirties expressed a deep concern toward the loss of human lives involved with war, including both Iraqi citizens and American soldiers. He said:

> I am adverse to policies that disregard international laws and the sanctity of human life. This war in particular, and most wars, has this as something that is acceptable.

Another respondent, a young female college student, is also adamantly against the war based on her moral convictions. She responded:

> People think of war as a last resort, but don't actually do that. It is hardly a last resort. I have a problem with killing anyone for any reason. I just think that it is common sense to know that killing people for whatever reason is wrong.

A grandmother and an activist said something similar:

> It suddenly hit me. I saw them (her grandkids) there. That these two, and all children in the world, are as vulnerable as any soldier in any trench and… I'm sorry… just can't get used to that idea.

A recent organizer and founder of a pacifist club at his school objected to the war based on his religious beliefs and moral convictions. He responded:

> I am strongly opposed to any war for moral and religious reasons. I didn't like the war because I thought it was an act of aggression on a small nation. I didn't think it was properly justified, as well.

A woman in her seventies who is a Quaker, retired schoolteacher, and activist had a similar reaction to why she was against the war with Iraq.

> We (the Quakers) have a strong testimony against war. What you have to do is remove the causes of war. And removing causes is trying to seek justice, making sure people have homes, food, jobs – not just here in the U.S. but in the global community too.

Some antiwar protesters were against the war because of religious beliefs and/or pacifist morality, while some were against it because of their strong moral commitments and convictions. Antiwar protesters who were objectively motivated to oppose the war did so because they believed adamantly that the killing of humans, regardless of the justifications, is simply not viable, thus, making war a nonnegotiable issue.

Motives for Protesting: Subjective Goals
Group Support and Networking Motivation
Some protestors were also subjectively motivated to protest because of a sense of alienation that they felt from the pro-war sector of the American population and protesting is a way in which activists can network and meet others who think like them. For example, during interviews when people were asked why they protested, it was very common to hear such comments as "Protests are fun," "I like the people," and "I feel empowered when I go." Protesters often admitted that they did not always feel that protests were immediately effective but that participation helped them "feel better." They commented:

> Protesting to me is just a small piece of it. It gives you a boost, gives steam, but I don't actually think that they are effective.

> Sometimes I feel crazy and wild and such as feeling of comradeship. And they [the protests] are amicable. You really feel connected with people.

> There is such a strong sense of solidarity. Yeah, you get to know the people. And the people are great people. However, protesting is only a small part of what we do. Alone, it would be ineffective.

> I stay motivated to protest because of the community, which gives me a lot of encouragement.

> One thing that a protest will do is bring together a huge number of people who feel intimidated to express themselves. And this war in particular, they have been told that if they object to the war that they are unpatriotic. And they are afraid to be unpatriotic. And when they see us, it is encouraging to them.

> It is healthy and important for people to publicly descent, despite whether it makes changes. It is personally and socially helpful.

> Social change came about because people took to the streets. Protesting is part of movement building.

Another protester, although unique to most respondents, enjoyed protesting because it was "an adrenaline rush." Simply put, protesting appears to be just as much for the antiwar protestors as for the cause. As one youthful, brightly smiling, longed hair student said, "We did more for ourselves than for the cause… [we] strengthened our unity and solidarity amongst those who are against the war, but we didn't stop the war." Most antiwar protesters did confess that they felt protests alone were not effective but that protests created an environment where people with similar feelings could gather and network as well as gain confidence.

Proactive Subjective Motivation

Another subjective antiwar motive is the desire to be proactive. Antiwar protestors not only protest because they object to the war, but also because they have a strong urge to make a stand and to "not sit back and do nothing." It was important for some protesters to physically be active in concordance with their antiwar sentiments. It was not uncommon to here things such as "I just had to do something," or "I didn't want to do nothing." Some of the respondents offered these reflections:

> I got a very constructive feeling protesting by doing something. Protesting was a personal decision – I did this, took time, and did something.

> I knew that nothing was going to change, nothing was going to happen, but it wasn't going to change how I felt.

> I protested for myself. I had to make an observable statement, just to say at least I stood up. I don't want to be seen as one of the others – an intellectually lazy nationalist.

Antiwar protesters that are motivated by a strong desire to be proactive felt this way because they believe that many Americans have taken a passive role in the politics involving the war with Iraq and strongly dislike that. Thus, they find it insulting to be seen as one of the "intellectually lazy" Americans. These people find that through physical presence and action they not only feel better about themselves, but that they have some type of positive influence on the war and in the antiwar movement.

Seeking Social Justice and Educating as a Subjective Motive

The third subcategory is based on protesters' desire to seek social justice. In this subcategory, protestors are motivated to protest because they possess a feverant sense of justice and believe that it is their duty to fulfill this judiciousness. For instance, another retired schoolteacher, who has been involved in the peace movements for over fifty years, had a difficult time responding to why she protested. In her case, protesting was a way of life for her. It was something that she had been drawn to at an early age and it has become an ingrained part of her life. This is what she said:

> I often say I do this because I have to do it. It is also because of my political view and faith. I hope that I will make a difference. It's what's inside of me. I've spent the last forty-fifty years of my life living as I believe is right.

Another antiwar demonstrator had a similar experience. When she was asked why she protested, she told me that she couldn't remember when she wasn't involved in some social cause and that she stays motivated by her "sense of justice," as well as her experiences in the Middle East. This is what she said:

> I morally cannot protest. I've been like this my whole life. I have had a great sense of justice since I was young. I've been in hundreds of protests – I couldn't even count. I've been doing this for forty years… and the innocent Iraqi citizens that are being killed and we are responsible for that. I can't turn my back and live with myself if I didn't protest.

Another part of why antiwar protesters protested, in addition to seeking social justice, is their need and desire to educate people. Thus, their involvement is not only limited to holding signs on the streets. As it has been stated before, many protesters have acknowledged that protesting alone is an ineffective tool for making large social and/or policy changes, but protests do bring attention to an issue and also create a discourse. These respondents reported:

> Demonstrations are important and hard to ignore. They are good for bringing attention. In terms of policy change, they are a component, but not the end all be all. I don't have faith in demonstrations for the answers, just a component.

> Social change came about because people took to the streets. They are part of the movement building – one way to communicate to power structures – we are not going to get run over.

> My role as an activist is to teach and to represent a different version of an American in the Middle East. I am a justice promoter.

> At least I am not killing people. I am doing the right, just thing. I have a sense of acting from principal, no matter what. And afterwards, or twenty years from now that we acted with more decency than our government because I opposed. They perpetrated.

While the goal of the protesters in this subcategory was objective – to stop the war – their motive also remains subjective in the sense that they sought an outlet, protesting, as a means to feel better about themselves, to be proactive, and to seek justice for a cause that they believed to be wrong. Just as one man, who identified himself as a "peacenik" said, "Protesting is fun and invigorating, but it's as much about the people going out and protesting and their own need to do something as it is about communicating." The subjective motives for protesting encompass a variety of reasons.

Conclusions

Protesters have long carried a negative stigma. During my research, I was often asked why I was conducting my research on antiwar protesters and if I had any hypothesis as to what "type of people" they would be, implying that this was an already understood population. Prior to my research, I didn't want to have any predetermined hypothesis of what antiwar demonstrators were going to be like. Instead, I wanted them to be able to tell their stories and to tell me who they are instead of letting mass media's influence and old stereotypes affect this study's perception of antiwar protesters.

Recent research has shown that protesters tend to be white, middle-class, and educated, unlike the "dumb, hippy throw-backs" stereotype that is often credited to them. For example, research conducted by Swank (1997) examined the social backgrounds of Gulf War protesters and suggested that 91% of his participants had been to college, which is similar to my respondents' educational attainment. In addition, Swank showed that Gulf War protesters tended to have "liberal perspectives," just as this study demonstrated the same about the Iraq War protesters. However, it is not conclusive whether the Iraq War protesters and the Gulf War protesters had any more similarities because Swank's study and my study examine different aspects of the protesters.

It is also important to note that the new antiwar movement is not an extension of the Vietnam protests or an expression of sixties nostalgia. In fact, unlike the Iraq War protesters involved in my study, Vietnam War supporters were disproportionately college educated (Loewen, 1995). At the beginning of the Vietnam War, supporters tended to be educated because they had more of a "vested interest" and identified more with American society and politics than their less educated counterparts. James W. Loewen suggests this theory is plausible because educated people are more likely to be economically successful and show allegiance to the society that aided in their success, while those in the lower classes are more likely to be critical of the government (1995: 301). One may ask, "Why was this phenomenon not the same for protesters of the Iraq War?" Since I did not inquire about my participants' income levels, I cannot conclude they had similar "vested interests" as the educated Vietnam War supporters had. Perhaps what makes Iraq War protesters different from Vietnam War protesters is dependent upon the antiwar protesters' perceptions of how the war with Iraq was covered in mainstream media.

In addition to the long-term, negative consequences they feel the war with Iraq carries against the U.S. and the world, the new antiwar protesters also seek to address the issue that the antiwar perspective received too little, inaccurate, or incomplete media coverage. For instance, one protester commented on the media's influence on the perceptions of antiwar protesters. She said:

> I feel that we have a corporate media that is often times owned by weapons manufacturers and they control how we are portrayed. Yes, we are rational people. We are Americans and we are patriots. We want to see our country go in a positive direction and be responsible for the actions of our country.

The Iraq War protesters felt their side was not being heard and their opinions were discarded because of what they perceive as corporate media guided by interests other than an accurate portrayal and coverage of the relevant issues surrounding the war.

