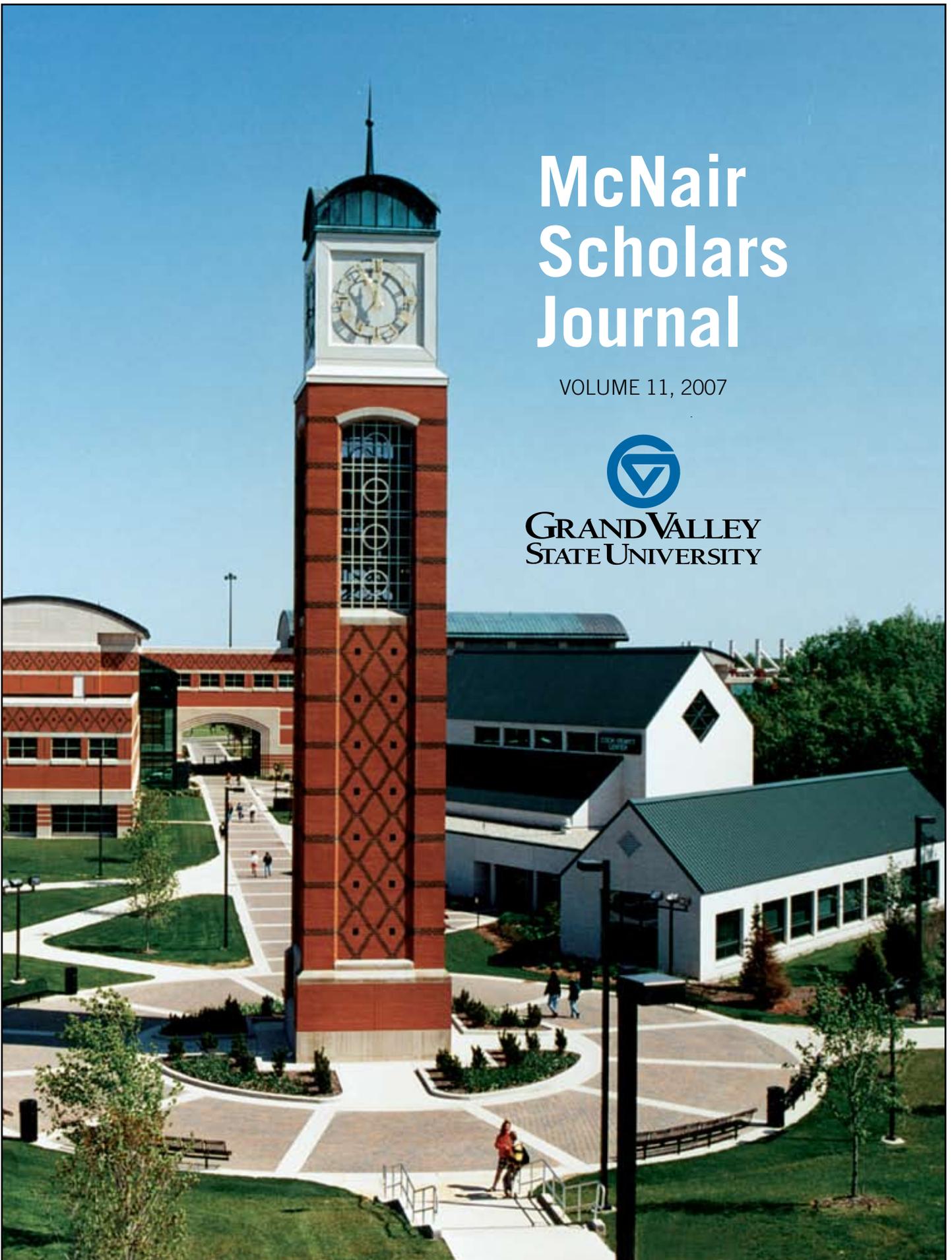


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Message from Nancy M. Giardina

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We are proud to present the eleventh volume of the Grand Valley State University McNair Scholars Journal. It is the culmination of intensive research conducted by our student scholars and their faculty mentors through our Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program.

The Ronald E. McNair Scholars Program, now in its 13th year here at Grand Valley State University, provides an opportunity for students and faculty to apply much of what is learned within the classroom by engaging, outside the classroom, in research activities in a particular area of scholarly interest. These research activities provide a journey through the challenges and affirmations of scholarly work and better prepare students for graduate study and the pursuit of a doctoral degree.

Thank you to the faculty mentors who have worked so closely with our McNair Scholars to propel their research skills towards the next level of educational challenges.

Congratulations to the eleven McNair Scholars whose research is presented here. Your journey and the challenges you have met during this scholarly activity speak to your talents and persistence in pursuing both your educational and life goals. Thank you for sharing your talents with the university community and continuing the spirit of this program.

Finally, thank you to all the people behind the scenes that work to sustain this program and produce this journal. Your work is valued as well.



Nancy M. Giardina, Ed.D.

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“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 underrepresented in graduate schools, to expand their opportunities by pursuing graduate studies.



Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program

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Funding

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Greek and Roman Perceptions of the Afterlife in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*



Jeff Adams
McNair Scholar

Abstract

This study is a literary analysis of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey and Virgil's Aeneid. Of specific interest are the interactions of Achilles, Odysseus, and Aeneas with their beloved dead. I focused on what each party, both the living and the dead, wanted and the results of their interaction. Methods included reading passages from the ancient Greek and Latin texts and integrating these with historical evidence of beliefs in the mid-eighth century BC for the Greeks, and in the late first century BC for the Romans. Homer significantly influenced the religious beliefs of the Greeks, while Virgil did not similarly affect Roman religion.



Diane Rayor, Ph.D.
Faculty Mentor

Homer's *Odyssey* says that death "is the way of mortals, whenever one of them should die, for the tendons no longer hold flesh and bones together, but the strong might of blazing fire destroys these things as soon as the spirit has left the white bones, and the soul, having flown away like a dream, hovers about."¹ People have always been fascinated by death and the afterlife. From scholarly research to American cinema, everyone has his or her own idea of the afterlife. For example, the movie *What Dreams May Come* serves as one modern take on a classical theme: Robin Williams' character can interact with his wife after his death and he is even able to travel to the underworld from heaven to save her. The concept of the living interacting with the dead is still a salient topic in our age. We can easily see how present depictions of the interactions between the living and the dead affect our ideas and behaviors regarding death, and it is also important to understand how ancient literature affected ancient societal beliefs.

In order to understand how Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* affected their respective societies, I examined the interactions of central characters, both living and dead, and how these actions were reflected in their respective society's beliefs. In addition, however, the Homeric epics heavily influenced the religious beliefs of the contemporary Greeks, affecting their ideas of the dead, the prevalence of hero cults, and their burial methods. Although the Romans had religious ideas that were represented in the *Aeneid*, Virgil's portrayal of the Homeric view of the underworld depicted in the *Aeneid* had no similar effect on their beliefs. The different impacts that these epics had were reflected at varying levels of society – from deep spiritual movements to political manipulation.

The Greek idea of the underworld was more typical of the account from the *Odyssey* than the *Iliad*. Alan Segal notes, "The Greeks apparently concluded that

1. Homer, *Odyssey* 11.218-222, trans. Jeff Adams.

since death comes to all, Hades was the final destination for all. ... The virtuous and the sinners all lead the same life in Hades."² However, Segal's view of the afterlife is the Homeric description shown in the *Iliad*, which is interesting because it does not take Greek Mystery Cults into consideration, especially the Eleusinian Mysteries. This mystery religion was very popular in practiced Greek religion beginning in the eighth century BC.³ And according to Walter Burkert, the mysteries were an aim at some form of salvation through closeness with particular gods.⁴ So contrary to the statement by Segal, the archaic Greeks did believe in special treatment or punishment of the dead in the underworld as is represented in Homer's *Odyssey*. Though there is not obvious evidence depicting Homer's influence on mystery cults, we should never disregard the importance of the Greek mystery religions.

While it appears that Homer's writings had a direct effect on the beliefs of the Greeks, the inverse was true for the *Aeneid* – the beliefs of the Romans had more of an effect on the writings of Virgil. Homer's works had a profound influence on the ideas of what became of the soul after death. The Homeric representation of the *psukhe*, or the mirrored image of the dead, became the predominant view of the dead.⁵ Homer depicts the spirits of the dead as transparent images of their former earthly bodies. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* influenced the Greeks' idea of what occurred after death, but also went so far as to reach into many other aspects of the religious beliefs of the Greeks in the eighth century BC. The Roman conceptions of the living interacting with the dead remained an important belief, even with the rejection of the Greek view of the afterlife. Although the Romans rejected this view of the afterlife, they held a similar idea of the spirits of the dead and how they could affect the living. J.

M. C. Toynbee states that "the dead and living can affect one another mutually. ... They [*Manes* or spirits] were capable of aiding their descendents, but were harmful and spiteful to the living if kinless and neglected."⁶ The purpose of worshipping the *Manes* was to appease them so that they would not harm the family.⁷ However, these beliefs were set down long before Virgil's *Aeneid*.

According to Denis Feeney, Virgil was "interested in making the Homeric experience part of the Roman experience."⁸ The representations of the underworld by Virgil mimic Homer's idea of the underworld and afterlife. Once again, while there are major differences in the representations of the underworld in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, Virgil was clearly inspired by Homer in his rendition. In Homer's epics, the underworld is represented as being a tangible location, where living men are able to travel. Virgil took the concept of the tangible underworld and ran with it, depicting a heaven and hell hidden from the average mortal. In book six of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas travels into the hidden entrance of the underworld only with the help of the prophetic priestess Sibyl.⁹ In the *Odyssey*, Homer describes the underworld as having different areas for the different types of deceased. For instance, Menelaos will spend eternity in the Elysian Fields because he is Helen's husband, the son-in-law of Zeus. The Elysian Fields, situated at the ends of the earth with the rest of the underworld, was considered to be paradise where the privileged resided. Also in the *Odyssey* is the representation of the mortals Tityos, Sisyphus, and Tantalos, whose punishments carry over into death, where they are continuously tortured. Even though the underworld is mentioned by Patroklos in book 23 of the *Iliad*, he never mentions anything concerning other levels or special areas of Hades' kingdom. Although in the *Iliad* the underworld is not described

in as much detail as the *Odyssey*, this does not mean that the beliefs were different. According to Zaidman and Pantel, "The Greeks certainly had a graphic and often geographical conception of the world of the dead."¹⁰

While the Greeks believed in the idea of this afterlife, the Romans did not. R. M. Ogilvie declares:

We are too apt to think of the Greek myths of Styx and the kingdom of Hades. This (despite its use by Virgil in *Aeneid* VI) was certainly not taken seriously by Virgil's contemporaries. ... But most people, while rejecting the Greek vision of the after-life, cautiously accepted the hope or the fear that the spirit did in some sense survive.¹¹

Ogilvie clearly states the Romans did not believe in the representation of the afterlife depicted in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Though their beliefs were not the same as in the epic, the Romans had a vast variety of ancestral rituals and festivals that embodied their spiritual enthusiasm and proved to be quite complicated:

The religious ideas expressed in [Virgil's] poetry are highly complex. Book VI, for instance, combines a wide range of traditional elements from Homer, Pindar, and Plato together with the mystic idea of a descent to Hades, ... and fuses all these with specifically Roman beliefs and practices. The resulting vision would have puzzled most Romans.¹²

It would be difficult to fit an entire description about the vastness of Roman religion at this historical point within this analysis, but descriptions of the established practices are useful in exemplifying the relationship between the literature

² Segal, Alan F. *Life After Death: A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West*. New York: Doubleday, 2004.

³ *The Homeric Hymns: Translation, With Introduction and Notes*. Translated by Diane Rayor. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004.

⁴ Burkert, Walter. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

⁵ Zaidman, Bruit, and Schmitt Pantel. *Religions of the Ancient Greek City*. Translated by Paul Cartledge. 1992.

⁶ Toynbee, J.M.C. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

⁷ Mikalson, Jon D. *Ancient Greek Religion*. Victoria, Australia: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

⁸ Feeney, Denis. *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

⁹ Virgil. *Aeneid* 6. Translated by Allen Mandelbaum. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

¹⁰ Zaidman, Louise Bruit, and Pauline Schmitt Pantel. *Religions of the Ancient Greek City*. Translated by Paul Cartledge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

¹¹ Ogilvie, R.M. *The Romans and their Gods in the Age of Augustus*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1969.

¹² *Ibid*.

and its societal affects. For example, the Roman belief concerning the welfare of the dead can be seen in the two festivals conducted every year. During the Parentalia, a festival held February 13-24 to honor the welfare of dead parents, the temples were closed and no marriages could be celebrated. Another festival, the Lemuria, was devoted to the worship of all deceased family members. The Romans believed that the spirits stayed in a semi-existent state near or even in the tomb in order that they could receive the nourishment to keep them 'alive.' This caused the families of the deceased to enclose a good meal (*silicernium*) inside the tomb.¹³ These few customs demonstrate the importance of the Roman belief in an afterlife and the actions they would carry out in life in order to satisfy the dead.

Furthermore, the convictions that both the Greeks and Romans held concerning ritualistic behaviors surrounding death can be seen in the writings of both Homer and Virgil. For example, a theme depicted in all three of these epics is the problem that arises when the dead lack proper burial. According to N. J. Richardson, "[Greek] beliefs about what happened to a person at the point of death and afterwards were never fixed and always remained a subject for debate."¹⁴ But in the mid-eighth century BC, the Greeks possessed a belief that there was a necessity for burial based partly on what happened when the deceased were not buried properly. Virgil uses the parallel Greek idea of the dead urging a necessary burial to enter the underworld: "Charon allows no souls, before their bones rest in a tomb, to cross the dreadful shores and hoarse rivers."¹⁵ In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' unburied companion Palinurus asks to be buried so he may "rest in a quiet place."¹⁶ The predominant Roman method of burial was cremation,

but at least one bone, which represented the entire body, needed to be buried.¹⁷ If the deceased were properly buried, they would then descend into the underworld to join the rest of the dead.¹⁸ This is precisely what the Greeks had believed at least 700 years earlier. If the dead were not buried with the proper rites, they would not be allowed to enter the underworld, but wandered the earth with an evil will.¹⁹ In book 23 of the *Iliad*, Patroklos returns to earth to ask Achilles to bury him "as quickly as possible."²⁰ He later states that he will never return from the underworld once he was given his rite of fire.²¹ This means that once his funerary rites were completed (i.e. his cremation) he would be able to pass through the gates of Hades. The Greek idea was that the dead were unable to rest in peace until they were buried, and once they were buried, they would not return to the living. They had many different ghost stories, in which the dead harass or curse the living or exact revenge.²² In the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus travels into the underworld he sees his companion Elpenor who says, "Don't go and leave me behind unwept and unburied when you leave, for I may become the gods' curse to you."²³ In the *Iliad*, when the wretched soul of Patroklos is refused entrance across the river Styx, he tells Achilles to "bury me as quickly as possible so I will pass through the gates of Hades. The spirits, the shades of dead men, keep me at a distance, they will never let me pass over the river and mingle with them. But I have wandered just as I am by the wide gates of Hades."²⁴ Both of these quotes have similar aspects that the contemporary Greeks believed. After death, if the dead were not buried with the proper rites, they were not allowed access into the house of Hades. In addition, as stated in the *Odyssey*, not providing an

appropriate burial could cause a curse from the gods. Walter Otto shows that the Greeks took drastic measures to make sure that this would not happen:

In Homer ... the spirit of the dead could be admitted to the realm of shadows only after burning ... Anthropology moreover supplies cases where a dead man whose ghostly vexation had become intolerable was actually exhumed and burned so that he should no longer be troublesome.²⁵

Without the proper kind of burial the dead could communicate or haunt the living. The Greeks believed that the dead still had power in the sense that they could affect their living ancestors, causing families to carefully carry out every funerary ritual in order to eliminate the possibility of a spiritual vexation.

Taking this interaction one step further, the idea of the living and the dead conversing while being unable to touch was another major factor in the religious rituals of both societies. Together with speaking to the dead, the attempts at embracing each other depicted in Homer's epics affected the rituals in which the Greeks conducted their burials. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we see Achilles, Odysseus, and Agamemnon attempt and fail to embrace a loved one. In the *Iliad*, Achilles requests the spirit of Patroklos to "stand close to me, holding each other for only a little while and take satisfaction from the pain of mourning. ... And he [Achilles] reached out his hands to him, but he could not grab him."²⁶ Similar to the *Iliad*, in the *Odyssey* there are different times where the dead and the living attempt to touch one another. Agamemnon attempts to embrace Odysseus, and Odysseus strives to hold his

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Richardson, N.J. *Early Greek Views about Life after Death*. Edited by P.E. Easterling and J.V. Muir's *Greek Religion and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

¹⁵ Virgil. *Aeneid* 6.327-328. Translated by Jeff Adams.

¹⁶ Virgil. *Aeneid* 6.371. Translated by Jeff Adams.

¹⁷ Fowler, William Warde. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People: From the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, INC, 1971.

¹⁸ Wissowa, R.K. 191. From William Warde Fowler's *The Religious Experience of the Roman People: From the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, INC, 1971.

¹⁹ Fowler, William Warde. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People: From the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus*.

²⁰ Homer. *Iliad* 23.71. Translated by Jeff Adams.

²¹ Homer. *Iliad* 23.71-76. Translated by Jeff Adams.

²² Zaidman, Bruit, and Schmitt Pantel. *Religions of the Ancient Greek City*. ²³ Homer. *Odyssey* 11.71-72. Translated by Jeff Adams.

²⁴ Homer. *Iliad* 23.71-74. Translated by Jeff Adams.

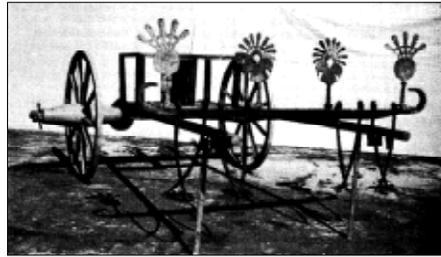
²⁵ Otto, Walter F. *The Homeric Gods: The Spiritual Significance of Greek Religion*. Translated by Moses Hadas. Boston: Beacon Press, 1954.

²⁶ Homer. *Iliad* 23.97-100. Translated by Jeff Adams.

dead mother: “But I [Odysseus], considering it in my heart, wished to hold the spirit of my dead mother. Three times I rushed to her, and my heart desired to take her, and three times she flew out of my hands like a shadow or a dream.”²⁷ In the *Aeneid*, similar to the representation in the *Odyssey*, Aeneas attempts to embrace his father. “Then attempting three times to place his arms around his father’s neck; and three times the shade escapes the useless grasp.”²⁸ Exactly like Achilles, Agamemnon, and Odysseus, he is unable to embrace his father. It is difficult to say how exactly these stories affected the people at that time, but the desire to reach out and hold a deceased loved one is a concept that carries over the ages. Rather than suggesting a particular belief that yields a specific behavior, the inclusion of these passages may signify a deeper human connection and a desire to understand death better.

Perhaps the inclusion of such emotionally charged interactions are played out in society through the beliefs regarding funerary rights and rituals. The circulation of Homer’s epics greatly influenced Greek society in that there were attempts to imitate the magnificence of heroic funerals. This is the most evident at Cyprus in the town of Salamis at the royal chamber tombs. Because of the process of archaeology, the customs are known in great detail. These rituals can be compared closely with the rituals of Patroklos’ funeral in the *Iliad*. Patroklos’ funeral was one of magnificence: his body was conveyed on his chariot and sheep and cattle were slaughtered with him.²⁹ Achilles offered the following gifts: amphorae filled with honey and oil, twelve sacrificed Trojan captives, the ashes collected of Patroklos in a gold urn wrapped in a cloth, and finally a large mound of earth heaped over his remains. Though the archaeological findings in Cyprus were not exactly the same as Patroklos’ funeral, the findings seem to be heavily influenced by

Homer’s epic. Many different tombs have been found in Salamis, and in tomb 2 a large cattle bone was discovered. Another tomb produced the skull and forelegs of a sheep. Most of the tombs in Salamis were filled with large amphorae, one of which was inscribed with olive oil. Although there was no evidence of horses being burned with them, in every



tomb there were the skeletons of at least two horses and the chariot poles. Instead of burning their horses with the royalty, the royal family burned chariots with the deceased. In tomb 79 of Salamis, all the metal parts from one chariot survived, and the clear impressions of the wood allowed for a fairly certain reconstruction of the chariot.³⁰ The most significant evidence of Homer’s influence on these imitated funerals is the inhumed male skeleton found in tomb 2, whose hands were bound together.³¹ This is clearly not a man willingly giving his life in honor of the royal family. In tomb 1 there was a cauldron of bronze with traces of cloth on its inner face. Tomb 3, the largest mound, was heaped ten meters over the dead.

Attica is the only other region in the Greek world with any sign of epic influence on burial customs.³² From the evidence provided by J. N. Coldstream, it is difficult to believe that these funerary rituals were not inspired by the widespread performance of the Homeric epics. Although the performances of Homer’s epics were widespread, Attica and Cyprus are the only places where the Homeric influence is clear. This does not mean that these two places were the only two regions that were influenced by

Homer, only that these are the only places where the evidence is obvious enough to illustrate a strong Homeric influence.

The widespread performance of the Homeric epics also changed the way the Greeks viewed the world in which they lived. J. N. Coldstream uses archaeological evidence to show that the Homeric epics altered their view of the heroic past, and sparked the success of hero-cults or hero worship. Coldstream also uses archaeology to depict how some burials were strongly influenced by accounts of heroic funerals from epic poetry. By using this archaeological evidence, Coldstream reveals that the Homeric epics influenced the Greeks’ religious beliefs.³³ These cults spread throughout mainland Greece at the same time the *Iliad* began to circulate in Greece, circa 750 BC. Before the mid-eighth century, little, if any, respect was given to the tombs of their ancestors. The Homeric tales also influenced the rush of votive offerings at the Mycenaean tombs.³⁴ Ian Morris tells that there were known occurrences of heroes being worshipped prior to Homer’s *Iliad*, but these were rare incidents. Meta-analytic research has shown a sharp increase in hero-cults after the circulation of Homer’s epics. During Homer’s time the prevalence of hero-cults increased from five to thirty-seven over one century.³⁵ The drastic increase in the amount of hero-cults is remarkable in such a short period of time. According to J. N. Coldstream:

Blegen observed that none of the Prosymna votives was earlier than the late eighth century...These cults were suddenly instituted in the late eighth century because that was the time when the Homeric poems were beginning to circulate over the mainland of Greece. . . . Many more of these votive deposits have been found in several regions; they lend powerful confirmation to the theory put forward by Farnell and

²⁷ Homer, *Odyssey* 11.204-207. Translated by Jeff Adams.

²⁸ Virgil, 6.700-701.

²⁹ Homer, *Iliad* 23.150-257, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

³⁰ J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece: 900-700 BC*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003).

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Ian Morris, “Tomb Cult and the ‘Greek Renaissance’: The Past in the Present in the 8th Century BC,” *Antiquity* 62 (1988): 755-756.

³⁶ J. N. Coldstream, “Hero-Cults in the Age of Homer,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 96 (1976), 9, 10.

Cook.³⁶

As Coldstream states, all of this evidence provides strong support to Farnell's statement from 1921, that hero-cults were "directly engendered by the powerful influence of Homeric and other epics."³⁷

The major affect of the *Aeneid* on the Roman people can be seen not in the religious realm, but rather the political arena. Although the beliefs of the Romans were drastically different from the beliefs portrayed in Virgil's epic of Aeneas, "the poem, with its national myth, made its way into the heart of the regime's religious program."³⁸ The Romans did not view this story as historically accurate – they were affected by its use in the state religion. In late first-century Rome, there was a statue of the goddess Venus, the mother of Aeneas, which recalled Augustus and Julius Caesar's descent from the goddess.³⁹ This was clearly propaganda used by Augustus; he was able to use his ancestry from the goddess to persuade the Empire to support him. In the porticoes of a Roman temple was a series of statues depicting Augustus' ancestry. On one side was Aeneas, and on the opposite side were the kings of Alba Longa, who were Augustus' family line. At this temple, Augustus was proclaimed the heir of the gods.⁴⁰ The ancestry of Augustus to Aeneas is represented in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas' dead father Anchises is showing Aeneas all the future rulers of the Roman world. Anchises states, "This is the man who you frequently heard promised, Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who establishes the golden age in Latium again."⁴¹ This is a fortunate boost for Augustus' claim as the heir of Venus because the *Aeneid* was the pinnacle of Roman literary works. All citizens would have known of Virgil's story, and this would have been free advertising for Caesar Augustus to further spread that he was a descendent of Venus. Even though the Roman citizens did not literally believe the events that occurred in the *Aeneid*, "Cicero fully admits the historicity of Aeneas"⁴² and

his goddess mother. Virgil was correct in his assessment that Augustus would rule in the golden age of the Roman Empire, because after his death, the Roman government slowly began to deteriorate.

We can see that the Greeks were strongly influenced by Homer in their beliefs about the dead, their ideas of heroes through the development of hero-cults, and even in the way some Greeks conducted funerals, through the representations of the Homeric epics and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Virgil depicted different religious beliefs in the *Aeneid*; however, the Romans were not religiously affected by his epic. While there are similarities and differences in the representations of the underworld and the dead in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is important to remember that the Romans did not share the Greek beliefs of the afterlife. The interactions of these characters are similar to what we might do—try to embrace a loved one, or carry out one last wish for them. Historical research is important because we are not looking at a set of isolated incidents, but actions that shaped societal beliefs. The relationship between these works of literature and their lasting affects is complicated, but it is clear that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had a strong and long-lasting affect on the religious beliefs of the Greeks. Although Virgil's *Aeneid* did not have a religious affect on the Romans, it was the single most important piece of literature in ancient Roman history. ■

³⁷ L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 340

³⁸ Graff (1988), 68; Zanker (1988), 193-210; Sheid (1993). From Denis Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³⁹ Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: Volume I, A History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Virgil, 6.791-793.

⁴² Paul Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths?: An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 50.

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Synthesis of a HDC-GFP Promoter-Gene Fusion as a Tool to Identify Histaminergic Cells and Examine HDC Regulation



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Abstract

The promoter region for the Histidine decarboxylase gene (pHdc), which is required for synthesis of the neurotransmitter histamine, has been functionally identified in Drosophila melanogaster. A fusion between pHdc and the enhanced Green Fluorescent Protein (eGFP) has been made in a plasmid that will allow generation of transformant flies. These transgenic flies containing the pHdc-eGFP gene fusion can be studied to determine whether the pHdc region causes expression of enhanced Green Fluorescent Protein (eGFP) in histaminergic cells. This research will allow further analysis of the HDC promoter and be a useful tool for examining the physiology of histaminergic cells.

Introduction

Histamine is a biogenic amine involved in local immune responses, and it acts as a neurotransmitter (Brown et al., 2001). Histamine is synthesized by the decarboxylation of the amino acid histidine, catalyzed by the enzyme histidine decarboxylase. In the fruitfly *Drosophila melanogaster*, histamine is utilized as a functional neurotransmitter for photoreceptor and mechanosensory cells, but has also been localized by immunocytochemistry to a few specific cells in the brain (Pollack and Hofbauer, 1991; Melzig et al., 1996).

The Hdc gene, which codes for this enzyme, has been identified and studied in *Drosophila*, a model organism well-suited for genetic studies. Mutations in the Hdc gene have been isolated which disrupt function, indicating what the absence of histamine does to the organism. Hdc mutations cause flies to be functionally blind, in addition to other sensory alterations (Burg et al., 1993; Melzig et al., 1996). To further investigate the regulation of the Hdc gene and how expression may be altered throughout development, the Hdc promoter region was identified through a combination of sequence analysis, deletion mapping, and 5' RACE experiments (Sambrook et al., 1989). Through the analysis of deletions constructed in the Hdc promoter region, it was possible to separate the expression of Hdc in photoreceptors from expression in the brain (Burg and Pak, 1996). Recent experiments have identified novel 5' ends of the Hdc cDNA which do coincide with the deletion analysis results, suggesting that the transcriptional promoter for brain Hdc expression is unique from the identified photoreceptor Hdc promoter (M. Burg and S. Smolinski, pers. commun.).

While deletions in a promoter region can identify regions necessary to guide expression in various tissue types, they cannot identify areas that are sufficient alone for Hdc expression. One method that has been used extensively in promoter analysis studies in *Drosophila*

involves the use of the yeast UAS/GAL4 transcription activation system (Goentoro et al., 2006). Attempts at using this “reporter” system, using the Hdc promoter to test whether it is sufficient for normal Hdc expression, have recently been completed. A portion of the Hdc transcriptional promoter was used to direct expression of GAL4, which then caused expression of the reporter gene (in this case GFP) in cells that normally express HDC (Goentoro et al., 2006). Unfortunately, results obtained were inconsistent and indicated a potentially more widespread expression pattern of Hdc than expected. The presence of an inconsistent expression pattern in the pHdc-GAL4 experiment suggested that another approach, more resistant to positional effects of the transformation plasmid in the genome, was needed to clearly identify HDC-expressing cells.

The pGreenPelican vector system was chosen as it contains elements (‘gypsy insulators’; Gdula, 1996) that block the influence of nearby genes which may alter or disrupt the expression pattern caused by the pHdc region (Barolo et al., 2000). Additionally, the pGreenPelican vector allows for a direct fusion of pHDC to the reporter gene, an ‘enhanced’ Green Fluorescent Protein (eGFP), allowing pHDC to direct expression of eGFP as if it were the HDC protein. The pHdc-eGFP gene fusion created will be surrounded on either side by these gypsy insulators, likely increasing the specificity of pHDC-directed expression of eGFP. Thus, the newly constructed pGreenPelican-pHDC plasmid should ensure that any amount of expression due to the promoter region will be accurately indicated through expression of eGFP. The creation of the pGreenPelican-pHdc-eGFP plasmids, generated by fusing the promoter region for HDC (pHDC) directly to the coding region of the enhanced green fluorescent protein (eGFP) in the pGreenPelican plasmid, is described in the following report.

Materials and Methods

Vectors and Constructs: The Histidine decarboxylase (Hdc) gene from *Drosophila* was previously isolated and sequenced from clones isolated from a *Drosophila* genomic phage library

(Burg and Pak, 1995). The gene was initially cloned into the P-element vector pCasper3 (Thummel and Pirrotta, 1991). The pBluescript II sK(+) vector was used as an intermediate vector to purify the fragment of the Hdc gene containing the entire promoter region (Fig. 1). The final plasmids for transformation were made using the pGreenPelican plasmid (Barolo et al., 2000; see Figs. 1, 3, 4).

Standard molecular techniques: Techniques used to characterize DNA and clone into bacterial plasmids followed established protocols (Sambrook et al., 1989). Enzymes were obtained from either Promega Corporation (Madison, WI) or New England Biolabs (Valencia, CA). Purification of DNA bands by extraction from agarose gels was accomplished using the QIAquick Gel Extraction Kit (Qiagen, Inc., Valencia, CA).

DNA ligations and bacterial cell transformations: Ligations were performed using New England Biolabs, Inc., T4 DNA ligase and accompanying reaction buffer. First, water and DNA were added and heated for 10 minutes at 42°C to denature cohesive ends. Then, the mixture was placed in an ice bath for 5 to 10 minutes. After that, the buffer and enzyme were added and the reaction was kept at 4°C for 24 hours. After the reaction was completed, the mixture was diluted tenfold and used in a standard bacterial transformation protocol (Sambrook et al., 1989). Bacteria containing DNA plasmids were then identified, grown, and plasmid DNA analyzed using restriction digestion analysis and agarose electrophoresis (data not shown). Candidate plasmid clones were purified and stored for later use.

Results

Subcloning of the pHdc region into the pBluescript plasmid: A 6517 bp XbaI-EcoRI fragment, containing all of the Hdc promoter region and a small portion of the protein coding region, was excised from Hdc genomic DNA (see Fig. 1A) and ligated into the pBluescriptII sK(+) plasmid digested with both XbaI and EcoRI enzymes. Ligation mixtures were transformed into bacteria (see “Materials and Methods”) and candidate clones were identified after plasmid DNA was

purified and digested with EcoRI and XbaI, which generated two DNA fragments of 2931 and 6517 bp in size (see Fig. 2; data not shown).

Subcloning of the XhoI-NcoI pHdc fragment into the pGreenPelican plasmid: After selecting the proper plasmid containing the XbaI-EcoRI 6517 bp Hdc genomic fragment (see Fig. 1A and Fig. 2), it was necessary to grow and purify the plasmid DNA. The pBluescriptII sK(+) pHDC(XbaI-EcoRI) plasmid (see Fig. 2) was subjected to an XhoI, SalI, and NcoI triple digest. The DNA bands were separated using agarose gel electrophoresis, and the specific XhoI-NcoI DNA fragment (2246 bp) containing the most proximal portion of the Hdc promoter region was purified (see “Materials and Methods”). This band contained DNA only from the Hdc promoter, and was used to generate the first of two transformation plasmids (see Fig. 3). Next, the pGreenPelican plasmid needed to be digested in the following manner to allow ligation of pGreenPelican with the pHdc XhoI-NcoI fragment that was purified. To do this, a ‘partial’ NcoI digest was performed, because only one of the two NcoI sites, which is located at the beginning of the eGFP gene, in the pGreenPelican plasmid needed to be cut. An NcoI fragment of 10020 bp was purified and digested with XhoI. This allowed the purification of the appropriate fragment of the pGreenPelican plasmid (9984 bp), having a single NcoI cut at the beginning of the eGFP gene and an XhoI cut in the cloning site. This generated cohesive DNA ends in the pGreenPelican plasmid that would ligate with the Hdc promoter fragment in the proper orientation, keeping intact the pGreenPelican transformation plasmid. The ligation between the pHdc and pGreenPelican XhoI-NcoI fragments was performed according to standard procedures (see “Materials and Methods”). Verification of the final ligation product, after purification from bacteria transformed with the plasmids (see “Materials and Methods”), was done with XhoI, NcoI, and XhoI-NcoI digestions (see Figs. 1C, 3 and 5, lane 2). The results from this analysis demonstrated that the expected sized DNA bands were identified and that this plasmid is now available for experimental use.

Generation of the pGreenPelican-pHDC (Xba1-Nco1) plasmid: The first step in synthesizing the pGreenPelican-pHDC(Xba1-Nco1) plasmid was to purify an Xba1-Xho1 fragment from the pBluescriptsKII(+)-Hdc(Xba1-EcoR1) plasmid. This was done by digesting the pBluescriptsKII(+)-Hdc(Xba1-EcoR1) plasmid with Xba1 and Xho1 enzymes and purifying the resultant 1973 bp Xba1-Xho1 pHdc fragment from an agarose gel (see "Materials and Methods"). Next, the pGreenPelican-pHdc Xho1-Nco1 plasmid was digested with Xba1 and Xho1, which digested the plasmid at the 5' end of the pHdc region, allowing the addition of the Xba1-Xho1 pHdc fragment, thus restoring the entire pHdc region in the pGreenPelican plasmid (see Figs. 1D, 4, and 5). In Figure 5, the comparison of lane 2 with lane 3 indicates that there is extra DNA in lane 3, which is from the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xba1-Nco1) plasmid. Lane 4 of Figure 5 demonstrates that this plasmid does contain a Xba1-Xho1 that the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xho1-Nco1) does not. Thus, the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xba1-Nco1) plasmid contains the entire pHdc region, while the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xho1-Nco1) contains only a part of the pHdc region.

Discussion

We have synthesized two plasmids that contain a fusion between the complete (or partial) Hdc promoter and the eGFP protein, pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xba1-Nco1) and pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xho1-Nco1). These two plasmids contain a direct fusion between the Hdc promoter and the eGFP gene. The plasmid also contains elements that will make it useful as a plasmid to use in transforming *Drosophila*, allowing the pHdc:eGFP transgene to be placed into the genome of recipient flies, via standard techniques (Rubin and Spradling, 1982; Spradling, 1986).

Once transformants are identified using either of the two plasmids constructed, the presence of the eGFP protein can be determined using fluorescence microscopy. It is anticipated that, if the pHdc region is sufficient for Hdc expression, the eGFP protein will be directly visualized in the same cells that normally

express the Hdc gene. The results from using these vectors should determine whether the pHdc region is necessary and sufficient to direct normal expression of the Hdc gene. Earlier deletion analysis using an Hdc transgene had identified the pHDC region used as necessary for expression (Burg and Pak, 1995), but it is possible that there may be other regions of the Hdc gene that could also be required for normal expression levels. This includes the 3' end of the Hdc transcript or other regions of the Hdc gene, which have been shown in other genes to be required for regulation in some cases (Pappu et al., 2005; Kulkarni and Arnosti, 2005).

There are a couple features of pGreenPelican that could make for a more consistent reporter transformation vector. First, the Hdc promoter is directly fused to the start codon of eGFP, just as it would be to the HDC protein. While this may reduce to total amount of the eGFP protein produced, it is likely to be more reflective of the gene expression levels directed by the Hdc promoter. Since there is a heat-shock promoter in the GAL4/UAS expression system, it may be providing too much basal promoter activity in the pHDC-GAL4/UAS-GFP transformants previously generated. Second, there are gypsy insulators present on either side of the construct, which will prevent interference from other genes (Gdula, 1996). The presence of gypsy insulators and the lack of temperature dependence for expression make the pHDC-eGFP transgene a more useful tool in studying the regulation of Hdc than the GAL4/UAS system.

Being able to identify living histaminergic cells should allow examination of the physiology of histaminergic cells in a model organism. Through this approach, further understanding of the role that histamine plays in the nervous system will likely be elucidated. Regardless of the success of this experiment, more information will be obtained on the regulation of the Hdc gene as a result of this particular transformation plasmid being generated. ■

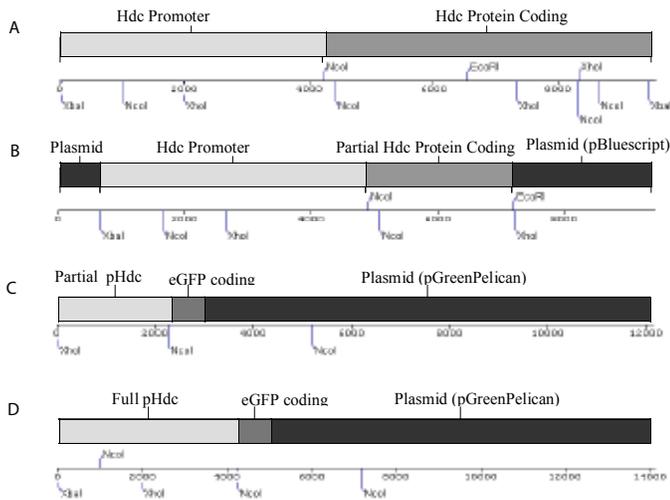


Figure 1. Genomic regions and plasmid maps of DNAs used. Shown are the relationships between the various plasmids used to create the pGreenPelican-pHdc plasmids. *A.* Map of the Hdc genomic region that was used as a source for cloning pHdc into the pGreenPelican vector at the eGFP location. *B.* Map of the genomic Hdc clone used as a source for cloning of the specific pHdc region, which is the Xba1-EcoR1 fragment that includes pHdc (see Fig. 1A) cloned into pBluescriptII sK(+) (see Fig. 2). The first region used in cloning pHdc into pGreenPelican was the Xho1-Nco1 fragment of pHdc (see Figs. 1C and 3). The second region cloned into pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xho1-Nco1) is the Xba1-Xho1 fragment that is furthest to the left in the map (see Figs. 1D and 4). *C.* Map of the pGreen Pelican-pHdc (Xho1-Nco1) plasmid, containing the proximal portion of pHdc (see also Fig. 3). *D.* Map of the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xba1-Nco1) plasmid, containing the Xba1-Xho1 terminal fragment of the full region containing pHdc region that was used to demonstrate full expression of Hdc (Burg and Pak, 1995; see also Fig.4.).

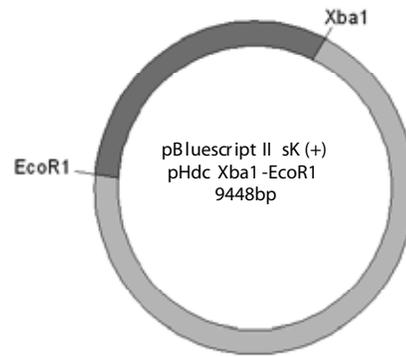


Figure 2. Plasmid map of the pBluescript II sK(+) pHDC Xba1-EcoR1 vector shown in Figure 1.B. This is a subclone of the EcoR1-Xba1 fragment from HDC into the vector pBluescript II sK(+). This vector was created to eliminate unnecessary Xho1 and Nco1 restriction sites present in the HDC gene that can be seen in Figure 1.

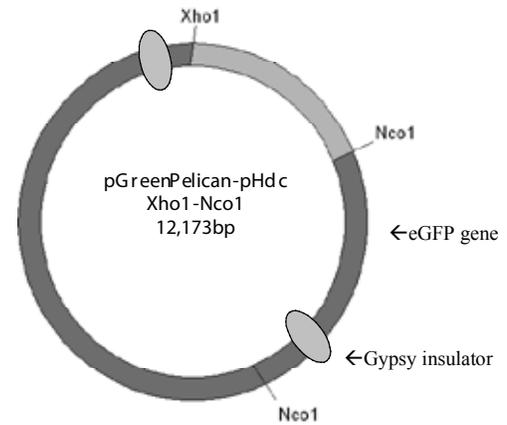


Figure 3. A map of pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xho1-Nco1). This plasmid contains the Xho1-Nco1 fragment of pHDC digested out of the pBluescript subclone. This was created both because this region of pHdc has been found to be sufficient for expression and there is another Nco1 site in the remaining portion of the promoter upstream that would have made an Nco1 partial digest more difficult to complete.