My research discovered that antiwar protesters oppose the war for various reasons and are not simply adhering to their moral or pacifist convictions. Instead, we can see that antiwar protesters struggle within a pro-war context and prioritize their lives differently in order to uphold their antiwar sentiments in a manner that they feel to be productive and active. They feel alienated from pro-war Americans because of a "differing in opinions." This war in particular, they suggest, fueled these feelings by the creation of a catalyst approach to revitalizing patriotism and segregating the American public into two groups, for or against America, based on war sentiments. Thus, protesters found refuge in protests, social support, and a network of comrades within the movement and at rallies. Their motives

were both objective and goal oriented, as well as subjective and internally driven.

Protesters admit that demonstrating is not "the be all and end all," but rather one step in the dissension. Because of America's history of ignoring or excluding antiwar protesters in the mainstream war discourse (Loewen, 1995), the people resorted to taking to the streets because they felt that they were not being heard. It was as if their valiant efforts to get their ideas and beliefs out through other manners such as letter writing and speaking, went to no avail. Whether it was the civil rights movement or the women's movement, activists and organizers have used protesting as a technique to gain attention for social issues and maintain solidarity amongst the protesters. This movement was not unique in this aspect.

Moreover, this study proposes more questions. For instance, aside from protesters motives and goals for protesting, why has there been a switch from uneducated antiwar supporters to educated antiwar supporters? Statistically, racial minorities and the uneducated participate in protests less often. Is there an explanation for this? Is there an element of luxury involved with protesting or do certain people prioritize how to express their antiwar sentiments differently? And why in a democratic society, do some protesters feel their government does not hear them? These are sociological questions that should be addressed.

In his book *Sociological Imagination* ([1959] 2000) C. Wright Mills proposed that social scientists should try to provide leadership and imagination to ask sociological questions. Concordantly, sociology has a role to be engaged in vital current issues and has something to contribute to society and politics through studies such as mine. Although it blends activism with science, such an overlap is unavoidable if we want to work toward social change.

This study focuses on events that are still unfolding. Should the war expand or the occupation of Iraq continue, numerous new issues will arise. For instance, if the government reinstates the draft or the military federal budget expands, the movement will likely extend beyond the populations in the current research. Thus, this project is a beginning and not a definitive conclusion.

Appendix

Interview Questions

1) What do you do for a living?

2) Where do you live?

3) What would you call yourself in regard to your antiwar sentiments?

4) Why did you not like the war? Can you see another situation where your ideas about the war might have changed?

5) Do you know someone who was in favor of the war? If so, please characterize them. How do you feel about them?

6) Are your antiwar feelings related to political ideas, from your heart, family upbringing, or religious convictions?

7) What political party do you tend to vote for and why?

8) How did you get involved in protesting?

9) How many protests have you gone to?

10) Do you feel your government listened to the protests?

11) What do you think were the Bush Administration's justifications for going to war?

12) What do you believe to be a driving force for you to protest? What keeps you motivated?

13) How do you feel about your president? Why is Bush so popular?

14) Is the war over?

15) Any other comments?

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"Guided by faith and matchless Fortitude": Milton's Portrayal of the Son in *Paradise Lost*

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ABSTRACT
Though he was Secretary of Language during Oliver Cromwell's Puritan rule of England, John Milton never referenced the authoritarian figure in his greater works. Through examinations of texts discussing Paradise Lost in reference to seventeenth century British history, this essay seeks to show the placement of Cromwell as the Son. Although several dominant figures in the field of Milton studies have produced works that support this thesis, there has been no direct connection between the two militant figures of Christ and Cromwell. Investigating Milton's philosophies regarding the timeless nature of his work, the significant anthropomorphic intentions of Paradise Lost become apparent.

Introduction

A self-perceived inability to talk about or assign characteristics to God was one of Milton's principle concerns while he was composing *Paradise Lost*. He questions himself about this difficulty most overtly at the onset of book one and again in the beginning of book three. In tone and context, his famous "May I express thee unblam'd" is inherently pessimistic. He feared from the very beginning that the flaws of mortality would overcome every divine providence bestowed upon him and render his God and Heavenly Host less than divine. Strangely, the idea of the qualities of these figures – a more illusive topic than one investigating their actual portrayals – is addressed much more frequently. There is actually very little speculation on the literal portrayal of the Heavenly family that Milton presents in the text. While the general avoidance of God in dissection and criticism is understandable in its metaphysical density, there is less reason for speculation to be led away from Milton's character of the Son, being presented as a type of human figure within the majority of the text. The Son – even in the strictly Christian sense, removed from the context of Milton and *Paradise Lost* – is a much fuller character than God. The most basic sense of this is the duality of his nature, between man and godhead. Being both limitless in his heavenly form and constrained in his human form, the Son becomes a more accessible character than God, reasonably so in his role as the intercessor for mankind.

As the true center of his religious system of beliefs, it is impossible to conceive of Milton not lavishing special thought and attention on the heavenly form of his Messiah. Through an investigation of a combination of texts discussing *Paradise Lost*, as well as several of Milton's writings, an idea of anthropomorphic characterization becomes clearer – showing that Milton

drew a definite connection between the figurehead of his spiritual life and that of his material life. Portraying Oliver Cromwell as his military Christ-figure, Milton asserted his ideas of the Puritan elect as well as the timelessness of Man's historical-spiritual struggle against Satan, evil, and inherent sin. A dual motive of this nature has not previously been suggested of Milton's epic; however, there have been connections made between secondary characters and other political figures of his time. By combining current knowledge of historical events in the mid-seventeenth century, the similar themes in Milton's political tracts and pamphlets, and modern insight into *Paradise Lost* itself, the possibility of Milton inserting Oliver Cromwell as his Messiah figure is extremely pronounced.

Seventeenth Century English Views of Ireland

Catherine Canino, in a discussion of the anti-Irish sentiments of Milton and his peers, maintains that "the association of the Irish with the infernal had become the unofficial position of the Puritan government" (Canino 17). This idea, propagated initially by Milton's own disdain for the Irish, is visible in his *Observations upon the Articles of Peace*. (Canino 18) After the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, she asserts that Milton began collecting material from the events of the small but powerful insurgency in order to show the connection of "the diabolic nature of the Irish rebellion to its hellish origin" (Canino 18). This Gaelo-phobic instigation was undoubtedly easy to incite in the English due to the pagan and subsequent Catholic society of Ireland; therefore the portrayal of the Irish as the infernal host is, while surprising in modern criticism, not unlikely in the seventeenth century context. Having been traditionally less manageable than other subjugated peoples of the Isles, the Irish faced heavily prejudiced Parliamentary measures at the hands of the English colonizers.

Since the colonization of Ulster in the early seventeenth century, Catholic Anglo-Irish occupants had owned and controlled at least a third of the land in the region. Though the "Old English," as they were referred to, did not control the entire government outright, continued allegiance was recognized and appreciated by the powers in England (Perceval-Maxwell 6). However, with the growth of Protestantism in the Irish Parliament – encouraged by the increasing power of the Puritans in England – the allegiance of the weakening minority began to lose its prominence. As descendents of original colonists in Ireland, the Old English felt ignored and slighted by the new Parliamentary legislation that failed to adequately distinguish them from the Irish. Furthered by the anti-Catholic tactics employed in the late 1630s, the Old English first experienced the true disregard and indifference of the Puritan English Parliament, driving them toward a grudging unification of cause with the Irish locals in an attempt to block the efforts to transfer power into a Protestant Puritan parliament of Ireland.

In 1641, the bulk of the uprising known locally in Ireland and England alike as Sir Phelim O'Neill's Rebellion began, though there was little decisive quality to the skirmishes – the local Old English uniting with the Irish against the growing power of the English Parliament with marked hesitation (Moody 200). Such a combination of treason by Englishmen – along with Catholic Counter Reformation aid allegedly seeping in from Rome – no doubt influenced the early connections in the minds of the Puritans of the rebels with luring, satanic principles. The change in perception of Irish quality was instantaneous. Before the revolution, there was little but base condescension given to the Irish – the general rhetoric of colonizers toward the colonized. Following the outbreak of the rebellion, the average English perception of the inhabitants of Ireland, particularly Ulster, was that they "owed their allegiance not simply to Rome and Spain but also to Hell itself" (Canino 15). After the reports of the massacre of several Protestant families near Ballaghonery Pass began circulating in England, the conflict quickly declined into base acts of violence on both sides with little decisive progress for either party.

With the removal of Charles I in 1649, Parliament was able to turn its full attention toward the situation in Ireland. When Cromwell personally landed in Dublin in 1649, the sweeping effects of his military prowess were instantaneous. The rebellion was decimated with such ferocity that it "became indelibly impressed upon the folk memory of the Irish." (Moody 202) In the same way that Milton's description of the fallen angel's fear "Of thunder and the Sword of Michael", the "Curse of Cromwell" became a rhetorical figure in Irish speech both in its recollection of the violence of the Puritan armies during the massacres in Drogheda and Wexford as well as in its lasting effects on practices related to the ownership of land in Ireland (Hunt 526).

Understanding Cromwell's decisive victory over the Irish is paramount in a discussion of his Christ-like person in the eyes of his Puritan followers. This victory, with respect to the war in heaven, was of a timeless nature. Upon both occasions, each faction deteriorated "to a common denominator of blind violence… until the decisive intervention of the Son" (Hill 362). Cromwell was likewise the conqueror of the essential third day of the rebellion. After indecisive fighting between the two factions, the figure of "matchless

Fortitude" overthrows the usurpers at the moment of his arrival. Prior to his arrival, the Irish had scored many small victories, although the singular event marking their progress was the defeat of the numerically superior Anglo-Scots soldiers by O'Neill at Benburb. Though this was a significant blow against the power of the English forces, they were able to maintain consistent victories as well – maintaining control over the significant strongholds of Derry and Carrickfergus. The English, through the Royalist Anglo-Irish, also maintained unofficial control over Dublin – although it was not a Puritan landmark.