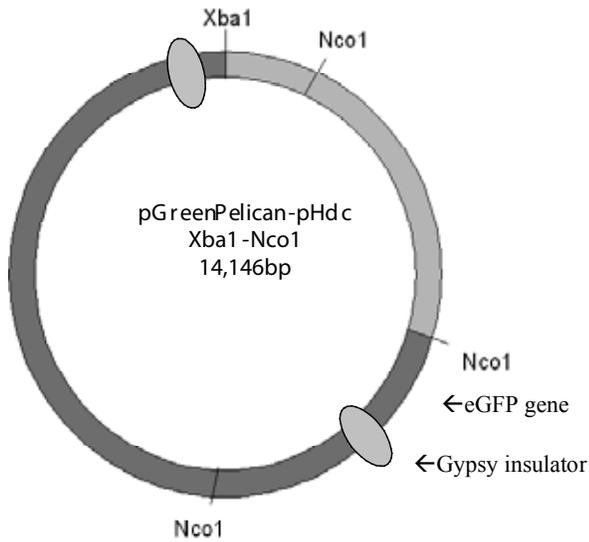


Figure 4. A map pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xba1-Nco1). This plasmid contains the entire pHdc region cloned into the pGreenPelican plasmid. It contains an additional Xba1-Xho1 fragment that is not present in the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xho1-Nco1) plasmid (Fig. 3).

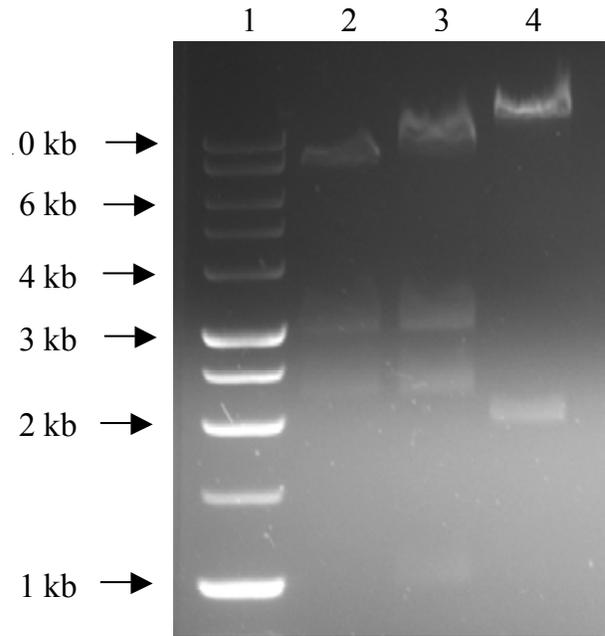


Figure 5. Restriction digest analysis of pGreenPelican-pHdc plasmids. Lane 1: Promega© 1 kb DNA ladder. Lane 2: Xho1-Nco1 digest of the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xho1-Nco1) plasmid (Fig. 1C, Fig 3). Note that as predicted by the map in Fig. 3, three bands were generated of the appropriate size. Lane 3: Xho1-Nco1 digest of the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xba1-Nco1) plasmid (Fig. 1D, Fig 4). Note that four bands were generated indicating that a larger fragment containing the complete 5' end of the Hdc promoter is included in the plasmid, compared to lane 2. Lane 4: Xho1-Xba1 digest of the pGreenPelican-pHdc(Xba1-Nco1) plasmid (Fig. 1D, Fig 4). The lower band generated contains the Hdc promoter fragment. This plasmid will be used to transform flies.

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Effects of Endogenous Androgens on Pulmonary Microvascular Reactivity



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Abstract

*Previous studies involving large isolated pulmonary arteries have suggested that the administration of high concentrations of natural androgen produces acute vasodilation. This study examines the acute effects of testosterone (T) and dihydrotestosterone (DHT), observed previously in large arteries, in small pulmonary arteries (SPA). Isolated segments of SPA taken from the lungs of *Sus domestica* ($n = 4$, mean outside diameter = $313 \pm 26 \mu\text{m}$) were doubly cannulated and perfused with physiologic saline solution (PSS). The vessels were also simultaneously superfused in PSS and pressurized to 17mmHg. After a period of equilibration, the observed trend of the SPA to both T and DHT appeared to be that of a dose-dependent vasodilation. The concentrations of T and DHT necessary to induce vasodilation in the SPA may be lower than those needed to induce similar responses in large pulmonary arteries.*

Introduction

Blood pressure is the product of cardiac output and total peripheral resistance. As blood vessels constrict, vascular resistance to blood flow increases resulting in a concomitant increase in blood pressure. In 2006, over one million Americans died as a result of cardiovascular disease, and many more struggle on a daily basis to maintain their health as America continues to grow older in age. For these millions of people combating hypertension (high blood pressure), designing future treatments based on the administration of endogenous hormones could prove to be advantageous. With increasing interest, the role of androgens (such as testosterone) in the pathogenesis of cardiovascular disease has been under intense investigation during the past fifteen years. The vascular beds of the pulmonary network represent a substantial component in overall peripheral resistance. Dilation of the pulmonary system might be a useful approach to lowering total peripheral resistance. Previous studies have suggested that vasodilatation of isolated large pulmonary arteries (LPA) of *S. domestica* (~1 cm outside diameter) could be achieved in vitro through the administration of testosterone, testosterone precursors (androstenedione and dehydroepiandrosterone), and testosterone metabolites (dihydrotestosterone, Trichler et al., 2006). This dilation of LPA may result in a net decrease in blood pressure; however, the LPA serve only as conduits and represent a small portion of the pulmonary circulation. The effects of androgens on the microvasculature are still unknown, and vascular response in the microcirculation might not require the high concentrations of steroids necessary to stimulate dilation in the LPA. Thus, the primary purpose of the experiments completed in this study was to evaluate the responses of SPA to T and DHT.

Microcirculation is responsible for the precise regulation of blood flow within the various organ systems of the human body. As the oxygen demands of the lo-

cal tissue change, the level of blood flow is continuously adjusted to meet the necessary requirements. As the vascular diameter changes as a result of autoregulation, blood pressure is also affected. In most forms of pulmonary hypertension, the burden of pathology is localized to the small intrapulmonary arteries (Bonnet and Archer, 2007). The microcirculation is typically heterogeneously regulated (Jones et al., 1995), i.e., it is common for different sized blood vessels to respond differently to various physiological stimuli. It is also suggested that vessel size may play an important role in reactivity. Prior studies have demonstrated that large vessels appear to require a higher amount of steroid to elicit vasodilation than smaller vessels of the same species (Yue et al., 1995). Based on these two key observations, the primary goal of this research is to investigate the acute responses of SPA to endogenous androgens, as the microcirculation may be more sensitive than the previously tested LPA. We hypothesize that androgens will induce acute vasodilation at concentrations lower than previously observed in LPA. In the current investigation, androgen levels tested were between 1×10^{-9} and 1×10^{-5} M.

Methods

Experimental animals. The lungs of *S. domestica* (domestic pig) were obtained from Devries Meats, Inc., of Coopersville, Michigan, and transported to a research laboratory in Padnos Hall, Grand Valley State University, in ice-cold 4-(2-hydroxyethyl)-1-piperazineethanesulfonic acid (HEPES) buffer composed of 140 mmol/l NaCl, 4.7 mmol/l KCl, 1.3 mmol/l CaCl_2 , 1.0 mmol/l MgCl_2 , 10 mmol/l HEPES ($\text{C}_8\text{H}_{18}\text{N}_2\text{O}_4\text{S}$) and 11.1 mmol/l glucose.

Preparation of vascular tissue. Intrapulmonary arteries ($n = 4$, mean resting outer diameter = $313 \pm 26 \mu\text{m}$) were carefully dissected from the lung near the distal end of the third or fourth branch of the bronchial tree and cleared of parenchymal tissue. Dissected arteries not immediately used were stored for no longer than 24 hours in a Petri dish containing HEPES buffer solution and refrigerated at 4°C .

Experimental apparatus. At the time of the experiment, segments of the dissected SPA were mounted on glass micropipettes (2 mm outside diameter) tapered to a point of $\sim 200 \mu\text{m}$ outside diameter in a superfusion-perfusion chamber (fig. 1) and bathed in Krebs-Henseleit solution (118 mmol/l NaCl, 4.8 mmol/l KCl, 1.2 mmol/l MgSO_4 , 1.2 mmol/l KH_2PO_4 , 25 mmol/l NaHCO_3 , 2.5 mmol/l CaCl_2 , and 11 mmol/l glucose). The vessel was secured to each cannula with 8-0 nylon sutures and extended to in situ length. Side branches present on the isolated vessel were tied off using single strands of nylon teased from 8-0 sutures.

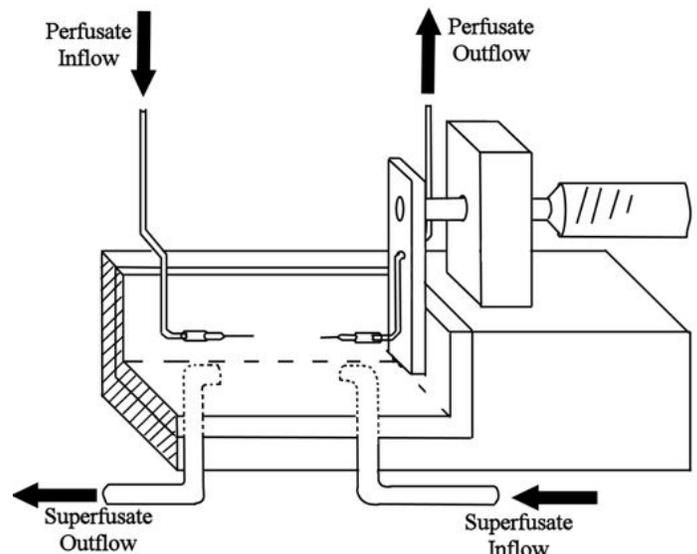


Fig. 1. Cut-away diagram of the superfusion-perfusion isolation chamber.

The superfusion-perfusion chamber was positioned on the stage of a dissecting microscope (Leica Microsystems, Wetzlar, Germany). A superfusate reservoir served to warm Krebs-Henseleit solution to 37°C and bubble with a gas mixture composed of 15% O_2 , 5% CO_2 , and 80% N_2 (Al-tinawi et al., 1991). The warmed PSS was channeled into the superfusion-perfusion isolation chamber from the superfusate reservoir as an equal volume of PSS was drained via peristaltic pump (fig. 2). By adjusting the height of the perfusate reservoir, intraluminal pressure was set at 17 mmHg to approximate in vivo pressure (English et al., 2001). The intraluminal pressure of the mounted isolated vessel was monitored in the same fashion as a U-tube manometer. Any vessel that could not maintain 80% perfusate outflow pressure to perfusate inflow pressure was discarded and another segment was taken. The approximate average perfusate outflow to inflow for all experiments ($n = 4$) was 95%.

After a 1-hour initial equilibration period, the mounted artery was exposed to KCl (60 mmol/l) to assess the viability of the preparation. Arteries that did not exhibit a normal constrictive response to KCl were not used in this experiment. Viable arteries were then rinsed and administered increasing concentrations of DHT or T. Upon completion of the first randomized androgen experiment, the vessel was re-equilibrated in fresh PSS for twenty minutes before being exposed to the second androgen.

Vascular responses were monitored via a digital camera attached to the ocular lens of the dissecting microscope. Vascular reactivity to each dose of steroid was recorded as a 1.3-mega-pixel JPEG digital image (fig. 3). The digital photographs were printed and vessel diameter measurements were taken from the prints using analog calipers (Sears-Craftsman, Hoffman Estates, Illinois). Change of the vessel outside diameter was measured in millimeters and converted to microns using a derived conversion ratio of $1\text{mm}:18.13\mu\text{m}$. Vessel responses for each experiment were expressed as percent change relative to control diameter (maximum diameter – control diameter / control diameter $\times 100$).

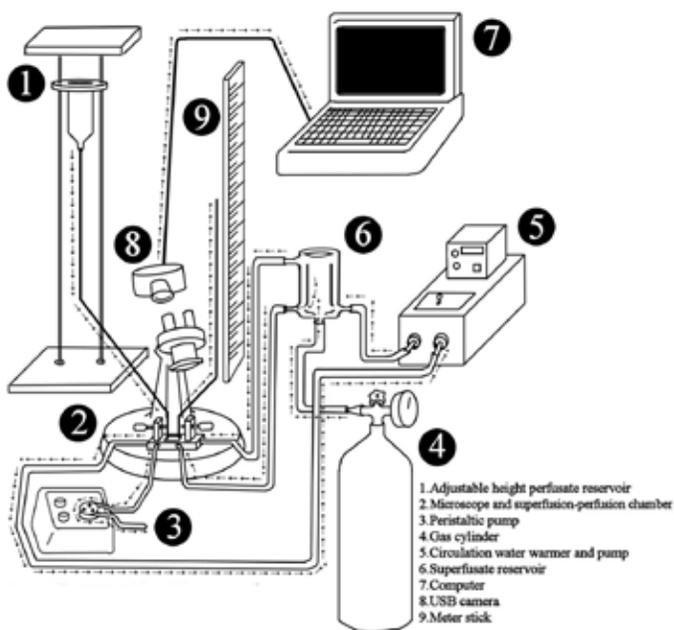


Fig. 2. Diagram of experimental apparatus. Flow arrows mark path traveled by digital image signal, fluid, or gas.

Chemical reagents and drug preparation. DHT (5α -ANDROSTAN- 17β -ol-3-one), and T (4-ANDROSTAN- 17β -ol-3-one) were purchased from Sigma-Aldrich Chemical Co. (Saint Louis, MO) and dissolved in ethanol and methanol respectively. All other chemicals were obtained from Fisher Biotech (Fair Lawn, NJ), Acros Organics (Geel, Belgium), or Sigma-Aldrich Chemical Co. (Saint Louis, MO) and were of reagent grade quality. All solutions were made fresh daily. The concentrations of all chemicals and drugs are expressed as the final concentration in the tissue baths.

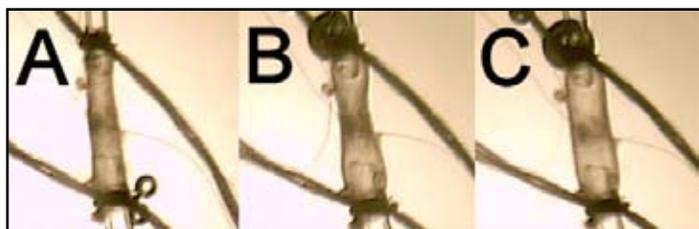


Fig. 3. Example of an isolated pulmonary artery (not to scale) exhibiting vasoconstriction (A), control (B), and vasodilation (C).

Data analysis. All data are expressed as mean percent change in vascular diameter \pm SE; n represents the number of vessels studied. Data was analyzed using a two-way repeated measure ANOVA.

Results

Effects of DHT on SPA diameter. Though a statically significant dilation in porcine SPA was not found, a progressive trend suggests the increase of vascular outside diameter from 8.0 μ m

at 1×10^{-9} M (normalized to $11.3 \pm 4.1\%$ increase in vascular outside diameter compared to control) to 28.7 μ m at 1×10^{-5} M ($18.7 \pm 8.7\%$). These dilations were seen in response to step-wise increase of DHT concentration and appeared to be dose-dependent (fig. 4). The dilations were reversible since the vessel returned to control diameter upon removal of DHT from the tissue bath.

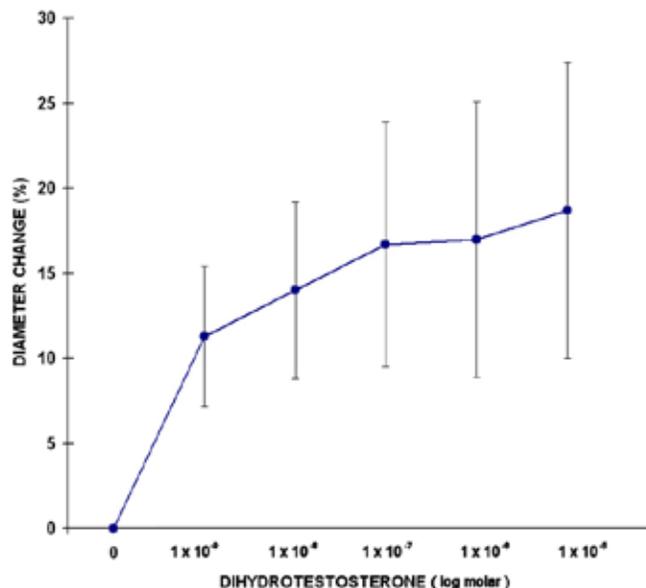


Fig. 4. Dilation of porcine pulmonary arteries in response to increases in DHT. Data are mean percent change of vessel outer diameter (\pm SEM) from control diameter. Resting diameter of vessels before introducing dihydrotestosterone to the vessel bath was $297.6 \pm 24.1 \mu$ m (n = 4).

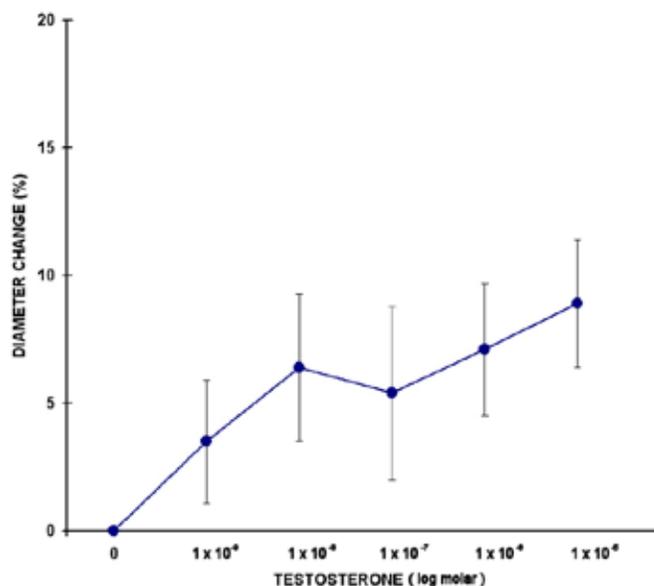


Fig. 5. Dilation of porcine pulmonary arteries in response to increases in T. Data are mean percent change of vessel outer diameter (\pm SEM) from control diameter. Resting diameter of vessels before introducing testosterone to the vessel bath was $328.7 \pm 25.9 \mu$ m (n = 4).

Effects of T on SPA diameter. The in vitro activity to T was similar to that of DHT; a progressive dilating trend from 12.2 μm at 1×10^{-9} M ($3.5 \pm 2.4\%$) to 30.5 μm at 1×10^{-5} M ($8.9 \pm 2.5\%$). The dilations were seen in response to stepwise increase of T concentration and also appeared to be dose-dependent (fig. 5). Upon draining the vessel bath and refilling with PSS, the vessel returned to control diameter.

Discussion

The primary objective of this research was to enhance our understanding of the upper and lower limits of vascular sensitivity to the androgens testosterone and dihydrotestosterone in the pulmonary microcirculation. These experiments have demonstrated a trend, under the conditions outlined in previous sections, of dilation in porcine SPA to both T and DHT. This study did not adequately determine the lower concentration limit for androgen-induced vasodilation, and this area warrants further investigation.

Several hypotheses for the mechanism of vasoreactivity are pertinent to this study and have been taken into consideration. One hypothesis states that testosterone and other androgens elicit vasodilation by stimulating the release of endothelial nitric oxide (NO). NO is a powerful vasodilator that can be delivered by the vascular endothelium via stimulation of the enzyme NO synthase. This hypothesis has been rigorously investigated by experiments involving vascular denudation (intentional removal of the endothelium) and NO inhibition. These studies suggest that although vasorelaxation is lessened, denudation and NO inhibition are not sufficient to abolish testosterone-induced vasodilation (Yue et al., 1995; Costarella et al., 1996; Honda et al., 1999; Ding and Stallone, 2001; Tep-arenan et al., 2002). In this study, every effort was taken to ensure that the endothelium was intact. However, due to the nature of the experiments performed in this study, the integrity of the endothelium may have been inadvertently compromised.

An alternative hypothesis implicates activity of vascular smooth muscle (VSM) potassium ion (K^+) channels in the mechanism of androgen-induced

vasorelaxation. The activity of K^+ channels, found in virtually all cell types, plays an important role in regulating the resting membrane potential (E_m). Several types of K^+ channels exist in biological tissue including voltage-gated (K_v), Ca^{2+} sensitive (K_{Ca}), and ATP sensitive K^+ channels (K_{ATP}) (Bonnet and Archer, 2007). In the pulmonary microcirculation, the dominant K^+ channel appears to be large conductance Ca^{2+} sensitive channels (BK_{Ca}) (Jackson, 2000). The BK_{Ca} are activated by membrane depolarization and increases in intracellular Ca^{2+} . The resulting interplay between the opening of K^+ channels and VSM results in membrane hyperpolarization and subsequent vasodilation. Some known vasodilators, including NO (Archer et al., 2004), carbon monoxide (Wang et al., 1997), and epoxides of arachidonic acid (EETs) (Zhang et al., 2001), appear to activate BK_{Ca} channels in some systems either directly or by activation of protein kinases (Jackson, 2000). It is not yet known if the VSM has androgen receptors and dilates in response to direct stimulation, or if the presence of steroid alters the BK_{Ca} affinity for Ca^{2+} eliciting the vasodilation. This reactive nature of androgen supplementation could be further defined by eliminating the availability of extracellular calcium ions. A recognized improvement for the current protocol would be employing a Ca^{2+} -free PSS to further delineate the vascular responses to androgens.

Additionally, the function of the vascular system is altered by sex. Arteries that originate from different sexes of animal have been shown to react differently to the same steroid (English et al., 2001). A valid criticism of this investigation is that it does not account for the differences in sample sex. However, in the current experiment vessels were obtained from the lungs of either female or gonadectomized male pigs. Because the development of the vascular tissue persisted in the absence of gonadal hormones (males), it is unlikely that, in this instance, sex would be a substantial confounding variable. Though the dynamics of sex steroids remain a concern, it was beyond the scope of this study. A more complete revision of this research model would be to use an equal distribution of tissues

from both male and female subjects, with and without intact gonads.

The goal of this investigation was to determine the response of SPA to T and DHT. The large error bars observed in fig. 3 and 4 are attributed to two main factors: small sample size and incidental human error in vessel measurement. More so is the relatively small number of samples used in this experiment. It is anticipated that similar results will be found through repetition, and doubling of the sample size would show a statistically significant variation in vessel diameter. Several vessels not accounted for also behaved in a similar fashion, but failed to respond to either KCl or NO donor, sodium nitroprusside at the end of the experiment. Thus, these vessels were not used in the interpretation of the findings. Nevertheless, this in vitro experiment has provided some useful insight into the vascular reactivity of the pulmonary microcirculation. Future investigation in this area may ultimately lead to novel approaches to treat pulmonary hypertension and related cardiovascular diseases.

Acknowledgements

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The Critical Nexus: Deindustrialization, Racism and Urban Crisis in Post-1967 Detroit



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McNair Scholar



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Introduction

The Detroit vice squad entered the “blind pig”¹ during the early morning hours of July 23rd, 1967. What began as an almost routine raid initiated a five-day riot that would leave 43 dead, 467 injured, 7,200 arrested, and over 2,000 buildings scorched.² The Detroit case was not the first violent outcry by African Americans during the Civil Rights Era. The turbulent 1960s were marred by many such riots from New York to Chicago to the Watts section of Los Angeles. These riots struck city centers with great veracity, but the fact that similar incidents occurred in so many dissimilar cities begs the questions of what these cities have in common, and were these incidents less like riots and more like rebellions against the inequality that persisted in urban centers well beyond the apparent successes during the civil rights movement?³ Tensions were high across the country as racism persisted and inequalities remained salient. Blacks in many major cities were without work and equal access to adequate housing. Opportunities were limited for blacks as quality education and stable employment were difficult to secure. Many thought Detroit was different than other urban centers; Detroiters Ron Scott explained the misconceptions about Detroit’s immunity to a riot:

A lot of people felt it couldn’t happen in Detroit because people had good jobs, they had homes, and generally it was a good time, it was carefree, and people didn’t have anything to worry about. But you can’t always judge things by how they appear on the surface. Inside most black people there was a time

bomb.⁴

The time bomb Ron Scott was referring to was indicative of a widespread frustration that was even better illustrated by the rebellions springing up across the country. These riots were a symptom of some very deep racism and classism. Though significant strides were made during the Civil Rights era, many of the changes did not tangibly impact the everyday lives of blacks,⁵ and during the 1960s and 1970s the nation saw a more militant and proactive activist orientation. It is in this context that universal black frustration had the potential to translate into violence and rebellion. On the surface it seemed as though Detroiters were working and moving into the middle class, but in reality joblessness was increasing with each year as industry began to decentralize and automate.⁶ The world economy was changing and so were cultural attitudes. The riots that occurred in Detroit at the end of July 1967 were not senseless or causeless as some would suggest: “There were some civil rights overtones, but primarily this is a case of lawlessness and hoodlumism. Disobedience to the law cannot and will not be tolerated.”⁷ The racial antagonisms and sentiments of unrest grew from a long tradition of systematic discrimination that impacted many aspects of everyday life. It is true that conditions do not exist in a vacuum, and as Williams Julius Wilson described in his 1990 book examining joblessness in Chicago, *When Work Disappears*, “racial antagonisms or the expression of racial tensions are the result of social, political and economic influences.”

Prior to July 23rd, 1967, Detroit had a history that shaped its environment into

1 An illegal after-hours night club.

2 For more description of the 1967 riots see *The Algiers Motel Incident*.

3 These questions are not the focus of the following pages but important to mention nonetheless.

4 Hampton, *Voices of Freedom*, 375.

5 Though the civil rights movement did much for the ideal of equality, structural changes had not occurred on a wide enough scale to translate into real equality.

6 Sugrue, *Origins of the Urban Crisis*, 21.

7 Michigan governor George Romney as quoted in the August 4th, 1967 TIME article about the riots. For further description by TIME see the issue. Governor Romney’s insistence that the riots were mostly “hoodlumism” echoes the sentiment of many members of the State during this time.

one where a seemingly miniscule and mundane conflict could most certainly escalate into a full-scale riot. In brief these environmental factors included racism, inequality and hopelessness. As the smoke cleared from the empty streets it became apparent that the city was changed forever, and with each year that passes it remains obvious Detroit has never truly been able to recover from the impact of this explosion.

The following pages seek to explore specific aspects of Detroit's history that created a city with a deep chasm between the rich and the poor (oftentimes white and black) and how that chasm became a motivator for the 1967 Detroit riots which scarred the city and have impacted the persistence of urban crisis to this day. Thomas J. Sugrue writes:

Detroit's postwar urban crisis emerged as the consequence of two of the most important, inter-related, and unresolved problems in American history: that capitalism generates economic inequality and that African Americans have disproportionately borne the impact of inequality. . . Detroit's racial and economic crisis emerged in a particular context—mid-twentieth-century America.⁸

The context that Sugrue is referring to will be further explored in the following pages, but what is most important to remember is Detroit's history prior to the postwar urban crises, including the impact of the Great Migration,⁹ among other factors, developed this context. It is this author's position that twentieth-century racism¹⁰ that had its roots in the Great Migration, the process of postwar deindustrialization and the scarcity of social resources that was an effect of that deindustrialization intersected to create an environment where the 1967 riots were inevitable.

This research explores the intersection

between deindustrialization and racism and examines how these factors worked together to create a pervasive structure of inequality in inner-city Detroit that led to the 1967 riots which, in turn, effected the city's current circumstance of extensive urban decay and perpetual urban crisis. More specifically, this research examines racism as a response to scarcity of resources induced by an influx of unskilled and semiskilled laborers, both black and white, during the first half of the century and a sudden and severe period of deindustrialization, automation and decentralization in the auto-industry following the Second World War.

My objective is three-fold: 1.) identify and qualify the claim that at the nexus of deindustrialization and racism there is an initiator and accelerator of urban crisis; 2.) examine the concept of racism as a result of scarcity of resources (i.e. jobs, housing, education, etc.) amongst unskilled laborers caused by heavy industrialization and later deindustrialization; 3.) explore the impact of the 1967 race riot on race relations and Detroit's success or failure (economic and socially) since those riots.

These objectives were achieved by answering the following three research questions: 1.) What historical factors have most greatly influenced the deterioration of Detroit City since 1967? 2.) How did industrialization (which caused cities to one, grow at a rate greatly exceeding their infrastructure, and two, created a great dependence within city economies on industry) and deindustrialization create a scarcity of social resources and how did that impact race relations amongst Detroit's working class? 3.) Can it be inferred that the increase in racism and tensions¹¹ between members of the working class due to post-WWII deindustrialization were a strong motivator for the 1967 race riots?

The method through which conclusions have been drawn is via extensive review of literature that either directly

addresses the Detroit case or indirectly examines the underlying social, economic and/or political factors that contributed to the context in which the riot occurred—that is, processes and problems that are related to Detroit's place in the broader American landscape (for example, sweeping changes occurring simultaneously across the nation that impacted Detroit and its residents, just as many other US cities were impacted).

[*****]

The Aftermath: Modern-Day Detroit

Rockets, moon shots
Spend it on the have nots
Money, we make it
Fore we see it you take it
Oh, make you wanna holler
The way they do my life
Make me wanna holler
The way they do my life

This ain't livin', This ain't livin'
No, no baby, this ain't livin'
No, no, no

Inflation no chance
To increase finance
Bills pile up sky high
Send that boy off to die
Make me wanna holler
The way they do my life
Make me wanna holler
The way they do my life

Hang ups, let downs
Bad breaks, set backs

Natural fact is
I can't pay my taxes
Oh, make me wanna holler
And throw up both my hands
Yea, it makes me wanna holler
And throw up both my hands
Crime is increasing
Trigger happy policing
Panic is spreading

⁸ Sugrue, 5.

⁹ For more on the Great Migration see *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* by James N. Gregory.

¹⁰ This is to suggest that 20th century racism had something distinctly different than antebellum racism. This racism was almost an amalgamation of racism and feelings of competition over resources (i.e., jobs).

¹¹ These tensions were played out in everyday interactions between blacks and whites and frequently on the shop floor in factories across the city.

¹² From Marvin Gaye, "Make Me Wanna Holler."

God know where we're heading
Oh, make me wanna holler
They don't understand¹²

As one drives past the gutted homes and empty streets of Detroit, Michigan, the sounds of Motown, specifically Marvin Gaye's 1971 hit LP "What's Going On," can be evoked as a soundtrack to life in the city. The lyrics to "Make Me Wanna Holler," reprinted above, reflect the sentiments of many African Americans during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Frustrated with police brutality, unequal access to employment, and the distant nature of civil rights successes¹³, many Black urbanites harbored well-reasoned resentment toward their oppressors, even if they could not put a face directly on whom those oppressors might be. This desire to "holler" is reminiscent of Ron Scott's "time bomb" remark and it can be argued that Gaye and Scott's social commentary both addressed problems that have persisted for over 30 years.

With so much poverty, crime and an overall ambiance of abandonment¹⁴, it is easy to forget that Detroit is a city with a rich history. Today it is scarred with widespread urban decay. Abandoned buildings line the streets, gunshots are a common occurrence, and high rates of underemployment and joblessness plague this once bustling center of the automobile industry.

In America's industrialized cities members of the working class (who are those employed in low-skill manual labor occupations with characteristically low education and income levels and low chances for upward social mobility¹⁵) were often in constant competition for urban resources such as housing, education, jobs and social services. The fact that members of the working class in these times were ethnic whites and southern whites and southern blacks added to their interactions a certain level

of inner-class conflict based upon race. In the most rudimentary generalization, southern whites disliked ethnic whites because they were not "truly" American, and both ethnic whites and southern whites disliked blacks because they were black, and each group considered others to be taking everybody else's job, school, or apartment.

[*****]

Toward an Accurate Framework

Prior to examining Detroit's situation it is important to build a theoretical framework through which to view the history and current state of Detroit. The study of urban problems took on increased significance during the early 20th century when urban centers grew at rates not before experienced.¹⁶ The Chicago School of sociological thought emerged from this growing interest. It established a particular emphasis on social failure within the disadvantaged group that would often discount that conditions develop out of a specific historical context and all conclusions must consider that context. The negation of historical context often makes flawed or biased findings more prevalent.¹⁷ Compounded with this is the past nature of academia as an "old boys" society where white males studied the problems of women and people covering all areas of the racial spectrum from a distance.¹⁸ These researchers attempted to remain objective, which is nearly impossible in a race-/class-/gender-focused society.

Minorities were often acutely misunderstood and misrepresented as were members of the low and underclass.¹⁹ According to Sugrue the study of the underclass has taken on three very distinct ideologies:

The first, and most influential, focuses on the behavior and values

of the poor, and the role of federal social programs in fostering a culture of joblessness and dependence in the inner cities. A second offers structural explanations for inequality and urban poverty....A third explanation focuses on politics, emphasizing the marginalization of cities in American social policy, particularly in the aftermath of the urban unrest and racial conflict of the 1960s.²⁰

This research utilizes a blending of the three explanations Sugrue offers. The importance of blending the three aforementioned conceptual frameworks is that any one, taken separately, ignores the very real impact of the others. It is true that conditions do not exist in a vacuum. History, politics, culture, economics and society all interact to create the world we live in. It is out of this understanding that this research has developed. This multidisciplinary perspective informs the approach taken to explore the very complex and very pressing condition of Detroit, Michigan.²¹

What Goes Up: 1900-1945

One cannot attack the issue of inequity and race in Detroit without taking an in-depth look at the city's economy during the first half of the 20th century. Under the broad term of economy is employment, including the types of jobs, hiring practices, unions. Of equal importance to Detroit, like many other urban northern cities, are the Great Migrations. These waves of migration represent the largest voluntary movement of African Americans in history. The influx of blacks in northern cities over a short period of time forever changed the economy and the social and political structure of the city.²²

To tackle the grand subject of American economic practices and strategies during the era, heavy industrialization

13 This distance is referring to the day-to-day experiences of blacks in the city and how those experiences of racism and inequity differ greatly from the idealized reality embodied in things such as Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

14 This feeling of abandonment can be attributed to the decrease in the metropolitan population beginning in the 1970s and persisting through the end of the 20th century and into the 21st.

15 For definitions of working class please see the *American Heritage Dictionary*, 2004 edition.

16 Sugrue, 13.

17 Urban populations were not being studied by other urban dwellers; the experiential difference between researchers and subjects is fodder for cultural misinterpretations.

18 Academic distance ensures that the problems are not solved by those with the most in-depth knowledge of the causes.

19 Underclass refers to the lowest level of the social hierarchy generally composed of the disadvantaged. *American Heritage Dictionary*, 2006.

20 Sugrue, 4.

21 For more discussion of the underclass see Michael Katz, *The Underclass Debate*.

22 For more discussion on the Great Migration see Joe William Trotter's *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender*.

must be at the forefront of the discussion. At the turn of the century the United States led the world in automobile production, amongst other industries, and for this reason lawmakers placed great emphasis on growing industry within every city that could.²³ The brunt of this growth took place in cities of the North. Philadelphia, New Jersey, Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago all saw great expansion during the first 20 years of the century.

At the turn of the century Detroit was a relatively small city; certainly it had not reached the scale of Chicago or Philadelphia in population or development. The central city was the most highly populated region and people were employed by small industries such as stove-making or within the service sector. The black population of the city was minimal; however, within the next 20 years the economy began to change rapidly as Detroit became the automobile production center of the world. With this growing industry came employment opportunities for unskilled or semiskilled individuals who were fleeing the South for a better or more equitable life in the North. At the same time Eastern European immigrants were entering the country in search of appropriate employment for their skill level and for the opportunity to achieve the “American Dream.”

Between the years of 1900 and up to immediately before the Second World War, Detroit was a booming city. From 1900 to 1950 Detroit was privy to great and unprecedented growth and development due to the advent of the automobile and subsequent industries. As one of the most influential pull factors for southern laborers, black and white and ethnic whites, heavy wartime industrialization swept across the Midwest and East, and as the so-called Arsenal of Democracy, Detroit’s population more than doubled between 1910 and 1920. Additionally, its black population saw an eight-fold increase. By 1950 Detroit was very near to 2 million inhabitants with blacks making

up 16.2% of the population or just over 300,000 people, up from about 41,000 in 1920. Oftentimes, however, when an area experiences rapid population increases, the infrastructure is not equipped to support such a large population and social resources such as housing and education are difficult to secure. Many Detroiters struggled to find housing; in fact, the crisis became known as Detroit’s Time Bomb.²⁴ Though the crisis afflicted both blacks and whites, it was especially acute for inner-city blacks, who were migrating to the city in unprecedented numbers. Thomas J. Sugrue writes in his 1996 book *Origins of the Urban Crisis* that between 1941 and 1944 recently arrived black migrants needed 10,000 new housing units, but just over 2,000 public and private units were constructed that were open to black occupancy. In fact, in 1947, though blacks comprised 16.2% of the population, only 8.6% of the city’s 545,000 housing units were available to blacks.

In the early 1900s Detroit led the nation in auto production but also had strong industry in non-automotive arenas such as stove-making, brewing, furniture production and several others. In fact over 40% of industry in Detroit was non-automotive.²⁵ However, over half was automotive and this emphasis on one industry would prove detrimental in the future.

The industrial expansion brought hundreds of thousands of southerners to the North, where work was seemingly easy to secure. The Great Migration that reached its peak between 1916 and 1929 is identified by Sugrue as a source of Detroit’s everlasting racial boundaries.²⁶ These boundaries permeated not only the distribution of individuals throughout the city but also the shop floor and even everyday interactions by city dwellers. One of the reasons Detroit was not the “promised land” many southern blacks had anticipated was that hiring practices in Detroit were built out of racist tradi-

tions that often prevented black workers from gaining any employment, let alone employment in desirable or even safe jobs. One way that institutions were able to discriminate against blacks was by tailoring their job orders to job placement agencies toward whites. In December 1946, 35.1% of all jobs orders placed with the Michigan State Employment Service contained discriminatory clauses. This rose to 65% by June 1948.

Racism is largely to blame for the exclusion of such a large segment of the population from fair and equal housing opportunities and jobs as well. There are two types of racism, symbolic and institutional. Symbolic is overt racism based on a belief system that views a race as subordinate. Institutional racism is not overtly expressed, nor do its participants necessarily hold racist beliefs themselves, yet it is the systematizing of racist ideologies.²⁷ The biases are embedded in social structures, and examples of institutional racism are such practices as bank loan redlining, racial profiling, the war on drugs, and school funding. Institutional racism often infiltrates public policy, especially anything connected to money. Both types of racism were rampant in Detroit with landlords literally writing “no blacks” in their housing listings or charging on average \$10 more per month, and requiring weekly payment or immediate eviction from substandard housing. In public housing, discrimination became systematized and resulted in such discrepancies between placement that between January 1947 and July 1952, 37,382 black families and 56,758 white families applied for housing, yet only 1,226 black families opposed to 9,908 actually obtained housing.²⁸

Such an increase in population can drastically reshape a city on many levels. The increase in the population of all people places a strain on social resources such as housing, education and social services. Generally, racism increases as the numbers of “others” to an area

23 More discussion on labor in the 20th century can be found in *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor (Politics and Society in Twentieth Century America)* by Nelson Lichtenstein.

24 Sugrue referenced Detroit’s housing market this way in *Origins of the Urban Crisis*.

25 Sugrue, 18.

26 *Ibid.*, 23.

27 Derived from the definition offered by the *Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, 2006; for further discussion of racism see *Racism: A Very Short Introduction* by Ali Rattansi.

28 Sugrue, 43.

increases. To add yet another level, such an increase in members of a minority group, in this case African Americans, often sends citizens accustomed to a certain level of separation and certainly propagators (or at least sympathizers) with racist ideology, into a panic.²⁹ Sugrue writes: "Acting on their perception of the threat of the black newcomers to their stability, economic status, and political power, many of Detroit's working- and middle-class whites banded together in exclusive neighborhood organizations, in what became one of the largest grassroots movements in the city's history."³⁰ These grassroots organizations took on the shape of restrictive neighborhood covenants. Covenants like these were a representation of how racist ideologies could translate into policies, even on the very local level of allowing blacks to purchase homes in white neighborhoods. These covenants utilized their political clout, such as voting efficacy, and when those tactics proved unsuccessful Sugrue writes: "through sustained violence, Detroit whites engaged in battle over turf, a battle that had economic and social as well as political and ideological consequences."³¹ The covenants mostly sprang up during WWII as blacks were beginning to secure enough income to enter into middle class communities throughout the city. Prior to this time however, blacks were mostly located in segregated enclaves throughout the city. These areas would stretch no more than a few city blocks and would contain black family upon black family, oftentimes more than one to a dwelling. The quality of housing for Detroit's black residents was appalling; from dilapidated buildings to those lacking running water and electricity, urban blacks faced great inequality in securing adequate housing at a fair price. Black renters often paid disproportionately high rent compared to their white counterparts. This inequity persisted for many years, and in 1960 over 40% of residencies occupied by blacks had an average rent that equaled

35% of its inhabitant's incomes.³²

The importance of Detroit's housing crisis lies in the conflict over a social resource that was necessary for all urban dwellers, and more significantly is a reflection of greater neurosis within the social structure of the city that have persisted through the end of the 20th century and into the 21st. Conflict over housing and conflict in the workplace along with everyday interpersonal incongruity brought on by the influx of blacks to the previously mostly white Detroit created an environment where the air was almost seething with racial tension. *Life* magazine reported in 1942 that Detroit can "either blow up Hitler or blow up the U.S."³³ It was in this context, where blacks and whites were fighting for jobs and neighborhoods, that "one of the worst riots in twentieth-century America" occurred.