The flow of events throughout the majority of the conflict is marked only by the initial imposition of the English forces upon the rebels in early 1642 – a period followed by more inconsistencies in successes for either side – and by O'Neill's victory at Benburb in 1646. This, again, was followed by a period of indecisive fighting, until the arrival of Cromwell in 1649 (Moody 202). The similarity of the two conflicts from this perspective is striking in the distinctive use of three events: an initial point for the ruling force, an equal point for the rebellious force, and the complete victory of the ruling force upon the arrival of the powerful figurehead. The Son and Cromwell are the matching hinges to each of these occurrences. By being so fully linked to the historical episode, the action of *Paradise Lost* takes on a new archetypical flow; it is seen as the celestial model upon which all terrestrial events are based.

Seventeenth Century English Views of History

Milton faced a similar dilemma to that of Raphael when he attempted to relate "To human sense th' invisible exploits/ Of warring Spirits." The spiritual world is infinitely larger and more complex than the corporeal. As Raphael is descending from Heaven, "to all the Fowles he seem/ A *Phœnix*", he then is suggested to return "to his proper shape." As he is no longer in the eternal world, but in the finite mortal world, he must adjust himself in order to fit contextually – the humanoid form he takes is a proper shape in the material world is. As he speaks with Adam, "as friend with friend," Raphael reduces and reconfigures all aspects of himself and his narrative to fit the needs of Man's limited perception. Adam is therefore conversing with what he feels is a divine, yet humanoid, being. This deliberate manipulation of human conceptualization by Raphael is apparent beyond the visible aspects of this self-presentation. Through the use of a human-styled model in his education of Adam, Raphael delivers a prefix to the base Christian instructional mannerisms utilized in the colonial actions of the seventeenth century missionaries. He tells the story of the War in Heaven through ideas with which Adam is familiar. Likewise, Milton presents the eternal events of heaven through a text utilizing aspects of ephemeral nature. By using the events he was most immediately immersed within, Milton managed to do as the archangel did and compare "spiritual to corporal forms." These events include not only the actions of his immediate political peers, but also their similarity to those of the Biblical figures who Milton identified as essential portions of an understanding of creation.

The idea of Milton combining political figures of his time with Biblical characters is not strange or even particularly questionable. J.H. Hanford wrote that Milton "contemplated no activity as a poet which did not involve an intimate relation with the currents of life and thought in which he lived" (qtd. in Hill 7). As a politician and theologian, he was not an uncharacteristically original thinker. "He is unique only in the way he combined their ideas and related them to the Bible" (Hill 6). For Milton, there was not a definite line between his political and spiritual convictions – one related to the other in a clear fashion. The Puritan Revolution was a revolution of God's people against the tyranny of those with inferior belief systems as far as Milton was concerned. In *Eikonoklastes*, he openly attributes characteristics of Pharaoh and Satan to Charles I and also refers to the Catholic church and their marriage doctrines as the "Antichrist" in *Tetrachordon*. (Riverside 1032) He is, therefore, using the Bible in a strikingly symbolic sense, illustrating points about issues of his own time with canonical examples. In her comparison of political treatment in *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes* and *The Readie and Easy Way*, Mary Ann Radzinowicz addresses Milton's spiritual and political congruencies. She asserts that Milton used the highly self-conscious nature of poetry to intermingle his political agenda (Radzinowicz 216). In the context of his use of biblical figures as contemporaries of his own political sphere, this was not an uncharacteristic maneuver by Milton. Neither was it particularly unprecedented for the royalist pamphleteers to do likewise, albeit on a smaller and simpler scale. Sharon Achinstein shows that in *Lucifer's Lifeguard: Containing a Schedule, List, Scroll, or Catalouge* royalist propaganda writers associate leaders of the Puritan government with lines of historical evil figures. She states that this philosophy "insists that there is a correlation between the one who brought down Charles I and the one who brought down Christ." (Achinstein 196). Read as a list of the alleged full paternal names of the Puritans, Cromwell is titled by the pamphlet as "Nimrod Herod Oliver Aceldama Cromwell". (qtd. in Achinstein 196) This type of characterization was seemingly common in the seventeenth century English

pamphlet wars, using the power of religion to influence political ends – though not many would question the sincerity with which Milton spoke and wrote of the matters of his faith. In Protestant form, Milton treated the Bible as the center of Christian understanding. However, he saw that his contemporary Christians could learn from the modeled designs of the holy text. The stories contained within were individual instances of a larger pattern. It, therefore, becomes apparent that while Milton clearly acknowledged the Bible as the true Word of God, he also felt that it "contained fundamental truths about humanity" (Hill 342). Likewise, in specific actions within his greater epics, he sought to express what he saw as general truth.

This singular characterization is fully applicable to the greater realm of human history, showing the use of biblical and Miltonic characters as parts of this larger continuum of history. Christopher Hill extensively dissects this aspect through investigation of the metaphysical Miltonic civil war, inferring connections between historical and fictional characters in order to show the direct relationship between the war in heaven and the Puritan war against the Royalists in England (Hill 350). He addresses the issue of postlapsarian history as a simultaneous continuation of this one great conflict. Stanley Fish asserts that according to Milton, "all history is a replay of the history he is telling, all rebellions one rebellion, all falls one fall, all heroisms the heroism of Christ" (Fish 35). Besides supporting the idea of a multiple occurrence of heroic Christ-figures, this also implies that all infamy is the infamy of Satan. To Milton and his contemporaries, the original events of the Bible are reoccurring events – perhaps the essence of the only possible flow of history. For instance, Moloch, at the instant of the Fall, is also tempting Solomon "by fraud to build/ His temple right against the temple of God", while simultaneously committing numberless other atrocities before mankind. Radzinowicz suggests that all postlapsarian falls, such as that of Nimrod, also extend the context of historical continuity into a series of infinite falls (Radzinowicz 217). Likewise, the Son is perpetually hurling Lucifer from the heavens and creating Satan. Due to the boundless nature of God, all events may occur or be referential actions in relation to each other. This truism is applicable to Milton's epic as well, as is evident in the re-use of the Easter resurrection sequence in the War in Heaven. It is suggested that the Son is absent until "the third sacred Morn" in both occasions, until he makes his triumphant victory over Death and Satan. If one instance of the victory of the Son may be seen as a re-telling of the other, it stands to reason that the pursuit of God's kingdom on Earth during the Puritan overthrow is only another extension of the Son's battle against the conflicting parties.

Though this philosophy would ideally apply to all of humanity, it is more immediately associated with the leaders of Christ's community in this world. Hill concludes that Milton finds all great men to be a piece of the Christ-body, and acting on behalf of humanity in its continual process of loss and salvation. This is the action upon the material world of the Son, as he progresses through time unconstrained. Throughout his works, Milton's portrayal of the Son is uniform in several manners – the most important of these being an aspect that is arguably inherent in the Biblical figure as well. As well as being linked in Miltonic philosophy to humanity through the great men of history, the Son is depicted as an omnipresent force in Heaven. He embodies all of the faithful angelic host as well: "His Armie, circumfus'd on either Wing,/ Under thir Head imbodied all in one." The Son therefore really embodies all of creation – he is at once every faithful aspect of Heaven and Earth. By the command of God, all of heaven shall "Under his great Vice-gerent Reign abide/ United as one individual Soule".

Though encompassing all creation, the figure of the Son is himself, already clearly divided into pre and post-transfiguration states through a strict use of naming – the heavenly figure as "the Son" and the messianic figure as the various names associated with the living body of Jesus Christ. Further suggesting a multiplicity in the Son, Milton attributes divine qualities in historically great men to the subtle presence of the divine essence (Hill). By embodying the struggle for salvation in an unending line of Christ figures, Milton has differentiated further between the complete heavenly essence of the Son and the mortal figure of Jesus Christ. This is the manner in which Milton begins to illuminate his inclusive godhead. During the revelation of the future of mankind in the final books of *Paradise Lost*, Michael shows Adam that "much more good thereof shall spring" through the actions of the Son. In this speech, he relates the stories of the greatest prophets of the Bible – showing their unanimously humble beginnings, each immersed in cites of Man. Revealing the rise of each man to the cause of God, the figures each are shown as steps in the process necessary to bring Man back to redemption. Each becomes a part of the messianic process, their interconnectedness with Christ being best illustrated in "*Joshua* whom the Gentiles *Jesus* call." Both words literally mean "savior" (Shawcross 509). Christ's resurrection is obviously the largest piece of this process, however it is clearly not the final step in Man's redemption.

With this understanding, the text of *Paradise Lost* can be seen as a microcosm of timeless creation according to seventeenth century and more specifically, Miltonic philosophy, with the understanding that history reveals itself in its entirety through the actions and reactions of the Fall. Singular characters in the text are seen as a multitude of historical figures. Working as both a didactic text and as a prophesy, *Paradise Lost* illustrates the transgression of Man, but it also suggests that this transgression may become part of an effort towards transcendence – therefore the smaller acts of Man are put into focus as steps toward a return to the confidence of God. (Radzinowicz 218)

This suggests that there is a spiritual evolution in what very much appears to be an early Christian version of the *Übermensch* – that humanity is being directed back toward heavenly ways by the influence of the greater men. These greater men flow in a continuum from Adam and continue through Christ and into the modern world, each contributing a piece of themselves toward the furthering of God's people. Perceiving Cromwell – in his role at the head of his Puritan reformation – as a steward of God's kingdom on Earth, Milton undoubtedly found him to be another piece of this spiritual progression.

Cromwell and Jesus

As two separate historical events taking place in roughly the same time, the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the English Civil War are distinctive sources for the historical precedents within the action in *Paradise Lost*. Both contain the fundamental elements of philosophical-religious difference and a desire by the subject for emancipation from their subjugators. Though both of these rebellions, as well as the nature of their revolutionaries, were of a similar basis, each was specifically applied to either the portrayal of the infernal or heavenly hosts by seventeenth century English writers and philosophers. Being the central figure in both of these events, Cromwell joins the historical narratives together in his dual participation. As the defeater of perceived villainy and impurity in Ireland, and conversely, as the Puritan figurehead who fights to lead his people to the Promised Land, he is certainly the only reasonable historical individual that can be really imagined in Milton's illustration of "the chariot of paternal Deity", trampling over the "Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n."

Plainly observed, there is only this slight piecing together of modern historical-literary insight necessary before finding the connection between Cromwell and the Son. When Harold Bloom asks, "Are we to be content with Jesus as a heavenly Rommel or Patton, victoriously leading the… attack", the answer is certainly in the negative (Bloom 6). This militant figure of Cromwell is, to Milton, the quintessential biblical-style leader of his time. Since the legalization of Christianity in the Roman Empire, most of the great historical figures had been Catholic. Still in its infancy, Cromwell was one of the first heroes of Protestant Puritanism. Through these military actions, Cromwell acts both as the leader and defender of the Commonwealth – in one aspect, by organizing the Puritan Parliament into a reformist force, and in the other, by overturning a threat to their national sovereignty by contrary ideologies.

Milton's address to Cromwell in *Sonnet 16* is delivered as a plea for both peace and a continuance of strength during the years following the overthrow of the Royalist state and the beheading of Charles I. By requesting that the Lord Protectorate show his strength of character before the "new foes" and their "secular chains", Milton bestows upon him the task of preserving the new commonwealth from what he feels is a misguiding faction of the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel (Shawcross 229). However, this sonnet also functions as a prefix to the presentation of authority in *Paradise Lost*. As an interior member of the Puritan government from its early stages, Milton worked in close connection with Cromwell and held him in authoritarian respect. It seems unlikely that Milton would give so little praise to Cromwell by only embodying him in a simplistic sonnet, a style of disregard Milton rather fawned on the disappointing figure of Fairfax. By placing the later Puritan figurehead with the other great leaders of men, he dually served the cause of the Commonwealth and furthered the idea of God in Man. As Noah and Moses had taken their people out of evil lands and times, towards the Promised Land, so Cromwell figuratively lead England out of the monarchial rule of Charles I and into the Commonwealth. Similarly, as Abraham had been a conqueror of the Hebrews, so was Cromwell a military hero of the new Puritanism. The emphasis of thought was not on being the entire embodiment of the Son, but a flawed and human portion of Him.

As the consistent figure through each of these veins of historical-authoritarian investigation, as well as being perceived as a definitively active pursuant of the restoration of God's people, Cromwell eventually can easily be recognized as a basis for Milton's character of the Son – in the inherent similarities there can be little doubt that in some way the figure of Cromwell influenced Milton enough to noticeably shape the portrayal. However, the assumed resolution of the question as to whether or not Milton *would* depict Cromwell as the Son does not fully acknowledge all aspects of doubt in this issue.

Doubt regarding the topic at hand may be explicitly found in Milton's

varied disappointment with the leaders of the Commonwealth once they took power. By the time Milton completed his epic, he had seen the abuses of power by the heads of the Reformation – dissatisfaction was suggested to have begun growing as early as late 1649. The simplest means of investigating Milton's preliminary ideas in this area are found within his own works. Similarly, resolution of modern critical ideas regarding the underlying philosophies of *Paradise Lost* and Milton in general, can often be found within themselves as well.

The act of placing Cromwell into a Christification mold is one that Milton had experimented with slightly in earlier creative works. *Sonnet 16* is concerned with the portrayals of authority, or at least as a prefix to the use of authority in *Paradise Lost*. First, it must be clarified that Milton made a specific effort not "to sing high praises of heroick men or famous Cities, unless he have in himselfe the experience and the practice of all which is praise-worthy." (Milton qtd. in Radzinowicz 206) The inference of heroism or spiritual valor is not one that Milton lightly confers – being much more practiced in the personification of his adversaries as Satan, as is shown above. When Milton asserted in the sonnet that Cromwell was "Guided by faith and matchless Fortitude", he does not insert the obligatory exception of God – a clarification he otherwise does not neglect to make. Clearly, these are descriptions that Milton would reserve for Christ, if any man. Being otherwise so conscious of aspects such as this, it is unlikely that Milton would place Cromwell in the role of "cheif of men" without prior reasoning and intent.

Through this same strain of thought also runs the question of how Milton could have accounted for the perceived shortcomings in Cromwell's personal character before deciding upon him as a Christ-figure. This is a sentiment due to a modern construct of the Son, conceiving of him as a steward of peace and life. However, the idea of him as a warrior is explicitly set forth in the text, as he tells God "whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on/ Thy terrors". Cromwell's personal shortcomings also make him consistent with the ideas above, relating the philosophy that great men are portions of the eternal body of the Son – not miniature versions of the larger figure. This is true for Christ as well, in that each "great man" constitutes a portion of the progression toward the movement to "regain the blissful Seat". This is best shown in the assertion that it was Christ's "profest method not to teach them [his disciples] all things at all times, but each thing in due place and season". (Milton qtd. in Fish 21) Like Christ's method of teaching, each of the pieces of the greater body of the Son has been assigned a specific task in the restoration of Man. Like the other great leaders of men like Moses, Noah, and Elijah, Cromwell was suited for his own contribution – though deficient in other aspects. Such an assertion lessens Cromwell's culpability in its similarity to all other men, allowing such praise of him as to be personified as the Son. He is not and was not divine or divine-like. However, in this simplicity, he acted in life his portion of the scheme Milton saw as God's eternal foresight.

In modern understanding of the text, there are certain amounts of uneasiness with the thought of portraying divinity through use of familiar human figures. Unable to account for this, many great Miltonists have taken to ignoring or refusing ideas relating to the embodiment of Heavenly characters in humanistic forms, while simultaneously supporting this idea within their work. In one instance, Stanley Fish contends that Milton is able to avoid what he calls "the falsification of anthropomorphism" – but in the preceding sentence, he speaks of Milton "forcing upon his reader an awareness of his limited perspective". (Fish 38) This is a slight contradiction insomuch as such an embodiment of the Son would be the most apparent way to remind readers of their inability to comprehend elements beyond the linear, human sphere. Also, the widely quoted "all the characters are on trial in any civilized narrative", reinforces the reminder to the reader that as an imperfect being, Man is only capable of creating a character of flawed likeness to God. (Empson 94) Therefore, since simplification is the only applicable method available to Man, truth can only be discerned by "beginning with the text and dividing it and sub-dividing it until nothing remains to be explained", as Fish claims is the choice method of the Puritan preacher (Fish 52). The reasonable outcome of such a simplification and familiarization of the Son is to eventually portray him as a man. However, the utilization of Christ for these purposes would be hardly helpful, as the Biblical character is nearly as inaccessible for portrayal as His celestial self. Instead, there Milton would have needed a tangible hero – hence the interjection of the head of his political life, Oliver Cromwell.

Conclusion

Much more than the overthrow of Charles I, Milton used the events in Ireland as a starting point for his celestial revolution – thereby illustrating the figure of Cromwell principally in the role of a defeater of tyranny and evil. This facilitated an easy propagation of Puritan doctrine in *Paradise Lost*. However, there was an inherent danger in the treatment of the topic. A considerable amount of caution went into the division of the differentiation of rebellion in the text, insisting that rebellion against an unworthy tyrant was much different than against that of Christianity and God himself. This may

have been due to the sensitive parallels between the monarchial qualities of his God and the Royalists – Milton was, after all, a rebel himself and was well aware of the precarious nature of any given perception of revolution. Despite the obvious contradictions, Milton succeeded in the portrayal of the Irish as villains and Cromwell as a heroic Christ-figure, largely because of reasonably broad support for the Puritan reformists and the intolerance of Roman Catholicism – not because of the rebellion of the Irish against English subjugation.

By following the somewhat linear path laid out above, it becomes clear that Milton used Cromwell in this role for both the propagation of the Good Old Cause, as well as the illustration of his philosophy regarding the essence of the Son. This is first done through the use of the Irish and Royalists as figures of evil in opposition to God. If the Puritan government acknowledged the Irish as an entity motivated by Satan, they likewise would see themselves as those who oppose evil – the people of God. As their leader initially as head of the Puritan army and later as Lord Protectorate, Cromwell filled the Miltonic and seventeenth century English expectations of a Christ-figure – in the same way that Charles I adequately upheld the Puritan's ideas regarding Satan. Ultimately – though significant evidence exists beyond it – this dichotomy alone provides sufficient reasoning to illustrate Milton's portrayal of Cromwell as the Son.

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Does the Number Matter: An Investigative Study of the Relationship Between Household Composition and Juvenile Delinquency

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ABSTRACT
Single-parent households have been stigmatized and blamed for many social problems including increased rates of juvenile delinquency. I argue that single-parent households do not directly contribute to juvenile delinquency. Rather, socioeconomic status, the amount of human capital invested in each child, and parental involvement all play a significant role in the outcome being examined. Questionnaires received from 225 respondents will be analyzed so as to investigate the relationship between household resources and juvenile delinquency. I will examine the predictors of delinquency through an examination of twelve selected acts of delinquency.