On June 20th, 1943, nearly 100,000 Detroiters, black and white, convened on Belle Isle (a large park in Detroit) to enjoy the beautiful summer day. At various intervals however, young blacks and whites engaged in brawls which were certainly a symptom of greater racial animosities. As word traveled across the city that a race-war was afoot, blacks in the Paradise Valley section of the city looted white-owned stores. In response, the next day whites exceeding 10,000 struck back equally as brutally against blacks in the same Paradise Valley area. The police were not of equal help, many sympathizing with white rioters, and 17 blacks were shot and killed by police, while not one white rioter was. In the end 34 people had been killed (25 of them black), 675 suffered serious injuries and before the federal troops arrived, 1,893 people had already been arrested. Federal troops³⁴ were sent to the city and the riot was subdued, but the tensions had not been expelled through this explosion, many persisted below the surface. Despite this violent display, blacks continued to migrate to the city well into the 1950s.

Must Come Down: 1945-1967

Though the Great Migration brought droves of newcomers to Detroit, the ascension of Detroit as the "Arsenal of Democracy" during WWI and WWII solidified Detroit's status as an industrial center of the world. In fact, Sugrue found that between 1940 and 1947 overall employment in manufacturing increased by 40%. At this time, unemployment decreased in the city as well and "between 1940 and 1943, the number of unemployed workers in Detroit fell from 135,000 to a mere 4,000."³⁵ It is during this time that industry was obliged to begin hiring black workers in significant numbers in an attempt to satiate the ever-growing demand within factories producing machines for the war abroad. There were a few integral groups that greatly impacted the decision to hire blacks into industry, all with very different motivations: first, equal rights organizations; second, unions; and third, the Federal government. Additionally, shop managers realized that there was a surplus in black workers (many migrants from the South) who were desperate for employment; industry held no qualms about exploiting this desperation and in turn hired blacks for the menial and dangerous tasks throughout factories. Even though conditions within the city were not as many newcomers expected, word still traveled around the country and people still migrated to the city in very high rates.

Equal rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Negro Congress and the Civil Rights Congress, along with black churches, organized for equal rights in many aspects of society, but fought particularly hard for equality in hiring practices, because much of economic inequity begins in employment inequity. Industrial unions, specifically the United Auto Workers, formed alliances with many of these groups during

29 John Higham delves into this concept of "nativism" in his work *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*.

30 Sugrue, 211.

31 *Ibid.*, 257.

32 *Ibid.*, 54.

33 *Ibid.*, 29.

34 Of importance to mention is the demographic of these federal troops; many from small towns around the state of Michigan who had probably never interacted with an African American and who quite possibly held racist notions themselves added more intensity to the already racially charged incident.

35 Sugrue, 19.

the 1940s, which helped to break the pattern of factories using black workers as strikebreakers. The UAW played an integral role in getting and keeping black workers in the factories. Though the UAW was not a utopia of racial togetherness, certainly:

... the UAW brought together industrial workers from a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds—Lithuanians, Hungarians, Poles, Jews, Scottish, Irish, Mexicans, Canadians, Lebanese, Palestinians, Italians, Germans, and many more. It overcame initial resistance from African Americans whose church and community leaders were suspicious of trade union activity and southern white migrants who often worshipped in staunchly antiunion storefront churches and belonged to organizations like the Black Legion and the Ku Klux Klan.³⁶

Inclusion of African Americans in the UAW benefited all workers because it helped combat the tradition of factories exploiting racial divisions during times of tense negotiations. With black workers on board the UAW was able to present a united front to industrial leadership, and this certainly assisted the UAW in attaining its many objectives.

Not to be ignored is the impact that federal policy had in shaping Detroit's workforce largely through President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802. It mandated nondiscrimination in war industries (which made up the brunt of Detroit's industry at the time), and it also created the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which worked in cooperation with Detroit's NAACP and the UAW to conduct investigations at plants in Detroit and to put pressure on managers to hire black workers.³⁷

Growth throughout the war continued unchecked; while Detroit invested great time and effort in growing and sustaining its industries, there was no overt move-

ment to diversify the city's economy. Industry was content to believe that this economic boom, grown from the war, would last for the foreseeable future. Unfortunately, the foreseeable future was shorter than most expected. Detroit's factories began their exodus from the city almost immediately following the end of WWII. The motivations for leaving were varied but included high city property taxes, lack of space, and the growing industrial centers in the western part of the country. The process of industry moving from its location in the city is called decentralization and it would prove particularly detrimental to Detroit City and acutely detrimental to Detroit's black residents. Though a significant portion of black workers had secured a place among the middle class during the economic boom of the World War years, most had not reached a level in which they had the same kind of mobility that whites enjoyed. Around the same time as industry decentralized, war veterans were returning from Europe and thus began the simultaneous exodus of whites from Detroit. This process of "white flight" motivated by suburbanization drove the tax base within the city to an unprecedented low. A low tax base translates into funding cuts in social services like education, welfare, public housing, and public services in general. These funding cuts would prove to perpetuate urban crises in later years.

For the industries that did stay within the city limits, the process of automation continued to shape the workforce in a way that revealed ever-present inequalities that had not previously been so intense. Specifically, the concepts of seniority and vulnerability within industry impacted blacks at much greater rates than whites. Seniority was particularly detrimental to blacks because they had just received (relatively) unrestricted access to factory jobs during the war, so by default, they were often "last hired, first fired," especially during this period of widespread automation. Coupled with the problem of seniority is the vulner-

ability of un- to semiskilled workers to a changing economy and industry. As technology evolved, blacks, who were traditionally less educated and generally unable to change that, bore the brunt of skills-based layoffs.

An ailing tax base, high unemployment rates, daily instances of police brutality, and a steadily decaying metropolitan center all set the timer for the bomb Ron Scott mentions resided within most black Detroiters.

And When it Hits the Ground: The 1967 Riot

There was a pot about to overflow, and there was rage that was about to come out. And the rebellion just provided an opportunity for that. I mean, why else would people get upset, cops raiding a blind pig. They'd done that numerous times before. But people just got tired, people just got tired of it. And it just exploded.³⁸

In the ten years that followed the end of WWII, Detroit industry continued to decentralize and automate at an impressive rate until, in the mid-1960s, Detroit had become a shell of its former self. The city had become predominantly black as whites fled to the suburbs, and many of the old houses built in the late 1800s to early 1900s³⁹, which made up the majority of Detroit's housing, had fallen into various states of disrepair, their often-unemployed residents unable to expend the economic resources necessary for upkeep, let alone improvements. Unemployment was high for blacks with rates double that of whites in 1960. Therefore, the link between race, class, and access to resources is seen most markedly within this era, and a vicious cycle of poverty and inequity perpetuated throughout the 1960s; the industrial bubble had burst and blacks were left to pick up the pieces.

Unrest grew to an unprecedented high among inner-city blacks for several rea-

36 Ibid., 19.

37 Ibid., 27.

38 Voices of Freedom, 376.

39 Hersey, xi.

40 Black youths were especially susceptible to the shortage of jobs with 35% of 19-year-old black males unemployed in 1960 as opposed to 8.9% of their white counterparts; Hersey xi.

sons during the 1960s. Inability to secure employment⁴⁰, the economic repercussions of job loss, inadequate housing, and racist interactions with police had been problems in Detroit for many years. In the 1960s, however, these problems took on a new intensity as black war veterans had returned, having fought side by side with whites. With them came the concept that they had fought for racial equality outside of the United States, and that those same ideals should be translated to life back in the States. Black political consciousness grew as a movement during the civil rights era, and unrest and militancy were added to the mix as frustrations coupled with an increased level of social capital generated from successes during the fight for civil rights energized many blacks towards a more proactive orientation during the 1960s. This phenomenon is not exclusive to Detroit; all across the country urban centers were experiencing the same kind of outward expression of frustrations over racial injustices (including economic structures and overt racism).

Bobby Seale, one of the founding members of the Black Panther Party, spoke of the ideological development of black power:

We sat down and began to write out this ten-point platform program: we want power to determine our own destiny in our own black community. We want organized political electoral power. Full employment. Decent housing. Decent education to tell us about our true selves. Not to have to fight in Vietnam. An immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people. The right to have juries of our peers in the courts... We wanted land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.⁴¹

For many black Detroiters, the issue of black power often revolved around interactions with police. These interactions were often a point of contention for many blacks across the U.S. This

can certainly be attributed to, in part, the demographic composition of the police force where, though over one-third of Detroit's population was black⁴², less than five percent of the police force was. Detroit's police had affected a tradition of arresting young black males and later charging them with a crime. This occurred at high rates around the city.⁴³

The unrest reached its peak the morning of July 23rd around three o'clock in the morning. As a group of about eighty black Detroiters gathered to celebrate the homecoming of two Vietnam soldiers at an after-hours nightclub, the police burst in, as was par for course in regards to establishments like this. However as partygoers were directed outside, the crowd did not disburse; in fact, it grew as individuals came from the surrounding homes to join the already mob-like congregation.

The streets were clogged. We couldn't get people to disburse. There was this mumbling going on...The people that were milling around angry and belligerent were my constituents, were people I knew, friends of mine, were acquaintances, and it was a mean-spirited kind of mood that hung over this.⁴⁴

Uninterested in listening to their councilman's pleas, the mob continued to grow. The noise of windows being broken could be heard and soon the first fire had been set. What ensued was what some would call a riot, others a rebellion, but it must be agreed upon that the most violent civil uprising in US history occurred over the next several days. The National Guard⁴⁵ was sent in to subdue the rioters and tanks could be seen driving down various Detroit streets. At the end of the next five days, 43 people were dead, 467 injured, over 7,200 had been arrested, and more than 2,000 buildings had been engulfed in fire.⁴⁶

The Crisis: Post 1967

Joblessness in Detroit has been a major problem since the postwar years

but has continued to worsen as each year passes. As metropolitan Detroit has grown and expanded into myriad suburban areas and satellite communities such as Dearborn Heights and Southfield have grown into cities themselves, Detroit proper has continued its downward spiral, leaving its citizens grappling for the few low-paying service jobs that are available within the city limits. With a deplorable public transit system (due mostly to city planners designing Detroit to function as a hub for automobile owners), it was often difficult for those without their own cars to secure substantial employment for long periods of time. This in turn left city residents in the throes of poverty with seemingly no way out.

Education is often considered a way to escape such desperate conditions; however, as Detroit was in the middle of a budget crisis, schools were closing across the city to cut costs. The schools in the city were overcrowded. With the recent closings, already overburdened schools were weighed down with even more students. The situation in Detroit was most certainly "separate and unequal" with high school dropout rates significantly higher than the national average.

Housing in Detroit has not improved since the housing crisis of the early twentieth century. There is no longer a shortage of homes; however, there is a shortage of suitable housing as the city tears down block after block of dilapidated houses, leaving empty lots in its wake. Often- times these homes are torn down to remove undesirable and dangerous crack houses that sprung up around the city (as they did in many major cities) during the 1980s. Property value has plummeted, and suburbanites are more than hesitant to return to the city.

Connecting the Dots: The Critical Nexus

Racism has been a persistent part of American society since its inception. It has shaped everything from the demography of major American cities to the almost second-nature response of white women to hold their purses tight when

41 Voices of Freedom, 353.

42 Hersey, xi.

43 For more discussion see *The Algiers Motel Incident*.

44 African American Councilman John Conyers describes his arrival at the site of the raid in *Voices of Freedom*, 378.

around black youths. Racist ideologies are present within the media and within the minds of arguably every individual within this country. The American brand of racism even attaches itself quickly to the minds of foreigners who have never seen anything like it in their native lands. Racism is not solely a rural phenomenon; urban centers experience their own blend of institutional and symbolic racism, apparent in high rates of unemployment, crime, and high school dropouts within these cities. Nearly every social issue in modern American society is the result of some blend of racism and classism that promises one group will always surpass another in terms of economic success, political power, and equality. When racism is considered in the context of industrialized and later deindustrialized America, as described above, an interesting tension develops between what autonomous individuals believe to be their basic human rights and what their reality is. This tension can create enough unrest to motivate an outcry like the one described above, in this case the 1967 Riot.

Outcries like this, however, do not resolve the deeper issues of racism and the remnants of deindustrialization. They do, however, bring to the forefront for some those issues, and for others they simply reaffirm the ideology that African Americans are hell-bent on destroying American society. The 1967 Riot left its footprint on Detroit, both economically and socially. This footprint follows years of tracks left by both racism and deindustrialization. This research has determined that these three incidences, two continuous and one abrupt, have most certainly been the most significant factors in Detroit's urban crisis since 1967. It can also be found in speaking with individuals who lived through the riot; many will tell you that "things just weren't the same after 1967."

This research is certainly not exhaustive. It was the express intention of this research to develop an effective framework for exploring this issue further

that considered the many aspects that shape societies, placing special emphasis on historical precedents and how those worked to create the present situation. Developing this framework is the first step in beginning to draw accurate conclusions. Those conclusions, if rooted in truth, can be applied to solutions that may finally be able to wear down patterns etched in stone for the last century. The importance of changing those patterns is the necessity to reshape current ideologies and institutions that perpetuate inequities in American cities across the country. Specifically to this case, what's at stake in the success or failure of Detroit is its nearly 900,000 citizens whose city cannot provide adequate opportunities to reaffirm this great city as a forerunner of the American landscape. ■

45 National Guardsmen were recruited from around the state of Michigan, from cities that often contained few or no African Americans. The significance of this is that once again you have a predominantly white arm of the State sent to control a group that has been neglected by that very same State. The collective anger that many blacks felt towards authority was by no small mistake related to the exclusionary nature of law enforcement.

46 For a more in-depth account of the riot see *Violence in the Model City: The Cavanaugh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot of 1967* by Sidney Fine, 2007.

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16S rRNA DGGE Analysis of Gut and Hepatopancreas Microflora in the Isopod *Oniscus asellus*



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Abstract

*The microflora (microbes) of the gastrointestinal tract have been found to play an important role in the health of animals. In addition to pathogenic microbes and their associated negative effects, beneficial microbes have important positive effects. However, the dynamics of the transmission and colonization of the microflora between mates and between parents and offspring are still largely unknown. Variation in the microflora between individuals suggests that selection can play a role in this transmission and colonization. As a preliminary step to investigate the transfer of microflora between male and female isopods, microbial DNA from *Oniscus asellus*, washed and unwashed gastrointestinal tracts and hepatopancreas glands were isolated and characterized using 16S rRNA primers and DGGE analysis. Males and females showed considerable variation between microflora in gastrointestinal tracts while hepatopancreas samples were more similar.*

Introduction

The microflora of the gastrointestinal tract plays an important role in the health of its host. In addition to pathogenic microbes, beneficial microbes have several positive effects on the health of the host (Rastall et al., 2005). The microflora (all the microbial inhabitants) provide metabolic functions, protection from invasion by pathogenic microbes, and modulation of the immune systems. The resident or indigenous microflora (autochthonous) is often specialized for the gastrointestinal tract while the transient microflora (allochthonous) that is passing through is not. A classic example is the specific microbial communities found in ruminants. Agriculture has taken advantage of these beneficial effects by feeding microbes (probiotics) to domestic animals. While the majority of the microflora studies have concentrated on vertebrate animals, the microflora in invertebrates is equally important (Dillon and Dillon, 2004). The role of the microflora in the digestion of cellulose in termites is one striking example.

The role and transmission of microbes is an important aspect in understanding how microflora affect host health, but outside of specific pathogenic organisms our understanding of how microbes are transmitted between individuals is limited. It is possible that this transmission of beneficial microbes is favored by natural selection (Lombardo et al., 1999). Model systems for the study of the transmission of microflora in a variety of organisms would be helpful in understanding their roles.

The terrestrial isopoda are potential systems for studying microflora, their effects, and their transmission between individuals (Hassal et al., 2005). Terrestrial isopods provide an important role in the breakdown and processing of detritus (Zimmer, 2002). How much isopod nutrition comes from digestion of organic material in detritus versus digestion of microbes growing on the detritus is unclear. However, the isopod gastrointestinal tract, like all tracts, is specialized for

the maintenance of a specific indigenous microflora (Zimmer and Brunne, 2005). The isopoda gastrointestinal tract is simple, with a midgut and short hindgut. Two paired hepatopancreas glands empty into the anterior end of the midgut and aid in digestion (Zimmer, 2002). Previous work done on the microbes in isopods that inhabit these tissues has been limited in scope. None of these studies attempted to carry out a complete survey of the microbial community. Swiecicka and Mahillon (2006) focused on the diversity of *Bacillus cereus* strains isolated from the isopod *Porcellio scaber* to see how similar *B. cereus s.l.* isolates were and what their relationship with the *Porcellio scaber* host was. They found that strains extracted from the digestive tract of the isopods from three closely located sites had identical PFGE patterns, virulence gene content, and enterotoxigenicity. This indicated that the isolates had strong genetic and genomic relationships. Also, 70% of the isopods used in this experiment were found to contain *B. cereus s.l.* strains, which suggests that the digestive tract of the isopod may be one of the natural niches of this bacteria.

Kostanjsek et al. (2004) isolated and identified anaerobic bacteria from *Porcellio scaber* hindgut by amplifying 16S rRNA gene segments and cloning them. They found the presence of resident anaerobic bacteria in the gut of *Porcellio scaber*. It has been suggested that anaerobic bacteria would not be present in the gut of isopods because of the short retention time of food in the tube-like hindgut. In addition, the analysis of the 16S rRNA gene sequences displayed a fair amount of them originating from organisms that have recognized anaerobic inhabitants of vertebrate gastrointestinal tracts such as affiliates of the genus *Bacteroides*.

Kostanjsek et al. (2004) and Wang et al. (2004) investigated the microflora of the hepatopancreas in *Porcellio scaber* isopods. The ecological role of these microflora and their relationship to isopod health is unclear. Electron microscopy of the hepatopancreas detected a number of rod-shaped, translucent oblong bacteria resident in the hepatopancreas. Kostanjsek et al. (2004) used 16S rRNA gene to characterize these species. Phyloge-

netic analysis placed these bacteria in order *Chlamydiales*, forming a distinctive lineage to the family *Simkaniaceae*. They proposed the name '*Candidatus Rhabdochlamydia porcellionis*' for these bacteria.

Wang et al. (2004) also investigated bacteria in the hepatopancreas of *Porcellio scaber* isopods. These bacteria are closely associated with the epithelial surface of the hepatopancreas. 16S rRNA analysis showed that the bacteria represent a lineage of the *Mollicutes* and are distantly related to members of the *Mycoplasmatales* and *Entomoplasmatales*. They proposed the name '*Candidatus Hepatoplasma crinochetorum*' for these bacteria.

PCR amplification of 16S rRNA variable sequences is a powerful tool to characterize the total number of species and strains in a mixed sample (for a review see Muyzer, 1999). The main objective of this study is to characterize the microflora of isopods using universal prokaryotic 16S rRNA primers. The extent of variation between males and females, between washed and unwashed gastrointestinal tracts, and the hepatopancreas will provide a more detailed basis for further study of the function and transmission of the microflora in isopods.

Materials and Methods

Isopod Collection and Identification

Isopods were collected by hand during June and July 2007 from an established household compost pile in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Isopods were identified as either male or female *Oniscus asellus* under the dissecting microscope using a standard key (Van Name, 1936). Isopods were collected the same day as they were used for DNA extraction.

Isopod Dissection and DNA Extraction

Isopods were rinsed in distilled water and then placed in 70% ethanol for 2 minutes to surface sterilize them (Swiecicka and Mahillon, 2006). Isopods were then put into the freezer for five minutes prior to dissection. Isopods were dissected in a small amount of sterile water. The entire gastrointestinal tract and one of the two paired hepatopancreas glands were dissected out. For washed gastrointestinal

tracts, the tract was split longitudinally and washed sequentially in three separate petri dishes in a small amount of sterile water. DNA was extracted using a DNeasy Blood and Tissue Extraction Kit from Qiagen. Tissues were pretreated with lysozyme by first adding 180 μ L lysozyme buffer and then grinding with a sterile pestle for approximately 15 seconds. Solid lysozyme was then added to a concentration of 20 mg/mL and the sample incubated for 30 minutes at 37 $^{\circ}$ C. The sample was then treated with proteinase K following the DNeasy supplementary protocol for the total DNA extraction from ticks, and the DNA extracted following the spin column protocol. DNA samples were then stored at 4 $^{\circ}$ C until use.

PCR Amplification

16S rRNA DNA was amplified using primers for positions 518 and 338 with a 40 bp GC clamp (Nakatsu et al., 2000). 5 μ L of DNA was amplified in a final volume of 25 μ L using Ready-To-Go beads from GE Healthsystems. Amplification conditions were 94 $^{\circ}$ C for 4 minutes followed by 33 cycles of 94 $^{\circ}$ C for 30 seconds, 50 $^{\circ}$ C for 30 seconds, and 72 $^{\circ}$ C for 45 seconds. The final step was 72 $^{\circ}$ C for 8 minutes. Amplification products were checked on 4% E-Gels from Amersham. Commercially prepared *E. coli* B DNA (Sigma Aldrich) was used as a positive amplification control.

DGGE Analysis

Amplified samples were separated on a 6% DGGE gel with a 30% to 70% urea/formamide gradient. Normally gels were run for five hours at a constant 40 mA. The gels were stained for fifteen minutes using either Sybr Green or Sybr Gold and photographed under UV light. Banding patterns were analyzed using Gel2K software (Svein Norland, Department of Microbiology, University of Bergen, Norway) to produce a binary file of banding patterns. A Jaccard similarity tree based on these binary files was constructed using a CLUSTER program packaged with the Gel2K program.

Results

Figure One shows the results of CLUSTER analysis for washed gastrointestinal

samples from 5 males and 5 females. Males had an average of 3.4 ± 2.07 bands while females had an average of 3.2 ± 1.64 bands. The overall average was 3.30 ± 1.77 . The number of bands detected per individual ranged from 6 to 2. The overall Jaccard similarity is low as indicated by deep branch points in the diagram. This indicates relatively low band sharing between individuals. Additionally, there is no sex-specific grouping between males and females.

Figure Two shows the results of CLUSTER analysis for unwashed gastrointestinal samples from 4 males and 4 females. Males had an average of 7.00 ± 2.94 bands while females had an average of 7.25 ± 2.63 bands. The overall average was 7.13 ± 2.59 . The number of bands detected per individual ranged from 11 to 4. The overall Jaccard similarity is again very low, indicating relatively low band sharing between individuals. Additionally, there is no sex-specific grouping between males and females. The average number of bands is significantly higher using a T-test for unwashed samples compared to washed samples for both males (1 sided T-test, $p = 0.034$), and females (2 sided T-test, $p = 0.025$), as well as for all samples pooled together (2 sided T-test, $p = 0.002$).

Figure Three displays the results of CLUSTER analysis for hepatopancreas samples from 7 males and 7 females. Males had an average of 3.57 ± 2.15 bands and females averaged 3.00 ± 1.29 bands. The overall average was 3.29 ± 1.73 . The number of bands detected ranged from 2 to 7. The overall Jaccard similarity is higher, indicating band sharing between individuals but there is no sex-specific grouping. A prominent feature in many individuals is a doublet of closely migrating bands as seen in individuals F6, F2, M5, F4, M7, and M6. On the gel image these bands are the most prominent products. In individuals such as F7 and M1 another prominent doublet is present.

Discussion

The DGGE method presented here is successful in isolating and characterizing the microflora from both gastrointestinal tracks and the hepatopancreas. This should allow the characterization of the

microbial communities and provides the opportunities for identification of specific species and strains by DNA sequencing. Sequencing of hepatopancreas bands in particular will allow matching with the results of Kostjansek et al. (2004b) and Wang et al. (2004) to determine if the same species are found in *Oniscus* as in *Porcellio*. The variation in banding patterns in the hepatopancreas should allow an investigation of the effect of different strains or communities on isopod health.

The diversity of banding patterns in washed and unwashed gastrointestinal samples also provides similar opportunities. While no highly common bands were found between individuals or between sexes, identification of specific species should provide insight into their possible effects on isopod health. The difference in banding patterns between washed and unwashed samples indicates that isopods may have a well established indigenous microflora (autochthonous) in contrast to the transient microflora (allochthonous).

The next step in using isopods will be to establish pure lines of isopods under laboratory conditions. The stability and composition of isopod microflora in these lines can then be checked using this same DGGE approach. Determination of the species composition of bands will allow specific isopod lines to be used for mating and mate choice experiments. This will allow insight into the dynamics of microflora transmission and colonization.

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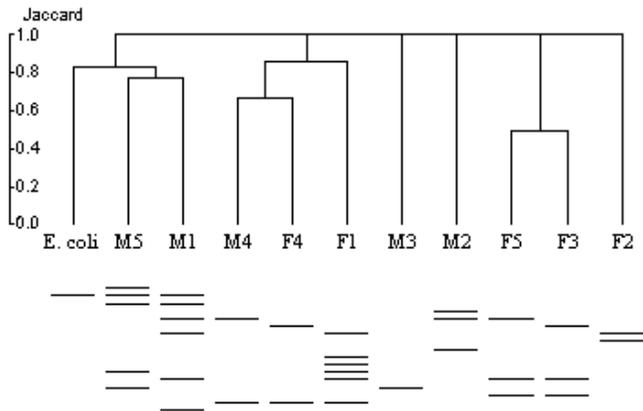


Figure One. CLUSTER diagram of DGGE of 16S rRNA from washed isopod *Oniscus asellus* gastrointestinal samples. 5 female (F) and 5 male (M) isopod samples were amplified and run on 6% DGGE gels and analyzed using Gel2K and CLUSTER software. Individuals had an average of 3.30 ± 1.77 bands. No sex-specific grouping is seen in these samples.

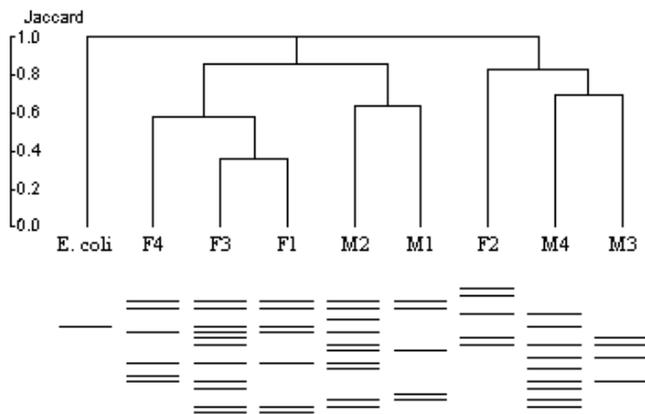


Figure Two. CLUSTER diagram of DGGE of 16S rRNA from unwashed isopod *Oniscus asellus* gastrointestinal samples. 4 female (F) and 4 male (M) isopod samples were amplified and run on 6% DGGE gels and analyzed using Gel2K and CLUSTER software. Individuals had an average of 7.13 ± 2.59 bands. No sex-specific grouping is seen in these samples.

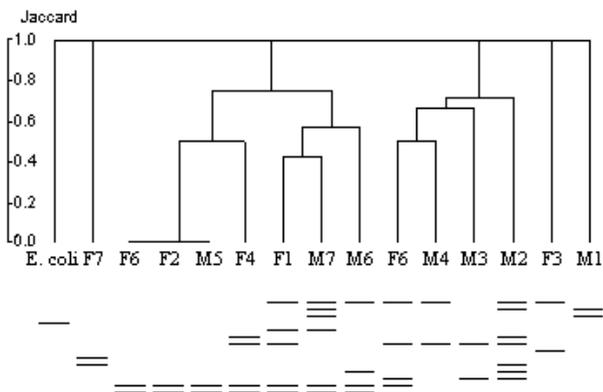


Figure Three. CLUSTER diagram of DGGE of 16S rRNA from isopod *Oniscus asellus* hepatopancreas samples. 7 female (F) and 7 male (M) isopod samples were amplified and run on 6% DGGE gels and analyzed using Gel2K and CLUSTER software. Individuals had an average of 3.29 ± 1.73 bands. No sex-specific grouping is seen in these samples. A common feature is the presence of two closely migrating bands in a majority of the samples. In some individuals, such as F7, these two bands are shifted, as compared to individuals such as F6, etc.

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Between Black and White: An Exploratory Investigation of Biracialism in the United States and South Africa



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Abstract

The United States and South Africa both endured periods of intense racism produced from rigid social hierarchies. While European populations controlled these institutions, black populations remained marginalized. Critical race theory proposes that race is socially constructed as opposed to inherently biological. Although social construction of the white and black ethnicities formed similarly, the development of the mixing of white and black into biracial peoples developed uniquely in each country. This study will apply concepts from critical race theory to analyze similarities and differences within the constructions, highlighting the elements of colonization, slavery, and de facto segregation and investigating the effects on the social identity.

Introduction

In recent years biracialism has received a significant increase in scholarly investigation. Mixed race people of black and white ancestry--people who constitute a biracial identity--currently account for 2.9% of the US population (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000) and 8.9% of the South African population (Statistics South Africa 1996). Experts predict that these numbers will continue to rise. Unfortunately, many researchers do not understand the scope and significance these mixed-parentage people have in our societies. This research focuses on the social constructions in the United States and South Africa that lead to the social identity of biracial people today. These two countries make for a significant comparative case study because of their similarities, and as noted by anthropologist Ruth Landes, "the fundamental feature of American race relationships... [is] matched only in South Africa" (1955:1261).

Previous research has been limited in a number of ways. Because of the historical and present-day similarities that these countries share, there have been many scholars who have conducted comparative analyses between the United States and South Africa (Ansell 2006; Marx 1999; Frederickson 1997), but only a minority have dedicated their research specifically to the social construction of biracial people (Makalani 2003; Beckles 1994; Landes 1955). Race-relations in these countries have followed strong experiences of white supremacy and black oppression, but the status of the mixed-raced people remains undefined. Another area in which research lacks is the emphasis on social identity. The scholars and researchers who have done work comparing the political dynamics of the United States and South Africa have left out much discussion on the social psychological aspects such as identity formation, societal pressures and stereotypes.

This present research adds to the understanding of the societal effects of

history on the social identities of biracial people. In-depth accounts of historical events, political environments, and laws that have shaped racial labels to this day will be analyzed to highlight the differences between the two countries. Additionally, this study will summarize the social identity of biracial people in the United States and “Coloureds,” the label of mixed-parentage people, in South Africa, from intimate interviews with subjects self-identified as being biracial. Similarly, this study will demonstrate the commonalities shared by American and South African societies as they pertain to race-relations and social identity.

The goal of the study is to broaden the research in the area on the construction of biracial people. The questions I intend to address begin with: What are the specific historical factors that influenced the social construction of race within the United States and South Africa? What are the explicit factors that influenced the unique construction of biracial people? Or more importantly, what impacted the dichotomous American racial system in comparison to the continuous South African system? And finally, what are the social identities of people categorized as biracial?

Social Construction of Race

In much of the literature (Newman 2007; Omi-Winant 1994; Rothenberg 2005), two main perspectives on identities emerge: essentialism and constructionism. An essentialist argues that identity is an inherent and universal fact, that the characteristics of a person are biologically determined at birth. An alternative theory to essentialism is constructionism, which argues that identity is the “product of a person’s context, place, cultural influences, and time period” (Newman 2007:36). When applied to race, essentialism views race as biological and/or cultural, while constructionism shares ideas with Critical Race Theory, proposing that race is a social construct (Newman 2007; Doane 2003; Haney-Lopez 1996). Race is a constructed category influenced and accepted by society. The social construction of race refers to the “sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed” (Omi-Winant

2004:55). This theory holds that race and identity are the product of the socialization process. It is during the socialization process where members of society look at a person’s physical attributes and “learn what attributes to value or to reject” (Rothenberg 2005:3). Ultimately, the constructionist view proposes that the meaning of one’s race is created and learned by its perspective society.

Not only are racial categories created but, as the biracial person exemplifies, a category can also be transformed: “Racial agreements of a society undergo a constant process and restructuring as a result of political and social change” (Doane 1994:9). Critical Race Theory, in general, is extremely applicable when investigating biracialism because it contradicts and rejects the essentialist approach that a person’s physical or biological characteristics determine their personal and social characteristics. The essentialist or biology approach leaves no room for ambiguity or areas in between because it generally looks for absolutes. Noel Ignatiev, editor of *Race Traitor*, proclaims that “biological race theories lead to absurdities... the well known (American) phenomenon of white women giving birth to black babies, but a black woman can never give birth to a white baby” (1995:1). With the creation of “new races,” new social meanings formulated to attach to the race labels. Different societies have invented different labels and meanings for the biracial people, further evidencing how race is constructed by social context.

Racial Categories

The socialization process which all humans have all undergone to understand race is dependent upon racial categories. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) was a prominent German anatomist and early anthropologist who studied the science behind racial prejudice. Blumenbach is widely known for his study on the classifications of human races. Even to this day the Webster dictionary gives reference to the Blumenbach Study on race (Haney-Lopez 1996:6). The model divides the human race into five groups: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. Grouping the entire human race into five

categories shows how limiting racial categorization is—not only are ethnicities grouped together to an absurd degree, there are many population groups that are left out.

Until recent years, the United States government had based its race categories off of this model, varying subgroups to fit the time period. Specific racial categories have changed with such frequency in the United States that it is nearly impossible to enumerate exact classification schemes. Looking at the categories in South Africa we are able to see how this model was adapted and evolved to fit their society. Reviewing race categories of South Africa thus suggests how race can be socially constructed, because South Africans created their own categories to fit their unique structure, with the official inclusion of mixed-raced people. These racial categories of South Africa have been well established and steady over the years than the United States. The categories in South Africa are White, Black/African, Coloured and Indian.

Social Identity

Identities are the definitional categories given by society to specify who we are. A person’s social identity is determined by a variety of factors and they serve as the social location for a person’s position in the world (Newman 1996:33). Social Identity Theory (Kaufman 2003; Erasmus 2002; Tajfel 1982) examines the effects of society on individual identity. The theory suggests that personal identity is largely based on membership in social categories. These categories express characteristics associated with the identity, define appropriate behavior, and access the social worth of that identity. Individuals have multiple social identities dependent on religious or sexual choices, physical appearance, nationalities, sex, etc. Identities are both subjective and objective categories that are formed during the socialization process.

Prominent scholar of social identities David Newman proposes that the formation of a person’s “social racial identity is constructed through human identifiers” (1996:37). The identifiers are dependent on context, often think in terms of opposites, reflect social rankings and power relations, and have psychological and

structural meanings (p. 38). Although this formula seems basic, the formation of biracial people is complicated. The identity of a biracial person is not standard throughout varying contexts, and therefore social rankings and structural meanings also fluctuate significantly. Because being biracial means falling somewhere in between the established categories, it has no opposite to draw definite comparisons to. Identities are definitional categories, yet there is not a definite identity of mixed-race people, sustaining the lack of definite category for biracial people.

Identity evaluation is important because it shows the role of an individual or group within society. The lack of social recognition that biracial people face can lead to lack of a strong self and social identity and can result in social exclusion, confusion, and personal insecurities. Sociologist Mary Waters testified before Congress during the 2000 census trials regarding social identity and its meaning for biracial people. She highlighted the positive changes that could occur with the recognition of the biracial people in the U.S., stating “the fact that the group does not exist now does not mean the group cannot come into existence and begin to have social meaning for people” (as cited in Makalani 2003:90).

Historical Comparison

Forming a Nation: The United States of America

When the first slaves came to North America in 1619 they were traded by merchants of the Dutch West Indian Company for food. These slaves were initially considered indentured servants. The black slaves were considered strong workers but had come from dissimilar cultures that the whites dismissed as being ignorant and uncivilized. So, although the black servants were not initially labeled as slaves, the inhumane treatment they received and the fact that they had no control over their own lives led to the belief that they were slaves. Unlike their white indentured servant counterparts, no ethical contract was ever signed between the parties. Subsequently, though slaves did not blatantly consoli-

date ethnic identifications on the basis of color, it was widely understood that most blacks were slaves, and no slaves were white (Beckles 1994:37).

White slave masters used the scheme that black skin color equates slave status to their advantage, and often engaged in forced sex with their female slaves because “rape of a slave was not a crime” (Marx 1998:58). Soon laws were created to address these interracial sexual activities. The 1662 Nativity Conditions stated that in situations where there were doubts about the race of a slave child, they would be determined a slave or free according to the condition of their mother. Laws stating that the child’s racial identification is dependent on the mothers’ status therefore meant the illegitimate child of a white male and black female would be a slave, because interracial relations rarely occurred in other combination.

One-Drop Rule

Contradictory to the opinion of white slave owners, other white citizens did not like the thought of white impurity and laws soon appeared to prohibit interracial marriage, though the act of sex between different races was never banned. Soon, the multitude of biracial generations caused hysteria because it defied the need for clearly defined racial boundaries. Some biracial people with light enough skin tones began to pass for white, threatening to disrupt the white race’s purity. The One-Drop Rule was constructed to fix to the biracial problem. By the mid-nineteenth century “the offspring of interracial unions were generally categorized as blacks even if they only had one drop of African blood” (Marx 1998:69).

The One-Drop Rule is one of the most prominent ideologies that affects the state of biracial people to this day. Haney-Lewis describes the rule as a basic metaphor of purity and contamination: “White is unblemished and pure, so one drop of ancestral Black blood renders one Black” (1996:27) and therefore impure. An impure person could not be white. Therefore biracial people were legally identified as black, and the explicit poles of white/good/superior and black/evil/subservient were once again defined. The One-Drop rule has been transferred from generation to generation, and

although the rule is no longer in effect through law, the idea lives on to this day. As a social response to the strictness of the rule, many biracial people tried to gain solidarity through their ties of blackness and soon began to accept and internalize their black identity.

Fall of Slavery

When the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, the words “all men are created equal” echoing throughout all Americans, many blacks felt emancipation would shortly occur. But less than twenty years later the line “Any alien, being a free white person, may be admitted to become a citizen of the United States” was written in the Naturalization Act of 1795 (Congress Naturalization Act). The Act states that only whites qualified as citizens of the U.S. and had a tremendous impact of the status of blacks.

Eventually by 1830, black freedom fighters and abolitionists really began to make waves toward better treatment of blacks. Throughout, however, interracial relations had still persisted and biracial children remained bound to the black slave status. Because of the large numbers of biracial children and their offspring, the 1850 Census finally divided the nonwhite population into black and mulatto. Mulatto was the first governmental term used to identify a biracial person. It derives from the Spanish and Portuguese word for “small mule.” Mulatto was used inconsistently in the Census until 1930, but is generally considered offensive because it was once a generic designation term used for all hybrids. The enumerators declared one’s racial category according to the person’s physical appearance. Therefore, a person could be black in one census and mulatto in another. Overall, in 1850 the census recorded 11.2% of the black population as mulatto (Painter 2006:59). This figure is likely to be extremely low because many people at the time refused to acknowledge racial mixing.

Finally in 1865 with the passing of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, blacks were granted citizenship and guaranteed equal rights with whites, and the Fifteenth Amendment gave suffrage to all men no matter what skin color.

Although it seemed like the end of racial domination and oppression of blacks, soon a new president came into office and progress soon regressed, as ingrained racial attitudes continued to permeate. In 1883 the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which declared equal treatment of everyone in public accommodations, was ruled unconstitutional. The Supreme Court declared that the Fourteenth Amendment forbids states, but not citizens, from discriminating. (Painter 2006:141).

Jim Crow Era

"One of the biggest fears in society was the mixing of the races; this was something the white people vowed to stop. The government succeeded by using the segregation laws" (Wagman 1993:197). In 1896 in the monumental Supreme Court case of *Plessy V. Ferguson*, the courts ruled for "separate but equal." The ruling was of monumental significance because it was stating that the government backed racial prejudice by ruling legal separation of the races. This is equally important to the history of biracial people because interracial communication was extremely difficult. The ruling is commonly noted as the start of what we now call the Jim Crow era, "a legal expression of racial domination" (Marx 1998:140).

Jim Crow laws ruled the South and spread into some areas of the North as well. Jim Crow was known first as a "stage Negro" and the name soon became known as a collective racial epithet. The popularity of the shows that portrayed blacks as coons spread Jim Crow as a racial slur. Jim Crow soon began to signify black disenfranchisement and brutal segregation, but by 1900 Jim Crow meant a system of laws to segregate all aspects of life and deemed blacks as inferior to whites (Davis n.d.). Miscegenation laws that criminalized marriage between whites and people of other races increased in degree and frequency during the early twentieth century, and American "mulattos" were treated the same as "negros." This strict segregation meant that the whites did not, by law or by choice, interact much with blacks or biracial people. All mixed-race people in this time who could not pass for white were stripped of a separate racial iden-

tity, label or culture, and lumped into one all-encompassing category.

The United States strived to define distinct races throughout the twentieth century, but, for the most part, a person was either white and received societal and legal privileges, or non-white and treated as inferior. Some tried to define their race through legal means in order to gain such rights and privileges. There are 52 documented cases that were brought before the courts to decide if a person was white or not (Haney-Lopez 1996:4). None of them had to do with a black American of mixed race wanting to be considered legally white because, although frequent, this claim would be ruled out immediately because of the underlying racial prejudice. The majority of the cases included people from Asia or the Middle East. Each case varied in certain ways, with the determining factors often being skin color or other subjective categories. This was controversial because the Supreme Court sometimes had to reject the same scientific explanations of race that were used to degrade blacks in favor of common knowledge beliefs, when the science failed to reinforce popular beliefs about race. For instance the court ruled that "skin color cannot serve as racial lines we are familiar with" (Haney-Lopez 1996:59) and went on to say a person's physical attributes had little to do with their racial identity.

Civil Rights and the Biracial Movement

Tired of being oppressed, many black Americans used their strengthening education and voice to stir up a significant civil rights movement. When the white primary was banned in 1944 blacks slowly regained the right to vote and power in the United States. During this period of the mid 1900s solidarity was key, and many black Americans unified, with the help and support of some whites. Day-to-day victories by individuals were backed by collective measures, like proactive equality groups such as the National Urban League and the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was very influential, along with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, in ending the disenfranchisement of blacks. The Civil Rights

Act of 1964 overall helped the social and economic status of blacks because it desegregated all public places, and increased job and educational positions.

Since the civil rights era, programs, marches, persuasive speeches, etc. have tried to improve the situation of black Americans, and thus biracial Americans too. Even with the continuing fight for greater acceptance of racial groups, it was not until the 1990s when acceptance and use of the term biracial gained popularity, and it is still on the rise. The U.S. Census 2000 was the first census in which respondents were allowed to indicate a multiracial identity, and can be viewed as "another step in racial formation" (Schaefer 2000:16). Some lobbied for listing the term "multiracial" on the census but a compromise on allowance of checking multiple identities was reached.

There are many new organizations, publications, and Web sites (see appendix) that provide valuable information and support for biracial people today in the United States. The significance of these programs and support groups are tremendous. Biracial people are now hearing their voice in U.S. society and have been able to encounter more personal positive gains. The creation of these programs and groups show the evolution of new racial categories, and how changing history creates new stories in these people's lives. Research supports that the biracial label will continue to transform from the "socially unstable" identity (Makalani 1994:91) to an accepted racial distinctiveness. It also shows that this newly accepted American racial category is a social construction, and not a biological distinction.

Forming a Nation: Republic of South Africa

About 30 years after the Dutch landed in the Americas they reached yet another "new world." In 1652 Dutch navigators in the Dutch East Indian Company landed on the western cape of what is now South Africa. From 1652 until the 1870s this land and its indigenous population would become familiar with encounters with white colonial settlers from Western Europe. The Dutch (initially referred to as Boers) planned to use the area as a

reenergizing stop for its vessels on the way to India. They appeared to keep to themselves and didn't expand their land holdings until about five years later when they began to view their coincidental landing at the southernmost tip of Africa as more than a pit stop to India. The Dutch began expropriating land and importing black slaves from the same northern areas where people were being captured and shipped to the Americas (Hopkinson 1964).

The black inhabitants did not understand nor welcome the Boers and many small wars occurred during this time. Although tension was high, the Africans were not unfamiliar with war and did not think of the white invaders as much of a threat. The two groups often seemed to be interdependent for shared lifestyles and mutual convenience (Chazan et al. 1999). The technology of the Boers gave them an unequal advantage when they did engage in battle with other natives, and upon winning they began to take the conquered Africans as slaves for themselves. Colonization was in full effect during the late fifteenth century and soon the British set their eyes on the beauties and resources of southern Africa. Through an agreement made with the Dutch, the British claimed rights to most of the lands surrounding the southern cape of Africa.

For the next century a plethora of wars, battles, and squabbles were fought between the Boers and the Africans, the British and the Boers, the Africans and the British, and among African tribes. They fought to determine who owned what land and who created the laws of those lands. By the 1800s, the dominating British had a strong hold over laws and land in the region and their liberal ideology set the foundation for anti-slavery laws passed in the 1830s (Lewis 1987). The capturing of Africans for slaves and the egalitarian views of the British began the first generations of people from both European and southern African ancestry.

Most historians believe that by 1838 the population of the Cape colony was made up of white colonists, Khoi-San (African ethnic titles) and a group of heterogeneous people of mixed parentage. At this time, many of the mixed

heritage groups did not have a respected label, but rather they were known more by what they were not: neither white nor indigenous Africans (Martin 2002). For some time, Malay people (typically from Malaysia or Indonesia) were also lumped into this category. All of these people eventually became known as "people of colour," a term that evolved over time by social and lingual adaptation to "Coloured" people. The very creation and existence of the Coloured identity significantly distinguishes the historical contexts of the United States and South Africa. The mixed-race people in South Africa are given a social and political identity before, as opposed to after, major racial oppression and discrimination was written into their legal codes. Their accepted racial label allowed the Coloured people to create a meaning, although subjective and ambiguous, which gave them a group say in the history of South Africa.

Overall during the seventeenth century, life in most of South Africa was reasonably calm, although small territorial battles were being fought in the coastal areas. Governmental institutions were based on supposed nonracial franchising open to land-owning males, and the formation of representative government began in 1853 (Lewis 1987). The equipoise of people was disrupted when diamonds were found in 1867 and gold in 1886 by the eastern coast lines. This lure of instant wealth amplified the populations of Europeans in South Africa to 200,000 in 1865 and over one million by 1905 (Chazan et al. 1999). The mining industries soon completely transformed the country and its future. The demand for mineral wealth intensified altercations between all population groups. From 1899 to 1902 over 500,000 British troops were sent to squash African empires, such as the Zulu, and to suppress Boer power (Chazan et al. 1999). The dominating figure before the rush for precious material was the poor rural farmer, indifferent to color or race; after, it was the whites equipped with funding from their overseas ties that prospered from the booming economy.

Pre-Apartheid

With growing wealth and capital, class stratification became more and more prevalent. Some scholars (Chazan 1999; Marx 1998; Frederickson 1997) argue that studies about racial stratification are directly correlated to studies of power and struggles for material resources. With the discovery of diamonds and gold, race and class stratification soon became a permanent fixture of South African society. Whites rose steadily to the wealthy class as the non-whites scrambled for a place on the spectrum. Although blacks did hold some positions in the mines or as servants, the overwhelming majority of white South Africans still viewed them as a backward race. The black Africans, stemming from a legacy of oppression, remained uneducated and lived in destitution. Some chose to hold onto traditional values and lifestyles while they remained at the poor farming or subsistence level. The Coloured people once again fell in between the two poles.

Social identity was as unclear as the definition for the Coloured people. Both in 1937 and 1976 when the South African government tried to define the racial label no consensus could be reached (Lewis 1987). Racially mixed citizens were, at this time, simply the descendants of white and black ancestry and viewed by whites as an acceptable working class, if they remained at a distance. It was thought at this time that Coloured people were above the status of the black Africans, giving the Coloureds some political voice. Racial divisions continued to increase and although the principle of non-white franchise remained intact until 1910, when the Union of South Africa was established, voting qualifications seemed to rise whenever non-whites were close to meeting the standards (Lewis 1987). The South African Act of 1909 removed the right for Coloureds to stand and serve as elected or nominated representatives in the houses of Parliament. An even greater blow came with an all-white franchise (including women) with the Franchise Laws Amendment Act of 1931 (La Guma n.d.). This meant the numbers of the white population who were able to vote increased, decreasing

the power of Coloureds.

As an attempt to create a stronger voice for the non-whites, the African Political Organization (APO) became the first national political organization for Coloured people in 1902. Although this organization's membership was entirely Coloured, the consensus agreed upon early on was to have greater allegiances with other African-based organizations (La Guma n.d.). Even with said allegiance to blacks, the APO distinguished themselves specifically as Coloured. The APO's goal was to increase power of the non-white population. In the decades that followed the APO's creation, racial tension increased and whites gained more political power. Soon, a new generation of Coloured radicals formed and rejected the passive cooperation of the APO and formed the National Liberation League of South Africa in 1935.

Apartheid

Even with the Coloured and African political and social organizations, the National Party came to power in 1948. In this same year the National Party introduced the system of apartheid. Apartheid derives from the Dutch language and refers to "apart or separate." It was a political extension of the Dutch policy of *baasskap*, translated into "bosshood," meaning complete white domination of society (Hopkinson 1964). Apartheid left black Africans legally and economically powerless, and gave very few opportunities to the Coloureds and Asian populations. For instance the Electoral Law Amendment Act, which passed shortly after, gave Coloureds the opportunity to vote only in the presence of a white electoral officer. In effect the Coloured vote, and overall power, had little significance because of their low numbers.

New laws continued to emerge under the Apartheid system to decrease interracial mixing in both public and private sectors. The Mixed Marriage Act was passed in 1949 to "check blood mixture and promote racial purity" (Hopkinson 1964:90). This notion was further emphasized a year later with the passing of the Immorality Act that imposed severe penalties for sexual relations between whites and non-whites. In 1950 the Population Registration Act No. 30 sepa-

rated the entire South African population into distinct racial groups. All of these legal regulations are important to note because they effect social interaction by limiting it to one's specific race. These racial groups were estranged to an extreme when the Group Areas Act of 1950 was implemented. The act became the heart of the apartheid system designed to geographically separate the racial groups. Population control was a central theme used by the Apartheid government for a successful platform during the election, urging the white South Africans to increase their power within the country by increasing group separation. Once in power, they implemented segregation and legally enforced Apartheid, "as race became the factor in the distribution rights" (McEachern 2002:219). District Six, a well-populated heterogeneous area transformed into an all-white area in weeks after the Group Areas Act was passed, is one of the most prominent examples of the effects of the Population Act. Every other race group was displaced and thousands became homeless overnight. Peaceful neighborhood ties were broken, and from this point on, housing arrangements were based solely on skin color, and the whites were always assigned to the well-maintained and environmentally sound areas.

One of the main goals of the apartheid regime was to place every person living in South Africa into a distinct racial category; however, defining the Coloured race proved to be difficult. An example is the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, which defined a Coloured person as a person who "is not a white person nor native" (Erasmus 2002:18). The Population Registration Act's main goal was to codify racial purity. By this time, the Coloured race was distinct, by definition that they were neither black nor white. New generations of racial mixing were prohibited by this time because "racial mixing was an evil thing, bringing biological, moral, and social pollution" (Posel 2001:100).

Throughout the Apartheid era, Coloureds were forced to consolidate a definite group but the exact definition of their identity was unclear. Marike de Klerk, wife of the last state president during the apartheid era was quoted for

calling Coloured as leftovers or "people that were left after the nations were sorted out" (Erasmus 2002:18). The Coloured label was so indefinite that in some documents "coloured" would be written or typed in undercase lettering, whereas the other racial labels all began with uppercase (Reddy 2002). During this time, the South African government went through a wide variety of illogical tests and categorization rules to determine race. For instance, when determining whether a person was Coloured or native (African), they would ask which sport they played. If they answered rugby they were Coloured, but if they answered soccer they were native (Posel 2001).

Similar to the cases in the United States, there were many cases in South Africa to determine one's race. Racial identity cases were heard by the Race Classification Appeal Board, and 17 made it to the South African Supreme Court. Physical anthropologists and geneticists were often called to stand as expert witnesses. By 1964, 3,940 appeals had been made; one-third of the appeals were by Coloureds who wanted to be considered white, and the rest from natives who wanted to claim the Coloured label (Posel 2001). These cases were actually insignificant in number or effect when compared to the numbers of millions of absurd categories given, and also because rulings of the cases differed and outcomes were often viewed as luck of the draw.

Post-Apartheid

Blurred and misguided views by the outside world made many other countries believe that Apartheid was a good system for South Africa. Between 1948 and 1970 South Africa was the second-fastest growing economy in the world (Chazan et al. 1999). The economic boom in some aspects backfired on the whites in power because it forced them to loosen some of the restraints set on the Africans to fulfill the greater need for manpower. Internally, most non-whites were tired of the harsh constraints of Apartheid, and with the slight decrease of rigidity, black and Coloured leaders arose. The Soweto School Uprising in 1976 resulted in hundreds of blacks killed or imprisoned and became a call to action. Sit-ins,

speeches, and rallies ignited across the nation, very similar to the Civil Rights movement in the U.S. Media coverage of the injustices of South Africa increased, and the protests also increased in power and effect, soon leading to the death of the Apartheid regimen (Chazan 1999).

Finally in 1983, Coloured people regained their ability to be represented in parliament. However they were secluded to separate exclusive chambers. The United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched in 1983 and membership soon expanded to about three million members. Anti-Apartheid organizations, international resource sanitations, and boycotts against parliament were frequent (Chazan 1999). Internal battles between citizen armies and police brigades in townships, and external financial pressures headed by human rights activists, finally led to the end of Apartheid. To head off a even more gruesome uprising, the Apartheid government eventually released the ban on the African National Congress, a strong black powered political party, and also released the national peace icon, Nelson Mandela. All of these events finally led to the one person-one vote election in 1994 where Mandela became the first truly democratic president.

The New South Africa

Even with the repeal of the Population Registration Act, the racial categories still remain in South Africa. They can be heard in casual conversation, can be seen in the work place, in housing or education applications, and are still used by the government. For example, the Employment Equity Act in 1998 reproduces the racial categories, but attempts to make amends to the Population Registration Act by opening more job opportunities to Coloureds, Indians and Blacks. The powerful legacy of Apartheid left the new South Africa with some hefty problems to work out. The structures that were built to support the institutionalized racism are still undergoing a revamping process, and racist attitudes are still deeply entrenched. One of the biggest contemporary issues is how to address the social equation: Coloured identity equating to the problem identity (Reddy 2002). Even so, Coloureds are engaging in steps similar to those of biracial

people in the United States.

When one considers the question of a 'coloured identity' in today's South Africa, what emerges is a situation full of ambiguities and contradictions: people who were formerly oppressed to the very idea of a 'coloured culture' and are now rediscovering it and presenting it as a contribution to South African culture. (Martin 2002:222)

Coloureds are continuing efforts to embrace their identity and celebrate it.

The new collective and social identities of the Coloureds were made public during testimonies throughout the trials of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, a place where witnesses and offenders were subpoenaed to recollect the events during apartheid and to possibly gain amnesty. The transformation of the social identity of the Coloureds can be seen through Zahrah Narkadien's testimony as reported by Grunebaum and Robbins: "We had a history that was forced on us by the South African government" (2002:160). She told the committee about the stereotypes of Coloureds being violent citizens and the subsequent unfair treatment. Telling the story of one situation, she was thrown into solitary confinement for seven months after a fight broke out and she heard the warden say, "Let's blame it on the Coloured!" She continued, "So I suffered just for being a Coloured woman. I thought I was just an African woman... because my parents had always taught me that my ancestors were African. But I despised it at first." She thought being either African or a white Afrikaan would be better, until she gained her freedom from jail and then her freedom to embrace and enjoy her Coloured identity (Grunebaum and Robbins 2002: 160). Zahrah's journey to reach a positive biracial identity can be applied to the majority of mixed-raced people not only in South Africa, but also in the United States.

The Biracial Social Identity Methodology

A study that attempted to understand racial awareness among college students

suggested that "race relations on campus is a particularly powerful part of the societal and university context in which racial identity is played out" (Chesler, Peet, and Sevig 2003:215). Because college life allows identity formations to take place, I chose to conduct interviews with college students in the United States and South Africa to better understand the current biracial state. The two universities I focused on were Grand Valley State University and the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Grand Valley State University (GVSU) is a medium-sized liberal arts college, located on the west side of Michigan, a midwestern state in the U.S. Racial tension appears to run high in Michigan, which ranks second for race-related hate crimes in the 50 states (Federal Bureau of Investigation 2004), and GVSU has also encountered hate crimes targeting minority students. Grand Valley is showing efforts to make a tolerable environment for its students through student groups and diversity promotions by administration. GVSU has a total population of 22,000 students, with a high percentage of whites. However, with increasing overall enrollment, the proportion of minority students has risen.

The University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) is located in the coastal city, Durban, in the largely populated province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Formally called Province of Natal during the apartheid era, the name change embraced the large black-Zulu culture of the area. Under the new government the school merged the once predominantly white University of Natal with highly Indian populated University of Durban-Westville to make UKZN in 2004. The enrollment is now quite high compared to other public schools, as it ranks 38,532 students. Since the merge, racial barriers have diminished at a welcoming rate; however, though achieving a multiracial enrollment status, racial groups are still solidified around the campus.

For the purpose of this study, subjects who had only black and white ancestry were chosen. Although including students who identify as white or black or other multiracial identities would likely provide further insight to the racial construction in these countries, for this

initial study I focused on the specific “in-betweeness” of the two: white and black. Selection for participants began with contact of people who have publicly made aware their identity. At GVSU initial contact was made with self-proclaimed bi- or multiracial participants of a preestablished group, the Multiracial Student Association. In South Africa, initial contacts with students came about in classroom dialogue, in which their identity was publicly announced within the discussions. I then used snowball sampling, asking them to nominate two to three other persons who are self-proclaimed biracial or considered by peers that could potentially respond to the survey, until I reached my targeted sample size of 11 subjects in each country.

The subjects received a survey questionnaire (see appendix) soliciting demographic information, while a tape recorder was used to capture open-ended dialogue about identity. The survey requested information on family life, school settings, preference in dating, choices in selective race labels, and intimate inquiries about their identity and shifts throughout their life. Due to the hesitancy of some people to talk about race, respondents were prompted to make sure all areas were fully addressed. The interviews were administered in empty classrooms in the universities in the company of the researcher only.

For the most part, participants were receptive and willing to share their biracial stories, perhaps because past opportunities to discuss their identity and related aspects have not been offered often, if at all. The only difficulties encountered with participants centered around time constraints. Prompting did occur, but for the most part the open-ended questions were in conversational form and participants had control of the direction of the conversation. In addition, this study was completely voluntary and all participants were free to end the discussion or leave the study at any time. No participants left prior to the completion of the study.

Findings/Results

The data were analyzed descriptively to establish trends. Although the sample size was small it allowed for full at-

tention of the subjects, and the data do reflect revealing patterns. An almost equal number of males and females were represented and a variety of age, educational levels, and majors were represented in the sample. The sample is a good representation of the total population of university students who are biracial, and data conclusions were generalized for fascinating conclusions.

In the United States more than half of the participants were raised by single white mothers. Thirty-six percent of participants grew up in black neighborhoods and 54% spent the majority of their childhood in a diverse environment. Although only one participant grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood, almost 50% attended a predominately white school system. When asked if they could choose a particular racial group to surround themselves, 27% said they would choose a predominantly black area where the rest choose a diverse multiracial area. About 73% of participants said that race was slightly important when choosing a significant other while one participant said they would never date a white person. When asked to choose the race label they would most identify with out of given choices, 100% of the subjects chose black over white, 90% chose mixed over white or black, and when given the choice of multiracial, again 90% chose that self-identifying label.

In South Africa 73% of participants were raised by two-parent households in which most of their parents were also identified as multiracial. Twenty-seven percent were raised in Coloured communities, another 27% were raised in predominantly white areas, and the remaining 46% reported being raised in diverse areas. Thirty-six percent went to schools that catered to the Coloured communities, 18% were enrolled in a diverse school system, and a little less than half attended predominantly white schools. Twenty-seven percent of the participants said that race was very important when choosing a significant other, another 27% said it was completely unimportant, and the remaining group felt it had some relevance. Twenty-seven percent said they would not date a black person and 9% would not date a white person. When asked to choose the race label they

would most identify with out of given choices, all but one subject chose black over white. One hundred percent chose Coloured, but it dropped to 63% when the label multiracial was available.

Qualitative Analysis **Racial Identification:**

One girl asked me, if I was mixed why wasn't I gray or half or my body black and half white.

A strong similarity between the two nations was seen right away. In reference to a question focused on the socialization process used to recognize and learn race categories, 81% of both American and South African subjects mentioned schools as the institution responsible for this learning process. Newman (2007:132) claims that one of the most powerful institutional agents of socialization is the educational system for children because they “subtly teach them who they are and what they can expect from themselves in the future.” Almost all of the participants, indifferent of country, recalled their memories with feelings of confusion and frustration or with humorous retrospect of ignorant comments. Participants recounted stories when their peers or teachers labeled them in a racial category they did not consider themselves belonging to. One American who attended a primarily white school recounted:

I was on the bus and the kids were saying that I was Mexican. And I didn't know better so I thought I was Mexican so I went home and I told my mom I was Mexican. And she laughed and was like “no no,” so she got out a globe and showed me Mexico, and then Germany and she said that's where she was from, and then Africa and she said that's where my dad was from. Then she showed me the U.S. and said people came from all over. And I'm a mixture... I think this all went over my head at this time. And I still thought I was Mexican.

Other subjects both in the U.S. and S.A. mentioned standardized tests, adminis-

tered through the educational system. Filling out the questionnaire of government-issued tests that do not acknowledge mixed-race people can deny one's racial identity and force biracial people to choose a race that is not their own. In this way, schools play a role in the production of race as a social category both "through implicit and explicit lessons in the schools practice" (Lewis 2004:188). One South African participant recounted a survey she was asked to fill out and said "it was only white or black. I felt like I had no say. They didn't recognize us. I left it blank because I didn't want to choose."

All of these recollections show the confusion created through arbitrary race labels that are produced in society and reproduced through everyday language. At young ages when children are trying to figure out their own identities and place in the world, being multiracial can add to the confusion and prolong the identity shaping process. According to Lewis, the schools that most of the participants attended chose to reproduce (probably subconsciously) "rather than challenge the contemporary racial formations of society" (2004:190).

In-betweenness:

I'm not quite over there and then they're like you can't come over here.

The second question of the open-ended section of the survey, which asked whether the subject's race ever made him/her feel ostracized, illustrated more similarities between the countries. The same number (90%) of participants said that their biracial status has indeed made them feel ostracized at some point in their lives. Differences did surface when analyzed further; the majority of American students recounted more stories of being in the out-group from the black American standpoint, whereas the South African participants told of harsh stereotypes they battle primarily from whites.

When asked if they ever felt forced to "choose a side" by downplaying either their "whiteness" or "blackness," American subjects said they often felt the pressure to "be more black." This is

best summarized through one respondent's recount: "Yeah. All the time. I feel like I had to choose. In high school I felt like I had to act more black to be accepted. I always knew I was both but it was just easier that way." The majority of the same American subjects also felt as though their skin tone automatically made them an outcast amongst their white peers, perhaps resulting from the legacy of the One-Drop Rule, causing the internalized belief that their brown skin color means they are not white. In attempting to find a social group to belong to, they often had to try to adopt black cultural values and reject white ones. This is highlighted in a subject's comments: "I don't even like rap but I made myself listen to it so I could fit in with the hip black crowd."

American subjects also encountered racial slurs such as "house nigga," "whitewashed" or "oreo" by some members of the black community. They noted that, because of the way they dressed, spoke, or even the neighborhood they lived in, they could never be fully accepted by blacks because they were not "fully black." Subjects also recounted stories of where they felt alone or confused within social or racial groups and how they tried to transform themselves to fit into the certain group by listening to certain music or only attending certain functions. Almost all of these stories were relayed in past tense and subjects felt that with personal growth, race seems to matter less to their personal esteem.

The stereotypes Coloureds encountered seemed to be embedded in the historical racism of South African culture and institutional structures. Deemed by many white South Africans as "leftovers" and "trash," many subjects said they feel ostracized because of the harsh stereotypes they battle on a daily basis that are attached to everyone in their racial group. Sixty-three percent mentioned stereotypes in answering the question about their race making them feel ostracized, and gave examples, such as, "We [are] viewed as the violent, drug-abusing, alcoholic, take-no-shit kind of people." Subjects recounted stories of times where whites ran away from them if they were in large groups, or how in discussions in

classes or around campus students would remark about their small representation in the school.

The apparent difference in these stereotypes is that American subjects encounter them primarily when trying to gain acceptance into a preestablished racial group, whereas the stereotypes of the South Africans subjects are applied independent of context and to their own preestablished racial group. In effect, South African participants have a greater social support network when facing feeling of alienation, because they do have their Coloured group identity and an existing network to turn to. On the other hand, many American subjects encountered stereotypic issues when trying to gain acceptance and comfort of group solidarity and, therefore, had difficulties in finding social support due to hostility, rejection, or barriers of distinct white or black identity.

Adaptability:

'Cause when you're in Rome do as the Romans does [sic].

Another prevailing difference between the groups arose from the question about having to be or feeling forced to choose between black and white racial groups. One of the strongest and persistent themes appeared in the analysis of this question, that of adaptability. Coloureds took this opportunity to say that they are proud of their Coloured heritage and they would not want to be anything but what they are. For instance, participants proudly proclaimed, "No, I like being coloured. I don't want to be anything else....The best of both worlds," and, "No, I don't choose. Like I can change who I might be in different situations."

One hundred percent of the American subjects responded that they are forced by societal pressures to choose a distinct race of either black or white, and 72% of subjects said that at one point in their life, they did wish to solely constitute either the white or black racial group. Even so, the theme of adaptability reoccurred at the same time. This means that subjects felt that they were able to easily adapt to different social and racial settings. Through personal growth many

concluded that the “forcing to fit” into different race groups positively affected their ability to adapt to the groups when needed: “I wanted to at least be accepted by people who looked like me and when they didn’t it was like, ‘what do I gotta do,’ ya know? But now I’m cool with it, like I said; I’m in the middle, I can move around!” In total 77.2% of all of the participants mentioned the word “adapt” and many said it multiple times throughout the conversation.

Participants said they used their ability to adapt, a positive and unique characteristic that other racial groups are robbed of. According to most subjects, distinct race groups do not have the same ability or opportunity to adapt; for instance, as this South African student proclaimed, “I have had the ability to be, well, experience, things that others can’t.” When encountering situations where they could be in a minority position, many subjects felt as though their mixed race allowed them to accept the racial or cultural differences, and adapt to them. Although they admit that it can be a difficult balancing act, “Being coloured it’s ... it’s like walking the fence. Bordering two worlds and hard to balance. Hard to stay on top but we don’t want to fall.” Falling off of the fence that borders the two races means the biracial people could not enjoy the “the best of both worlds,” the clichéd but real phrase that the overwhelming majority of participants mentioned.

American subjects shared very similar feelings. As mentioned, they appeared to undergo a more intense identity process but concluded with a contented outlook. One participant said with a smile, “I realized I do have the ability to adapt.” Many subjects found that this ability was a great use in combating feelings where they felt they had to conform or transform to fit in. Peter Kaufman profoundly states, “to create new identity one must not only change roles but also must transform the subjective reality in which he or she exists” (2003:484). With maturity it seemed they used their adaptability in place of the failed complete transformation process. In general, adaptation seemed to be a great source of personal and group pride. I am left with the profound words that, “I can adapt. I am both equally. I get the best of both worlds.”

Conclusion

Despite the limitations (time constraints of the research and the somewhat narrow sample size for the subject interview), the information gathered through investigation of the historical environments and the significance of the surfacing themes produced in the surveys can not be downplayed. Through literary and subject-interview analysis, evidence supports that history, in both the United States and South Africa, does have a strong effect on one's personal identity.

As noted through the historical background, these two countries, located in completely opposite hemispheres, underwent notably similar patterns throughout their nation formation. Black populations remained marginalized through colonization, slavery, and segregation to varying degrees in both countries. Prevailing through racial prejudice, discrimination and separation, miscegenation was frequent, resulting in generations of people with racially mixed parentage, biracial people.

Although the United States and South Africa shared similarities of foundational structures, the social construction of the biracial people differed. South Africa accepted the mixed-race label of Coloured during its formation process, allowing the South African biracial people to constitute their own unique racial group. Contrary to the more continuous racial categories of South Africa, the dichotomist nature of the United States forced racial polarization. The separate and distinct race groups were validated by the One-Drop Rule, which deprived the American biracial people of much of their own history and social identity. This resulted in greater feelings of group exclusion of the biracial people in the United States, in contrast to the group identity of the Coloureds.

However, it is vital to note that although Coloureds have had, for some time, their own racial group, they still encounter feelings of ambiguity. This further suggests that black and white mixed-raced people, independent to particular social contexts, do encounter similar cognitive processes. Most importantly biracial people in South Africa and the United States have the ability to adapt

because of their mixed ancestry from the two most prevalent and opposing distinct race groups of white and black. Their unique in-between role gives them the opportunity to socially adapt to other race groups, and to experience the best of both worlds.

As research and literature in the United States on multiracial identities continue to grow into the academic sphere, it will be important to reference the gains of the Coloureds in South Africa and continue cross-country and cross-cultural analysis. Historical analysis and contemporary research on trends in identity and race will expand our understanding of biracial identity and the social need for group identity. Further research can enrich some preliminary assumptions this research produces. For instance, why were the mothers of the majority of American subjects white, and how does this contribute to their child's multiracial awareness and social identity? As this work suggests, if we are able to explore history we may be better able to critique the construction of these people to enhance a great social cohesiveness and positive social meaning for all people. ■

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Appendix: A

A Place For Us National, The Amegroid Society of America, Association of Multi-Ethnic Americans (AMEA), Center for the Study of Biracial Children, Happa Issues Forum, My Shoes, and Project RACE. All found on the multiracial.com Web site.

Religion in the Trenches: Liberation Theology and Evangelical Protestantism as Tools of Social Control in the Guatemalan Civil War (1960-1996)



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Abstract

During the early years of Guatemala's civil war (1960-1996), which pitted the right-wing military regime against leftist revolutionaries, liberation theology became popular among some in the Latin American clergy. Fearing that this new ideology would inspire indigenous populations to join the rebels, the dictatorship looked to suppress the movement inside Guatemala. This research looks at liberation theology, its prominence in the context of the Guatemalan civil war, and the military dictatorship's use of the opposing tenants of Fundamentalist Protestantism to counter liberation theology's mass appeal, particularly the ideas of institutionalized sin and the necessity of popular action to exact change.



David Stark, Ph.D.
Faculty Mentor

Appearing gaunt and with hollow, distant eyes, Father Luis Eduardo Pellecer stepped to the bevy of microphones at a podium surrounded by army officers. In a rapid, monotone voice, the Jesuit priest regaled the Guatemalan television audience with a remarkable story that reached deep into the soul of the nation. Originally believed to have been murdered, the Jesuit Priest instead reemerged from 113 days of captivity on 30 September 1981. Explaining his mysterious and violent disappearance at the hands of unidentified men as a "self-imposed kidnapping," the now repentant Pellecer provided a vivid account of the struggle for control of the hearts and minds of the Guatemalan people interwoven into the civil war. As if reading from a prepared script, the seemingly brainwashed priest described how Catholic organizations had utilized religious mobilization in conspiring with armed guerilla groups to build a political base with which to spread their revolutionary ideals. Key to the development of that following was the progressive Catholic ideology of Liberation Theology, which up until his abduction, Father Pellecer had embraced and actively disseminated from the pulpit. Following his "self-imposed kidnapping," the priest felt the need to expose this scheme and stop this disgraceful use of the Word of God.¹

Father Pellecer's frightening ordeal is indicative of the role religion played in Guatemala throughout its history and, more specifically, its 36-year civil war. Religion was a dangerous yet prominent aspect of life in this small Central American country that, during those brutal decades, seemed forsaken by God. This conspiracy, conceived in an army prison and reiterated from the mouth of a tortured and troubled priest, exemplified how the military government saw progressive Catholic activism, specifically Liberation Theology, as a threat in the same vein as armed resistance movements. The military regimes' and death squads' attempts to suppress both subversive activity and armed rebellion resulted in the death or disappearance

of an estimated 200,000 Guatemalans.² From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, during the most violent years of the conflict, local and international changes in religious doctrine and practices exacerbated this brutality. These factors gave the concepts of religiosity and faith a unique significance in Guatemala. Throughout the Guatemalan civil war, the government's fear of the socially and politically progressive Catholic ideology of Liberation Theology, coupled with their own long-held vision of modernizing the indigenous populations by transforming their social structure, led to a brutal program of forced conversion to Fundamentalist Protestant ideologies that focused on the individuality of salvation and believer's submission to authority.

The relationship between the Catholic Church and the institutional state has always been precarious in Guatemala. During the colonial period, the interests of these two prominent institutions frequently overlapped and conflicted. Once the small Central American province broke from the Spanish empire in 1824 amidst the wave of independence movements sweeping across Latin America, the role of the Church within the state became a key issue in the direction of the new country. While members of the Conservative Party wanted to maintain the legacy of Spanish imperialism, Liberal Party members wanted to modernize the country.³ Limiting the power of the Church was one potential method of accomplishing this goal, since Liberals saw the Church as an impediment to modernization and a visage of the old colonial system.⁴ From the onset of the short-lived United Provinces of Central America in the 1820s, successive Liberal governments in Guatemala were effective in curbing the Church's power and influence in the country. The government put limitations on the Church's ability to own land, exact a compulsory tithe, regulate marriage, and maintain its religious hegemony.⁵ Guatemala became the first country in Latin America to allow religious freedom, potentially allowing for the establishment of Protestant churches, which Liberals believed were more in line with the changing world. This religious freedom lasted only one year, however, as a peasant army funded and

controlled by the conservative oligarchy ended the Liberal government's modernization policies.⁶ As a precursor of what was to occur in the future, the use of violence ensured the country remained the colonial-style fiefdom desired by the landed elite.

Religion became a key component in this ideological battle between Conservatives and Liberals over the fate of Guatemala. Conservative Party rule over the next thirty years saw a return of the Catholic Church to its former prominence as an institution. While practically everyone in the country was nominally Catholic, religious practices varied greatly along regional and social lines, ranging from strict adherence to Catholicism to syncretism of Mayan and Catholic beliefs.⁷ The inhabitants of the western highlands were largely of indigenous descent – approximately 70 percent of the entire country was either Maya or of Mayan ancestry. This segment of the population remained largely autonomous of the central government, basing their social organization almost entirely upon the *cofradía* – a self-governing social, political, and economic network made up of individual ethnicities aligned loosely around the local Catholic Church.⁸ These independent Indian social structures allowed the people to remain free of government influence and practice their own “Mayanized folk Catholicism.”⁹ The *cofradía*'s autonomy from both the Catholic hierarchy and the central government provided indigenous groups with a means of collective resistance against Liberal modernization schemes.¹⁰ A violent uprising led by the Liberals in 1871 brought about a change in political leadership, and with it a renewed attack on the role of the Catholic Church in Guatemalan society. Two years later, “Supreme Commander of the Guatemalan Republic” Justo Rufino Barrios (r. 1873-1885) again declared religious freedom in Guatemala.¹¹ The Liberals were once again looking to modernize the country, hoping to break the power of both the Catholic Church and the *cofradías* in the process. In keeping with their practice of looking to the West for inspiration, as well as for successful models of economic development and progress, the Liberals sought to transplant Western religion, i.e. Protes-

tantism, into Guatemala.

The presence of such a high concentration of Indians in Guatemala is important for understanding the decision by the Liberal regime to allow, and actively promote, Protestantism in the country. The government believed that allowing the free exercise of religion would encourage European immigration to Guatemala.¹² In an age when social Darwinism prevailed, notions of racial superiority fostered the government's belief that significant structural change and westernization could only come from the top down.¹³ Therefore, any attempt to modernize Guatemala had to begin with a program of public education carried out by Protestant missionaries.¹⁴ Implementation of the plan would further restrict the traditional role of the Catholic Church, while potentially providing a means with which to indoctrinate indigenous populations with a pro-Western and submissive ideology in the future.¹⁵ Eventually, the government envisioned that the complete overhaul of Guatemalan society would occur, forcing the indigenous populations to change in the process. In 1882, President Barrios personally went to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Ministers in New York City to request missionaries be sent from the United States, and in the following year the first Protestant Church was established in Guatemala; its mission was converting the wealthy of the capital city.¹⁶ While the program was largely unsuccessful, it opened the way for other Protestant sects to gain a foothold in Guatemala and perform their missionary work.¹⁷ Because the *cofradías* coalesced loosely around local Catholic parishes, breaking the religious monopoly of the institutional Church was the logical method to combat their power. In its attempt to promote the modernization of the small Central American country, the Liberal regime openly challenged the supremacy of the Catholic Church by allowing Protestant missionaries to enter the autonomous indigenous communities in the countryside.

The modern Guatemalan state slowly began to take shape. The autonomy of the Indian communities began giving way to landowning *Ladinos* – indigenous Central Americans who embraced European over Native culture. This change

in control over local politics allowed the newly professionalized army to consolidate its power at the national level, fomenting the rise of authoritarian military rule.¹⁸ Despite the promise of Westernization and their foray into the country's wealthy communities, Protestants had little influence in this transition after their arrival in 1883. Subsequently, they devoted their efforts primarily to missionary work among the indigenous populations, concentrating on literacy programs and rural development projects over the next several decades. As the world fell into a global economic depression in the 1930s, concerns about backward Indians slowing down the nation's progress were replaced by fears about a literate indigenous population rising up against the landowning elite in a popular, "communist" revolt.¹⁹ Suddenly, the autonomous, ignorant Indian became appealing to a government wanting to secure its hold on power. The regime of General Jorge Ubico (r. 1931-1944) therefore began to limit the number of Protestant missionaries allowed into the country, despite its association with the Liberal Party.²⁰ Ubico's actions regarding both Indians and Protestant missionaries were indicative of how the Guatemalan ruling class viewed religion as nothing more than a tool to advance their political agenda. Since Guatemalan independence in 1824, the elites had used religion as a means to achieve social control. Whichever religious ideology the authorities could manipulate to ensure their hold on power while maintaining Indigenous complacency was the version they would officially espouse. While religion may have embodied the Word of God, it became the will of the Guatemalan government.

This all began to change in 1944 with the postscripted "ten years of spring."²¹ A military coup labeled the "October Revolution" and subsequent open elections ushered Juan José Arevalo (r. 1944-1951) into power as President of Guatemala. Invoking the nation's unique religious situation, Arevalo referred to his plan for Guatemala as "spiritual socialism."²² He believed that neither Marxism nor capitalism on their own were viable economic systems for Guatemala; his policy was an innovative precursor to Chilean President Salvador Allende's

experiment in finding a "third way." Instead, Arevalo's strategies of economic nationalism, development projects, popular organization, and reforms in land, labor, and education policies began moving Guatemala towards becoming a more equitable country.²³ Arevalo's administration promised to provide all of Guatemala's people with a "square deal," which meant avoiding the abuses and corruptions of the past, including the use of religion as a tool of social manipulation.²⁴ Nonetheless, the Arevalo government reinstated past policies by utilizing Evangelical missionaries to implement a nationwide basic education project aimed at the poor.²⁵ However, instead of attempting to indoctrinate indigenous communities into a pro-Western ideology, the Arevalo administration drew upon Protestant missionaries because of their belief that literal reading of the Bible is necessary for salvation.²⁶ The Guatemalan government again favored Protestantism, but this time as a tool to improve literacy and society in general by a government working for the benefit of the entire population.

While President Arevalo had some support from Protestant groups, by 1951 the newly elected President Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán (r. 1951-1954) incurred the wrath of Guatemala's religious communities. Despite his baptism as a Protestant, Arbenz's reputation as a communist sympathizer led all but the most radically leftist religious away from the newly elected President.²⁷ The conservative Guatemalan Catholic Church was perhaps the most vocal religious opponent of the President, working fervently to mobilize opposition within the country.²⁸ Weakened from over 100 years of Liberal onslaughts, fear that a communist government would completely stamp them out led the Church to oppose vehemently what they believed were socialist tendencies in the democratic government.²⁹ Yet with only 132 priests throughout the entire country in 1950, their opposition was ineffective at best.³⁰ Such tactics were not needed, however, as there were other, more powerful entities that felt threatened by Guatemala's emerging democracy.

External forces, namely the United Fruit Company (UFCO) and the United

States government, were more than adequate to end Guatemala's democratic experiment. These outside groups, by providing funding, training, and air support for a conservative counter-revolutionary movement led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas, forced Arbenz to resign on 27 June 1954.³¹ With help from the United States government, both Guatemala and UFCO's lucrative banana plantations were safe from the threat of international communism sinisterly posing under the guise of a democratically elected administration. In the name of thwarting communism, efforts to bring about true, progressive modernization were jettisoned in one swift and decisive act, this time by the very country looked upon as a model. The military once again ruled Guatemala, and it would work to maintain that control at any cost.

Shortly after the coup, Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas (r. 1954-1957) took power as the country's president with the goal of undoing the progressive reforms of the previous administration. Because the new president had received strong support in the months leading up to the coup from the conservative Catholic Church, the constitution drafted after the change in government contained a very pro-clerical slant, giving the institution back privileges it had not had since before independence.³² In this time of upheaval, the Protestant groups that had worked closely with the Arevalo government were labeled as communist sympathizers.³³ Indigenous converts in the western highlands subsequently became the victims of sporadic anti-communist attacks.³⁴ Despite the conservative fervor of the new U.S.-backed regime, Castillo Armas's political inclinations were that of a traditional, unreconstructed Liberal.³⁵ Therefore, while the government ignored the random violence perpetrated against Protestants because of the desire to see Guatemala modernize, Castillo Armas did not allow the new constitution to reinstate Catholicism as the official state religion.³⁶ Although some Protestants had worked with the previous "communist" regime, not all were expelled from Guatemala in the wave of anti-communist zeal due to the long-standing idea that different, more conformist Protestant ideologies afforded the country the best

chance for modernization. The military regime could still exploit ideologies that focused on individual salvation, personal responsibility, and submission to authority instead of those that promoted literacy and social change. The Guatemalan government needed a more complacent version of Christianity, either Protestant or Catholic, to be disseminated among the indigenous population if their modernization schemes were ever to succeed.

The Catholic hierarchy hoped to use its relationship with the new right-wing government to rebuild the power and prominence of the Church. Despite still having to deal with its upstart competitor for the souls of the Guatemalan masses, one important privilege the Catholic Church regained was the return of foreign religious to the country.³⁷ The hierarchy initially believed this would benefit the institution, since the new religious would help replenish the understaffed ranks of the Church. The hierarchy also believed that their support of the coup would ensure that the government would no longer work against the institution's attempts to keep Catholicism relevant in Guatemala. The Church expected that their denunciation of the Arbenz administration would end the government's love affair with Protestantism. Unbeknownst to the Guatemalan Catholic hierarchy, however, events would shortly transpire that would change the look, and the message, of Catholicism throughout Latin America and the world. To the chagrin of the conservative Guatemalan hierarchy, the Church would become relevant in a completely new way.