Introduction
With an increase in single-parent families, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on this particular family structure in relation to the occurrence of social problems. According to Dr. Charles Murray,

> Single-parenthood is bad for children. It is not just that single-parent families tend to be poorer; the lack of a father in the home is bad for the emotional, intellectual, even physical well-being of children. Children growing up in single-parent families get into more trouble with the law, do worse in school, have higher incidences of drug abuse and psychological disorders, and are less successful as adults. These outcomes persist even after the effects of race, family income, and parental education are taken into account. (Murray 2002:36)

In fact, it is widely believed that single-parent families represent a risk factor for children's development (Achenbach, Howell, Quay and Conners 1991).

Family and Race
There are ethnic and cultural differences in regards to family based on race. Each family structure has its own base on which it operates and for whatever reasons. Whether those reasons are cultural, religious and/or social, there are imperative differences which cannot be ignored. The white family, no matter what its structure, has always been regarded as the normative standard. White families seem to stress more independence and individual freedom (Aulette, 2002). When we get a view into the white family, it is more than likely in a positive light. Historically, most of the studies done on families were done on white families. "Two tendencies, then, are current in studies of American families. The first, and most

general, is to ignore Negro families all together. The second is to consider them only insofar as they may be conceived as a social problem" (Billingsley 1968:198). During the 1980s, the families of teenage, unwed black mothers became the model for the single-parent family structure (Billingsley 1968). This concept of single-parent family structure then became know as a black problem; this led to the racist demonization of the single-parent family structure. Billingsley (1992) also points out

> most single-parents are adults, not teenagers. Most are white, not black. We have already noted that teen parenting among white girls in America – leaving out black girls altogether – is higher than in any of the other industrial Western countries. (334)

It is well known that a very important element of the Hispanic family is familism, in which the family comes first before one's personal needs or desires. One might predict that Hispanic families would place great importance on parents and their roles in regard to their children (Toth and Xu 1999). A number of different Hispanic subgroups vary in regards to the degree of family significance; however, the subgroups overall see family as more important than whites (Toth and Xu 1999).

Background

The Role of Socialization

Socialization is a process by which individuals learn social norms and how to interact with other individuals in society. In most cases, one's parents are the first and primary socialization agent. Numerous factors affect the way children are taught and learn to function in society. The concern over the absence of one parent from the home is a very practical concern taking into account that the socialization between parent and child plays an important role in child development. Nevertheless, successful socialization is not dependent on the number of parents in the home. If a child is strongly attached to the custodial parent, the other parent is seemly not as significant, leaving no room for the absence of that parent to be detrimental. In the case of delinquency, it seems that as long as the child is strongly attached to one parent, strong ties to the other play an insignificant role further reducing delinquency (Rankin and Kern 1994). It is my position that juvenile delinquency, which according to Murray is one of the negative outcomes produced by single-parent households, is more a function of social capital and resources.

Social capital is defined by the relationships between family members, particularly parent and child (Coleman 1988). Social capital in relation to parent and child can be measured, in part, by the amount of time spent between the two or the amount of parental involvement in the lives of children. According to the U.S. Census Bureau in 1993, of all married couples with children under the age of 18, 65% of these families were two-earner families (U.S. Census Bureau Table MC-1). The number increases in 2002 to 66.8%. With the increased presence of two earners in two-parent households, it is likely that there may be a lack of social capital and resources found in this family structure as well (U.S. Census Bureau Table MC-1). If both parents are working, it is possible that the child does not have an attachment to either parent. I argue that single-parent homes are not directly associated with delinquency given the condition that the child is strongly attached to the custodial parent.

A study conducted by Walter Scott (2001) found significant amounts of delinquency among children from two-parent homes. The study was conducted in the suburb of Cape Coral, Florida, which is a middle and upper class white community. There are retold accounts of drugs, theft, sex, and mayhem that occurred among kids ranging in age from 9 to 18 (Scott 2001). Though the children were all from two-parent families, there was an evident lack of parental involvement. These children were delinquent not because of their family structure, which is the "traditional" family structure. They are delinquent because of the amount of social capital that their parents have invested in them. This research suggests that the structural deficiencies, which are seen as a single-parent family concern, are also present in two-parent families. "The physical absence of adults may be described as a structural deficiency in family social capital" (Coleman 1988:111).

The Role of Economics

There is a connection between family structure and family social economic status in that low income has established adverse consequences for children (Duncan and Brooks-Gunns, 1997). Single-parent households have, in most cases, one primary source of income: for example, 74.7% of all single-parent households are one-earner female-headed households (U.S. Census Bureau Table F-7). Having only one income in the home affects many factors of family life. I must point out that the issue is the poverty related to the one-earner family not the family structure. Single-parent families are more likely to be in poverty: for example, only 6.9% of married couples with children under 18 live in poverty, while an astonishing 35.1% of single-parent female headed households live in poverty (U.S. Census Bureau Table 5). This large number of poverty-stricken households may very well have a great impact on juvenile delinquency, and as we see here, a great number of such households are single-parent households which leads many to direct the blame

toward the single-parent family structure.

"Economic theory treats children's educational attainment as a function of household production and parental investment of time and money" (McLanahan, Sandefur and Wojtkiewicz 1992:104). In a single-parent household, the parent is more likely to work in order to provide for the family, leaving the parent with little, if any, time for parental investment. Since income is likely to be low in the home, it is very unlikely the parent is able to invest vast amounts of money in the children. There is now a home with low income and little or no parental investment. As a result, economic deprivation is one of the reasons that children from single-parent families are less likely to finish or in some cases to even attend school (Astone and McLanahan 1991).

Many of the problems that children from single-parent homes face can be linked to economic deprivation (Kenser and McKenry 2001). Children who live in low income homes face many challenges, and at times they are deprived of the luxuries that some of their better off counterparts have, which in some cases leads them to crime. They do not have what they want or, in some cases, what they feel they need; so they find ways, possibly illegal ways, to get what they want. When families have low income, they are forced to live in areas that they can afford. Often, these areas are run down and full of crime, which has a negative effect on children (Wilson 1996). The children are exposed to such things as crime and drugs and are less likely to receive positive peer influence or academic encouragement (Wilson 1996).

Measurement of Delinquency and Its Relationship to Single-parent Households

There are oblique methods of measuring the relationship between family structure and juvenile delinquency. For example, if juvenile delinquency is a result of single-parent households, then an increase in single-parent homes should be linked to an increase in juvenile crime rates. Yet according to the 1995 U.S. Census Bureau, 26% of the families with children under 18 were single-parent households. This number increased in 1996 to 27% and then to almost 28% in 1997. I would like to suggest that if single-parent households were the direct cause of juvenile delinquency, then this increase in single-parent homes should have also shown an increase in juvenile crime rates for those time frames in question. However, studies show just the opposite. In fact, juvenile arrest for violent crime declined by 3%, 6%, and 4% respectively in 1995, 1996, and 1997, (Sickmund, Synder and Poe-Yamagata 1997).

Labeling Theory

Along with economic deprivation, labeling theory plays an important role with respect to juvenile delinquency. Research confirms that labeling contributes to delinquency (Aultman and Wellford 1979; Ray and Downs 1986). Once a child has become accustomed to being labeled as a delinquent, they will begin to act the role of a delinquent. Perceptions of delinquency are often affected by wealth and status (Chambliss 1973). Chambliss observed two groups of young men. Both groups proved to exhibit delinquent behaviors, yet only one group was persecuted for its behavior. He named the groups according to public opinion. The "Saints" were a group of boys who came from rich homes and who were at the top of the status ladder. The "Roughnecks" were a group of boys who came from poor homes and had no status in the community. The Roughnecks were often arrested for their acts of delinquency, while the Saints were not (Chambliss 1973). In some cases, the Saints committed crimes that could have resulted in the death of innocent people; the Roughnecks committed no such offenses. Both groups attended school on a regular basis (Chambliss 1973). The Saints were more delinquent and less persecuted than the Roughnecks.

> In sheer number of illegal acts, the Saints were the more delinquent. They were truant from school for at least part of the day almost every day of the week. In addition, their drinking and vandalism occurred with surprising regularity. The Roughnecks, in contrast, engaged sporadically in delinquent episodes. While these episodes were frequent, they certainly did not occur on a daily or even weekly basis. (Chambliss 1973:262)

In the past, juvenile crimes were generally committed by adolescents who were not enrolled in school (Fagan, Frost and Vivon 1987; Poulos and Orschowsky 1994; Strasburg, 1984). So, in this case of measuring delinquency, children who did not attend school would be considered delinquent. The above standard has greatly changed: "Today, many of those detained by juvenile authorities are enrolled in public schools and attend fairly regularly" (Edwards 1996:1).

As we have seen in the case of the Saints and the Roughnecks, labeling is based on visibility. The Saints committed more serious crimes at a higher rate than the Roughnecks. However, because the Saints committed their crimes outside of the community, the community did not label them as delinquent. The Roughnecks, on the other hand, lacked the resources to go outside of the community and displayed their delinquent behavior in front of the whole community. Therefore, they were labeled as the community delinquents.

There is currently no nation-wide standard for measuring crimes, including acts of juvenile delinquency. Just as with any other statistical data, the validity and reliability of crime data can be questioned because there are crimes that do not get reported or which do not end in arrest. Also in many cases, crime statistics reflect access to resources. For example, individuals from higher income brackets may have greater access to attorneys who prevent them from winding up as a crime statistic. If income and family structure are related, it is possible that children from single-parent households only appear to be more likely to commit acts of juvenile delinquency than children from two-parent homes who are less likely to be hampered by poverty.