Changes associated with the convening of Second Vatican Ecumenical Council in Rome from 1962 to 1965 ultimately led to the creation and development of Liberation Theology. Later known as Vatican II, Pope John XXIII summoned this meeting of the Catholic leadership from all over the world to deal with modernizing the archaic institution. Out of this congregation, the Church changed from a generally conservative, pro-establishment institution to one that supported democracy, human rights, and social change.³⁸ While this meeting initiated a fundamental shift within the Church around the world, the most important aspect of Vatican II for the

Church in Latin America was that it led some in the hierarchy to look more critically at their Church and the societies in which they lived.³⁹ This critical look crystallized in 1968 at the Latin American Bishop's Conference in Medellin, Colombia. What emerged from Medellin was a different Church, one that in theory no longer expected the poor to stoically face their lot in life and obediently await entrance to heaven as the reward for their suffering.⁴⁰ Drawing on Latin America's economic and international situation, socially and politically progressive members of the Church hierarchy gave anti-imperialism, class struggle, and social revolution a previously unknown Christian character.⁴¹ They argued that Christians should be active and engaged in working towards a positive transformation of society and the world.⁴² In Medellin, an ideology emerged in which its adherents viewed sin no longer solely as an individual issue but as an institutional problem.⁴³ In addition to these changes in outlook, there was also a shift in ideas concerning the secular role of the Church. Some within the Church were so involved with advancing the cause of the poor and disenfranchised that a group of Bishops at Medellin declared:

We express our desire to be very close always to those who work in the self-denying apostolate with the poor in order that they will always feel our encouragement and know that we will not listen to parties interested in distorting their work.⁴⁴

In Latin America, Liberation Theology eventually evolved out of this fundamental transformation in Catholic doctrine. Author Philip Berryman defined this ideology as:

- An interpretation of Christian faith out of the suffering, struggle, and hope of the poor;
- A critique of society and the ideologies sustaining it;
- A critique of the activity of the Church and of Christians from the angle of the poor.⁴⁵

The Catholic Church finally took notice of the dismal poverty, lavish wealth, and political repression that were rampant throughout Latin America. At both Vatican II and the Latin American Bishop's Conference, the hierarchy reevaluated the official stance on the temporal role of the Church and a brave few within the clergy decided to stand up and take action. Among the ranks of those who could no longer sit idly by, witnessing the diabolic destruction of their societies, Liberation Theology was born.

In 1971 Gustavo Gutiérrez wrote a seminal book in which he describes the transformation taking place in the Catholic Church throughout Latin America. The term Liberation Theology originated from Gutiérrez's book entitled *A Theology of Liberation*. Liberation Theology sought to address means with which to escape from the poverty that enslaved the vast majority of Latin Americans. Gutiérrez argued that there was a need to end the cycle of dependence that plagues Latin American countries in relation to the West.⁴⁶ In advocating such a change, Gutiérrez utilized ideas associated with dependency theory, which states that the leading powers of the world (particularly the United States) have used their economic strength to ensure Latin America's development is dependent solely on the interests of those same powers.⁴⁷ Instead of developing a diverse economy similar to those nations in the industrialized world, these dependent countries export primary goods, such as aluminum, bananas, cotton, etc., controlled by the wealthy elite, making a subjugated working class necessary to ensure the system's smooth operation.⁴⁸ With the world split along the ideological lines of the Cold War, Gutiérrez's message to end this system was highly controversial. The military leaders of many Latin American countries, such as Guatemala, considered arguments like Gutiérrez's, which did not overtly advocate the free-market capitalist ideologies of the Western world, akin to communism and a potential danger to their hold on social control.

While Gutiérrez never actually advocates an overt Marxist-Leninist overthrow of the capitalist system in his book, he phrases the call for liberation within a framework of homegrown,

hemispheric socialist change.⁴⁹ What sets Gutiérrez's ideology apart from other calls for revolution is the inherent Christian component of his message. He seeks to bring Marxism into the Christian fold within the specific Latin American context.⁵⁰ Because an anti-socialist doctrine had imbued Christianity for so long, it was the duty of Liberationists such as Gutiérrez to free people from the ideological fallacies associated with socialism.⁵¹ Given the abject poverty and opulent wealth of Latin America and the changes that had occurred within the Church's doctrine, there was no other option but for Christians to side with the revolutionaries, in spirit at least if not in action.⁵² Gutiérrez goes so far as to encourage and validate justifiable violence perpetrated at the hands of those fighting for liberation against the weapons and armies of oppression and dependence.⁵³ Liberation Theology openly challenged the role of the Catholic Church as the spiritual sanctuary of Latin America's wealthy elite. Contrary to the seemingly tacit support of Liberation Theology from Vatican II and the Medellín Conference, the ideology created divisions within the Catholic Church unseen since the Reformation.⁵⁴ There was an open battle within the Church between those adopting the "preferential option for the poor" and those who still adhered to "the values of tradition, the institutional and sacral aspects of the Church, and hierarchical authority."⁵⁵ In a time of cultural change at the grassroots level, albeit with global ramifications, not even the Catholic Church could avoid the ominous upheaval looming on the horizon.

Despite the reluctance of some within the highest levels of the Church hierarchy to change, radical priests and lay workers were not the only adherents to Liberation Theology. Many members of the Catholic Church throughout Latin America subscribed to the ideology and promoted it in writings, in sermons, and in their parishes. They used the ideology to give new perspective to a variety of subjects, including Christianity's role in the political realm, the morality of resistance to repression, and the need for social justice.⁵⁶ Fundamental to Liberation Theology is a passage from the bishops at Vatican II that states:

In the Old Testament God reveals himself to us as the liberator of the oppressed and the defender of the poor, demanding from man faith in him and justice towards man's neighbour. It is only in the observance of the duties of justice that God is truly recognized as the liberator of the oppressed. . . . Christ lived his life in the world as a total giving of himself to God for the salvation and liberation of men.⁵⁷

Because issues of justice and oppression were so pertinent to their particular diocese, many bishops throughout Latin America slowly began converting to the tenets of Liberation Theology. Gone were the days when the Church promoted social action while simultaneously denouncing any participation in the realm of politics.⁵⁸ In the span of just over a decade, the Church in Latin America went from working hand-in-hand with the established oligarchy in fighting popular uprisings it perceived to be communist to having prominent priests disseminate ideas that violent revolution may in fact be justified by the teachings of Jesus Christ. During this transitional period within the Church, religious involved with the Catholic Action program from all over the world came to Guatemala. Brought in by Archbishop Mariano Rossell y Arellano shortly after the U.S.-backed coup in 1954, their task consisted of strengthening the Church and reenergizing the faithful.

Once these priests and workers began to proselytize in the northwestern highlands of Guatemala, they saw the living conditions the indigenous population faced in Departments such as Huehuetenango, Quiché, Chimaltenango, and Alta Verapaz. This new perspective made the ecclesiastical emphasis of their mission seem inconsequential when compared with efforts to improve the social and economic conditions of their parishioners.⁵⁹ Traditionally a conservative organization, members of Catholic Action that came to Guatemala began taking progressive stances because of the circumstances they witnessed in the country.⁶⁰ Foreign Catholic priests and workers in Guatemala became more concerned with economic development and

education projects, working in popular movements at the community level in predominately indigenous areas.⁶¹ This is how Christian base communities developed. These grassroots organizations allowed people to organize and become involved in participatory democracy, albeit only at the local level.⁶² The participants, called catechists, selected leaders from their own ranks who then became responsible for disseminating the message of Liberation Theology.⁶³ While these communities began after the arrival of foreign Catholic workers following the 1954 coup, they proved to be the most important, and most subversive, work of Catholic activists among the people of Guatemala during the civil war.⁶⁴ In the department of Quiché, for example, by the late 1970s there were several thousand catechists with close ties to traditional indigenous communities.⁶⁵ These communities harkened back to the *cofradía* and openly challenged the existing political and social order, incurring the wrath of those in control of the country's economic and political machinery.

With the help of both these indigenous and foreign adherents to Liberation Theology, the peasantry began to take on a more active role in resisting oppression. On a theoretical level, the doctrine of bettering the lives of the poor through economic and political development was more important to Liberation Theology than the principle of heavenly salvation through faith in Christ.⁶⁶ Therefore, the local residents and catechists, not the priests, made all major decisions concerning the base communities.⁶⁷ With assistance from the religious, indigenous villages started cooperatives through which they bypassed merchants looking to exploit what little resources they possessed.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, these cooperatives could only help those indigenous people with sufficient financial means. Consequently, many on both sides of the political spectrum questioned their validity. While some Indians perceived the cooperatives as doing nothing for the landless peasantry, the overzealous government viewed them as communist subterfuges.⁶⁹ Despite these setbacks, Catholic workers emphasized collectively working together for the advance-

ment of all; how exploitative practices were sinful in the eyes of the Lord; and how Jesus Christ had fought against imperialistic practices in his time.⁷⁰ Thus, the peasant communities of Guatemala began utilizing the strategies that would later evolve into a theology of liberation before the ideology had even been given its name.

Among the influx of Catholic Action religious entering the country, perhaps the most prolific was the Maryknoll Order based in New York. Although the religious order had never identified with any specific political ideology, this began to change when the Maryknoll priests and nuns began their work in Guatemala. By identifying sin as a social phenomenon, Liberation Theology tended to blur the line between religion and politics.⁷¹ The conditions that the religious workers saw led some of them to look for ways outside the spiritual realm to exact change, even advocating the necessary use of violence.⁷² A specific group of religious workers exceeding their traditional role as God's representatives and becoming intimately involved in the revolutionary cause spawned what became known in Guatemala as the "Melville case."⁷³ This incident, while being the first of many involving religious revolutionaries in the country, exemplified what the Guatemalan military regime feared most about progressive Catholic activists: the use of religion to justify taking up arms in the name of social justice.

Two priests, Tom and Art Melville, along with a nun named Marian Peter, had been working in Guatemala since the 1950s; they and other Maryknollers were some of the first foreign religious to arrive in the country via Catholic Action. While the Melville brothers were proselytizing in the indigenous western highlands, Sister Marian was teaching in an upper-class high school in Guatemala City.⁷⁴ As their work progressed, the brothers began to realize the limitations of development projects in remedying the problems of the peasantry. Moreover, Christian base communities, while helping to spread the ideas of the new Liberation Theology, were doing little to end government oppression and violence. Sister Marian Peter, also feeling a sense of frustration, began to take high

school students to work with the rural poor in these base communities.⁷⁵ She too became disillusioned with the lack of progress. These religious searched for a way to bring about reform, leading them into a relationship with other groups of people working towards revolution, elevating the use of religion as a weapon of war in Guatemala to a new level.

Seeing firsthand the conditions faced by the rural poor of Guatemala, these religious workers realized that revolution was the only way to break the cycle of poverty and provide a ray of hope for the country's oppressed. Utilizing the connections of some of Sister Marian's students, the three contacted the guerrilla leader Luis Turcios Lima in 1967 and decided to join the revolution.⁷⁶ The rebels, from the *Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes*, or Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), utilized their new connections with these three religious to recruit from the indigenous communities, which had traditionally sought autonomy and were reluctant to join *Ladino*-led resistance movements like the FAR.⁷⁷ The FAR and subsequent rebel groups realized that Church organizations, whether they were base communities or similar progressive groups, had much better relationships and communication with indigenous communities.⁷⁸ At this time, however, the rebels had nearly been annihilated by a particularly violent counter insurgency campaign; this was their last ditch effort at maintaining their presence in the country.⁷⁹ Though the rebels were trying to develop both a Christian and an indigenous presence in their revolution, it was to no avail. Both Church and government officials discovered the plan, expelling the Melvilles (along with Sister Marian) from Guatemala.⁸⁰ This incident exemplified for the army the latent danger posed by progressive members of the Church to the ruling oligarchy's monopoly on power and control. Grassroots work done by Catholic activists could potentially threaten the oligarchy's iron grip on the indigenous peasant majority, even more so than isolated bands of rebels constantly on the run from the U.S.-funded and -trained military. This concern of the military would lead to the start of a second, ideological front in the civil war, one to maintain social control more ef-

fectively.

While many foreign workers connected with the Catholic Church were involved with the poor in developing ways to better their lives, Protestant churches were actively expanding in Guatemala. Earlier, unsuccessful forays into the realm of politics left these churches advocating a more otherworldly message instead of proselytizing about social ills and the need for popular action to enact societal change. As violence associated with the civil war increased in the mid-1960s, some people turned to Protestant churches looking for answers. Millenarianist neo-Pentecostal sects preaching individual salvation for the righteous and obedience to authority in seemingly apocalyptic times broke off from the traditional churches.⁸¹ Eventually these neo-Pentecostal churches began to split as well, creating homegrown Guatemalan congregations, usually meeting in people's homes and often consisting of only a few members.⁸² While these churches were anti-Catholic in nature, they espoused patriotism and the doctrinal message of resignation – the traditionally conservative belief in accepting one's fate in life and submitting to the will of authority.⁸³ The military government hoped to utilize this message in order to counter the social activism embraced by the Liberationists in the indigenous communities. While Guatemalan Protestant sects were branching off into apocalyptic realms completely devoid of political involvement, the Guatemalan government was endeavoring to exploit the Pentecostal message as another tool of social control.

This situation came to fruition, oddly enough, with an act of nature. Early in the morning of 4 February 1976, an earthquake that registered 7.5 on the Richter scale struck the north-central part of the country. Over 22,000 people died, three times that number was seriously injured, and another one million people – nearly one-sixth of the country – were homeless after the catastrophe.⁸⁴ The tragedy affected the poor in Guatemala City and the Department of Chimaltenango the worst since their adobe homes were poorly constructed and hence more susceptible to damage from the cataclysmic tremor.⁸⁵ This devastating event

made it necessary for the government to ask outside countries, particularly the United States, for help. In addition to aid from the U.S. government, a large amount of resources came by way of North American Protestant churches, which saw the earthquake as an opportunity to further proselytizing efforts in a country seemingly forsaken by God.⁸⁶ While these churches spent their resources in rebuilding the homes of the poor (while many of whom actually needed help planting their crops before it was too late in the season), their recruitment efforts focused largely on the wealthy elite of Guatemala City, including future President José Efraín Ríos Montt.⁸⁷ Despite the fact that these churches concentrated their recruitment efforts almost exclusively on the Guatemalan elite, the wealthy were not the only ones that joined the congregations. Overall church membership jumped almost fifteen percent in the months immediately following the earthquake.⁸⁸ This number is deceiving, however, as the monetary generosity bestowed upon those who adhered to the benefactor's protestant religious beliefs played a major part in increasing the number of converts to the flock.⁸⁹ For the government, this rise in conversions to Protestantism was another positive development in their ongoing effort to modernize Guatemala. In addition to the arrival of foreign missionaries and relief efforts, the earthquake and ensuing chaos served as a catalyst for already rapacious land seizures by people searching for oil deposits or fertile cattle lands.⁹⁰ These assaults on both their traditional ways of life and their lands now forced indigenous people who once sought autonomy to look for ways in which to mobilize resistance.

As the threat of losing their land compounded the ever-present violence, the peasantry began to look for ways to mobilize. Rebel groups consisting of survivors of the first counterinsurgency campaigns in the 1960s began reemerging in indigenous regions and establishing relations with the residents.⁹¹ Following the example of the Catholic activists and Liberationists, the rebel groups worked to create better, more productive relationships with the indigenous populations. They began to work together with indig-

enous populations on issues in need of immediate attention, such as the killing of right-wing landowners and military officers who were excessively abusive.⁹² Along with rebel groups, activist Catholic priests were still working in Guatemala. The indigenous communities that had been involved in base communities, and that had seen the brunt of the military's violence in suppressing the first wave of rebel activities, began to organize under the leadership of these Catholic priests.⁹³ On 29 May 1978, a group of Kekchi Indians descended on the northern town of Panzos to ask authorities for help in protecting them from inevitable land seizures.⁹⁴ Following the standard policy of violently suppressing any confrontation, the military unleashed its destructive forces on the unarmed group of Indians, killing well over one hundred.⁹⁵ This massacre signaled the start of the most brutal years of the Guatemalan civil war, when just over a month later General Fernando Romeo Lucas García (r. 1978-1981) succeeded General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud García (r. 1974-1978) as president in another fraudulent election. The Lucas presidency would be the most corrupt and violent reign of terror that Guatemala had witnessed up to that point in the nearly two-decade-long civil war.

This became the most brutal period of the war as the guerillas became more politically and militarily active than at any other point in the conflict. One of the main reasons for this was that the guerilla organizations, which had largely been comprised of middle-class *Ladinos* during the 1960s, now had the support of a large number of the Indians in the regions where they operated.⁹⁶ A group known as *Ejército Guerrillero de los Pobres*, or the Guerilla Army of the Poor (EGP), began briefly occupying regions of the highlands, and by mid-1979, another group called *Organización Pueblo en Armas*, or the People-in-Arms Organization (ORPA) began utilizing the same tactics.⁹⁷ Indigenous people were collaborating with, and even joining, these resistance groups in ever-increasing numbers.⁹⁸ For the first time in the Guatemalan civil war, revolutionary groups began taking the offensive.⁹⁹ Because Catholic activists had first organized the

indigenous into base communities and served as the conduit for Liberation Theology's "preferential option for the poor," Catholics bore the brunt of the political violence during the Lucas regime.¹⁰⁰ Because of the work that Catholic activists had done during the 1960s, the regions where base communities were located emerged as the areas in which the rebels had the most success.¹⁰¹ In retaliation, by the end of 1979 the army had essentially put the Indigenous communities in the northwest highlands under siege.¹⁰² In January 1980, a large group of Indians came to the capital to plead their case to the public. What followed would catapult the civil war onto the international stage and usher in the beginning of an even greater level of violence in the battle for the hearts and minds of the Guatemalan peasantry.

On 31 January 1980, twenty-three peasants, along with five labor and university leaders, took over the Spanish embassy in Guatemala City. Many who were involved in the occupation were themselves Catholic activists.¹⁰³ Although the Spanish ambassador Máximo Cajal was willing to meet with the occupiers, feeling that their actions were justified considering what was transpiring in their communities, several hundred police and military personnel arrived at the embassy and placed it under siege.¹⁰⁴ In spite of the Ambassador's protests, the Guatemalan authorities attacked the embassy, causing an explosion and subsequent fire.¹⁰⁵ The pleas of onlookers went unheeded as the Guatemalan authorities, refusing to allow firefighters on the scene, watched as twenty-seven of the twenty-eight occupiers and twelve of their hostages burned to death in the blaze.¹⁰⁶ Despite international outrage and a severance of diplomatic relations by Spain, the "Spanish Embassy massacre" only increased the government's repression of the indigenous communities, initiating the most brutal phase of the war and the beginning of the push towards coerced Protestant conversion.

Anyone associated with Catholicism in the indigenous regions of Guatemala was already under intense government subjugation. Since guerillas were difficult to find or identify, and could potentially defend themselves, the army went after

anyone they believed was associated with the resistance, particularly those participating in Catholic activism.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, those who were not politically active converted to Protestantism in large numbers to avoid the brunt of the government's force.¹⁰⁸ This political and religious expediency was not, however, the only appeal of Protestantism to Guatemalans mired in a brutal, decades-long civil war. As Virginia Garrard-Burnett explains:

The attraction of such churches was plain: not only did their message of a violent chaotic, unjust, and sinful world reflect believers' reality, but it also rendered a larger meaning and cosmic plan from nearly incomprehensible terror. For believers, the promise of redemption in the hereafter was not simply deferred gratification, or "pie in the sky," but a time for vindication, justice, empowerment, and reunion for the poor and oppressed, the inheritors of the earth entitled by Jesus Himself on the Sermon on the Mount.¹⁰⁹

It was not just the idea of redemption in the afterlife, the financial help from missionaries, or the protection from the army that made Protestantism appealing to some indigenous Guatemalans. The churches had a welcoming atmosphere of popular religiosity, with services that often included time for singing, dancing, and physical gestures towards the heavens.¹¹⁰ Compared to the stodginess of traditional Catholic mass, this visceral appeal contributed substantially to Protestant growth.¹¹¹ There were many non-political conditions contributing to the unprecedented growth of Protestant churches in Guatemala. Nonetheless, these changes in the country's spirituality would have immense political ramifications, especially for its most impoverished and marginalized inhabitants.

The government was cognizant of this rise in Protestantism and believed that they could utilize it to create a new political base. If Protestants literally adhered to the biblical passage to "submit to the authority in power," it could counteract the Catholic activism occurring in

the indigenous highlands.¹¹² Despite the military's desire for an obedient Protestant populous, not all Protestants aligned themselves with the oppressive apparatus of the state. While a very small number of Protestants did join the rebels, for the most part they tacitly, and oftentimes actively, supported the military dictatorship.¹¹³ Their support, however, was often a survival strategy rather than a specific act of defiance against the rebels. For example, during the early 1980s in the Ixil town of Cotzal, located in the Quiché Department where the guerillas had a high level of support, the Protestant congregation of the Full Gospel Church of God openly reported on guerilla activities and collaborated with the army.¹¹⁴ They did this under duress in an effort to prevent their families, and their church, from falling victim to the army's scorched-earth policies.¹¹⁵ Promotion of Protestantism was the tentative policy of the military government at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. The ascension of a Fundamentalist Protestant to the presidency, however, created a full-scale religious battle in the countryside, where forced coercion became a way of life throughout the indigenous regions of Guatemala.

With every escalation in violence by the military, there was a concomitant increase in guerilla activity in the highlands. In January 1982, all four of Guatemala's guerilla groups announced they were joining forces and becoming the *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca*, or Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG).¹¹⁶ These guerillas consolidated their power and were becoming a significant threat. The military and oligarchy only had to look at what had transpired in neighboring Nicaragua, where a popular revolution just a few years earlier had toppled the Somoza family from power. The Guatemalan military regime believed that they needed to take drastic action in order to end this potential threat, and conventional violence was only strengthening the opposition's support. Young military officers, believing that the Lucas regime's gross corruption was undermining the war against the guerillas, orchestrated a coup to usher in a new era of counterrevolutionary warfare.¹¹⁷ The

extensive violence and brutality of the war waged by the Lucas regime, while effective in killing peasants and Catholic activists, had failed in eradicating the guerillas. The next step was one that had been in development for one hundred years, an attempt at a total transformation that would completely alter Guatemalan society and forever end any political opposition by imposing God's Will of conformity and obedience onto the people of the small Central American nation.

Guatemala needed a fundamentalist Protestant to lead the country through this monumental societal change. Herein lies the reason why the young officers who orchestrated the *golpe* (coup) in 1982 chose the evangelical Efraín Ríos Montt to be president (r. 1982-1983), literally plucking him from teaching Sunday school at the Word Church in Guatemala City to be the next military dictator of the country.¹¹⁸ Seeing this conflict through a strictly religious perspective, the "born-again" Christian understood the guerilla movement to be a result of moral failings within the country.¹¹⁹ In order to end what Ríos Montt saw as the guerillas' assault on Guatemalan values, he would create "*La Nueva Guatemala*," or the New Guatemala.¹²⁰ This would fundamentally change society by basing it solely on the principles of morality, obedience to authority, and national unity.¹²¹ Ever since the introduction of Protestantism a century earlier, the Guatemalan government had sought to create a compliant, "modern" population. Through unprecedented violence in the name of eradicating a rebellion, this modernization was about to be realized by a zealously fundamentalist President in the midst of a brutal civil war. The indigenous people of Guatemala would arrive in the modern Western world, not through development projects and proselytizing but through unimaginable death, destruction, and forced conversion.

Modernity and social peace would be achieved by way of a scorched-earth policy the new President referred to as "*fusiles y frijoles*," or "bullets and beans."¹²² The "bullets" facet of the program, destroying the guerilla's relationship with the indigenous communities, was summed up best by one

army officer's statement: "If you are with us, we'll feed you, if you're against us, we'll kill you."¹²³ The "beans" portion of this brutal pacification strategy consisted of creating the *La Fundación de Ayuda al Pueblo Indígena*, or the Foundation for Aid to the Indian People (FUNDAPI).¹²⁴ Ríos Montt enlisted members of the Word Church (of which he was a member) to create an organization for administering the contributions from North American evangelicals in order to provide food, shelter, clothing, and medicine to the refugees created by the counterinsurgency campaign.¹²⁵ In the process of razing over 440 villages to the ground, the military created FUNDAPI clients by displacing more than one million people.¹²⁶ Another aspect of the "bullets and beans" plan was the vast expansion of the *patrullas de autodefensa civil*, or civil defense patrols (PACs), that originated under the Lucas regime.¹²⁷ The army commanders of the PACs conscripted male Indians to fight against the rebels, giving them only wooden weapons if any at all.¹²⁸ Instead of leaving the vast indigenous peasantry potentially to fight against the military, the PACs forced them to combat the rebels who were theoretically on their side in the liberation struggle. These civilian militias were ragtag armies of men forced to go to war in the advancement of their own oppression. With a policy of burning people's homes and then using potential starvation to force them to fight against their own interests, it is understandable why the government sought a way to enforce a sense of conformity and justification on these subjugated people.

Indoctrination was vital to inculcate this sense of conformity. The "bullets and beans" policy targeted Catholic activists involved in Christian base communities to the extent that in May 1982, the nation's bishops described what was happening in Guatemala's indigenous highlands as a "genocide."¹²⁹ They were only the first to claim this, however, as both Amnesty International and the United Nations later did so as well.¹³⁰ The military regime seemingly deemed everyone associated with Catholicism to be a communist and hunted them down like criminals. This coincided with a particularly large growth in membership

among Protestant churches during the early 1980s, especially in those Churches that were encouraged by the government to evangelize in the highland war zones.¹³¹ This growth was most apparent in "model villages," where the FUNDAPI could use religious affiliation as a condition for aid. These work camps, created and controlled by the army and built atop the ruins of destroyed communities by the relocated survivors of the "bullets and beans" campaign, were the penultimate step in the violent crusade to ensure social control.¹³² Those indigenous who survived would be the first inhabitants of a brave new Guatemala.

Under constant surveillance and the guise of benevolence, these villages constituted a sinister attempt to modernize the *campesinos*, or peasants, through indoctrination and integration into the New Guatemala.¹³³ The government tried to destroy traditional ethnic unity and isolate individuals by purposefully placing people from different villages and language groups together.¹³⁴ While everyone was stripped of their ethnic identity and forced to learn and speak only Spanish, the only outside institutions that were allowed into these villages were Protestant Churches and the FUNDAPI.¹³⁵ The number of Protestant converts swelled in these model villages because the military perceived those that did not convert as ostensibly opposing the government's program. This was a critical aspect of the Guatemalan military's psychological war against the indigenous population. With hundreds of thousands of people displaced and impoverished, the military left them with nowhere to turn but these horrific resettlement centers. The government sought to ensure that the "rebellious" Indians transformed into people grateful for the generosity shown them and who thank God for the life given to them. This was more than a military assault on guerilla activity or a violent insurgency; it was an all-out genocidal campaign pitting Evangelical Protestantism against Liberation Theology, with the indigenous population caught in the middle. The Guatemalan government, under fundamentalist President Efraín Ríos Montt, used violence and fear to convert indigenous society into something that better suited the military regime's desire

for conformity and submission.

The crowning day for that transformation was to be the centennial celebration of Protestantism in Guatemala. In October 1982 the Argentine evangelist Luis Palau, renowned as "the Latin Billy Graham," spoke to an estimated half million people in Guatemala City on the subject of Ríos Montt's miracle.¹³⁶ On the surface, it seemed as though the "bullets and beans" campaign had done to both Guatemalan Catholicism and society in a few short months what the government, through traditional Protestant missionaries, had been working at for over a century. Yet the Protestant experiment had cracks in its foundation. Because the numerous sects and factions of the Protestant community were not united squarely behind the President, there was little opposition when, as often happened with Guatemalan Presidents, Ríos Montt was ousted in a *golpe* on 8 August 1983.¹³⁷ Once the brutality of his campaign ended the crisis in the countryside, disabled Catholic activism, and put the rebels back on the defensive, Ríos Montt's inability to make headway in the country's economic matters caused him to lose the support of the landed oligarchy.¹³⁸ His cultural revolution was not as important to those in power as the price of coffee on the futures market. Nonetheless, Ríos Montt had been successful in destroying the indigenous revolution. Through the death of almost one-quarter million people, and the destruction of the survivor's traditional way of life, General Ríos Montt had "miraculously" brought modernization to the indigenous people of Guatemala.

The Ríos Montt administration tried to force the indigenous to remake their entire society and abandon their beliefs or face the government's wrath. That policy worked so well that the conversion rate to Protestantism among the indigenous continued to rise until it leveled out in 1985 at around ten percent a year.¹³⁹ Throughout the Guatemalan civil war, when right-wing Protestants came into conflict with left-wing Catholic activists, both religious and political differences overlapped and developed into what in some instances resembled a holy war.¹⁴⁰ The threat of unspeakable violence and death notwithstanding, the indigenous

community internalized the fundamentalist message of conformity and obedience, replacing Liberation Theology's message of liberty and justice for all.

This had been the decades-old plan of the military government. In order to placate their concerns about Liberation Theology and peasant social activism, the oligarchy-military cabal, seeing the already occurring rise in Protestantism, actively planned and initiated a strategy to convert the peasant population to a more palatable religious ideology. The long-held position of Protestantism as a tool of modernization in Guatemala, coupled with the violence occurring at the hands of the military, allowed for a strategy of Protestant conversion on a mass scale. The authorities both forcefully pushed modernization on the Indigenous populations and refuted Catholic-based ideas of social change and revolution. This occurred extensively and with the most brutality in the "model villages" that the military regime created to restructure Guatemalan indigenous society. The dictatorship was attempting to create an entirely new society, free of dissent and subversion, modeled after the conservative, Protestant countries of the West. They carried out this goal through violence, internment, enslavement, and attempted indoctrination and brainwashing of over 60 percent of the country's population.

The capture and brainwashing of Father Pellecer is reminiscent of the situation faced by the indigenous people of Guatemala. Seeing Liberation Theology as a threat, the military government tried to alter the mindset of the people to better suit its plans for the country. David Stoll, in his contribution to Robert Carmack's compilation "Harvest of Violence," quotes an evangelical missionary discussing the confrontation between Fundamentalist Protestantism and Liberation Theology as stating that Central America was "one of the strategic battlefields in the spiritual warfare over the allegiances and eternal destiny of the world's inhabitants."¹⁴¹ Indeed, to these people they were soldiers in a war; a war for the hearts and minds of the indigenous population that eventually reaped incredible havoc on an entire generation of Guatemalans in an attempt by the

military to maintain social control. Liberation Theology threatened the elite's control over Guatemalan society, while Fundamentalist Protestantism gave hope to its preservation. While Guatemala may have seemed forsaken by God, in the eyes of those in power, God was working to help create, to quote the Fundamentalist Protestant former Guatemalan President Efraín Ríos Montt, "the new Israel of Central America."¹⁴² ■

Notes

1. The story of Father Pellecer is recounted briefly in two of Phillip Berryman's books. Phillip Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion: Christians in Central American Revolutions* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1984), 214-15; Phillip Berryman, *Stubborn Hope: Religion, Politics, and Revolution in Central America* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994), 114. Both citations by Berryman come from an article by Father Thomas Rausch. Thomas P. Rausch, S.J., "Reappearance of Terror: The 'Confession' of Father Luis Eduardo Pellecer," *Sojourners Magazine*, Volume 11, June 1982, pp. 8-10.
2. Accounts from United Nations-mandated *La Comisión para Esclarecimiento Histórico*, or Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH), concluded that the death toll was even higher. More than 200,000 people were killed during the war, with 83% of the victims indigenous and 17% *Ladino*. The Commission also found that the state (through the army or right wing death squads) was responsible for 93% of the violence during this time. Virginia Garrard-Burnett, "God Was Already Here When Columbus Arrived: Inculturation Theology and the Mayan Movement in Guatemala, pp. 125-153," in *Resurgent Voices in Latin America: Indigenous Peoples, Political Mobilization, and Religious Change*, ed. Edward L. Cleary and Timothy J. Steigenga, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 127; Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy in Latin America*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 216; Victoria Sanford, *Buried Secrets: Truth and Human Rights in Guatemala*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 148, 155.
3. Virginia Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 2-3.
4. *Ibid.*, 2-3.
5. Timothy J. Steigenga, "Chapter 9: Guatemala, pp. 150-174," in *Religious Freedom and Evangelization in Latin America: The Challenge of Religious Pluralism*, ed. Paul E. Sigmund, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999), 152.
6. *Ibid.*, 152.
7. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 7; Steigenga, 153.
8. Steigenga, 151.
9. Garrard-Burnett, *God Was Here*, 127.
10. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 11.
11. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 11; Steigenga, 153.
12. This is evidenced by a treaty made between the governments of Guatemala and Germany, which states that "The right to freedom of religion in Guatemala would remove one of the principal obstacles that has heretofore impeded foreign immigration to our country, for many do not wish to settle where they are not allowed to exercise their religion." Quoted in Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 12.
13. *Ibid.*, 12-3.
14. *Ibid.*, 13.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 14; Steigenga, 153.
17. Steigenga, 153-4.
18. Steigenga, 154.
19. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 74.
20. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 71-2; Steigenga, 154.
21. Ten years of spring is the term referring to the ten years of the Arevalo and Arbenz governments from 1944 to 1954 that saw a brief interlude of human rights, democracy, and equal opportunity for the poor (both *Ladino* and Indigenous) in a country renowned for graft, oppression, and dictatorship. As far as I have been able to surmise, the term was first coined by Jim Handy. Jim Handy, *Gift of the Devil: A History of Guatemala*, (Boston: South End Press, 1984).
22. The fact that the coup happened in October may have been detrimental to the chances of Guatemala maintaining their attempt at democracy and social change. Since this revolution had the same name as the Soviet revolution, there was already a subliminal connection to communism, and being so close to the United States, this may have been a factor that aided in its demise. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 79; Susanne Jonas, *The Battle for Guatemala: Rebels, Death Squads, and U.S. Power*, (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1991), 23; Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993), 114; Steigenga, 154.
23. Jonas, 24; LaFeber, 114-115, Steigenga, 155.
24. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 79.
25. *Ibid.*, 80-1.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 89.
28. *Ibid.*, 86-7.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Phillip Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 173.
31. Nick Cullather, *Secret History: The C.I.A.'s Classified Account of Operations in Guatemala 1952-1954*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 101.
32. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 100-2.
33. *Ibid.*, 102.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*, 101.
36. *Ibid.*

37. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 173.
38. Sigmund, Paul E., *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads: Democracy or Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 19.
39. Philip Berryman, *Liberation Theology: The Essential Facts About the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 16-7.
40. Tommie Sue Montgomery, "Liberation and Revolution: Christianity as a Subversive Act in Central America, pp. 76-99," in *Trouble in our Backyard: Central America and the United States in the Eighties*, ed. Martin Diskin, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 77.
41. David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?: The Politics of Evangelical Growth*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 141.
42. Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 23.
43. Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 23; Montgomery, 76-7.
44. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, Trans., Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973), 115.
45. Phillip Berryman, quoted. in "Humanism and Social Issues. Anthology of Essays," ed. Marian Hillar and H.R. Leuchtag, American Humanist Association, Houston, 1993, pp. 35-52. <http://www.socinian.org/liberty.html>
46. Gutiérrez, 85-8.
47. LaFeber, 17.
48. Ibid.
49. Gutiérrez, 89.
50. Ibid., 104.
51. Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 27-8.
52. Gutiérrez, 105-6.
53. Ibid., 108-9.
54. Montgomery, 88.
55. Ibid.
56. Juan Luis Segundo, S.J., *The Liberation of Theology*, Trans. John Drury, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1976), pp. 69-71; David Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology*, (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc., 2002), 137-144.
57. Tombs, 143.
58. Berryman, *Liberation Theology*, 15.
59. Shelton H. Davis and Julie Hodson, *Witness to Political Violence in Guatemala: The Suppression of a Rural Development Movement*, (Boston: Oxfam America, 1982), 14.
60. Montgomery, 87.
61. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 174.
62. Montgomery, 82-3.
63. Ibid., 83.
64. Ibid., 82, 87.
65. Ibid., 87.
66. Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, 137.
67. Montgomery, 83.
68. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 175.
69. Ibid.
70. Blase Bonpane, *Guerillas of Peace: Liberation Theology and the Central American Revolution*, (Boston: South End Press, 1985), 11.
71. Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, 137.
72. Ibid.
73. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 175; Bonpane, 68.
74. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 175-6.
75. Ibid., 175.
76. Ibid., 176.
77. Bonpane, 51.
78. Ibid., 56.
79. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 176.
80. After renouncing their vows, Tom Melville and Marian were married. Ibid.
81. These neo-Pentecostal churches bore resemblance to a new style of right-wing fundamentalist church developing in California in the 1960s, bearing no resemblance to the older style Protestantism long established in the country. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 180; Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 115, 119.
82. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 115, 119.
83. Ibid., 116-8, 132.
84. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 180; Garrard-Burnett, 120; LaFaber, 257.
85. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 180; Davis and Hodson, 15.
86. Penny Lernoux, "The Evangelical Movement Harms Central Americans, pp. 186-192," in *Central America: Opposing Viewpoints*, ed. Carol Wekesser,

- (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, 1990), 189,191; Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 121.
87. This is a general trend of the more right-wing Protestant churches, but specifically in this instance referring to the Word Church's (*El Verbo*) Gospel Outreach. It was after the earthquake that this particular church came to Guatemala and later was able to bring the General and former Presidential candidate into their fold. David Stoll, "Chapter 4—Evangelicals, Guerillas, and the Army: The Ixil Triangle Under Rios Montt, pp. 90-116," in *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis*, ed. Robert Carmack, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 94.
 88. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 121.
 89. Critics referred to this as *lamina por anima* (a soul for tin roofing), referring to people's conversion in order to receive goods from the churches. *Ibid.*
 90. LaFeber, 258.
 91. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 183; LaFeber, 259.
 92. LaFeber, 259.
 93. *Ibid.*
 94. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 189-190; LaFeber, 258.
 95. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 189-190; LaFeber, 258.
 96. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 194-5.
 97. *Ibid.*
 98. Davis and Hodson, 29.
 99. *Ibid.*
 100. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 128-9.
 101. *Ibid.*, 129-30.
 102. *Ibid.*, 129-30.
 103. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 196; Garrard-Burnett, 130.
 104. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 196; Garrard-Burnett, 130.
 105. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 196; Garrard-Burnett, 130.
 106. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 196; Garrard-Burnett, 130.
 107. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 209.
 108. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 131.
 109. *Ibid.*, 132.
 110. Lernoux, 191.
 111. *Ibid.*, 190-1.
 112. The bible verse is a translation of a section of Romans 13:1, quoted in Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 132.
 113. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 135.
 114. David Stoll, *Between Two Armies in the Ixil Towns of Guatemala*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 102.
 115. *Ibid.*
 116. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 215-6.
 117. *Ibid.*, 217.
 118. This story may be fictitious; it later became known that the former Catholic and Christian Democratic candidate, who was cheated out of the Presidency in 1974, was wearing full battle fatigues at the time of the *golpe*, attire seemingly inappropriate to wear while teaching bible study. Berryman, *The Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 217; Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 139.
 119. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 141.
 120. *Ibid.*, 140-1.
 121. *Ibid.*
 122. Berryman, *Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 219; Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 147; Jonas, 148-9; LaFeber, 321.
 123. Unspecified army officer, quoted. in Berryman, *Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 219; Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 147.
 124. Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, 191.
 125. *Ibid.*, 192.
 126. Jonas, 149.
 127. Berryman, *Religious Roots of Rebellion*, 218; Garrard-Burnett, 147; Jonas, 150.
 128. *Ibid.*
 129. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 148.
 130. For an account of the scale of the violence, as reported by the UN created *La Comisión para el Esclarecimiento*, or The Commission for Historical Clarification (CEH), refer to endnote 2, p. 33 of this text. Sanford, 148, 155.
 131. Lernoux, 188; Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 150.
 132. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 150; Sanford, 137.
 133. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 153; Sanford, 139.
 134. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 153; Sanford 137.
 135. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 153; Sanford 137.
 136. Garrard-Burnett, *Protestantism*, 158.

137. Ibid., 158-9.
 138. Ibid., 159.
 139. Ibid., 162.
 140. Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?*, 138.
 141. Stoll, "Chapter 4—Evangelicals, Guerillas, and the Army," 91.
 142. Ibid., 90.

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The Latin American Consensus



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Abstract

Anti-Americanism has reached an unsettling global high that has been manifested in everything from opinion polls to violent protests. Latin America is geopolitically important to the United States, while harboring anti-American sentiment. The history of U.S.-Latin America relations and the most recent public opinion polls are analyzed to unearth the roots of regional anti-Americanism. Two case studies include a country notorious for its blatant anti-Americanism (Venezuela) and a country traditionally allied with the United States (Mexico). Despite different political or historical relations with the United States, Latin American countries have come to an anti-American consensus.

Introduction

On President Bush's summer 2007 five-nation tour of Latin America, he was met by crowds of protesters angry about the Iraq War, immigration policy, or Bush's leadership. Anti-Americanism in Latin America is at an unsettling high, and there is reason to believe that it will not dissipate as soon as Bush leaves office. Historical, economic, and political causes all contribute to form a complex, sometimes ambivalent opinion of the United States and Americans. "The Latin American Consensus" attempts to determine the causes of Latin America's recent anti-Americanism and unearth the roots of anti-Americanism in the region.

Such a widespread dissatisfaction with the United States is worthy of investigation. Also, it seems a region sharing deep historical ties, numerous trade agreements, membership in international organizations, and millions of its citizens with the United States would be politically important to policymakers and scholars alike. However, Latin America has not been granted the political attention that it deserves, especially regarding research on anti-Americanism.

Research on the causes of global anti-Americanism often brushes over or entirely overlooks Latin America. In addition to lacking in the realm of research, the significance of anti-Americanism in Latin America is undervalued by policymakers as well. Areas like the Middle East have absorbed the majority of Americans' attention and concern about anti-Americanism. Concern over the Middle East is completely understandable, as violent anti-Americanism poses a grave threat. But as author Julia Sweig states, Latin America was "the cradle of Third World anti-Americanism long before radical Islamic terrorist groups would make their wrath felt" (2006, 8). The anti-Americanism Sweig refers to is still prevalent; recent polls unveil a majority of negative opinion toward the U.S. in many Latin American countries.

Methodology

In this study, existing literature, recent opinion polls, and two case study countries are used to unearth the causes of current anti-Americanism in Latin America. Mexico and Venezuela were used as case studies to explain the phenomenally high levels of anti-Americanism in Latin America because of their historical and political ties to the United States. While Mexico shares a border and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the U.S. and is a historical ally of the U.S., Mexicans have demonstrated high levels of anti-Americanism in polls. Mexico serves as a useful case study for other historical allies of the United States that are of the more economically developed Latin American countries. Countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are all historical U.S. allies and more economically developed than other Latin American countries, and demonstrate anti-Americanism in polls. The elections of leftist leaders opposed to U.S. foreign policy make Venezuela a valuable case study for examining the causes of anti-Americanism in these countries. It is clear how leaders such as Fidel Castro and Hugo Chavez feel about the United States, but determining how the citizens perceive the U.S. merits our concern. The three-tiered model created by Polly Diven in her piece "The Complex and Contradictory Nature of Anti-Americanism" (2007) will be used as the theoretical framework for analysis for this study. This three-tiered model best embodies the multifaceted and integrated nature of the components of anti-Americanism.

Diven suggests that there are three categories of anti-Americanism. The first tier is the most long-term and deeply rooted, based on historical grudges held in a nation's collective memory as well as the current unipolar international system structure. These are factors that are either impossible or slow to change. For example, Mexicans still have not entirely forgotten the 1867 territorial acquisition of Mexico by the United States, even though over a century has passed. It is probably not the primary source of anti-Americanism, but it still serves as a base for other causes to add

on to. The second tier includes conflicts regarding cultural and value differences. The third tier includes anti-Americanism fueled by leadership and policy choices. These factors are often mistaken as the cause of anti-Americanism, though Diven claims that these factors are more symptomatic than causal. The third tier is short-term and easily changed, as it is based on opposition to specific leaders and policies. Diven argues that a mixture of the tiers combines to constitute anti-Americanism. Figureheads of U.S. foreign policy often become the target of anti-American protests. As Jose Figueres explained, "people cannot spit on a foreign policy, which is what they meant to do" (McPherson 2003, 9). Although this quote is in response to protests that took place in 1958 when Figueres was president of Costa Rica, this sentiment still holds true. President George W. Bush has been scorned worldwide, and Latin America is no exception. These tiers can be used to explain the depth of anti-Americanism, or how much opinion of the U.S. will change with the upcoming change in presidents, and how much is more deeply rooted and attributed to other factors.

Analyzing history, economics and politics separately yields a very different perception of anti-Americanism in a country than if one examines them in conjunction. Diven's three-tiered model creates a comprehensive view of anti-Americanism in a country because it effectively categorizes the causes of anti-Americanism, and it weights those categories to attribute their significance. Looking at economic relations alone between Mexico and the United States, it would appear that the countries had close relations and there was no reason for anti-Americanism. They are both members of NAFTA and remittances from Mexicans in the United States is Mexico's second largest source of Gross Domestic Product. The model recognizes that there are historical and structural reasons for anti-Americanism in Mexico. Venezuela's current leader is very anti-U.S. but the model recognizes that the Venezuelan people also have other reasons to harbor resentment toward the U.S.

Because each country in Latin

America has its own unique history and relationship with the United States, and because countless factors contribute to anti-Americanism, it is impossible to name every cause of anti-Americanism in each country. Mexico and Venezuela serve as excellent case studies for explaining the phenomena of different relations, yet similar views toward the U.S. Each country shares elements with a number of other Latin American countries that are potential causes for anti-Americanism.

Existing literature makes it clear that anti-Americanism exists and is a problem. Literature alone, however, is not sufficient to determine to what extent anti-Americanism is a problem in Latin America. Recent opinion polls are helpful in examining how Latin Americans feel about the United States for a couple of reasons. First, polls are the best method available of capturing the most recent, collective feelings of a country. Second, there are polls available on a wide range of topics, allowing us to examine the many facets that compose anti-Americanism and pinpoint areas that people feel the most strongly about. For these reasons, in addition to existing literature on anti-Americanism in Latin America this study analyzes the most recent opinion polls available pertinent to Latin Americans' opinions regarding the United States.

Literature Review

The definition of Anti-Americanism is widely debated but varies to include several factors such as opposition to American policies, culture, and economics. Each scholar writing on the topic includes their own definition and typology of anti-Americanism. Many of the works reviewed discuss the purpose of anti-Americanism in Latin America. The purpose of this paper, however, is not to argue the political effectiveness of Latin American anti-Americanism.

Although Latin America is not the focus of much of the existing research on anti-Americanism, the research pertaining specifically to how Latin America frames anti-Americanism in the region in three ways. Anti-Americanism in Latin America is characterized as irrational, as the understandable result of United

States imperialism and the neoliberal policies it advocates, or as a mixture of the two.

In his book *Yankee No! Anti-Americanism in U.S.-Latin American Relations*, Alan McPherson examines the historical roots of anti-Americanism in Panama, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic as case studies for the rest of Latin America (2003). McPherson concludes that anti-Americanism in those countries is a mix of opposition to US intervention in the region, a strong sense of national sovereignty, and the use of anti-Americanism as a political strategy. Although McPherson cites the use of anti-Americanism as a political strategy during Castro's revolution, it remains a useful strategy today. As Julia Sweig stated in an interview on Bush's Latin America tour, "there's nothing like George W. Bush as a target for whipping up nationalism and exploiting divisions in the hemisphere" (2007). McPherson adds to that sentiment in his article "Myths of Anti-Americanism: The Case of Latin America," stating that "something must be present in order to be 'whipped up,'" or anti-Americanism can be exploited by those in power, but cannot be created by those in power (2004, 148).

When describing the specific instances of U.S.-Latin American conflict of the 1960s in his country case studies, McPherson accuses the U.S. of making mistakes in its dealings with Latin Americans, but at the same time accuses Latin American anti-Americanism of being ambivalent. McPherson points out that in a place like Cuba, American culture had become such an integral part of Cuban culture it was almost hypocritical to become so opposed to the United States. In his article, McPherson dispels the "myths" that anti-American is irrational, and also the myth that all anti-Americanism is rational. He faults the U.S. for discounting anti-Americanism as an emotion, and the racism associated with the "perceived natural emotionality of 'Latins.'" Rather, McPherson argues that the emotional responses of Latin Americans are legitimate, given the trespasses of the United States against Latin America throughout history (2004, 144). McPherson notes that not all anti-American responses to the U.S. are

legitimate. He cites instances of Latin Americans rejecting reforms would have been favored, had they not been promoted by "Yankees." Targeting anger toward American citizens that have nothing to do with the formation of U.S. foreign policy is another instance of irrational anti-Americanism. This type of irrational attack occurred in 1965 in Panama, when Panamanians rebelling against U.S. ownership of the Panama Canal attacked anyone they presumed to be American (McPherson 2004).

Alvaro Vargas Llosa goes farther than McPherson in characterizing Latin American anti-Americanism as irrational. Llosa places the blame for Latin America's struggles entirely on the recent emergence of leftist leaders (2007). He rejects the view that the United States committed historical wrongs against Latin American countries. He attributes sluggish economies to be a result of economic mismanagement perpetuated by leaders such as Fidel Castro, Hugo Chavez, and Evo Morales.

Various authors cite rejection of the neoliberal economic policies of the Washington Consensus as the reason for Latin America's new anti-American Consensus. The failure of U.S.-propagated neoliberal reforms to incite growth, advance development, and eradicate extreme poverty has caused disappointment and resentment throughout the region, especially in Latin America's poor majority. As William Finnegan notes in his article "The Economics of Empire: Notes on the Washington Consensus," Argentina is one of the most tragic examples of the failure of neoliberal reforms. Its U.S.-mandated reforms of privatization, deregulation, trade liberalization, and tax reform either caused or failed to prevent its economic collapse in 2001, a letdown Argentineans have not forgotten (2003). It can be argued that this may be one factor in Argentina's current 32 percent approval of the U.S., shown in Table 4. Finnegan delineates the ways in which U.S. financial dominance over Latin America produces negative perceptions of the U.S. American dominance over international institutions serves as a source of negative opinion. Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund supersede national sovereignty and impose

reforms that have massive impact on the lives of Latin Americans. Finnegan argues that massive foreign debt and the repatriation of profits of multinational companies to other countries contributes to anti-Americanism in Latin America (2003).

According to Greg Grandin in his article "Latin America's New Consensus," the U.S. should not ignore the economic intentions of Latin America's leftist leaders. He estimates that roughly 300 million of Latin America's 520 million citizens live under governments that want to drastically reform or eradicate the Washington Consensus entirely (2006). That estimate is now larger, as more leftist leaders have been elected in Latin American countries since then. Leaders of Latin American countries are taking action to counter U.S. domination over regional economics. Mercosur, a trade agreement between a few South American nations, has been molded into a real alternative to the Free Trade Area of the Americas that the U.S. promotes. Those opposed to the Washington Consensus have observed and want to avoid the "market polygamy" that Mexico experienced after NAFTA, where "the U.S. can have multiple trading partners but each of those partners must remain faithful to it [the U.S.] alone" (Grandin 2006, 24).

Julia Sweig agrees with scholars who feel that anti-Americanism is the understandable result of bad U.S. foreign policy. In her book *Friendly Fire: Losing Friends and Making Enemies in the Anti-American Century*, Sweig blames a variety of factors for anti-Americanism. A large portion of anti-Americanism is caused by "the very fact of U.S. power," the same cause Diven allocates to Tier I of her three tiered model (Sweig 2006, 35). Diven and Sweig agree that the U.S. role of the hegemon is enough to incite resentment in countries. Sweig also chastises the United States for getting its information about how Latin Americans feel from the top twenty percent of the country's elites, rather than the eighty percent of the country's poor population. Similar to scholars such as George Grandin and William Finnegan, Sweig cites the failure of the Washington Consensus to produce wealth in Latin America as a

cause of anti-Americanism. Sweig states that if the 1980s were known as the “lost decade” in Latin America due to the economic chaos caused by hyperinflation, the 1990s was the decade of “lost hope” when the wealth that neoliberalism was supposed to bring never materialized. In Sweig’s opinion, this helped set the stage for the anti-Americanism the U.S. now faces in Latin America (Sweig 2006).

While there are many theoretical frameworks for analysis for anti-Americanism, Diven’s model highlights the multidimensional and integrated nature of the causes of anti-Americanism, and separates the categories of anti-Americanism into logical divisions. This model is flexible, in that it can be applied to single countries or stretched to include entire regions. Katzenstein and Keohane distinguish between types of anti-Americanism in their book *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics* (2007), but the division between liberal and social anti-Americanism is unnecessary. Focusing on one topic as the cause of anti-Americanism as Finnegan does is valid, but does not explain all types or the depth of anti-Americanism in the region. Rather than simply describe types of anti-Americanism, Diven’s model demonstrates how the different types build on one another to create anti-Americanism with varying depths. Because of its usefulness in determining potential causes as well as the depths of anti-Americanism, it will be used to analyze anti-Americanism in the following case studies.

Venezuela

Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez makes no secret of how he feels about President Bush. Chavez has made his opinion clear on a number of occasions, notably calling Bush the “devil” in front of the United Nations General Assembly in September of 2006. Examination of the most recent opinion polls reveals that Venezuelans do not have a very high approval of the United States. Only 41 percent of Venezuelans view the United States positively (Table 4), and 85 percent feel that the United States does not solve the world’s problems (Table 1). Venezuelan anti-Americanism goes deeper than the inflammatory language of its leader.

Tier I Analysis- History and System Structure

Latin America’s significance to the United States changed with the end of the Cold War and the emergence of a unipolar global power structure. During the Cold War, the United States battled to keep the Soviet Union from taking the influence over Latin Americans the U.S. had enjoyed since the Monroe Doctrine. In Cuba, the United States lost that battle. Numerous interventions in other countries ensured that other governments hostile to the United States were not allowed to stay in power. In today’s unipolar international system structure, the U.S. is no longer concerned about Soviet influence in the hemisphere and therefore not as concerned with the affairs of Latin American countries.

While most Latin American countries accept the U.S. as the global hegemon and work within that context, Venezuela is part of a growing movement of Latin American leaders who do not. Cuba has tried to undermine U.S. influence in Latin America since the Cold War, but does not have anywhere near the resources Venezuela has. The international system structure has proven to be a powerful source of anti-Americanism for Venezuela. It has spurred Hugo Chavez to strive to not only undermine U.S. power and influence, but to also try to establish Venezuela as the regional power. Chavez’s success in establishing Venezuela as a regional leader has been limited. While he has allies in leaders like Fidel and Raul Castro and Evo Morales, polls indicate that Latin Americans actually have the highest opinion of Brazil’s President Lula Da Silva. In addition, Brazil is the country Latin Americans trust most (Table 6). Regardless, Chavez has been using oil revenues to support the aid packages he extends to countries in an effort to stem U.S. global influence. Chavez has even subsidized oil in poor neighborhoods in New York, perhaps an effort to make the U.S. government appear negligent (Carillo 2005).

Venezuela, like many other Latin American countries, has been ruled by dictators for some time in the nation’s history. Those dictators supported U.S. interests in the region, and in turn received support from the United States.

The U.S. backed Juan Vicente Gomez from 1908 to 1935, and Marcos Perez Jimenez from 1950 through 1958. The United States’ support of Perez is what prompted the 1958 protests at Vice President Nixon’s visit to Caracas (Ewell 1996). There is a strong legacy of intervention attached to the United States in Latin America, one that factors greatly into the first tier of anti-Americanism, and within the context of the tier model, gives Latin America reason to have deeply rooted, or what Joseph Nye would call “legacy” anti-Americanism.

Tier II Analysis- Cultural and Economic Ties

Latin America has an interesting cultural relationship with the United States. Scholars such as McPherson and Patterson who have researched anti-Americanism in Latin America often highlight the ambivalent nature of Latin Americans regarding culture. Because the United States has had so much interaction with and influence in the region, American culture has been prevalent in Latin America as long as the U.S. has been a superpower.

Cuba and Venezuela are perfect examples of countries displaying ambivalence toward the U.S. As a result of the Platt Amendment in Cuba, Cuban culture was so heavily influenced by American culture that Cubans began rejecting America in an effort to define their own culture at the time Fidel Castro was struggling to take power. As Alan McPherson explained, “An anti-Americanism that went to the root of Cuba’s intimacy with the United States urged Cubans to admit how dependent they were on it for their very sense of themselves as a nation; reversing that dependence meant redefining ‘Cubanness’ itself” (2003, 49). Fidel Castro encouraged this rejection of the United States and used anti-Americanism as a source of nationalism and a point of political unification throughout his revolution. Venezuela and Cuba have faced similar situations. According to Judith Ewell, “Geography, history, and petroleum have thus facilitated a greater degree of ‘Americanization’ in Venezuela than any other Latin American nation” (1996, 5). In both Cuba and Venezuela, American baseball has gained more

popularity than futbol (soccer), which is the most popular sport in the rest of Latin America. On the other hand, both Cuba and Venezuela now have leaders that are notorious for their use of vehement anti-Americanism as a political platform. Just as Castro campaigned against American culture in Cuba, Hugo Chavez is enacting laws to preserve Venezuelan culture. Chavez recently passed a law that fifty percent of music played on the radio must be by Venezuelan musicians. Of the Venezuelan music, half of it must be traditional Andean folk music (Washington Post 2007). Despite the leaders of Cuba and Venezuela's distaste for American culture, much of the Latin American public likes it (Table 8). Latin Americans are, however, are opposed to the spread of American ideas and customs (Table 9). This opposition to the spread of American culture along with the emphasis on strengthening nationalism indicates a cultural conflict between the United States and many Latin Americans.

Aside from culture, a conflict that is unique to Venezuela is a conflict over resources, specifically petroleum. Since the economic boom of World War II in the U.S., and Venezuela became a vital oil supplier to the U.S., Venezuelan economy and politics has been influenced by this important investor (Ewell 1996). Throughout Venezuela's history, oil shortages gave Venezuelans bargaining power against the U.S., and in times of oil abundance, Venezuela was at a disadvantage. Oil interests played into which Venezuelan dictators the United States supported, and which leaders it chose to oppose (Ewell 1996). Currently, Venezuela is the world's fourth largest petroleum exporter, and an important supplier to the United States' staggering demand for oil (BBC 2002). The fact that Hugo Chavez has oil to bargain with makes his political rhetoric hard for the United States to ignore, and more reason for his anti-U.S. stance to be worrisome.

Tier III Analysis- Current Leadership and Policies

Venezuela is in no short supply of the components of anti-Americanism that make up Tier III. Venezuelans in general appear to be in contention with the

current leaders and policies of the United States. As was previously mentioned, Hugo Chavez is extremely opposed to the Bush administration and the policies attached to that administration. Chavez, like other Latin American countries, and much of the world for that matter, is opposed to the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Table 3 shows opposition to the Iraq war in four Latin American countries.

In 1992 Chavez was overthrown for a brief period in his first term of presidency by a coup. The U.S. was quick to recognize the new government and the image of the U.S. suffered when his presidency was restored by popular demand. Since then, Chavez has been convinced that the CIA supported that coup and that the Bush administration has planned assassination attempts on Chavez's life. The Bush administration denies this, but Chavez's suspicion adds to his antagonism towards Bush and his policies.

Political relations between the U.S. and Venezuelan governments are tense. Chavez has actively challenged U.S. hegemony by trying to undermine U.S. influence in any way possible. In addition to distributing subsidized oil to poor families New York, he has made political alliances with states hostile to the U.S. such as Iran and Cuba. While the opinions of a leader are not always the same as their constituents', Chavez not only has the support of the poor majority in his country, but also has many state-run media outlets to publicize his rhetoric, including a daily talk show. While Venezuelans may not necessarily agree with Chavez's opinions on the United States, polls indicate a low approval of the U.S., and Chavez may have some influence on those opinions. Regardless, political relations between the two countries are important to examine, as they factor into the third tier of anti-Americanism.

Mexico

Mexico was President Bush's last stop on his recent tour of Latin America, and like all of the other countries on the tour, Bush was met with protesters. The protests in Mexico largely focused on the Iraq war, and as Table 3 indicates, approximately 80 percent of Mexicans disapprove of the U.S. handling of the war in Iraq. Iraq, however, is only one

of the many points of contention Mexico has with its northern neighbor.

Tier I Analysis- History and System Structure

Historically, Mexico has been considered an ally of the United States. The two countries share a border, which automatically increases interaction and makes cooperation on security imperative. Various scholars have established that the unipolar international system structure is a source of global anti-Americanism. The wealth of economic, military, and political power the United States has amassed for itself inspires global criticism and envy. It makes perfect sense then for Mexico to harbor resentment or jealousy toward the United States due to the stark contrast in wealth between the two neighbors. As Mexican author Octavio Paz said, Mexico is "so far from God and so near to the United States" (McPherson 2004, 141). The United States is the wealthiest nation in the world, while around half of Mexico's citizens live in poverty (Rubio and Davidow 2006).

Although most Americans accept the continental United States as a given, Mexicans remember that the southwestern portion of the United States belonged to Mexico until 1867. States such as California, Arizona, and Texas used to be part of Mexico, and are now the states with the most concentrated populations of Mexican immigrants. In light of the fierce debate over the U.S. immigration regulations, Mexicans claim that "we did not jump the border, the border jumped us."

Because the United States is considered the global hegemon, it is often considered "accountable for a disproportionate share of the world's ills" (Diven 2007, 9), and in turn is expected to solve the world's problems. Mexico was not a functioning democracy for the seventy years that the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) dominated Mexican elections. During a substantial portion of this period the United States was the global hegemon and also claimed to promote democracy worldwide. For years, however, it did nothing to fix democracy in Mexico. When the United States is expected to solve problems perceived to be

in its capacity and does not do so, anti-Americanism grows. As Table 1 denotes, 74 percent of Mexicans feel that the U.S. does not solve the world's problems. This is clearly a negative perception of the United States, as this figure includes those who said the U.S. does "too much," those who said it does "too little," and those volunteering that the U.S. does "nothing" (Pew 2002).

In Latin America's case, the wrongdoing of the United States is usually that it has done too much. Starting with the Monroe Doctrine and followed by the Roosevelt corollary, military interventions, and pushing neoliberal economic reforms today, the United States has often taken the liberty of intervening in order to support U.S. interests in Latin America. This legacy of intervention in Latin America makes Latin Americans view U.S. actions as imperialism and an invasion of their sovereignty, a legacy that most do not welcome. Like almost every other Latin American country, Mexico has incidents of intervention by the United States embedded in its history. In 1914 President Wilson's troops took control of the city of Veracruz in order to overthrow the dictator Victoriano Huerta and install Venustiano Carranza in his place. Mexico and Venezuela are just two examples, but the United States has meddled in the affairs of almost every Latin American country at one time or another. This legacy of intervention has built a solid foundation for Tier I anti-Americanism in Latin America.

Tier II Analysis- Cultural and Economic Ties

Adding further cause for resentment is the fact that Mexico and the United States share membership along with Canada in the North American Free Trade Agreement. NAFTA was crafted in order to foment economic growth in all three nations, but over a decade into the agreement, Mexico has not benefited as much as it had desired. Mexico had high hopes for the agreement, and ex-President Carlos Salinas even amended Mexico's Constitution in order to participate in the agreement. Currently, Mexico's GDP growth rate is a modest 4.5%, and a GDP per capita of \$10,600 (CIA World Factbook

2007). NAFTA has exacerbated internal cleavages in Mexico as the southern, mostly indigenous populations feel that Mexicans in the northern states have gained disproportionately from NAFTA (Rubio and Davidow 2006). In fact, southern Mexicans from Chiapas were opposed to NAFTA from the very beginning. On January 1, 1994, the Zapatistas coordinated their peasant uprising to coincide with NAFTA taking effect. Mexican small farmers had reason to fear the effects of NAFTA. NAFTA opened Mexico's markets to U.S. corn imports, and Mexico's small farmers were unable to compete with the heavily subsidized American corn. It is possible that NAFTA could be part of the reason why 55 percent of Mexicans feel that the U.S. increases the gap between rich and poor (Table 1).

The most debated and most contentious conflict in U.S.-Mexican relations at the moment is the issue of immigration. As it stands, 500,000 Mexicans migrate to the United States annually (Reid 2006). An estimated eleven million undocumented immigrants currently reside in the United States, and a substantial portion of those people are Mexican (Rubio and Davidow 2006). Immigration is important to Mexicans because the United States can provide economic opportunities that Mexico cannot. Not only can workers earn better wages in the United States, but the remittances that are repatriated help family members who are left in Mexico to survive. Immigration is an important issue not only on the individual level, but on the governmental level also. The remittances sent from Mexicans in the U.S. comprise Mexico's second largest source of income. The previous president of Mexico, Vicente Fox, made immigration reform a priority of his administration and President Bush seemed receptive to negotiations. Any progress toward reform was lost, however, after the September 11th attacks occurred and securing U.S. borders became a priority.

The authorization by Congress to build a wall along the Mexican border has inflamed hostility from Mexicans. Simply constructing a wall will not stop the flow of unauthorized immigration. It does, however, send a message to Mexicans

that they are unwelcome in the United States. Another message came from the passage of HR4437 by the House of Representatives, a bill that would make unauthorized immigration a felony and allow for prosecution of anyone providing services to undocumented immigrants. This bill failed in the Senate, but sparked protests across the nation.

Current Mexican President Felipe Calderon has not dropped the issue of immigration from his political agenda. Mexico was President Bush's last stop on his recent goodwill tour of Latin America and Felipe Calderon bypassed easy diplomacy of skirting issues and pressed Bush for answers regarding immigration reform (Jackson 2007).

The U.S. government heavily emphasizes the issue of drug trafficking throughout all of Latin America. Because Mexico's shared border serves as an entry point for drugs, the issue is particularly stressed in dealing with Mexico. Because drug trafficking is so frequently the focus of dealings with Latin American countries, the citizens of these countries begin to harbor resentment toward the United States. As President Calderon points out, it is difficult for Mexico to slow down drug trafficking without a decrease in demand from the U.S. (Jackson 2007). There are many pressing issues that Latin Americans would like to see discussed with the United States, yet the discussions so often turn to drug trafficking. In a region that already feels neglected in comparison to other regions like the Middle East, ignoring the interests of Latin Americans does not foster good feelings. Latin Americans may feel coerced into complying with U.S. wishes regarding drugs, as the U.S. supplies aid to those countries who comply and disincentives to those who do not. Colombia has received over \$4 billion to combat drugs while Bolivia receives scorn from Washington for supporting coca production (Sweigt 2007).

Tier III Analysis- Current Leadership and Policies

The most short-term causes of anti-Americanism in Mexico center around the current U.S. administration and its foreign policies. On President Bush's

recent tour of Latin America he was met with protests at every stop. Most of the signs toted by angry Latin Americans were anti-Bush or anti-Iraq War. If Latin Americans' only source of anti-Americanism were what the signs claimed, eradicating anti-Americanism would be somewhat simple. Although the Iraq War has proven to be a greater undertaking than was originally forecasted, it will eventually end. President Bush's Presidency will definitely end in 2008. Tier III clearly plays a role in generating anti-Americanism, but it is unclear how much. Anti-Americanism in Latin America may decline as a result of the current leadership and policies, but it will not disappear based on the longer-term causes in Tier II and I.

Polls

The following collection of polls serves as a mechanism to gauge current levels of anti-Americanism in the region. Collectively, these polls demonstrate Latin American's multifaceted view of the United States. These polls can be cross-examined in several ways. A few polls indicate Latin America's overall approval of the U.S., including Table 2, Table 4, and Table 5. An interesting variable to compare in these tables is how rankings differ by country, and also how levels change depending on how the question is asked. In this example, it is unclear which of the three tiers any disapproval can be attributed to. On the other hand, polls such as Tables 8 and 9 fit into Tier II anti-Americanism, and Table 3 and Table 6 can be clearly classified as Tier III anti-Americanism.

The polls used are all conducted by the nonpartisan organizations of the Pew Research Center, Corporacion Latino-barometro, and the Program on International Policy Attitudes. All of the polls used are no less recent than the year 2002.

Polls from the Pew Global Attitudes Survey were all performed face-to-face, and while the polls in some of the countries claim to represent one hundred percent of the adult population, a problem in a few of the countries was that the sample was disproportionately urban, which could potentially influence people's opinions.

The Program on International Policy Attitudes conducted all four of the surveys in Latin American countries face-to-face. The surveys in Argentina and Mexico are supposedly representative of the entire nation, but the surveys in Brazil and Chile are representative of the urban population.

Surveys executed by Latinobarometro all claim to represent one hundred percent of the adult population living in the countries surveyed, with the exception of Chile and Paraguay. The percentage represented in those countries was 70 percent and 97 percent, respectively.

Table 1. Latin Americans' Opinions about the U.S. Solving the World's Problems and Increasing the Poverty Gap

	U.S. Doesn't Solve World's Problems (%)	U.S. Increases Poverty Gap (%)
Venezuela	85	48
Bolivia	76	74
Mexico	74	55
Guatemala	69	55
Honduras	67	45
Argentina	65	67
Brazil	65	60
Peru	60	55

* Includes those who said the U.S. does "too much," those who said it does "too little," and those volunteering that the U.S. does "nothing." The percentages above reflect that Latin American countries feel the United States does not act appropriately to help solve the world's problems, whether that means it does too much, not enough, or nothing at all. The other poll above shows that Latin American countries feel that the United States actually increases the gap between the world's rich and poor. Because Latin America is a region containing developing countries, poverty is a pressing problem to many Latin Americans. These polls reflect dissatisfaction with the U.S. role in solving global problems.

Source: Pew Global Attitudes Survey 2002

Table 2. Latin Americans' Opinions About U.S. Influence in the World as Mainly Positive or Mainly Negative

	Mostly Positive (%)	Mostly Negative (%)	Depends/Neither/Don't Know (%)
Argentina	13	64	23
Brazil	29	57	13
Chile	33	51	17
Mexico	12	53	35

Source: Program on International Policy Attitudes, 2006

Table 3. Latin Americans' Opinions About the U.S. Handling of the War in Iraq

	Approve (%)	Disapprove (%)	Don't Know (%)
Argentina	3	92	6
Brazil	12	85	3
Chile	23	65	12
Mexico	13	80	7

Source: Program on International Policy Attitudes, 2006

A poll on opinion about the Iraq War is useful because it demonstrates how stratifying an issue from the Third Tier can be. Table 3 demonstrates an overwhelming disapproval of the U.S. involvement in Iraq.

Table 4. Latin American Opinion About the United States

	Approval* (%)
Honduras	87
Panama	83
El Salvador	81
Guatemala	77
Costa Rica	75
Dom. Rep.	74
Peru	71
Colombia	70
Nicaragua	68
Ecuador	66
Chile	57
Brazil	53
Mexico	53
Bolivia	50
Paraguay	48
Venezuela	41
Uruguay	38
Argentina	32
L. America	61

* “Good” plus “very good” opinions of the United States

Source: Latinobarometro 2000-2005

Case studies Mexico and Venezuela have low approval of the United States, with 53 percent approval and 41 percent approval, respectively.

Table 5. Latin America’s Confidence in the United States

A little or no confidence	61%
A lot or some confidence	34%
Did not know/ Did not ask	5%

Source: Latinobarometro 2005

While there is a 61 percent average approval rating of the U.S. for Latin America, when asked a different question the results are much more negative. The same amount responded that they had little or no confidence in the United States, and only 31 percent responded that they had a lot of confidence or some confidence in the U.S.

Table 6. Image of Leaders*

	C. America	S. America	Total
Lula Da Silva	5.6	5.8	5.8
Hugo Chavez	4.5	5.2	5.0
Fidel Castro	3.4	4.8	4.4
G. W. Bush	5.6	4.1	4.8

*Q. I will list you a number of foreign leaders. I want you to evaluate them on a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means a very bad evaluation and 10 very good. Or do you not know enough to have an opinion?

Source: Latinobarometro 2005

The above poll shows that despite the tensions between the two, Latin Americans rate Hugo Chavez and George W. Bush very similarly with a rating of a 5.0 and a 4.8 respectively.

Table 7. Most Trusted Latin American Countries

	Percentage Ranked Most Trusted
Brazil	11
Argentina	6
Chile	6
Costa Rica	5
Mexico	4
Venezuela	4
Colombia	3
Panama	2
Uruguay	2
Cuba	2
Ecuador	1
El Salvador	1
Guatemala	1
Honduras	1
Nicaragua	1
Peru	1

Source: Latinobarometro 2005

The above poll shows the frequency with which Latin Americans ranked the listed countries the country they trust most. Lula Da Silva is the leader Latin Americans trust most (Table 6) and Brazil the country Latin Americans trusts most. Mexico and Venezuela both earned

the same ranking for trustworthiness. Incidentally, the countries with the highest approval rating of the United States, such as Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala (Table 4), are also among the least trusted by other Latin American countries (Table 7). The inverse is also true: Brazil and Argentina have low approval ratings of the United States and are also the two most-trusted countries.

Table 8. Latin Americans’ Opinions on American Popular Culture

	Like (%)	Dislike (%)	Don't Know/ Refused to Answer (%)
Venezuela	78	20	2
Honduras	71	25	4
Guatemala	70	26	5
Brazil	69	29	2
Mexico	60	30	10
Peru	46	43	11
Bolivia	39	54	7
Argentina	52	38	10

Source: 2002 Pew Global Attitudes Survey

Table 9. Latin Americans’ Opinion on the Spread of American Ideas and Customs

	Good (%)	Bad (%)	Don't Know/ Refused to Answer (%)
Venezuela	44	52	4
Honduras	44	53	4
Guatemala	40	53	7
Peru	37	50	13
Brazil	30	62	8
Mexico	22	65	13
Bolivia	22	73	5
Argentina	16	73	11

Source: 2002 Pew Global Attitudes Survey

Latin Americans like American popular culture (Table 8), but disapprove of the spread of American ideas and customs (Table 9). Although Venezuela has a lower general approval of the U.S. than Mexico (Table 4), Venezuelans actually like American popular culture and approve of its spread much more than Mexicans. The approval of American culture but disapproval of the U.S. overall highlights the ambivalence that is an integral aspect to Latin American anti-Americanism.

Conclusions

The combination of polls and case studies have illuminated findings on anti-Americanism in Latin America in general, and in Venezuela and Mexico in particular. Although every country has its own unique history and relations with the United States, Mexico and Venezuela are case studies that are applicable to the rest of Latin America because they have events in their histories and elements in their relations that are shared with other Latin American countries. Diven's three-tiered model is a useful tool for analyzing anti-Americanism in Latin American countries. It has been able to explain why countries that have close relations with the U.S. can have reason to harbor resentment toward the United States. The model is also useful because it predicts how much of the anti-Americanism seen in polls is short-term and has the potential to dissipate with a new administration in power in the U.S. and how much is long-term and harder to change.

This research has tested a model that has never before been tested and found it to be very effective in determining the causes and significance of anti-Americanism in a country. Determining the causes of anti-Americanism is valuable in any region, and Latin America is not the exception it is treated as. Latin America is a region that was strategically important to the U.S. during the Cold War. The U.S. is no longer battling the Soviet Union for influence over the Western hemisphere but that does not mean that the U.S. is not in a battle over influence. Opinion polls indicate that anti-Americanism in Latin America is prevalent. While there is debate over the

consequences of anti-Americanism, an outcome of anti-Americanism is never that it advances U.S. interests and influence in an area where it is present.

It is not proven that the recent elections of leftist leaders in Latin America is a result of, or even correlated to, anti-Americanism in the region. It should not be discounted entirely, however, that this is not in any way a consequence of anti-Americanism, or will foster anti-Americanism as a consequence. Opposition to the neoliberal economic model promoted by the U.S. known as the Washington Consensus has fostered plenty of anti-Americanism on its own. The U.S. has made clear its position on the aforementioned leaders of Bolivia, Nicaragua, Venezuela, and Ecuador during their campaigns, and yet they were still elected into office. If the citizens of these countries were more concerned with staying in the good graces of the United States they would not have elected these leaders. Yet they did, which sends the message that anti-Americanism is undermining U.S. influence over the region.

A study of the causes of anti-Americanism in Venezuela reveals that a great deal of it can be attributed to Tier I and Tier III causes. The United States has a legacy of intervention in Latin America, and Venezuela is no exception. The U.S. has a history of supporting unpopular dictators in Venezuela and of opposing popular leaders. Infringement on sovereignty is cause for resentment in Venezuela and every other Latin American nation that has experienced it. A puzzling observation, however, is that the U.S. has much higher approval ratings in Central America, a region where the United States was very involved in horrific civil wars. This may mean that Tier I anti-Americanism plays a greater role in Venezuela than it does in Central American countries. It also appears that anti-Americanism in Venezuela comes from the Tier III causes or current U.S. leaders and policies.

Anti-Americanism in Mexico appears to come from more of a mixture of tiers than Venezuela. While Mexico has reason to harbor Tier I anti-Americanism and seems to be opposed to current U.S. leaders and policies, Tier II anti-Ameri-

canism has a greater role in Mexico than in Venezuela. This can be seen in Tables 8 and 9 where Mexicans generally like American popular culture but really dislike its spread. These conflicting opinions are an example of what scholars describe when they refer to Latin American ambivalence towards the United States. The United States and Mexico are still allies, but the current debate over immigration reform contributes greatly to Tier III anti-Americanism.

A mixture of history, politics, economics, and culture makes Latin America's view toward the U.S. a complex one. While countries as different as Mexico and Venezuela may disagree on a variety of issues, they are in agreement on the issue of the United States. Mexico and Venezuela are not, however, the only examples of countries in Latin America with very different ideologies and histories that are in consensus in their opposition toward the United States. A study of data and literature reveals that many countries, regardless of their differences, display anti-Americanism. ■

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Interactive Media—the Next Literature?



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Abstract

Perceptions of video games (computer games/games played on consoles) have evolved from stereotypical viewpoints that games are just a type of passive learning. My research demonstrates that video games are indeed active by categorizing levels of interactivity and by providing additional ways that they have educational value: defining the cognitive aspect, drawing a comparison between the developments of a children's museum, and studying serious games. I then establish the relationship between video games and literature, drawing comparisons between the relationships between the author, reader, and text and the player. I conclude that video games can recategorize literature.

According to a National Endowment for the Arts survey, “Literary reading is in decline with fewer than half of American adults now reading literature” (Davis para. 1). Dana Gioia, the National Endowment for the Arts Chairman, states that “this report documents a national crisis,” as reading, which is important to education and lifestyle, is at risk (Davis para. 3). As literary reading continues to decline, the question becomes what are people doing instead? As the study shows, “people who do not read literary works watched an average of 3.1 hours (of television) daily” (Davis para. 14). Of course, this is not the only reason for the decline, but television is a dominant interest among children and adults. “America can no longer take active and engaged literacy for granted,” according to Gioia. “As more Americans lose this capability, our nation becomes less informed, active, and independent minded. These are not qualities that a free, innovative, or productive society can afford to lose” (Davis para. 15). Because America, “a free, innovative, or productive society” cannot afford to lose such qualities, what solution or solutions will help solve the problem? (Davis para. 15). Gioia does not believe there is a solution; however, there are ways or opportunities that are being ignored or not even taken into consideration. There are other mediums, specifically video games, which have educational value and even dynamics similar to literature.

Video games, once negatively classified as passive learning, have advanced beyond such mediums as television and film, and now can be considered active learning. Video games are simulations of new experiences and new worlds, and players are able to create, take risks, succeed, develop critical and problem solving skills, and explore within the medium.

According to Marilee Sprenger, an international educational neuroscience consultant and author of *Differentiation through Learning Styles and Memory*, “There are some brain basics that will

affect all students to varying degrees. The characteristics of a strong cognitive environment include predictability, feedback, novelty, choice, challenge, and reflection” (18). These characteristics of a strong cognitive environment exist not only in a classroom learning environment, but also within the playing experiences of video games. Unpredictable situations within a classroom interfere with the learning process of the brain (Sprengrer). Video games are developed to comply with the need for predictability. The first level of any game is designed for the player to become familiar with his surroundings. Without having played the game, the player can predict that the puzzles in the first level will be rather easy to solve, or if by chance there are enemies, they will not be as much of a threat as later in the game. For instance, in the “new” game *Food Force*, created by the United Nations World Food Programme, the player becomes a crucial part in the process of delivering food aid to an area in crisis. The first mission entitled “Air Surveillance” is relatively simple in order for the player to become familiar with controls and the geographical area. During this mission, the player pilots a helicopter over the fictitious island of Sheylan (the crisis zone) and locates hungry people and the fastest route to deliver food. The description of the mission may seem difficult but the player is only controlling the helicopter by using the mouse (of the computer) and highlighting groups of people on the screen. The difficulty of the levels occurs with progression as, later, the player will have to create a well-balanced diet of sugar, rice, beans, and salt for the population of Sheylan, complete logistic puzzles to buy food donations, and manage projects to rebuild the Sheylan community.

If the game is too unpredictable and the player is faced with too-difficult puzzles, the game becomes unappealing to its audience. The game does not allow the player to advance. This is important with regard to feedback: “Neuroscientist William Greenough believes that interactive feedback is required to learn from experience” (Sprengrer 20). The player learns from his experience of the game when he receives feedback from the outcome of his actions. This learn-

ing process combines with the reflection process. Based on the actions and outcomes within the game, the player receives positive or negative feedback. Positive feedback may result in a high score or continuing to the next level without much “damage,” just as negative feedback may result in not completing the level. In this case, the player has to reflect on certain emotions that arise from the playing experience, what works or does not work, or what adjustments are needed to do better. Here, the player reaches higher-level thinking of analyzing and synthesizing the content. This also enhances memory, as the player will remember what to do in a particular situation. Because video games offer novelty and choice, the brain is able to respond positively. The player is introduced to a new world that he is able to experience. Allowing the player to make choices within the video game adds to his experience. The player develops problem-solving and critical thinking skills. In addition, choices can enhance motivation to proceed and experiment, since the player is not confined by rules. The challenge of a video game motivates the player to continue the game. If *all* the levels of the game (not to be confused with the theory of the simplicity within the first level) are considered “easy,” the player loses interest and does not need to use critical thinking skills. Video games have to be well-conceived and executed cognitively in order for them to be successful.

As video games are developed to engage the player, children’s museums also use a similar successful environment as an innovative way of getting children interested in learning. The Grand Rapids Children’s Museum provides a “dynamic educational setting where all types of informal learning can occur” (Grand Rapids Children’s Museum para. 4). It is important to note the word “informal” in reference to activities that are not typically done within a classroom environment. Video games (informal learning) can also provide a “dynamic educational setting.” The most interesting aspect linking the children’s museum and video games is the concept of play.

During a visit to the Grand Rapids Children’s Museum, Community Relations Manager Jan Stone explained to

me that it is important for children to discover, play, and learn by doing—all terms related to the development of video games. To fully understand how one playing video games might “discover, play, and learn by doing,” it is necessary to examine the identity of the player without any negative preconceptions. Indeed, the player plays by using a handheld controller that allows the player to dictate the character’s actions. The most impressive contribution of video games to the player is the ability to explore worlds and discover objects or new techniques, as well as learn through experience. For example, *Food Force* has six different missions, entitled “Air Surveillance,” “Mission Pacts,” “Air Drop,” “Locate and Dispatch,” “Food Run,” and “Future Farming,” each demonstrating part of the process to deliver food aid to crisis areas. The player becomes familiar with the reality and activities of the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP). For instance, the player learns how global climate changes, such as drought and civil wars, can lead to area crisis. The player also learns the importance of nutrition: what ingredients constitute a nutritional meal, how the WFP responds to emergencies by dropping food from an airplane, and that the WFP has limited funds, relying on donations to deliver food to over 800,000,000 people across the world.