In dealing with delinquency and labeling, we must consider the correlation between the two. Labeling impacts the development of self-concept. There are two major components to self-concept. In no particular order, the components of self-concept are self-esteem and personal sense of control (Demo and Hughes 1989). Self-esteem is learned or gained through comparison; personal sense of control is learned or gained through personal experience (Rosenberg 1979). If one has high self-esteem, he is more likely to possess a strong personal sense of control. The same applies to having negative self-esteem or a negative personal sense of control.

In the case of the Saints and the Roughnecks, the boys had different self-concepts that led them down completely different roads in their adult lives. The boys with the deviant or delinquent self-concept grew into delinquent adults.

> Once the boys acquired an image of themselves as deviants, they selected new friends who affirmed that self-image. As that self-conception became more firmly entrenched, they also became willing to try new and more extreme deviances" (Chambliss 1973:267).

I hypothesize that some children even see the delinquent role as some sort of status so they might strive to achieve higher levels of delinquency to impress or fit in among their delinquent peers. In my opinion, this is likely to happen to children who are labeled as deviant or delinquent whether they are from single- or two-parent homes. Through the process of negative labeling, a child's self-concept can be destroyed. Once that self-concept is destroyed, the child can engage in a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, the negative label is more than likely to lead the child to delinquency.

Data

Demographics

My sample was composed of students from Grand Valley State University, Allendale, Michigan (63.6%); College of Charleston, South Carolina (24%); and *Yo Puedo*, a group of at-risk children from the Grand Rapids area (12.4%). The sample population was made up of 225 respondents between the ages of 12 and 60; the average age was 23 years old. Based on an analysis of the questionnaires, 71.6% of the respondents reported their race as White, 16.9% as Hispanic, 5.3% as Black, 3.1% as other, 2.2% as Asian, and 0.9% as Native American. The categories of "other," "Asian," and "Native American" have been combined and named "all other" (6.2%) in an effort to execute data management. In regards to gender, 68.4% of the sample was male while the other 31.6% was female.

Family Structure/Household Composition

On average, respondents reported having two parents in the home (2.031). Respondents were also asked to report if they had experienced the divorce, death, and/or separation of their parents. For data management purposes, these questions were recorded so that children who lived in single-parent homes due to divorce, death, or separation are treated equivalently.

Social Capital

As far as income is concerned, on average, respondents reported their income to be at a mean of 1.942 on the scale, which indicates an average income of $21,000-$40,000. In an attempt to measure validity, I asked the respondents a battery of questions which would act as a check and balance for household income. Generally, respondents reported their families as being "stable" as opposed to "poor" or "wealthy." Respondents tended to report that they "totally disagree" with the statement that "they were underprivileged while growing-up." When asked "if they got what they wanted," respondents reported, on average, a mean of .973, which indicates the respondents reported "I got almost everything I wanted" as opposed to "I never got anything I wanted" or "I got everything I wanted."

Parental Interaction

In regards to parental interaction, respondents reported having received "more than a little" rather than "none" or "too much." When asked how many times an adult was present when they returned home from school, respondents reported an average of 1.604 times per week, which indicates 2-3 time per week on the scale. Respondents also reported that they discussed personal/important matters with their parents an average of 1.035 times per week, which on the scale also indicates 2-3 times per week. Overall, respondents reported having close contact with their parents and or the adults in their home at least 2-3 times per week.

Table 1: *Descriptive Statistics (N=225)*

	Variables	*Mean*	*Std. Dev*
	Demographic Characteristics		
1	School	.489	.708
2	Sex	.313	.465
3	Race	.649	1.198
4	Age (range between 12-60)	23.446	8.350
	Family Structure/Houshehold Composition		
5	Household composition (number of parents in the home)	2.031	1.241
6	Have experienced the divorce of parents (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.289	.454
7	Have experienced the death of parents (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.102	.304
8	Have experienced the separation of parents (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.151	.359
9	Do you have siblings (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.933	.250
10	Number of siblings	2.542	1.993
11	Position in the birth order	1.238	1.049
	Social Capital		
12	Did female in household work outside the home? (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.750	.434
13	Did male in household work outside the home? (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.946	.227
14	You got what you wanted (0=low, 2=high)[2]	.973	.454
15	Your family was well-off (0=low, 4=high)[3]	2.196	.700
16	Participated in band (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.267	.443
17	Participated in orchestra (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.071	.258
18	Participated in sports (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.676	.469
19	Participated in choir (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.280	.450
20	Participated in mission work (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.093	.292
21	Participated in church groups (0=no, 1=yes)[1]	.360	.481
22	GPA (0=low, 6=high)	4.121	1.319
23	Household income[4]	1.943	1.244
24	Were you underprivileged (0=low, 5=high)[5]	3.369	1.602
25	Highest grade level completed by female in household (0=low, 5=high)[6]	2.484	1.696
26	Highest grade level completed by male in household (0=low, 5=high)[6]	2.389	1.749

[1] has been coded 0=no and 1=yes
[2] has been coded 0=never got, 1=almost got, 2=got everything
[3] has been coded 0=very poor, 1=poor, 2=stable, 3=well off, 4=rich
[4] has been coded 0=$0-$20,000, 1=$21,000-$40,000, 2=$41,000-$60,000, 3=$61,000-$80,000, 4=$81,000+
[5] has been coded 0=totally agree, 1=somewhat agree, 2=agree, 3=totally disagree, 4=somewhat agree, 5=disagree
[6] has been coded 0=less than high school, 1=high school, 2=some college, 3=2 years of college/Associates Degree, 4=4 years of college/Bachelors Degree, 5=Masters/Professional or higher

Table 2: *Descriptive Statistics (N=225)*

	Variables	*Mean*	*Std. Dev*
1	Parental Interaction (0=low, 5=high)[1]	3.652	.915
2	Parent knows three best friends (0=no, 1=yes)[2]	.902	.298
3	Parent knows parents of three best friends (0=no, 1=yes)[2]	.738	.441
4	Times a week you eat dinner with parents (0=low, 3=high)[3]	2.067	.950
5	Times a week you discussed personal/important matters with parents (0=low, 3=high)[3]	1.036	.903
6	Times a week an adult was present when you returned home from school (0=low, 3=high)[3]	1.604	1.102

[1] has been coded 0=none, 1=very little, 2=a little, 3=more than a little, 4=a lot, 5=too much
[2] has been coded 0=no and 1=yes
[3] has been coded 0=0-1, 1=2-3, 2=4-5, 3=6-7

Table 3: *Descriptive Statistics (N=225)*

	Variables [1]	***Mean***	***Std. Dev***
1	Have you graffiti/tagged?	.084	.279
2	Have you vandalized/defaced property?	.178	.383
3	Have you skipped school?	.560	.497
4	Have you engaged in alcohol use while underage?	.693	.462
5	Have you possessed weapons?	.053	.225
6	Have you committed theft?	.120	.326
7	Have you used illegal drugs?	.338	.474
8	Have you ever runaway?	.116	.320
9	Have you bullied?	.076	.265
10	Have you shoplifted?	.236	.425
11	Have you smoked while underage?	.409	.493
12	Have you been suspended from school?	.289	.454
13	Delinquency Scale (ranges from 1 low to 12 high)	3.151	2.497

[1] All juvenile delinquency measures have been coded 0=no and 1=yes

Respondents reported committing, on average, three of the twelve listed acts of delinquency. The top three acts of delinquency reported were engaging in alcohol use while under age, skipping school, and smoking while under age. The least reported acts of delinquency were having done graffiti/tagging, bullying, and possessing weapons.

Limitations and Strengths

Data for this study were acquired through self-reports of the respondents. Alhough the questionnaire assured confidentiality, respondents may have been reluctant to report truthfully when asked sensitive questions such as those related to engaging in delinquent behavior. Respondents may either under-report or over-report acts of delinquency. Respondents may under-report in which case, for example, they might report that they only committed four of the twelve acts of delinquency, when they may have very well committed ten. Respondents also may not have accurate perceptions of their parents' income.

This study also has a relatively small sample size. The size of the sample might account for the statistical analysis being low predictors of juvenile delinquency. Also due to time and financial constraints, my sample population was limited to mostly college students. This is very important to point out because a great number of the respondents (except those from *Yo Puedo*) were college students and they are less likely to exhibit delinquent tendencies or less likely to self-report them. I must also say that a sample of college students may not be truly representative of the general population.

The greatest strength of this research was the check and balance questions. Although respondents were asked self-reporting questions, they were also asked questions to check for the validity and reliability of their answers. The best example of this would be the check and balance of household income. Respondents were asked several questions that gave me several measures of family socioeconomic status: parental occupation, education, and a raw number for income.

Method

I created a survey containing seventeen questions; however, several of the questions do contain multiple parts. The most imperative questions were those that measured parental interaction, SES, and juvenile delinquency. The questions that were used to measure parental interaction are a variation of the questions used by Douglas B. Downey in his 1995 study. In the 1995 study entitled *When Bigger Is Not Better: Family Size, Parental Resources, and Children's Educational Performance*, Downey used the parental resource/interaction to determine whether there was a significant interaction between sibship size and educational performance. Downey found

> …parental resources prove to be an effective block intervening variables, as the sibship size coefficient is greatly reduced when they are added. Indeed, for grades and math test scores, adding the parental resource variables reduces the sibship size effect to nonsignificance. (1996:756).

Using SPSS 11.5, I created a data set from the surveys. Then I ran a number of descriptive statistics, and from that I decided to create a scale for the acts of delinquency. Although the respondents were asked to report which of the twelve acts they had committed, the acts themselves were not vital information. The number of acts total was important to measure the average number of delinquent acts committed by the

average respondent, so I created a scale to measure all delinquent acts.