To deepen the playing experience, *Food Force* incorporates real video footage of land areas, helicopters and equipment, and discussions within planning rooms to provide the player with more than just an animated visual experience. The player is also able to take on different projects such as “School Feeding,” “Food for Work,” “Food for Training,” “Nutritional Programs,” and “HIV/Prevention” which, together, demonstrate a strategic planning of rebuilding a community over a ten year period so that the community will become self-sufficient. What would take years of training and expertise with handling food assistance is accessible to a player of any age with the game *Food Force*. Not only does this game “serve as a classroom tool for teaching about hunger and has a wide-cross curricula appeal (geography, social studies, and health) as well as strategic

thinking and decision-making,” the most effective aspect of the game is that it gives players real life experience applied to current crises—the war in Iraq and Hurricane Katrina (*Food Force*).

Although a children’s museum cannot provide such an intense hands-on experience as delivering food aid and scaling the surrounding area from a helicopter, it does provide exhibits that are relevant to someone’s everyday lifestyle, such as shopping at the grocery store. In the far corner of the Grand Rapids Children’s Museum, there is an imitation grocery store with a cash register and conveyor belt, shelves filled with cereal boxes, bread, juice containers, laundry detergent, and sections of plastic fruits and vegetables. The child learns how to run a grocery store by restocking shelves, bagging groceries, and handling prices and money.

Even though the player cannot touch objects in a video game, James Paul Gee, author of *What Video Games Have to Teach about Learning Literacy*, argues that similar interaction is a crucial element in gaming, too:

Playing a good video game like *Deus Ex* [a role-playing/action-adventure game] well requires the player to engage in the following four-step process:

1. The player must *probe* the virtual world (which involves looking around the current environment, clicking on something, or engaging in a certain action).
2. Based on reflection while probing and afterward, the player must form a *hypothesis* about what something (a text, object, artifact, event, or action) might mean in a usefully situated way.
3. The player *reprobes* the world with that hypothesis in mind, seeing what effect he or she gets.
4. The player treats this effect as feedback from the world and accepts or *rethinks* his or her original hypothesis (90).

In another part of the Grand Rapids

Children’s Museum, I observed a young girl about the age of five at an activity called the Gravity Wall. The Gravity Wall included a double-sided wooden board with cut horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines, colorful plastic planks to stick into the wall, and a tennis ball. At first, the young girl bounced the tennis ball, observed each plank, and stuck a few of the planks into the wall without a distinguishable pattern. Then, one by one, she lined the planks in what looked like a sideways “W.” Afterwards, she placed the tennis ball at the starting point to watch it roll down the path. However, the tennis ball stopped in between the third and fourth row because there was not enough space for the ball to continue due to the last plank in the third row. Since the girl was aware that I was watching her, she looked back at me (without asking for help) and smiled. Immediately, she rearranged the planks by removing the last two planks from the third row, rather than removing just the one blocking the path. To see the new effect of her rearrangement, she repeated the process with the tennis ball; this time, it did not stop. What was most interesting about this last process was that the young girl left right after solving the puzzle. She seemed to lose interest within the Gravity Wall because she did not try a new pattern, perhaps satisfied with the new effect.

As seen during the observation, the arrangement of exhibits encourages choices and problem solving. The areas within video games are also arranged in this way. For instance, the mood might change from one area to the next, which helps the player determine the level of danger. If the player leaves from an open field with upbeat music into a dark forest with dramatic music, the player uses the cue to be more cautious and examine the area. Throughout my conversation with Jan Stone, she kept referring to this idea of choice. She stated that, “It [being any activity, school related or not] is more successful when kids have choices.” This statement is very important as it reiterates what must be present within a strong cognitive environment as well as a good video game.

Each exhibit offers the awareness of patterns for different age groups. For

instance, there are three rainbow exhibits. At each rainbow exhibit, there are different plastic colored balls that are placed through a hole(s) to make a pattern. Depending on the age group, some children might focus on just putting the ball into the hole, as older children might try to make distinguishable patterns: all blue balls in the first line, all red balls in the second line, and so on.

According to Bryan Bergeron, author of *Developing Serious Games*, video games also follow this natural advancement:

The pervasiveness of digital technology in the classroom and workplace, as well as the popularity of gaming as a pastime for a large segment of the population, serve to strengthen the position that the use of serious games as educational vehicles is part of the natural evolution of educational technology (xix).

The serious games I have studied that follow this natural evolution of educational technology are *Life Preservers*, *Food Force*, and *Making History*. It is important to note the grade of difficulty of serious games in their relation to choice and interactivity. *Life Preservers* is operated by the Michigan State University Games for Entertainment and Lab. In *Life Preservers*, the player tries to protect Earth from alien ships, because the species on the ships could change the entire evolution of life on the planet. The “Tree of Life” (a timeline and family tree mapping the history of life on earth) is the primary display in the *Life Preservers* game. To the right side of the “Tree of Life,” there are questions that represent three adaptation challenges. During the ten rounds of play, the player figures out which “critter” (one of the dinosaurs) matches the adaptation. “A narrated, animated cut scene reinforces the key learning concepts that follows each round and relates those concepts to the pending alien invasion” (*Life Preservers*). The goal here is to learn as much about the “critters” as possible to prepare for the alien invasion. When the first alien invasion occurs, the player has the choice to pick which alien is most important to

stop to preserve life on earth. The player then learns how the chosen alien affects life on earth. The game is not constructed in such a way that the answers necessarily matter. Of course, the player has to get the correct answer to move on to the next stage, but this is not what is important. According to the Michigan State University Games for Entertainment and Lab, "The *Life Preservers* game acts as a good teacher, guiding learners to think about questions of evolution and adaptation in a carefully designed order. Learners will become accustomed to new ways of thinking about species and how they are adapted to their environment" (*Life Preservers*).

Life Preservers follows the standards of the National Science Education for 9-12 graders, and the video game format provides more interactivity than that of a science book to the students; the students exercise choice. When the game begins, the student creates the lab assistant character: skin, hair, eye color, and what clothes to wear. The most important choices rely on which alien ship to send away from earth. Although these choices do not affect game play, it does establish some character development (the lab assistant) and literacy. Game play is indeed affected by the player's choice in *Food Force*. For example, in Mission 5: Food Run, the player has the ability to clear land mines, rebuild bridges, and negotiate with local rebels forces. Although the player can choose different routes, either safe or dangerous, there will always be an obstacle to overcome before continuing to the destination. During my first time playing *Food Force*, I chose the safe route both times during the mission because I wanted to avoid any conflict that could slow down my route. However, even on the safe route, I encountered hostile bandits. The negotiation process was relatively simple because the "correct" responses were guided by the game. *Food Force* has established some freedom to the player, but it is still restricted.

Restrictions—limitations within the game—affect the player's interactivity. In *Food Force*, there are two types of restrictions: the number of choices by the player, and the outcomes of these choices. Because the player can pick which

route (safe or dangerous) to take, there are only three obstacles at hand: clearing land mines, rebuilding bridges, or negotiating with rebels. What may seem to be what I will call an open-system game (a game with infinite choices) is really a closed-system game because the choices are generated. Although the probability completing the generated obstacles on any given path is unknown to the player, the player can predict that it will be one of the mentioned obstacles. Of course, a first time player of *Food Force* will not have this advantage. This may even be the case for a player who has played *Food Force* multiple times; a generated obstacle may not have occurred during game play (e.g. a player might never have to negotiate with rebels). If the player does not have the chance to negotiate with rebels, the player will not experience the other type of restriction. During the negotiation process, the player is allowed to choose one of the four statements to answer the rebels concerns. Although this appears to allow more choices for the player, one of the statements in each series of concerns from the rebel is directed towards the outcome the game wants. During this time, the player predicts that the answer with the WFP information is the right choice. This didactic outcome restricts the player from choosing his own answer, unless the player wants to intentionally affect his mission negatively to see how the different answers might affect his game play. Of course, *Food Force* is used to teach students about the WFP, so it is clear why the game is developed in such a way. However, the weakness in *Food Force* is that it is only good to cover a specific subject matter; with its restrictions, the player will lose interest in playing the game multiple times.

Making History: the Calm and the Storm by Muzzy Lane Software, takes this wide cross-curricula appeal of geography and social studies (including government and history) to a more advanced level. Indeed, *Making History* is a popular strategy game, though all Muzzy Lane's games are built to be used in the classroom. *Making History* "invites students/players" to replay World War II based on military, political and economic factors (*Making History*). The students

also have the choice to play as the United States, Japan, United Kingdom, China, Germany, France, the USSR, or Italy. The goal is to devise strategies based on the nation's strengths and weaknesses while managing military forces, cities, regions, and resources. Some of the historic scenarios cover the fall of France, Pearl Harbor, and the D-Day Invasion of Europe. David McDivitt, an Indiana social studies teacher, has taken advantage of the opportunity to cover such events by using *Making History* within his classroom. His classroom has been aired on CBS and his success has been published numerous magazines and newspapers like *USA Today*. Unlike *Life Preservers* and *Food Force*, *Making History* can be played multiple times because of the choices allowed for the player. *Making History* only becomes restricted to the player when played within the classroom environment. Because *Making History* has numerous hours of game play, completion takes too much time for an ordinary unit on WWII within a history class. The player is then restricted to which scenario to play to meet requirements of the intended WWII unit of a history class. If the player can play the game in its entirety, then that player has the opportunity to interact with or even lead each nation. A textbook cannot provide that experience.

Indeed, video games can be supplementary to textbooks. Marilee Sprenger identifies one of the basic premises of the multiple ways for students to absorb and express information: "Students must be involved in their learning process" (2). Interactivity is essential for a student to learn. Students who are able to not just necessarily participate in class discussions but actually explore and experiment with concepts will remember and understand what they are doing. Through experience students can recall important information more easily than by reading a textbook or listening to lectures.

Certainly, reading a textbook is a form of interaction in that the student flips through the pages, reads the text, and identifies the pictures. However, what becomes of the student's learning experience if the student cannot process the text? The learning becomes passive. According to Eric Zimmerman, game

designer and CEO of Gamelab, interactivity can be divided into four types:

1. *cognitive* interactivity occurs on the level of interpretation, which demonstrates how the reader processes the text—constructing meaning and “filling in the gaps.”
2. *functional* interactivity comprises all the actions that a user can perform on the text’s material without altering it directly, for example, turning the pages of a poetry book.
3. *explicit* interactivity is designed by the object’s creator. This object requires manipulation by the interactor and the signs that make up the text affected by it.
4. *meta*-interactivity consists of acting on the text from its outside. This form of interactivity can be engaged when one claims ownership of the text and creates a variation of it (qtd. in Aresenault 10).

With regard to the definition for explicit interactivity, it is easy to see that video games hold more potential than textbooks and/or other media. When a reader cannot process the text, based on these forms of interaction, the reader only participates in the functional interactivity—he is unable to form connections to the text or write critical thoughts/reviews of the text. Video games, however, allow the player to interact at all levels of interactivity, and most importantly, manipulate the text through choices and action.

Of course, I can anticipate negative reactions to using video games within the classroom environment. I am not advocating that video games should be the primary learning tool within an educational curriculum; however, it is important to be aware of the possibilities that video games offer. Because it is true that video games hold more potential than textbooks, it is now safe to observe video games with literature. In fact, I believe that, by certain definitions, video games can be considered literature.

I do not think that it is necessarily pos-

sible to give a true definition of literature, as it varies from one to another. For those who need a basic definition, literature is “The body of written works of a language, period, or culture” and “Imaginative or creative writing, especially of recognized artistic value” (“Literature”). What is most interesting with these definitions is that literature is restricted to a written body of work. This might give one the impression that literature cannot be of a different form of art. Perhaps the unifying thread in all literature is the idea of experience, which is most important when understanding the relationship between the reader and text. Literature allows the reader to experience different cultures and different periods, whether it is a real or imagined event in human history. The author (which I will not limit to just of written texts) gives the reader a connection to the human mind. One cannot read someone else’s mind; the person has to rely on body language and expressions. Through literature, the reader “hears” the thoughts of the characters and has some understanding of a character’s particular action. This is how the reader becomes emotionally invested with the character. Indeed, this also gives insight to human behavior: how human beings interact with each other.

With the relationship between the reader and text, the process of reflection is also an important characteristic of literature. The human experience does not just involve the character within the novel, but the reader’s view of the character, situation, or environment. Literature can influence the reader to reflect on his or her own values, behavior, and life in general.

Before developing connections between video games and literature, it is necessary to establish the components of both literature and video games. The four basic components of literature, particularly fiction, are the author, the narrator, the point-of-view character, and the reader. The author is the one who originally develops and writes the work. The narrator (which exists in a variety of types) tells the story. The point-of-view character (which may be the same as the narrator) is the consciousness that the reader sees, listens, and feels in the story. And the reader is the one that reacts to

the piece.

Within the video game setting, the components are analogous to that of literature, except for the technological advances. Video games have the ability to provide relationships to the reader (as player) that a book or written work does not have the technology to accomplish. In this regard, there are two authors within the video game: the game designer and the player. The game designer has obviously created the game; however, the player creates how the story is told. In addition, the narrator of a video game can either be a voice-over throughout game play, the animated cut-scenes, or the player (the player again tells the story which is determined by his actions). The character is the one represented in the virtual world, as well as the conscious viewpoint experienced by the player. Lastly, the reader is considered the player, since the player reacts and explores within the virtual world.

This relationship of the player as reader can be illustrated using the concept of Aristotle’s Rhetorical Triangle. The Rhetorical Triangle is used to illustrate the concept that each appeal is as important—how the writer presents himself, how it affects the reader’s emotions, and how the reader process the text.

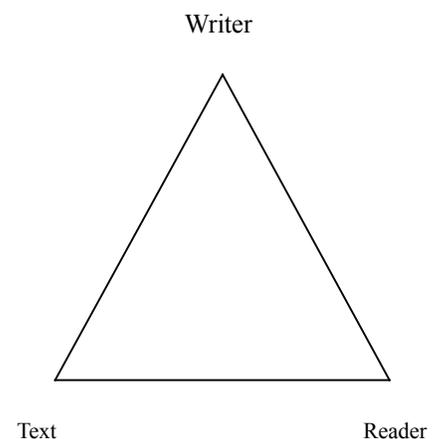


Figure 1: Aristotle’s Rhetorical Triangle

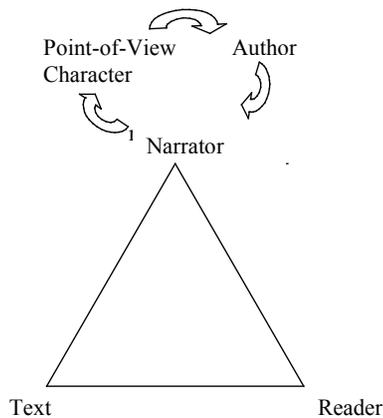


Figure 2: My Reconfiguration of the Rhetorical triangle

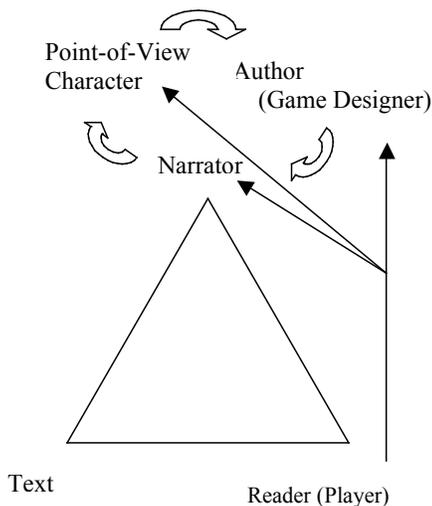


Figure 3: The Rhetorical Triangle used in reference to an open system video game

In literature, the writer can present himself through the narrator and the point-of view character. This idea is the same for video games in an open system, where infinite choices are allowed. The reader can become the author, narrator, and virtual character. In doing so, the reader can alter the text.

According to Wayne Booth, author of *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, “We can admit, of course, that the choice of evocative

‘situations and chain of events’ is the writer’s most important gift—or, as structure of the incidents” (97). This quotation is interesting as it relates to just the writer. The reader, being a dominant connection to literature, does not have this type of “gift.” Indeed, the reader can choose what to read and for what reasons, what is actually considered literature, and how to interpret a piece of work. However, the reader does not have this advantage over the work; the author chooses the subject matter and its delivery.

To understand the actual choice of the author, it is important to understand its limitation: “But his general emphasis is on the fact that the house of fiction has ‘not one window, but a million,’ that there are in fact, ‘five million’ ways to tell a story, each of them justified as it provides a ‘center’ for the work” (Booth 24). This idea of different windows leads to the relationship between cause and effect. Because the author chooses the story line, his end result would be different from another author writing a story with the similar idea. This concept of an overall idea with different results is very similar to the development with modern video games.

According to Gee, the story line in a video game is a mixture of four things:

1. The game designers’ (authors) choices
2. How you, the player, have caused these choices to unfold in your specific case by the order in which you have found things
3. The actions you as one of the central characters in the story carry out (since in good video games there is a good deal of choice as to what to do, when to do it, and in what order to do it)
4. Your own imaginative projection about the characters, plot, and world of the story. (Gee 82)

Here, the author has developed a game with one major storyline. For instance, in *Grand Theft Auto: San Andreas*, published by Rockstar Games, the

dominant storyline revolves around the murder of the central character Carl “CJ” Johnson’s mother. However, there are other stories that the player can become involved in. Because the geographical scope illustrates three major cities of Los Santos, San Fierro, and Las Venturas, the player interacts with different characters, therefore producing more stories. One key element to this cause and effect relationship is that “Different players find different things and discover information relevant to the story line in a different order” (Gee 81). This relationship between choice and content is the most distinguishable characteristic between video games and literature. Video games allow nearly infinite choices and responses, in which the player associates himself as the author of the “text.” The player, as a character, is able to affect the environment with certain actions. However, he becomes the author by replaying levels, changing characters (if applicable), and making different choices which not only affects the environment again, but also changes the outcome of the story. Although there can be many interpretations from different readers of a specific piece of traditional literature, there is only one author and one ending. The reader cannot become the author.

Although it may seem as if the player has more flexibility when taking on different identities, the reader still has the same responsibility. According to Gee, “All learning in all semiotic domains requires identity work. It requires taking on a new identity and forming bridges from one’s old identities to the new one” (51). This idea of identity is essential to the player of a video game, as well as the author and reader of a piece of literature. The player must become the character within the video game and, on a deepened level when speaking of role-playing games, create a character that meets or disregards his or her personal values. For instance, in the popular simulation game *The Sims 2* developed by Maxis, the player must first create a character that is either male or female and choose between races and the following six life stages: a baby, toddler, child, teen, adult, or an elder. Depending on the preference, a female player might choose a male teen with aspirations different from

her own, but choose a personality that is identical: very neat, hardly active, and somewhat social. Personally, whenever I play *The Sims 2*, it is difficult for me to create a character that differs much from my own personality or beliefs. I always create an adult female and mix aspirations between “family,” “fortune,” and “knowledge,” depending on the lifestyle I want my character to live. These all are three aspirations of mine; however, the game is restricted to only choosing one during the creation of the character. The only time I “become” someone else is when my female character marries and has children; I have to control the entire household.

Throughout my personal experience of playing *The Sims 2*, I have touched upon what Gee refers to as “the three identities at stake” when playing a good role-playing game. He uses the fantasy computer role-playing game *Arcanum* (which focuses on the ancient world before Atlantis sunk) as a model to describe the three identities: “First, there is a *virtual identity*: one’s identity as a virtual character in the virtual world of *Arcanum*” (Gee 54). This type of *virtual identity* can be modified to what I call a *fictional identity*, where the author’s identity becomes the fictional character within the fictional world of a novel, such that the author becomes the character within the text he is writing.

“A second identity that is at stake in playing a game like *Arcanum* is a *real-world identity*: namely, my own identity as ‘James Paul Gee,’ a nonvirtual person playing a computer game” (Gee 55). Here, it is not an issue with the title *real-world identity* when relating it to the process of literature. It becomes an issue when referring to *who the real-world identity* accounts for. To be more direct, the *real-world identity* can be divided between two sources of literature: the author and the reader. The author’s identity is his own identity as a non-fictional person writing a novel. In this regard, the reader’s *real-world identity* is his own identity, a non-fictional person reading the novel. The reader cannot have a *fictional identity* because the character (within the novel) is already created; there is not a moment where the reader can change the action of the character.

“A third identity that is at stake in playing a game like *Arcanum* is what I will call a *projective identity*, playing on two senses of the word ‘project,’ meaning both ‘to project one’s values and desires onto the virtual character’ and ‘seeing the virtual character as one’s own project in the making . . .’” (Gee 55). In keeping the same meaning of *projective identity*, the author is able to project his values and desires onto the fictional character, as well as see his finished project of the fictional character. It is during this moment that, according to Wayne Booth, “To some novelists it has seemed, indeed, that they [the authors] were discovering or creating themselves as they wrote” (71). Again, the reader cannot project his values and desires onto the fictional character; however, the reader can reflect on his values and the values of the projected character. Although the reader does not have the ability to view the fictional character as his own project, the reader is able to view the fictional character as one’s (the author’s) own project in the making. During this second stage of the projective identity, “the reader knows where he stands in the world of values, as well as, where the author wants him to stand” (Booth 73).

When thinking about identity, it is apparent that whether it is the author, reader, or player of a video game, each person has placed himself out of reality and into the created world: “For Ford Madox Ford the common aim of good modern novelists like James, Crane, Conrad, and himself is ‘to take the reader, immerse him in an Affair so completely that he was unconscious either of the fact that he was reading or of the identity of the author, so that in the end he might say—and believe: ‘I have been [there], I have been!’” (Booth 30). The statement “I have been [there], I have been” can be said by both the reader and the player. Spending hours playing a video game has always been criticized as wasting time or a way for the player to (negatively) escape the realities of life. In this regard, should reading a novel also be seen as wasting time, when indeed, the goal of the author is to let the reader escape his own reality? Of course, the answer would be no, since reading is an activity that is positive and encouraged.

However, one cannot disregard that this is also one of the best contributions of a video game. As for a good video game, because the player can actually explore the world (beyond imaginatively), he can truly become the character and actually “be” in the virtual world.

Although video games have some advantages over literature, such as offering a player the essential power to create and become a particular identity, as well as alter the text, there is one crucial thing that video games cannot yet accomplish—conversation. In all honesty, it will take years for video games to exceed their limitations of technology and human interaction, such that “real” conversations between humans and artificial intelligence become possible. It is true that a reader cannot have a “real” conversation with the character in a novel; however, the reader is surrounded by language. With access to the internal thought process of a character, the reader develops a real-life emotional investment: “If we look closely at our reactions to most great novels, we discover that we feel a strong concern for the characters as people; we care about their good and bad fortune” (Booth 129). This is not to suggest that a player does not care about the “good and bad fortune” of the characters (since the player shares the same identity); however, the player in most cases can change the outcome. For instance, if a character dies within the virtual world, the player can restart the level. A reader, on the other hand, will sympathize with a loved character within the novel if he or she dies because there is no resurrection.

Game developers Michael Mateas and Andrew Stern have tried to fill this “gap” between human interaction and artificial intelligence with their interactive drama *Façade*. According to Mateas and Stern, “The dream of interactive drama, has players interacting with compelling, psychologically complex characters, and through these interactions having a real influence on a dynamically evolving storyline” (Mateas). During the twenty minutes of game play of *Façade*, the player is caught within the argument between the virtual characters Grace and Trip about their marriage. *Façade* is most compelling because of the new possibilities it offers to players:

This work is unlike hypertext narrative or interactive fiction to date in that the computer characters actively perform the story without waiting for you to click on a link or enter a command. Interaction is seamless as you converse in natural language and move and gesture freely within the first-person 3D world of Grace and Trip's apartment. (Mateas)

If more game developers adopt this new genre, the gaming world itself will change. With this advancement, players will not have control over the action of the video game but a more direct connection to the plot—the player does not change the storyline through action, but through communication. And when mentioning communication, I am not referring to the “branch-out system” of choosing one of the limited responses generated by the computer. Instead, the player creates his own response and the virtual character will respond, which is the same idea behind a book—the characters respond to each other, naturally. It is during this moment that video games will evolve beyond the visual elements and become a true literary work, possibly offering more than literature itself has to offer. Then it is possible that video games, with their already similar dynamics to literature, can recategorize for students, writers, readers, and players what is literature. ■

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The Rhetorical Implications of *Clementia* in Cicero's Caesarian Speeches



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Abstract

Cicero's Caesarian speeches were delivered in 46-45 B.C. to Caesar after his victories in the Civil War. Caesar faced a number of critical issues as he dealt with the political and social aftermath of the years after 49 B.C., including what to do with the supporters of his enemies. Cicero, preeminent orator and a key political, was well-placed to speak on behalf of these individuals. Clementia, as an intrinsic theme, impinges upon social, political, and linguistic spheres and became a nexus for anxieties and manipulation between the senatorial and plebian orders. This research compares and contrasts the understanding, presentation, and use of clementia in these speeches, in a discussion set within the social, political, and linguistic contexts that lend this word its powerful significance. It is clear that clementia becomes a point of negotiation of power for Caesar and Cicero alike, the one asserting his political dominance, the other speaking as the social conscience of Rome.

Cicero's Caesarian speeches were delivered by Cicero in 46-45 B.C. to Gaius Julius Caesar after his victories in the Civil War and his acquisition of supreme constitutional and extra-constitutional powers. Caesar faced a number of critical issues as he dealt with the political and social aftermath of the wholesale slaughter that filled the years after 49 B.C., including what to do with the supporters of his enemies. Marcus Tullius Cicero was well-placed to speak on behalf of several of these individuals as they sought clemency from Caesar, not only because he was the preeminent orator at Rome and a key political figure (even at this late stage in his life), but because he and Caesar had negotiated their own tenuous reconciliation. The three speeches have this common goal: to secure pardon for the offending parties. They also display intellectual, thematic, and literary brilliance—and rightfully so, with Caesar himself being a masterful author and orator in his own right. The speeches thus stand as a multilayered communication between two of the most accomplished literary artists at the end of the Republic. The Roman concept of *clementia* (mercy) is, of course, a theme intrinsic to the speeches. *Clementia* impinges upon social, political, and linguistic spheres, however, and under Caesar's troubled rule becomes a nexus for anxieties and manipulation between the senatorial and plebian orders. It is my purpose to analyze this theme in these three speeches with an eye towards the social, political, and linguistic considerations surrounding it. Here I compare and contrast the understanding, presentation, and use of *clementia* in these speeches, setting my discussion within the social, political, and linguistic contexts that lend this word its powerful significance.

Research has entailed a close reading of the Latin texts, analysis of political trends and important figures in the period from Sulla to Caesar, lexicographical research using library electronic resources (especially the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*), and a thorough survey

of relevant secondary source scholarship on both Caesar's political policies in the years between 49 and his death in 44 and Cicero's changing role in Roman politics under the dictator. Materials span the range of scholarly resources, from print materials to electronic databases and journals.

Insofar as context lends meaning to language, the sociopolitical circumstances of the period leading up to the speeches are an inherent part of the discussion. The Social War between 91 and 88 B.C. considerably influenced the remaining affairs of the Late Republic, significantly changing the way in which the fabric of Roman society was woven. The fact that various Italian communities had not been granted Roman citizenship became a point of stress and rebel groups formed against Rome to settle the matter. While these rebel forces were not strong enough to gain the upper hand, they did manage to persuade Rome to grant them citizenship—but not without considerable fighting and bloodshed (Boatwright). War, to be sure, was not a new or even infrequent circumstance in Rome, but the Social War did introduce Rome to its first full-scale civil conflict. This factor brought change to the social and political landscape in Rome and foreshadowed things to come.

Another important consequence of the Social War was the emergence of Sulla as a powerful general and political figure in Rome. Though he was of patrician blood, his family was no longer an influential political force. The Social War gained him a reputation and considerable *imperium* as a result of his remarkable success as a military leader. In 88 B.C., he was arguably the most powerful man in Rome. Due to Sulpicius' political machinations aimed at securing full citizen rights for the Italians, Sulla lost his command against Mithridates in the East to Marius. To regain the post, Sulla assembled his loyal troops in an unprecedented march on Rome itself. He nullified the measures of Sulpicius, ordered the deaths of the opposition, and headed off to the East, leaving Rome to fall back into the hands of those whose primary interest was in the status of the new Italian citizens (Cary and Scullard). This eventually led to another march on

Rome and another round of bloody proscriptions in 82-81 B.C.—this time with the help of Pompey and Crassus in their various capacities.

Perhaps out of fear, or perhaps because of Sulla's Republican values, the senate legalized all the actions he had carried out leading up to November of 82 and without delay set him up as dictator to restore order to the Republic (Boatwright). He swiftly set out to accomplish this goal by, in addition to the proscription list, adding to the number and power of the senate. By increasing the influence of the senate and reducing the power of the tribunate, Sulla effected a significant power-shift in Rome from the Plebeians to the patricians. When he had accomplished this and restored order, he stepped down from his position of dictator and served one year as consul before retiring in 78 B.C. His dictatorship would later serve as a model by which to compare Julius Caesar's use of absolute power.

The measures enacted by Sulla were soon challenged by those who followed him, and by the time of the rise of Pompey, substantial power had once again been shifted back to the Plebeian assemblies from the senate. In the meantime, Rome had dealt with a slave revolt, regained the Mediterranean from rampant pirates, and finally put down the East's perennial pest, Mithridates. It was during this time that Pompey proved himself as general, Crassus as a man of means, and Cicero as an orator and statesman—all important figures during the dusk of the Republic.

By 63 B.C., Gaius Julius Caesar was also making serious inroads into Rome's political milieu. At the rather young age of 37, he bribed his way into the position of *pontifex maximus*, an office usually reserved for high ranking Roman noblemen. This portended not only his future success but also his style. Like Sulla, he was of patrician but not recently distinguished blood. Nevertheless, he maintained ties to other nobility by marriage first to Cinna's daughter Cornelia and, after her death, to Pompeia, Sulla's own granddaughter. In 59, he was consul and immediately set himself up as a dominating force whose allegiances fell more to the Plebeian (or popular) assemblies than

to the senate.

It was also in 59 B.C. that Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar formed a political friendship and became the so-called "first triumvirate." Their shaky alliance was held together by their mutual dependency and a set of shared obligations, which aimed to satisfy their individual thirsts for power. It was something of a clientage among patrons, a delicate manifestation of Roman *amicitia* or political friendship carrying with it rights and duties in measured proportions. Pompey eventually attached himself closely to the Senate while Caesar continued to associate himself with the power base of the Plebeian assemblies.

As Pompey and Caesar became more successful and wealthy, they eventually emerged as the leading forces and their dependence on Crassus' wealth diminished. Furthermore, when Pompey's marriage to Caesar's daughter began to fail, so did the strength of their political alliance. Much of the resulting political controversy centered on how Caesar's military and political powers should be extended in Gaul and at Rome. These measures—all of which revolved around Caesar's continued exercise of power from afar, the legal immunity his position offered him, and the political leverage of a loyal, battle-hardened army—strained the precedents of the constitution. The personal and political conflicts that ensued devolved into Civil War on a massive scale.

In January 49 B.C., Caesar crossed the Rubicon in a march on Rome. His wildly successful campaigns in Gaul had left Caesar with many loyal and indebted soldiers willing and able to validate his interests. Pompey, backed by the established government, opposed Caesar, but Caesar's forces shortly drove Pompey out of Italy and kept driving until they were able to defeat him at Pharsalus in northern Greece in 48 B.C. Caesar was now in a position to negotiate a role as dictator of Rome, a position that would give him absolute authority to command an army for restoring order to the Republic. It was a definite role for a specific task. Eventually he disastrously declared himself perpetual dictator of Rome, a position which indefinitely gave Caesar absolute power that was beyond the

check of anyone. Because Caesar, Sulla, and the monarchs had each negotiated sole rule for themselves, this brought to mind not only Sulla's rule but also the Regal period (von Ungern-Sternberg). Caesar was the first, however, to secure it for an indefinite period of time.

This high-priced end of the Republic carried with it its own problems. Because Caesar, unlike Sulla, had pardoned so many of his enemies, ensuring stability took keen leadership and a brutal exercise of personal power and influence. The mass death resulting from the civil war coupled with the fact that so many of his enemies were still alive and resentful of their current position created a shortage of trustworthy individuals to man various political and military posts. It was against this backdrop of the aftermath of destructive civil war that Cicero delivered the three speeches that are the focus of this paper.

Lacking noble birth, Marcus Tullius Cicero worked his way up the Roman political ladder not by military achievement but through literary genius (Gottf). A decade before the civil war, Cicero was the leading orator of his day and highly respected, having made a reputation for himself in political and criminal debates and speeches (Cambridge). He was able to chart a middle course between competing political interests while maintaining strong public and private integrity. In spite of being a 'new man' in Rome, he attained Rome's top political offices including quaestor and senator in 75 B.C., aedile in 69, praetor in 66, and consul in 63.

However, being a middle-path negotiator with conservative, senatorial values, he had sided with Pompey leading up to the civil war. This created significant tensions between Cicero and Caesar. He was invited to join the political alliance of the triumvirate in 61 but declined on principle. Shortly thereafter in 58, he was exiled through the machinations of personal enemies (Clodius in particular) also allied to Caesar. He was recalled the next year largely on account of his own popularity and the influence of Pompey. Cicero continued to oppose Caesar's disregard for the political system until 56 when Cicero began to show some support for Caesar's military command

in Gaul. This seems to hint at a shift in Cicero's political sensibilities. By 49, Caesar was actively trying to solicit Cicero's support, but the latter's commitment to Republican ideals, together with his hope for harmony among the orders, was still too great for a wholesale bid for Caesar's program.

After Pompey's death in Egypt in 48 B.C., Cicero realized that the time for opposition had past and he hoped that he might be able to act as a restraint on Caesar. The two seem to have developed a mutual respect for each other as literary artists, and Caesar even leaned on Cicero at times for political advice. Additionally, Cicero's middle-path nature suited him for negotiations between Caesar and others. Because Caesar's main political tool, once the time for violence had passed, was to extend *clementia* (mercy) to his former enemies in order to involve them in the new political framework, Cicero used this theme to full effect.

In taking up the term *clementia* as a major talking point in his speeches to Caesar, Cicero engages in a sort of rhetoric that becomes clear only when one surveys how the term is used not only by Cicero throughout his career but also by others before him. It is important, for example, that there are relatively few uses of the term *clementia* in extant Latin texts prior to the late Republic. Terence uses the term in his comedic play the *Adelphoe* in 160 B.C., where it expresses a carefree disposition or attitude that stands in contrast to one which is *durus*—the Latin word for harsh or stern. In line 861 of the *Adelphoe*, *clementia* describes the kind of lifestyle which Demea plans to adopt when he ironically gives up his stern ways. This becomes an important reference because it shows the *pater familias* (head of household) exhibiting mercy for actual wrongdoings already committed.¹

In the first century B.C., the examples we have of the word suggest that it takes on a much more political usage and primarily references the sort of mercy or pardon extended by someone with *imperium* acting in an official capacity. *Imperium* might be described as the constitutional authority to exercise military power. Among Cicero's contemporaries, there are representative examples of this

usage in the writings of Caesar, Hirtius, Sallust, and Livy. In Caesar's record of the "Gallic War," *clementia* is attributed to Caesar as a descriptive characteristic of his role as political leader (VIII.3 and 21) or as something being sought from him, saying that "not only the *Bellovacii*, but also the *Aedui*, entreated him to use his [accustomed] clemency and lenity toward them" (II.14). How Caesar uses the term prior to being addressed by Cicero in the speeches is of considerable importance for Cicero's strategy. Sallust likewise uses it as an act or disposition ascribed to Caesar as judge in his second epistle significantly written to Caesar.² A bit later during the Augustan period after Cicero's and Caesar's generation, Livy takes up the term. Reflecting back on values of his present day, he uses the term in the context of military dealings, the leaders of which all would have had constitutionally sanctioned *imperium*. In the 3rd book of *ab Urbe Condita*, he writes of Q. Fabius's desire for the Aequi to cast themselves back to his clemency as consul rather than suffer at the hands of an enemy: "If they did repent they could safely throw themselves on the clemency they had already experienced, but if they found pleasure in perjuring themselves, they would be warring more against the angered gods than against earthly foes." (3.2.5). In each of these examples, it is important to notice that the term is used of someone operating in his capacity as a political official and that, as far as our evidence goes, Caesar introduces it as a quality to be admired in a power-holder.

It is no surprise then that Cicero himself uses *clementia* and he adopts this sociopolitical term to great effect. Because the term shows up rarely if ever in his philosophical and rhetorical works and is instead found mostly in his speeches and letters dealing with public and political life, we are assured of its sociopolitical nature. This becomes especially interesting insofar as these works were written at the nearly the same time as the Caesarian speeches. Already early in his career as orator, we see him adopting standard usage of the term in reference to the lenity or pardon offered by those with *imperium* in official positions. In the oration against Catiline, delivered while Cicero occupied the most important elected

position in the Roman state and exercised decisive force against a civil and military uprising, he expresses the desire to extend this sort of mercy but fears the safety of the Republic (in *Catilinam* I.2.4). Cicero acknowledges that there are certain risks involved in the exercise of *clementia* to the extent that it releases potentially dangerous people back into society. Except for a few exceptional references in the letters to Brutus, this is the way Cicero uses the term throughout his career (Cicero).

In contrast to the other two Caesarian speeches that were seeking pardon for a client, the *pro Marcello* was delivered before Caesar as a thanksgiving speech for his pardoning of Gaius Marcellus, one of his longtime political enemies. It is divided into two primary sections. The first half (sect. 1-20) is dedicated largely to praising Caesar's clemency and military accomplishments. Cicero begins by citing Caesar's *clementia* as the reason that Marcellus has been restored to the Republic and he himself has been re-engaged in public oratory. He goes on to delineate the glories of Caesar's accomplishments during his various military commands, including those during the Civil War. Cicero especially commends Caesar for overcoming anger and vengeance, the traditional part of victors, by instead exercising *clementia*. The second half of the speech (sect. 21-34) is essentially a call to action. Cicero, having credited Caesar with the victory is in a position to lay the responsibility of restoring the Republic on him as well. He deals with Caesar's concerns about a plot on his life by reminding him that the Roman people are depending on him for their own safety. Cicero further motivates Caesar to the task of picking up the pieces left by the Civil War by suggesting that true glory and public memory would be attained thereby.

While Caesar's rise to absolute power was accomplished by the wielding of swords, he nevertheless regarded *clementia* as a personal virtue. Consequently, it is noteworthy that Cicero incorporates the term into the opening lines of the *pro Marcello* and does so in a way that reflects previous and contemporary usage. This sets the tone for the entire speech. Cicero indicates here that Caesar's

clementia is the cause of his restoration to public oratory when he says, "For so great humanity, so unusual and unheard of clemency, so great restraint of all affairs in the highest position of authority, and finally such unbelievable and almost divine wisdom, I am in no wise able to pass over in silence" (*pro Marc.* I). As in other earlier examples from Cicero and his contemporaries, the term here refers to the capacity of a magistrate or judge to pardon the guilty. Because Caesar is sitting as judge, Cicero thus legitimates Caesar's position as dictator of Rome.

So likewise in the second usage of the term of the *pro Marcello* when Cicero proposes in section XII that Caesar's *clementia* illustrates that the latter has conquered the privileges of victory. Traditionally the victor negotiates harsh terms of peace and kills any remaining threats, as did Sulla. Cicero sets this up saying, "For although we having been conquered all had fallen in the terms of victory, we have been saved by the sentence³ of your clemency" (*pro Marc.* XII.) Here too we see Cicero using this term to express Caesar's power as judge to pardon the guilty.

The final use of the term comes at the end of the speech's first half. After speaking at some length about the fears of Caesar's opponents, Cicero summarizes by indicating that their fears have been turned to hope when he says in section XVIII: "So that it appears to me that the immortal gods, even if they were inflicting punishment on the Roman people for some offence, when they stirred up so serious and melancholy a civil war, are at length appeased, or at all events satiated and have now made all our hopes of safety depend on the clemency and wisdom of the conqueror" (*pro Marc.* XVIII). Again the term references the act of a military or political official pardoning the guilty, thereby acknowledging Caesar's position of absolute power.

The rhetorical strategy worked out by the using the theme of *clementia* then has to do with the way it legitimates Caesar's position of power while pushing him towards a strictly ethical position by indicating that *clementia* is not to be doled out on a case-by-case basis. By using the term early in the speech with reference to Marcellus, Cicero sets

Caesar up as the judge who holds the position of extending mercy. Rhetorically this serves to obligate Caesar to follow through with the implications that holding such a position has for the restoration of the Republic; namely, that because he has the power to exercise *clementia* in the case of one man, he is obligated to extend it to all Romans. To pick and choose which individuals may be pardoned reduces the term to a mere favor which is not *clementia* at all. By validating his authority to extend *clementia*, Cicero adopts something of a "you broke it; you bought it" argument before Caesar. Caesar's role as dictator gave him absolute power, but this entails responsibility as well. He has the power to extend *clementia* because he is in a position to judge the guilty. If he is to validate his position he must restore what he has been appointed to restore, and Cicero exploits the concept of *clementia* to point this out. It is a speech which is very political and in need of considerable caution on Cicero's part. Thus rather than making tenuous demands on Caesar, he urges him to be consistent with his own principles and responsibly lay in the bed he has made (Dyer).

The second of Cicero's Caesarian speeches, the *pro Ligario*, was offered before the dictator late in 46 B.C. not as a thanksgiving speech as the *pro Marcello* had been, but rather as a petition and argument for the clemency of Quintus Ligarius. Ligarius had been sent to Africa as a legate to the provincial governor and was already settled when the war reached the continent. He served in the government there under Varus and ultimately did fight against Caesar at Thapsus after which he fled into exile to avoid whatever judgment might befall him.

The trial was apparently held in the forum with Caesar himself as sole judge. An anecdote from Plutarch suggests that he came with a guilty verdict, as it were, signed and sealed (Gotoff). Because the charges are not specifically laid out and defended against in a systematic fashion, the speech has been classified as a *deprecatio*. However this may oversimplify Cicero's strategy and underestimate his polemic in the speech.