The individual acts of parental interaction are similar to the individual acts of delinquency in that the individual acts themselves are not as important as the complete act. In light of this idea, I also created a scale of all parental interaction in order to manage the data as well as to measure parental interaction as a whole.

Although it is true that the individual acts alone are not as important as the complete act, when running bivariate correlations, there were some very interesting findings in regards to individual acts of parental interaction and individual acts of juvenile delinquency.

The whole notion is that two-parent homes are better for children, and children who come from such homes are less likely to engage in delinquent behavior. In an effort to dismantle this notion, I used SPSS 11.5 on my data set to run bivariate correlations between the variables that measure for this outcome.

Once I was done using SPSS 11.5, I also used SAS 8.0 to run statistical analysis on the data. Using the SAS 8.0 program, I ran five significance tests among what I considered to be the most prevalent variables in regards to my hypothesis. For the same reason, I also created three linear regression models again containing the most important variables as predictors of juvenile delinquency.

Results

When running bivariate correlations between household composition and juvenile delinquency, I found all positive correlations, although only three of the correlations were significant: household composition and engaging in alcohol use while under age; household composition and possessing weapons; and household composition and using illegal drugs. These positive correlations suggest that as household composition increases (i.e. more parents are in the home) so does the likelihood that the child would participate in the named delinquent act. I would also like to point out that there was no significant correlation, neither negative nor positive, between household composition and all acts of juvenile delinquency.

The bivariate correlation between parental interaction and juvenile delinquency produced all negative correlations. Of the twenty variables that were run, there were only ten significant correlations. There were negative correlations between parental interaction and the use of illegal drugs; this suggests that as the amount of parental interaction increases, the likelihood of the child using illegal drugs decreases. There were also negative correlations between parent(s) knowing the child's three best friends and graffiti/tagged, parent(s) knowing the child's three best friends and bullying, as well as parent(s) knowing the child's three best friends and being suspended from school; this negative correlation suggests that as the likelihood of the parent(s) knowing the child's three best friends increases, the likelihood of the child committing the listed acts decreases. There is a negative correlation between discussing personal/important matters with parent(s) and skipping school. Again this negative correlation suggests that the more the child discusses personal/important matters with his parent(s), the less likely the child is to skip school. There are also negative correlations between an adult being present when a child returns home from school and engaging in alcohol use while underage, and an adult being present when a child returns home from school and use of illegal drugs. These negative correlations suggest that the more an adult is present when a child returns home from school, the less likely a child is to commit the aforementioned acts of delinquency.

Table 4: *Correlation Between Household Composition and Juvenile Delinquency (N=225)*

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1. Household Composition(number of parents in the home)	1.000													
2. Graffiti/tagged1	.018	1.000												
3. Vandalized/defaced property	-.059	.360**	1.000											
4. Skipped school	.095	.108	.178**	1.000										
5. Engaged in alcohol use while underage	.134**	.063	.183**	.343**	1.000									
6. Possessed weapons	.154*	.212**	.200**	.091	.158*	1.000								
7. Committed theft	.002	.331**	.472**	.162*	.186**	.399**	1.000							
8. Used illegal drugs	.141*	.155*	.110	.368**	.475**	.249**	.257**	1.000						
9. Ever runaway	.103	.090	.086	.152*	.029	.285**	.252**	.242**	1.000					
10. Bullied	-.021	.458**	.439**	.152*	.081	.381**	.360**	.151*	.265**	1.000				
11. Shoplifted	.003	.208**	.290**	.281**	.256**	.288**	.569**	.423**	.258**	.198**	1.000			
12. Smoked while underage	.008	.073	.133*	.337**	.396**	.044	.194**	.610**	.180**	-.033	.369**	1.000		
13. Been suspended from school	-.127	.159*	.063	.170*	.062	.067	.127	.105	.076	.115	.062	.128	1.000	
14. "All Acts Of Juvenile Delinquency (0=low, 12=high)"	.068	.431**	.508**	.582**	.563**	.438**	.620**	.700**	.413**	.462**	.660**	.617**	.355**	1.000

[1]All delinquency acts are coded 0=no and 1=yes.
*p<.05; **p<.01.

As I mentioned before, I created a scale that included all acts of juvenile delinquency, as well as a separate scale, which includes all acts of parental interaction. The bivariate correlation analysis shows negative correlations between all acts of juvenile delinquency and an adult being present when a child returns home from school; this negative correlation suggests that the more an adult is present when a child returns home from school the less likely the child is to commit any of the twelve acts of delinquency. The bivariate analysis also shows a negative correlation between parental interaction and all acts of juvenile delinquency. This negative correlation suggests that as the amount of parental interaction increases overall the likelihood of the child committing any of the twelve acts of delinquency decreases.

I also looked at the bivariate correlation between household income and juvenile delinquency. The analysis showed two significant correlations: household income and skipping school; and household income and running away. These negative correlations suggest that as household income increases, the likelihood of the child committing either of the two listed acts of delinquency decreases.

Next, I ran five significant tests between a number of variables to decipher if they were related. The first test was between race and household composition. Here I found that there was no significant difference between the means. The second test was between race and parental interaction. Here, I also found that there was no significant difference between the means. These two findings were very shocking to me because they do not show the trend of society. For example, in regards to the general population, there is a significant difference between the means for race and household composition as well as for race and parental interaction. It is

Table 5: *Correlation Between Parental Interaction and Juvenile Delinquency (N=225)*

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)
1. Parental Interaction (0=low, 5=high)	1.000																			
2. Parent knows three best friends (0=no, 1=yes)	.252**	1.000																		
3. Parent knows parent's of three best friends (0=no, 1=yes)	.305**	.382**	1.000																	
4. Did you eat dinner with parents	.170*	.086	.159*	1.000																
5. Discussed personal/important matters with parents	.178**	.063	.316**	.311**	1.000															
6. Was an adult present when you returned home from school	.194**	-.023	.052	.354**	.158*	1.000														
7. All Acts of parental interaction	.602**	.292**	.479**	.676**	.616**	.642**	1.000													
8. Graffiti/tagged	.028	-.223**	-.110	-.055	.112	-.022	-.021	1.000												
9. Vandalized/defaced property	.050	.036	-.014	-.008	.020	-.065	.000	.360**	1.000											
10. Skipped school	-.021	-.081	-.081	-.098	-.134*	-.091	-.142**	.108	.178**	1.000										
11. Engaged in alcohol use while underage	-.028	.041	.064	-.065	-.071	-.213**	-.116	.063	.183**	.343**	1.000									
12. Possessed weapons	-.083	-.055	.007	-.017	-.057	-.023	-.027	.212**	.200**	.091	.158*	1.000								
13. Committed theft	-.114	.029	-.060	.003	.031	-.016	-.037	.331**	.472**	.162*	.186**	.399**	1.000							
14. Used illegal drugs	-.088	.077	.063	.009	-.039	-.145*	-.073	.155*	.110	.368**	.475**	.249**	.257**	1.000						
15. Ever runaway	-.182**	.025	-.006	-.084	-.076	-.009	-.114	.090	.086	.152*	.029	.285**	.252**	.242**	1.000					
16. Bullied	.035	-.132*	-.059	-.073	.064	-.020	-.022	.458**	.439**	.152*	.081	.381**	.360**	.151*	.265**	1.000				
17. Shoplifted	-.121	.112	-.002	-.061	-.092	-.048	-.095	.208**	.290**	.281**	.256**	.288**	.569**	.423**	.258**	.198**	1.000			
18. Smoked while underage	-.109	.061	.003	.008	-.073	-.104	-.086	.073	.133*	.337**	.396**	.044	.194**	.610**	.180**	-.033	.369**	1.000		
19. Been suspended from school	-.090	-.252**	.023	.007	.073	-.056	-.045	.159*	.063	.170*	.062	.067	.127	.105	.076	.115	.062	.128	1.000	
20. All Acts of Juvenile Delinquency (0=low, 12=high)	-.116	-.040	-.017	-.065	-.042	-.144*	-.132*	.431**	.508**	.582**	.563**	.438**	.620**	.700**	.413**	.462**	.660**	.617**	.355**	1.000

[1]All delinquency acts are coded 0=no and 1=yes.
*p<.05; **p<.01.

Table 6: *Correlation Between Household Income and Juvenile Delinquency (N=225)*

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1. Household income ($20,000-$80,000+)	1.000													
2. Graffiti/tagged1	-.123	1.000												
3. Vandalized/defaced property	-.019	.360**	1.000											
4. Skipped school	-.158*	.108	.178**	1.000										
5. Engaged in alcohol use while underage	.087	.063	.183**	.343**	1.000									
6. Possessed weapons	-.123	.212**	.200**	.091	.158*	1.000								
7. Committed theft	-.080	.331**	.472**	.162*	.186*	.399**	1.000							
8. Used illegal drugs	.114	.155*	.110	.368**	.475**	.249**	.257**	1.000						
9. Ever runaway	-.164*	.090	.086	.152*	.029	.285**	.252**	.242**	1.000					
10. Bullied	-.111	.458**	.439**	.152*	.081	.381**	.360**	.151*	.265**	1.000				
11. Shoplifted	-.083	.208**	.290**	.281**	.256**	.288**	.569**	.423**	.258**	.198**	1.000			
12. Smoked while underage	.078	.073	.133*	.337**	.396**	.044	.194**	.610**	.180**	-.033	.369**	1.000		
13. Been suspended from school	-.117	.159*	.063	.170*	.062	.067	.127	.105	.076	.115	.062	.128	1.000	
14. All acts of Juvenile Delinquency (0=low, 12=high)	-.083	.431**	.508**	.582**	.563**	.438**	.620**	.700**	.413**	.462**	.660**	.617**	.355**	1.000

[1]All delinquency acts are coded 0=no and 1=yes.
*p<.05; **p<.01.

very possible that my relatively small sample size is responsible for such uncommon results. The third test was between race and juvenile delinquency; here I found that there is a difference between the means at the .10 level. This finding matches the trends recorded in society. The fourth test was between household composition and juvenile delinquency; here, again, I found that there is no significant difference between the means. This finding is very important as it is the basis of my hypothesis. The final test was between parental interaction and juvenile delinquency; here I found that there is a significant difference between the means at a .10 level of significance. This is also very important to my hypothesis because it shows the very essence of my argument.

As my last step of analysis, I created three linear regression models to see which variables were significant predictors in explaining the variance of juvenile delinquency. The first model contained the variables sex, race, number of siblings, household income, female grade level, and male grade level. These variables explained 4.9% of the variance of juvenile delinquency, with both male and female grade levels being significant. As the male grade level increases, so does the likelihood of juvenile delinquency. As the female grade level increases, the likelihood of juvenile delinquency decreases.

The second model contained the variables sex, race, number of siblings, household income, female grade level, male grade level, and household composition. These variables explained 4.9% of the variance of juvenile delinquency with both male and female grade levels being significant. As the male grade level increases, so does the likelihood of juvenile delinquency. As the female grade level increases, the likelihood of juvenile delinquency decreases. I must also point out that household composition is not a

Table 7: *Comparison of Proportions and Means by Race and Juvenile Delinquency*

Variables	***Race***		***Juvenile Delinquency***	
	Mean	***Std. Dev***	***Mean***	***Std. Dev***
Household Composition	2.03	1.24	2.03	1.24
Parental Interaction	3.65	.92	3.65	0.92*
Juvenile Delinquency	3.15	2.50*		3.15
2.50				

Denotes significant means from means for adjacent variable. *p<.05.

Table 8: *Regression Model of Likelihood of Juvenile Delinquency (N=224).*

	Panel 1		Panel 2		Panel 3	
	b	t-statistic	b	t-statistic	b	t-statistic
Sex	0.109	1.54	0.109	1.53	0.109	1.51
Race	0.062	.84	0.063	.85	0.063	.85
Number of Siblings	0.077	1.06	0.078	1.06	0.078	1.05
Household Income	0.012	.14	0.015	.16	0.015	.16
Female Educational Grade Level	-0.161	-1.86 *	-0.161	-1.86 *	-0.16	-1.82 *
Male Educational Grade Level	0.207	2.25 *	0.206	2.24 *	0.207	2.23 *
Household Composition			-0.008	-.10	-0.007	-.10
Parental Interaction					-0.004	.05
R2 (adjusted R2)	.049	(.019)	.049	(.014)	0.049	(.009)

*p<.10.

significant predictor of the variance of juvenile delinquency.

The third and final model contained the variables sex, race, number of siblings, household income, female grade level, male grade level, household composition, and parental interaction. These variables explained 4.9% of the variance in juvenile delinquency. With only the male grade level being significant, as the male grade level increases, so does the likelihood of juvenile delinquency. Here again, household composition is not a significant predictor. When the variable parental interaction is added to the model, female grade level becomes insignificant. I theorize that this is because female grade level and parental interaction are correlated in that the more mothers are educated, the more they know and understand the value of parental interaction. As for the negative effect of male grade level, I theorize that it is a reflection of the societal demand on the male to be the primary breadwinner. The male is more likely to work longer hours outside of the home, leaving little or no time for parental interaction.

Conclusions

Though correlations do not mean causation, I would like to point out that the significant correlations in my findings suggest a great deal about the relationship between juvenile delinquency and household composition. I think that it is completely fallacious to state that juvenile delinquency is caused by household composition. The negative correlations between parental interaction and juvenile delinquency lead to the conclusion that household composition alone, specifically the single-parent family structure, is not the cause of juvenile delinquency. The positive correlations between household composition and juvenile delinquency also point in the exact same direction, in regards to single-parent families being solely responsible for juvenile delinquency.

The insignificance of household composition in both the significance test and the linear regression models suggests that single-parent households are not the primary cause of juvenile delinquency rates. Though not conclusive because of the sample size, the significance of parental interaction in the significance tests, as well as the significance of parental grade level in the linear regression models, show that delinquency is a function of resources.

Through my analysis, I conclude that single-parent families are not to blame for the rates of juvenile delinquency. In fact, a number of different outside sources contribute to juvenile delinquency – the family structure being the most indirect. I assert that the number of parents is not the issue. If you have a two-parent family with little or no resources (SES and/or social capital) and little or no parental interaction, the result is likely to be negative and the same is true for single-parent families. However, if you have a single-parent household with adequate resources (SES and/or social capital) as well as adequate parental interaction, it is less likely that the child would be a juvenile delinquent. We must look at all external factors that plague the family as a whole not just the number of parents in order to determine the outcome of children based on family structure.

Appendix A

Survey

1. What is your sex? ( ) Male ( ) Female
2. Which of the following best describes you?
   ( ) White ( ) Asian
   ( ) Black ( ) Native American
   ( ) Hispanic ( ) Other (please specify) _____
3. What is your age?_____
4. Which of the following best describes the household you grew up in?
   ( ) Single-parent mom ( ) Two-parents dad and step-mom
   ( ) Single-parent dad ( ) Grandparents
   ( ) Two-parents mom and dad ( ) Other (please specify) _____
   ( ) Two-parents mom and step-dad
5. Have you ever experienced any of the following (check all that apply)?
   ( ) Divorce of parents
   ( ) Death of parent(s)
   ( ) Separation of parents

6a. Do you have any siblings? ( ) Yes ( ) No

6b. If yes, how many? _____

6c. Where are you in the birth order?
   ( ) Oldest child ( ) Youngest child ( ) Other (please specify) _____
   ( ) Middle child ( ) Only child

7a. How much parental interaction would you say you had growing up?
   ( ) None ( ) More than a little
   ( ) Very little ( ) A lot
   ( ) A little ( ) Too much

7b. When you were growing up could your parents name your three closest friends?
   ( ) Yes ( ) No

7c. When you were growing up did your parent(s) know the parent(s) of your three closest friends.
   ( ) Yes ( ) No

7d. When you were growing up how many times a week did you eat dinner with your parent(s)?
   ( ) 0-1 ( ) 2-3 ( ) 4-5 ( ) 6-7

7e. When you were growing up how many times a week did you discuss important/personal matters with your parent(s)?
   ( ) 0-1 ( ) 2-3 ( ) 4-5 ( ) 6-7

7f. When you were growing up how many times a week was an adult present when you returned home from school?
   ( ) 0-1 ( ) 2-3 ( ) 4-5 ( ) 6-7

8a. When you were growing up did the female adult (i.e. mom, step-mom, etc.) present in your household work outside the home for wages? ( ) Yes ( ) No

8b. When you were growing up what was the occupation of the female adult (i.e. mom, step-mom, etc.) in your home?
_____

8c. When you were growing up did the male adult (i.e. dad, step-dad, etc.) present in your household work outside the home for wages? ( ) Yes ( ) No

8d. When you were growing up what was the occupation of the male adult (i.e. dad, step-dad, etc.) in your home?
_____

9. When you were growing up would you say?
   ( ) I never got anything I wanted
   ( ) I got almost everything I wanted
   ( ) I got everything I ever wanted

10. When you were growing up would you say that your family was?
    ( ) Very poor ( ) Well off
    ( ) Poor ( ) Rich
    ( ) Stable
11. When you were growing up did you ever (check all that apply)?
    ( ) Do graffiti/ "tagged" ( ) Use illegal drugs
    ( ) Vandalize/defaced property ( ) Runaway
    ( ) Skip school ( ) Bully
    ( ) Drink while underage ( ) Shoplift
    ( ) Possesses weapons ( ) Smoke while underage
    ( ) Theft

12a. Have you ever been suspended from school? ( ) Yes ( ) No

12b. If yes, how many times?_____

12c. Why were you suspended from school?_____
_____

13. When you were growing up did you participate in extra curricular activities (check all that apply)?
    ( ) Band ( ) Choir Other (please specify) _____
    ( ) Orchestra ( ) Mission
    ( ) Sports ( ) Church Groups
14. Which category best represents your current grade point average?
    ( ) A ( ) B ( ) C ( ) D ( ) F
15. What is your best estimate of your family's household income while you were growing up?
    ( ) $0-$20,000 ( ) $21,000-$40,000 ( ) $41,000-$60,000 ( ) $61,000-$80,000 ( ) $81,000+
16. Would you say as you were growing up you were underprivileged?
    ( ) Totally agree ( ) Totally disagree
    ( ) Somewhat agree ( ) Somewhat disagree
    ( ) Agree ( ) Disagree

17a. When you were growing up what was the highest grade completed by the female adult (i.e. mom, step-mom, etc.) in your household?
    ( ) Less than high school ( ) 2 years of college/Associates Degree
    ( ) High school ( ) 4 years of college/ Bachelors
    ( ) Some college ( ) Masters/Professional or higher

17b. When you were growing up what was the highest grade completed by the male adult (i.e. dad, step-dad, etc.) in your household?
    ( ) Less than high school ( ) 2 years of college/associate's degree
    ( ) High school ( ) 4 years of college/ bachelor's degree
    ( ) Some college ( ) master's/professional or higher degree

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About the TRiO Programs

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.

Since then, other programs have been added, including Upward Bound Math and Science, Educational Opportunity Center, The Training Authority, and in 1989, The Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program. The goal of all of the programs is to provide educational opportunity for all.

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.