However adamant against Ligarius Caesar was at the trial's beginning, in

the end, he was persuaded by Cicero's moving rhetoric and ultimately honored the wishes of Ligarius' brothers and friends by pardoning him. This ironically proved to be detrimental for Caesar when Ligarius was one of the assassins enlisted by Brutus against Caesar on the infamous Ides of March in 44 B.C.

As in the *pro Marcello*, the term and concept of *clementia* play a pivotal role in the speech. Cicero uses the word six times in the course of the oration, twice the number of times he chose the term in the *pro Marcello*. Unlike in the case of Marcellus, Ligarius was not yet pardoned and Cicero makes full use of the theme to accomplish this end. The first usage comes in section 6 just a few paragraphs into the speech. Cicero is setting up how he is defending Ligarius much to his own risk since he himself has committed worse crimes than those he now seeks pardon for on behalf of Ligarius. He immediately praises the *clementia* of Caesar saying, "O the admirable clemency, deserving to be celebrated by all possible praise, and publicity, and writings and monuments" (trans. Young). Here in the opening sections of the speech Cicero refers to the pardon of himself not only as precedent for clemency but also as the emboldening agent giving him voice, much as in the opening lines of the *pro Marcello*.

Again a bit later in section 10, Cicero takes up the term to remind Caesar that the malediction of those Pompeians who opposed him in the Civil War stood as praise for his *clementia*. He has just asked Tubero, the accuser, what he had been trying to accomplish if not the very same thing that Caesar is now in a position to accomplish. Afterwards addressing Caesar, Cicero says, "Shall, then, O Caesar, the speech of those men spur you on to the deeds of cruelty whose impunity is the great glory of your clemency?" (trans. Young) In using the term, Cicero seems to be indicating to Tubero that Caesar is now placed to do what he no longer can while at the same time urging Caesar to do it—namely to extend *clementia* to his enemies in order that the Republic might be stabilized.

The third instance of *clementia* in the *pro Ligario* comes in section 15 and again shows Caesar extending mercy in

his capacity as judge. Cicero, as he had in the *pro Marcello*, extols Caesar for using his position as victor to pardon the conquered. Rather than being deterred by those on both the winning and the losing side who would have had him exercise his dictatorial right to judge, Caesar extends the hand of mercy. "How many," says Cicero, "who, wishing no one to be pardoned by you, would have thrown obstacles in the way of your clemency, when even those men whom you yourself have pardoned are unwilling that you should be merciful to others" (trans. Young). Cicero acknowledges that many of Caesar's enemies who had been pardoned did not wish the same fortune for other offenders either because of the competition or merely to facilitate pushing their own agendas.

Four sections later, Cicero takes up the term again, pointing out that the only men who died in the civil conflict were those who died fighting. Though not specifically referenced, Cicero must indeed be contrasting Caesar's program for restoring order to that of Sulla a generation earlier—a sentiment echoed in section 12 of the *pro Marcello*. Here in section 19 of the *pro Ligario*, the orator implies that Caesar must maintain a certain amount of respect for those he preserves and that the ambiguities of war made it difficult to call out a definitively virtuous side, since both did what they thought best for the Republic. He continues though by noting that the better side (Caesar's) is manifested by his clemency and its being assisted by the gods when he says: "But now that your clemency is known; who is there who does not think well of that victory, in which no one has fallen except those who fell with arms in their hands?" (trans. Young) This separates Caesar from previous conquerors and legitimates his victory.

The final two uses of the term come at the end of section 29 and again at the end of 30. The first is set in the context of Cicero's searching out the authenticity of the accuser's (Tubero) motives. After asking Tubero if he is looking out for the Republic or for himself, Cicero turns to Caesar and explains that if he seems to be engaged in the interests of Ligarius, he is even more engaged in focusing on Caesar's mercy. He ends the section

saying: "In whatever I have said, I have endeavored to refer everything to the leading idea of your humanity, or clemency, mercy, whichever may be its most proper name" (trans. Young).

At the end of section 30, Cicero takes up the term for the last and perhaps most significant time. He points out that when pleading before a judge, it is not a good rhetorical strategy to suggest that the accused has made a mistake, was not thinking, or to utter various other pitiful admissions of guilt. Instead the advocate should maintain the innocence of his client. But then he lays hold of Caesar by the handle of his *clementia* and says that he entreats him as son before a father pleading: "I have erred; I have acted rashly; I repent; I flee to your clemency; I beg pardon for my fault; I entreat you to pardon me" (trans. Young). In employing this analogy of a son before a father, Cicero does not break with the way he has been using *clementia* all along to refer to the pardon offered by someone acting in the capacity of judge.⁴ Instead he reinforces this usage by openly admitting that it is clemency for a wrong act that is needed—not a mere favor or even justice for an act that was only misunderstood to be wrong.

Cicero finds himself in an interesting position as a rhetorician in his defense of Ligarius. On the one hand, he is before a judge and under ordinary circumstances would do well to argue for the innocence of his client. However, if he is to lean on a plea for *clementia*, Cicero must acknowledge guilt (Craig). To do otherwise would be to reduce *clementia* to a mere favor—not the pardon proffered by a judge for demonstrated wrongdoing. To accomplish this, Cicero uses heavy doses of irony and sarcasm to attain a balanced diversion from arguing for Ligarius' innocence while seeking his pardon. This is noticeable throughout the speech, but a good example comes at the beginning when Cicero sarcastically suggests that his whole strategy has been foiled now that Caesar is aware (as was everyone else) that Ligarius was in Africa. He continues by noting that Tubero, the accuser, is in a most enviable position to have a defendant who confesses his own fault—even if the crime is not greater than that of which Tubero had already

himself been pardoned by Caesar. And so amid this sort of irony and sarcasm, Cicero incorporates the notion of *clementia* in such a way that at times it can seem difficult to discern which one serves the other.

Cicero's first reference to *clementia*, in section six, has in mind his own pardon by Caesar. By doing so, he shifts the attention from whatever the specific charge may have been to a general discussion of opposition during the war. This serves to equalize the degree of culpability of the opponents—a point that becomes important for his strategy in the speech. He praises Caesar for having forgiven him, and while he plainly admits in the following section that he had been against Caesar, he nevertheless does not come away terribly sullied. In confessing guilt, Cicero does so in such a manner that presents his actions as principled, uncoerced, and the result of his desire to do the best thing for the Republic. He then notes that in spite of his being on the opposing side, he was pardoned by a willing Caesar. From there, Cicero turns his focus away from himself and towards Tubero, whom he paints in a much harsher light. He points out that Tubero had desired willingly to be in Africa and had taken up arms against Caesar at Pharsalus not against his own will. The contrast then is that what Ligarius did as a matter of circumstance and loyalty to the Senate, Tubero did as an act of will against the Senate. Cicero here turns to Caesar in his second use of the term *clementia* and asks him if talk from the likes of Tubero, whose very ability to speak has been made possible by Caesar's clemency, will persuade him to engage in cruelty (against Ligarius). This is echoed the next time the term is used in section 15.

The rhetorical consequence of this structure in the first three uses of the term is to place Cicero, who has been forgiven for crimes that were serious enough, and Tubero, who has been forgiven for crimes that were a good deal more severe at opposite poles as recipients of Caesar's (impartial) clemency. The facts of the case and the speech itself place Ligarius between Cicero and Tubero in terms of degree of his own offences against Caesar. By placing the

offences of Ligarius between those of two previously pardoned men while appealing to Caesar's sense of constancy, Cicero argues for the zero-sum nature of *clementia*. Caesar can not retain his credibility as someone who fancies himself merciful if he picks and chooses whom he wishes to pardon. In the *pro Marcello*, Cicero argued that consistent application of *clementia* demanded that certain actions be taken to restore the Republic; in the *pro Ligario* that consistency demands the pardon of Ligarius.

The final three instances of *clementia* serve to remind Caesar that he has offered clemency before and that it is now in plain view and being sought. Section 19 notes that it is his clemency that has inclined everyone to think well of Caesar's victory. Sections 29 and 30 focus the speech on *clementia* by suggesting that Cicero has tried to refer everything to that particular capacity of Caesar and that, having confessed Ligarius' guilt, he comes before the judge for full pardon as a son would seek mercy of a father. In doing so, Cicero shifts the focus away from any sort of defenses of Ligarius or praises of his virtue as touched on in early parts of the speech, and instead rests his case firmly on free *clementia*.

The last of the Caesarian speeches, the *pro Rege Deiotaro*, was performed in 45 B.C. before Caesar as sole judge in his own home as opposed to the others which had been delivered publicly in the Forum. Deiotarus was king of Galatia and a longtime friend of Cicero and, like Cicero, Ligarius, and Marcellus, had supported Pompey in word and deed during the Civil War. As such Caesar was already acutely disposed against him when Deiotarus' grandson brought charges against him before Caesar for an alleged plot on the dictator's life four years previous. The somewhat unusual circumstances of the speech being behind closed doors before Caesar as sole judge elevates the stakes as Cicero does not hesitate to point out early in the speech. In the privacy of Caesar's house, not only would there be no accountability for the Caesar as judge, but there would also be none of the external stimulation that Cicero as a public speaker would have relied on for the performance aspect of his oration.

As in the other two Caesarian speeches, *clementia* is a noteworthy theme in the *pro Rege Deiotaro*, though to a somewhat lesser extent. It shows up first in section eight where Cicero begins to speak about what he considers to be the hope of the accusers. After painting them in a seditious light, he beseeches Caesar saying: "Wherefore, O Gaius Caesar, first of all by your good faith, and wisdom and firmness, and clemency deliver us from this fear, and prevent our suspecting that there is any ill-temper lurking in you" (trans. Younge). He goes on to prevail upon Caesar's right hand—the right hand that had promised friendship to King Deiotarus and which was no more trustworthy on the battlefield than in a private contract. It is an interesting example because of the way Cicero entreats Caesar for the clemency that only a judge can convey while appealing to the dictator's consistency (*constantia*).

The remaining three instances all occur much later in the closing sections of the speech. They emphasize clemency as being a personal characteristic of Caesar and each, as in the first example, is modified by a form of the Latin possessive pronoun *tua* meaning "your." The second appearance of the term is found in section 38 where Cicero is drawing attention to King Deiotarus' personal virtues of wisdom, consistency, valor, etc., and presents the king as so considering these things that "he attributes the whole of the tranquility and quiet of his old age which he enjoys to your (Caesar's) clemency" (trans. Younge). Section 40 contains, in *praeteritio* form, an appeal to Caesar's compassion in which he acknowledges Caesar's predisposition towards mercy and indicates that "there are many monuments of your clemency, but the chief, sure, are the secure happiness of those men to whom it is you have been the author of safety" (trans. Younge). Cicero goes on to say that such actions performed for private individuals are all the more glorious in the case of a king. In similar fashion, he ends the speech in section 43 by entreating Caesar to be mindful that his sentence will convey either disgrace or noble safety to the kings in question. The latter he says "is an action suitable to your clemency" (trans. Younge). As before, this legitimates his

position of authority by acknowledging his capacity to pardon and calls upon his consistency to do so.

As in the other two speeches before Caesar, Cicero exploits *clementia* for rhetorical advantage in this speech for King Deiotarus, though he does not rely on it to the extent that he does in the *pro Marcello* or *pro Ligario*. Instead, Cicero first spends the greater part of the first three-quarters of the *pro Rege Deiotaro* introducing the task set before him and then responding to the various charges against Deiotarus himself. Cicero notes early in the speech, and several times consequent, that he speaks on behalf of a king. This seems for Cicero to raise the stakes to some degree, insofar as what is just concerning a private citizen is all the more applicable in the case of a king (sect. 40). In addition to responding to the accusations themselves, he also makes a great deal of the groundlessness of the charges since they had been formed on the authority of a slave.

At section 35, Cicero changes gears significantly. He ceases to respond to the charges weighed against King Deiotarus, saying he considers nothing lacking in his speech but that he has reserved several topics for the end. He then sets forth reasons why Caesar ought not to be suspicious of King Deiotarus' loyalty or friendship and focuses on the king's virtue. In doing so, Cicero again appeals to (or for) Caesar's constancy by emphasizing, as in the other speeches, that *clementia* is a zero-sum game. Cicero had laid the foundation for this in section eight where he reminds Caesar that he had already extended King Deiotarus his right hand of friendship. While the case is not strictly one of double jeopardy, Cicero has rhetorically reduced it to that by having dealt with the new charges against the king (at least to Cicero's satisfaction). Thus, not to grant clemency again to the king, whom he had once already based on past bad blood, would appear inconsistent and would violate the nature of *clementia*.

It is clear then that *clementia* becomes a point of negotiation of power for Caesar and Cicero alike, the one asserting his political dominance, the other speaking from a position of moral authority. By exploiting the "all or nothing" nature of

clementia, Cicero uses the term and its related concepts to secure pardon for his friends while maintaining his own safety in a dangerous and politically charged environment. In doing so, he retains his own political presence in Rome, finding a delicate balance between risk and reward. ■

Notes

1. The *pater familias* was the oldest living male agnate and had absolute control over not only all resources, but also the life and death of the family members.
2. These may well have been written later as rhetorical exercises rather than actual letters to Caesar.
3. In such contexts, the Latin word *sententia* would normally refer to a vote of a corporate, governing body. Here Caesar alone holds the place of that body.
4. This harkens back to Terence's use of the term in line 861 of the *Adelphoe*. I can refer to Caesar's title of *pater patriae* (father of the fatherland) since he received it shortly after the speech was written.

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Green Frog (*Rana clamitans*) calling habitat associations: Are males selecting calling habitat more closely associated with egg-laying or predator protection?



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Abstract

Successful reproduction makes individuals evolutionarily fit but requires balancing costs. Literature suggests green frogs defend territories for breeding. Males will call in these territories to attract a mate. Unfortunately, calling may increase susceptibility to predation, requiring males to defend habitat with more protection. In contrast, females select the oviposition sites, potentially based on factors besides predation. Males defending habitat appropriate for oviposition may be more successful. We examined habitat for calling and egg-laying to determine whether territoriality is associated with defending oviposition sites or protection from predators. Our results show that calling males are more closely associated with emergent vegetation, especially medium emergent vegetation, and negatively associated with open water. A comparison of the habitat at calling, non-calling, and oviposition locations suggests that there is no real difference between oviposition and calling or non-calling locations. However, calling locations had significantly more emergent vegetation (both medium as well as all combined heights) than non-calling locations. The oviposition sites had intermediate levels of emergent vegetation, suggesting that calling males may be selecting habitat more for protection than oviposition sites.

Introduction

Evolutionary fitness requires individuals to obtain the appropriate resources to survive and reproduce, thus passing their genes on to the next generation. Because competition for resources is often limiting, one strategy to be successful is to find and defend a territory containing resources. Territoriality has been identified in all animal taxa (Maher and Lott 2002). However, this strategy appears to be variable across taxa and even within species (Maher and Lott 2002), reflecting potential trade-offs associated with this strategy. Defending a territory can be costly and if the benefit comes at too high a cost, territoriality may not be an evolutionarily successful strategy (Stamps 1994).

In a review of the literature, Maher and Lott (2002) recognized 10 general ecological variables thought to influence territoriality (Table 1). While each of these variables acting alone could influence the importance of territoriality, combinations of them may also play an important role. For instance, males may collect and defend mates; however, if the population density is so high (or low) where defending these mates becomes too costly, territoriality may not be a successful strategy.

Green frogs (*Rana clamitans*) are described as territorial (Harding 2000) and there is ample evidence to support that some populations do show territorial behavior (Martof 1953; Schroeder 1968; Wells 1977; Given 1990; Bee et al. 1999). Most studies seem to provide support that males are defending habitat rather than food, mates, space or other resources. For instance, in a supplemental feeding experiment, Gordon (2004) determined that territoriality may not be related to the availability of food.

Interestingly, a recent study suggests that territorial behavior does not always occur in green frogs (Shepard 2002). However, the author was specifically looking for uniform spacing (suggesting defended territories) among the males and assumed that habitat was uniform

around the pond. If the cost/benefit model is correct, it is possible that males become more defensive in higher quality habitat because the benefit is higher than the cost (although population density could influence the cost). In poorer quality habitat, males may choose not to use a territorial strategy.

Wells (1977) examined habitat of the territories defended by green frogs and found that they were centered on artificial shelters, clumps of bulrushes and sedges, and occasionally an abandoned muskrat tunnel. This suggests that males are defending territories because it contains habitat better protected from predators at a time when they may be most exposed to predation (calling). However, territoriality may be a way of defending areas that increase likelihood of breeding. For instance, Martof (1953) and Wells (1977) found that egg-deposition occurred in the vicinity of where males were calling.

In particular, our hypothesis is that male green frogs are defending habitat more suitable for egg-deposition. Thus we should be able to show that habitat associated with egg-deposition will be more similar to habitat associated with territorial defense. In this study, we assume that calling males are likely to be territorial. Therefore, habitat associated with calling locations should be similar to habitat where eggs are deposited. Further, we would expect locations where males were not calling (and assumed not territorial) to be less similar in habitat with either calling locations or areas where eggs are deposited.

Methods and Materials

Study Area:

This study was conducted in a meadow wetland just east of the Hyla house property, Pierce Cedar Creek Institute (PCCI) in Hastings, Michigan (Figure 1). The wetland is bounded by Cloverdale Road (dirt road) to the north, residential property to the west (Hyla House), and abandoned agricultural fields to the east and south. The wetland is seasonal, maintaining water throughout the spring and part of the summer during dry years, while in wet years it may maintain water the entire year. There is no direct drain-

age (stream) that feeds into or out of this wetland. The nearest wetland appears to be seasonal wetland on private property north of Cloverdale Road. To assist in systematically sampling the entire pond, 13 transects were randomly established and oriented in a north/south direction (approximately 4 to 5 meters apart).

Study Species:

Green frogs are common anurans found throughout the eastern United States into the midwest states (Conant and Collins 1998). In Michigan, green frogs are commonly found in a wide variety of wetland habitats and are known to breed as early as mid-May through July or later (Harding 2000). This species is known to occur on the PCCI property from previous studies (McCurdy and Krum 2005; McCurdy and Lupek 2006).

Amphibian Sampling:

The primary method used for identifying green frog individuals and egg masses was visual encounter surveys (VES). These surveys require observers to visually search for green frogs and egg masses while traversing the wetland. The VES were conducted after dusk between the hours of 8:30-2:00 a.m. from April 31 through June 16 for a total of 13 nights. On nights sampled, a Kestrel 2500 Pocket Weather Meter was used to record the ambient temperature, wind speed, wind chill, and barometer. During VES, observers surveyed systematically in either a north to south or south to north direction along marked transects. The observers searched the area between two flagged transect lines, listening and watching for frogs. When an individual was spotted, calling status was noted and hand capture was used to avoid disturbing the habitat. Handling was done quickly to minimize stress.

Males were identified from a collection of characteristics including a yellow throat, large tympanum, and nuptial thumb pads. We uniquely marked each male by removing one to two toes using a marking system (Figure 2) similar to one identified by Martof (1953). No more than two toes were ever removed from an individual and never more than one toe per foot. Sharp surgical scis-

sors were disinfected in a 70% ethanol solution and the appropriate toe(s) were clipped at the first joint (just above the webbing). Though toe clipping has been shown to potentially have adverse effects (Clarke 1972), it is a commonly used and recommended form of cheaply and quickly marking individuals (Donnelly et. al 1994). In one instance, after toe clipping a calling male and returning him to his calling location, he immediately began to call again. Clipped toes were collected and frozen for potential DNA analysis in future projects.

All males were placed in a plastic bag, weighed to the nearest gram using a spring scale, and the snout-vent length (SVL) was measured in millimeters using a plastic ruler. To measure SVL, one person held the frog and flattened the body by pressing on the sacral joint to elongate the frog's body. Marked males were identified and unmarked males were toe-clipped. Individuals were then released in the same location of capture. A bamboo stake with flagging tape was inserted at all locations in which a male was captured so we could revisit the location the next day and sample microhabitat. The date and ID number of the frog capture were marked on the flagging tape. Any individuals that escaped were also marked with a stake but labeled as unknowns (indicating the possibility of being a male). Calling males that escaped were still indicated as unknowns, but recorded as calling.

All individuals captured that did not have typical male characteristics were recorded as either females (larger individuals) or immature and returned to location of capture. For each green frog or egg mass identified, the location was flagged for later habitat assessment in a similar fashion as with the males. At a later date, geographic locations were determined for each point using a Magellen global position system, Thales Navigation Mobile Mapper.

Habitat Sampling:

Microhabitat was sampled using a 1 m² point frame to estimate the percent cover for various microhabitats (Table 2). The point frame was used to assess microhabitat percentages by taking data from 25 points inside the grid at 10 cm intervals. At each point, a meter stick was vertically inserted to assess the immediate habitat type touching the stick. Depth measurements were also taken using a meter stick at the four corners and middle of the grid. When assessing habitat, information was taken for the bottom (underneath the surface) and top (immediately visible on surface) habitat.

Sampling occurred at every capture or escape location and at various points along transects (available habitat). The transect points were designated as 0-1 m from the shoreline, 0-1 m into the water from shoreline, 1-2 m into the water from shoreline, and then every 4 m in between.

A map of the macrohabitat types (Figure 3) was generated by determining location of each macrohabitat using a Thales Navigation Mobile Mapper. The distribution of macrohabitat within Hyla pond was visualized using ArcGIS (ESRI).

Statistical Analysis of Data:

Backwards Stepwise Logistic Regression (BSLR) was used to determine microhabitat associations. Additionally, an ANOVA was used to compare the resulting significant habitats identified in the BSLR among locations with calling frogs, locations with non-calling males, and egg masses. All statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS ver. 14.0.

Results

Amphibian Captures:

Over the course of 13 nights, we were able to capture 89 frogs. Population estimates suggest that we captured the majority of males within the pond ($99 \pm XX$ – Lincoln-Peterson, $88 \pm XX$ – Jolly-Seber). Of the males that were captured, most were captured once (60.7%) or twice (22.5%), with a few (17.8%) captured three or more times (Table 3). We compared the size of males captured that called at some time during

the survey period to those males captured that were never known to call using an Independent Samples t-test and found no significant difference (Table 4).

Over the course of the sampling period we captured 83 females. The daily average of females to males (Figure 4) was 0.72, suggesting that a total population of green frogs might be roughly 153 (89 males and 64 females). Seven egg masses were located during the 13 survey nights and during 13 subsequent days of habitat sampling.

Habitat associations:

To determine what habitat variables were associated with calling, we used BSLR with calling and non-calling as the binary measure. A location in which a captured male was known to call was considered a calling site. Other locations in which males were captured were considered non-calling sites. We included repeated captures of males (some in both calling and non-calling categories) as they appear to have moved more than 1 meter from their previous locations of capture. It is assumed that these selections would be independent of one another. The BSLR resulted in a two-variable model explaining what habitat is associated with calling ($p=0.009$, $r^2=0.125$). The percentage of open water was negatively associated with the likelihood of calling ($B=-4.206$, $p=0.128$), while the percentage of medium emergent vegetation was positively associated ($B=2.425$, $p=0.031$). Because vegetation height may be less important for calling than just having structure, we wanted to determine if emergent vegetation (grouping short, medium, and tall emergent vegetation) would still be associated with calling. The second BSLR resulted in a significant model ($p=0.004$, $r^2=0.110$) with the combined percentage of emergent vegetation the only variable retained in the model ($B=3.098$, $p=0.007$).

Comparison of habitat – calling vs non-calling vs egg mass locations:

To determine if calling was more closely associated with egg laying, we compared average habitat where egg masses were found with calling and non-calling sites using an ANOVA. It is

assumed that if calling sites were more closely associated with egg-laying, there would be no difference between egg mass locations. However, there should be a significant difference between calling and non-calling habitat, as well as egg mass and non-calling habitat. We only used the three habitat variables found important in the habitat model. We found no significant difference among location types (calling, non-calling, egg mass) and open water ($p=0.095$ – Table 5). However, we did find significant differences in the percentage of medium emergent vegetation ($p=0.041$ – Table 5) and the combined emergent vegetation variable ($p=0.015$ – Table 5).

Post-hoc independent sample t-tests found that the primary differences were between calling and non-calling habitat for both medium emergent vegetation ($p=0.017$) and the combined emergent vegetation ($p=0.005$). However, there were no significant differences between egg masses and either calling or non-calling on either variable.

Distributional Patterns:

Figure 5 shows the distribution of calling and non-calling locations across the pond for the entire sampling period. It is clear from the figure that the frogs were broadly distributed around the pond, with most of the activity concentrated in the middle and southeast corner. It is interesting to note that few frogs were captured in the northeast corner (dominated by Purple Loosestrife) and the southwest corner (dominated by Reed Canary Grass). Figure 6 shows the weekly progression of calling locations. Over the course of the sampling period, the frogs appear to begin using the northwest and southeast corners of the pond for calling. At the peak of calling activity, they were distributed across the wetland, and toward the end of the activity, the frogs concentrated calling in the southeast corner.

Discussion

Size is thought to influence which males are more likely to defend territory. For instance, Wells (1977) found that larger males defended individual sites longer than smaller males (which

he referred to as satellite males). In our study, however, we found no significant difference between calling behavior and size of the frog. Unfortunately, calling is not always indicative of territoriality, and therefore our results may just represent no difference in sizes with reference to what males do or do not call. It is possible that some males that were classified as non-calling could have called at times when we did not sample, as we have evidence of males captured two or more times that were calling during one sampling period and not during a second. However, a clear indication of territoriality was observed when a wrestling bout between two males was witnessed. The winner of the wrestling bout began to call immediately as the other fled from the location. Both males were captured and measured, and we found that the smaller male actually won the wrestling bout.

Martof (1953) and Wells (1977) both studied territoriality and spatial relationships in green frogs. Wells, however, took Martof's ideas of spatial relationships and territoriality and tested them with more accurate, detailed methods. Wells found that most defended territories were located along the shoreline near artificial shelters and clumps of vegetation. Likewise, our study showed a high association between calling frogs and habitat with emergent vegetation. Additionally, the negative association with open water and calling males suggests that areas absent of cover, such as open water, are less likely to have calling frogs inhabiting them. Interestingly, Wells (1977) did not find territories established in the center of his study pond where cover was absent. In contrast, the *Hyla* house pond has considerable amounts of emergent vegetation across the center of the pond as well as along the shoreline. Not surprisingly, calling males were distributed across the entire wetland (including the center and deeper areas).

To assess whether calling habitat was potentially selected because it represented better habitat for egg-deposition sites, we used an ANOVA to compare those variables identified in the logistic regression as associated with calling. We expected that the percentage of each

habitat variable would not be significantly different in calling and egg-laying locations. We also expected a significant difference between egg-laying and non-calling locations. Our results, however, were more ambiguous, as none of the variables were significantly different between egg-laying and calling or non-calling locations. There were significant differences in the amount of emergent (medium or total) vegetation between calling and non-calling locations, however. Unfortunately, these results may be a result of small sample size for egg-laying locations. When conducting VES throughout the pond, egg masses were difficult to locate, especially in areas of thick vegetation. We believe that there are more egg masses laid over the breeding season, but were not found.

With the exception of open water (which showed no significant results in the ANOVA), the percentage of habitat in egg-laying locations was intermediate between calling and non-calling locations. This could suggest that calling males may be selecting habitat that may have more protection from predators. With egg-laying locations having less emergent vegetation, males could still be within close proximity to sites in which females will move to deposit eggs.

Wells (1977) found that most males occupied more than one site during the breeding season. Our results from the recapture data also suggested that males moved to different locations throughout the breeding period. In this study, it was found that there were some males recaptured in the same area on different nights throughout the sampling period, but it was also found that some individuals traveled quite a distance from the location where they were first captured. This movement may have been attributed to changes in territory quality as some areas become more overgrown and others areas that were more open increased in the amount of emergent vegetation. In his two-year study, Wells (1977) found similar results when habitats that he had ranked as low quality in the first year were occupied in the second year. These changes were attributed to the changing habitat (water levels) over both seasons.

An interesting finding of this study occurred when we mapped locations of individuals using GPS. We found that calling male frogs were rare in areas with very dense, tall vegetation (Figure 6). Some areas of the pond, for example, were overgrown with purple loosestrife and reed canary grass at the beginning of the sampling season, and we rarely found or heard males in these areas. Additionally, vegetation in other areas of the pond grew thicker and taller as the sampling period progressed. A general trend noticed among the population of male green frogs was fewer individuals in areas of thickening vegetation. We hypothesize that there may be a balance between how much emergent vegetation would be suitable for calling with too much vegetation making it difficult to encounter a mate, and too little vegetation increasing exposure to predation. Considering the long breeding season and potentially long lifespan of green frogs, a male is more likely to maximize his lifetime fitness by reducing his risk of predation, even if that means occupying a mediocre oviposition site (Wells 1977).

For future studies, it would be helpful to find out if there is a significant effect of the height and thickness of emergent vegetation on green frog breeding sites. If this is the case, invasive species such as those found in our pond may cause problems for breeding sites in the future.

The evidence presented in this paper suggests that calling males may select calling habitat that has moderate amounts of emergent vegetation. The amount of emergent vegetation is greater than the amount found at egg-mass locations. Although these results are not statistically significant (potentially because of too few egg-mass locations), it suggests that calling males may be selecting habitat with more emergent vegetation because it provides more protection from predators. ■

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Table 1. Ecological Variables thought to influence territoriality (reviewed by Maher and Lott 2002).

Ecological Variables	
Food	Resources
Population Density	Habitat Features
Mates	Space
Refuges/Spawning/Home sites	Predation Pressure
Host Nests	Energy Availability

Table 2. Habitat variables recognized for microhabitat sampling.

Aquatic	Bottom
Open Water (OW)	Bare Soil (BS)
Debris (D)	Rocky (R)
Vegetative Litter (VL)	Woody Debris (WD)
Floating Aquatic Vegetation (AQF)	Vegetative Litter (VL)
Submerged Aquatic Vegetation (AQS)	Submerged Aquatic Vegetation (AQS)
Aquatic Rooted Vegetation (AQR)	
Short, Emergent Vegetation (SEV)	
Medium, Emergent Vegetation (MEV)	
Tall, Emergent Vegetation (TEV)	
Scrub/Shrub (SS)	

Table 3. The number of times males were captured over the sampling period as well as what percentage of the total captures they represent. Most males were captured 1 or 2 times.

Number of times captured	Number of individuals	Percentage of total captures
1	54	60.7%
2	20	22.5%
3	7	7.9%
4	6	6.7%
5	2	2.2%

Table 4. The size of males captured that were found to have called at some time during the survey period compared to those males captured that were never known to call using. There is no statistical difference between weight ($p=0.512$, t-Test) or snout-vent length ($p=0.081$, t-Test).

Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
Weight				
Non-calling	54	45.0 g	7.6	1.0
Calling	41	46.1 g	8.2	1.2
Snout-Vent Length				
Non-calling	54	77.1 mm	3.9	0.5
Calling	41	78.1 mm	5.2	0.8

Table 5. A comparison of average macrohabitat percentages where egg masses were found at calling locations, and at non-calling locations. Eggs were more likely to be found in areas with more vegetation than either calling and non-calling sites. However, this was not significant ($p=0.095$, ANOVA). In contrast, ANOVA analysis did show that there were differences among calling, non-calling, and egg-laying locations for medium emergent vegetation ($p=0.041$) and combined emergent vegetation ($p=0.015$). Post-hoc analysis found that the calling and non-calling sites were significantly different with both medium emergent vegetation ($p=0.017$) and combined emergent vegetation ($p=0.005$).

Type	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
OPEN WATER				
Non-calling	54	8.1%	12.1	1.6
Calling	41	4.1%	5.9	0.9
Eggs	7	2.9%	5.0	1.9
MEDIUM EMERGENT VEGETATION				
Non-calling	54	15.1%	16.1	2.1
Calling	41	26.0%	24.7	3.2
Eggs	7	22.2%	25.6	9.7
ALL EMERGENT VEGETATION				
Non-calling	54	31.1%	18.5	2.5
Calling	41	42.7%	20.5	3.2
Eggs	7	32.6%	18.4	7.0

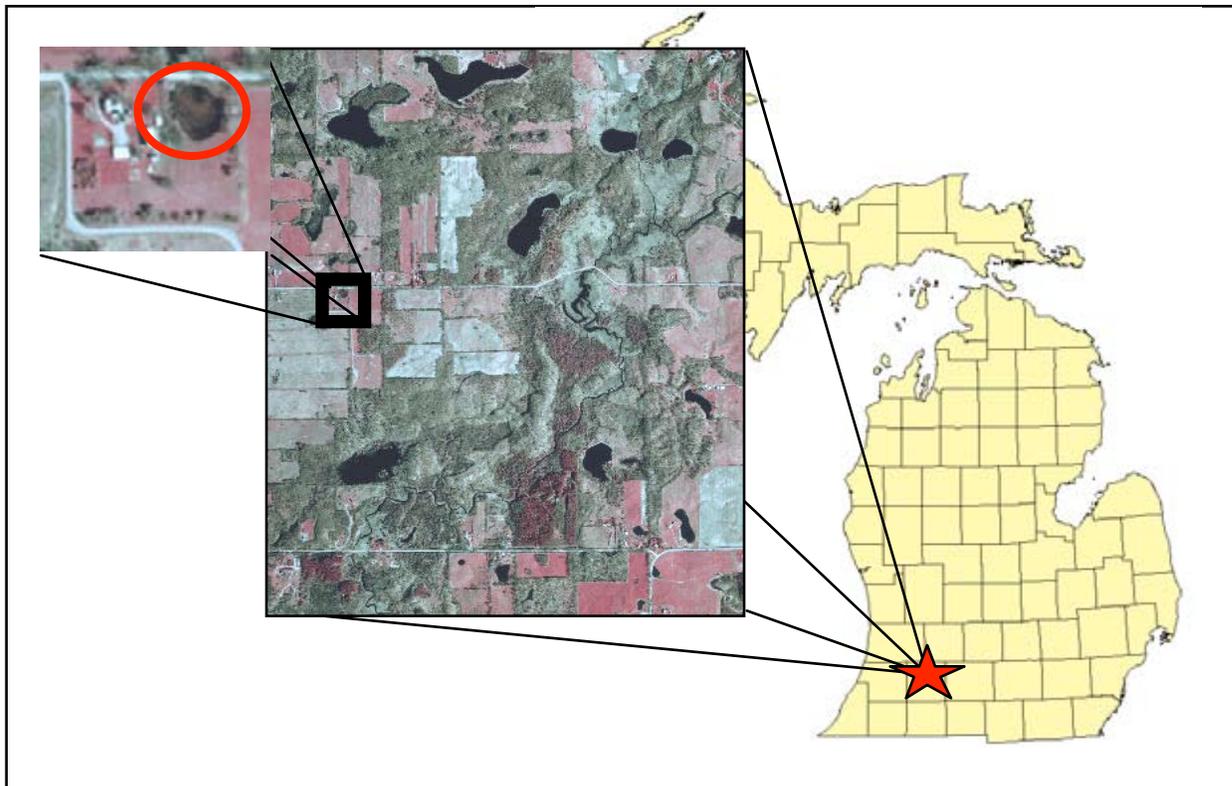


Figure 1. Location of Hyla House pond, Pierce Cedar Creek Institute, Hastings, Barry County, Michigan.

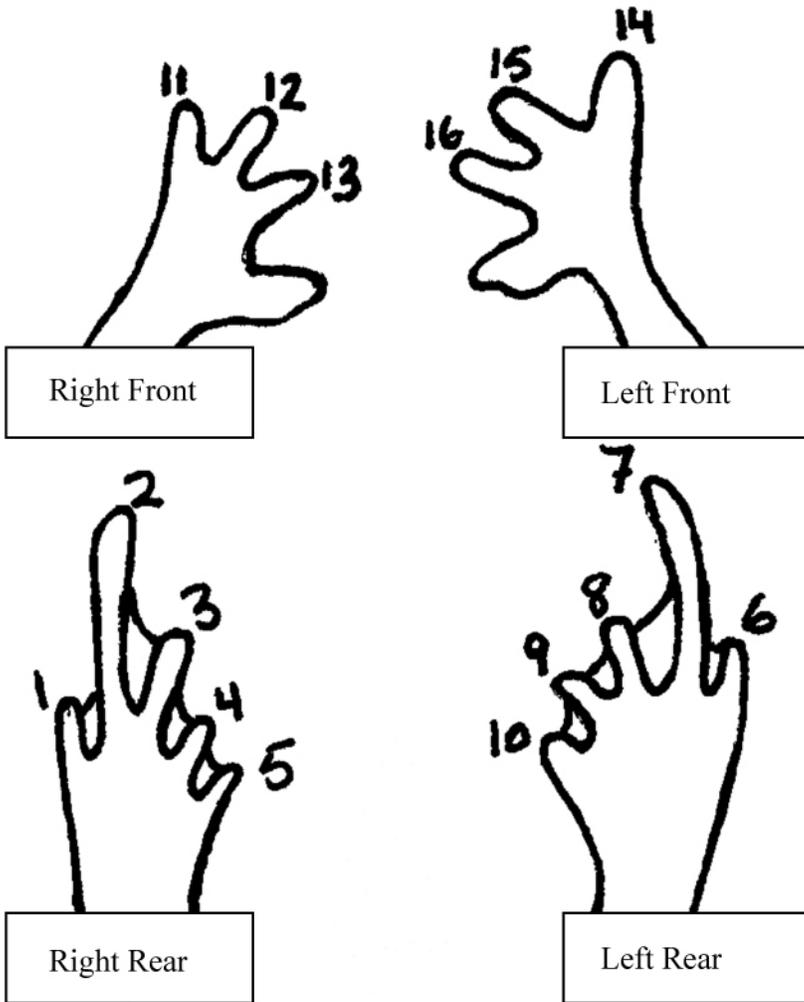


Figure 2. Diagram showing toe numbers used for toe-clipping. View is the ventral side of the feet. We uniquely marked each male by removing one to two toes using a marking system similar to one identified by Martof (1953). For instance frog 0-5 would have had only one toe removed (toe 5 on the right rear foot) and frog 8-16 would have had two toes removed (toe 8 on the left rear foot and toe 16 on the left front foot). No more than two toes were ever removed from an individual and never more than one toe per foot.

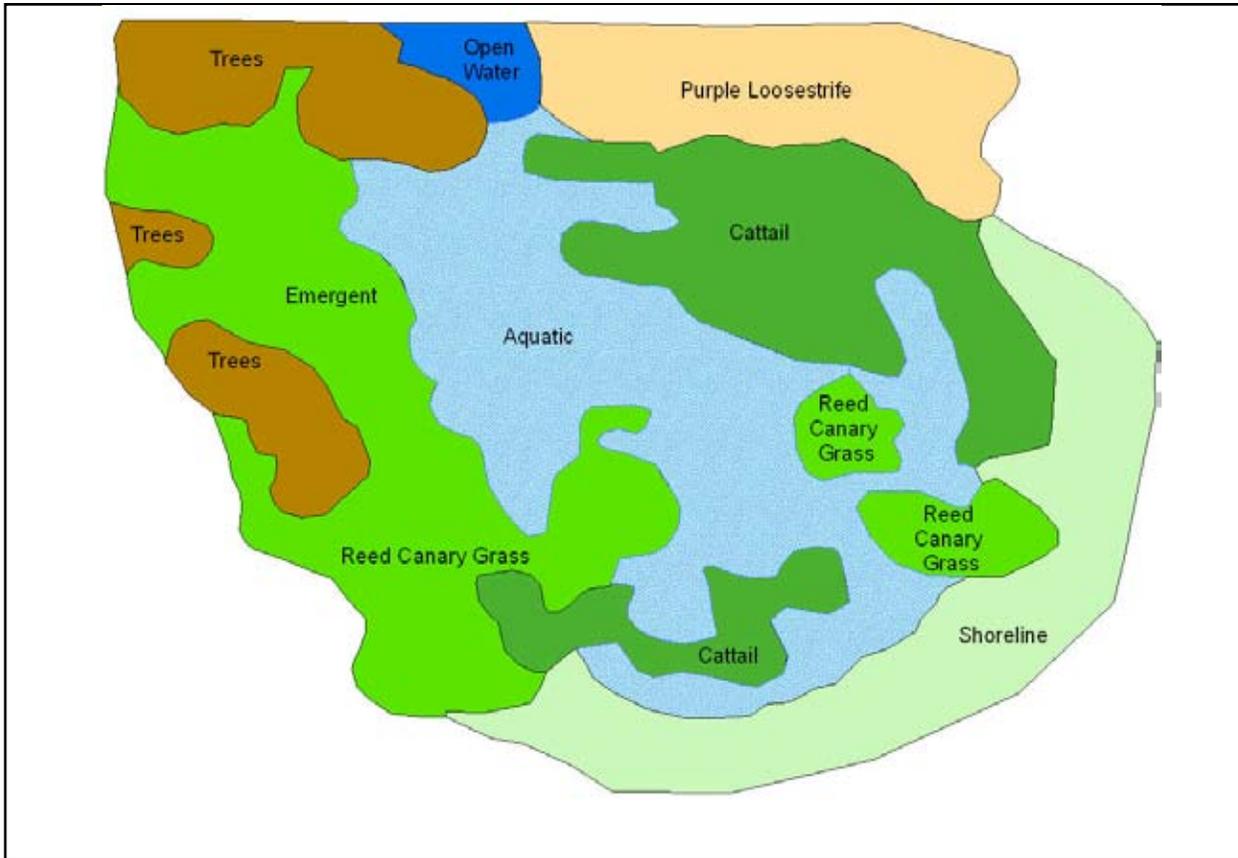


Figure 3. Distribution of macrohabitat in Hyla House Pond. Reed canary grass was considered emergent vegetation in microhabitat data collection. Purple loosestrife were considered scrub/shrub in microhabitat sampling.

Male vs Female Captures

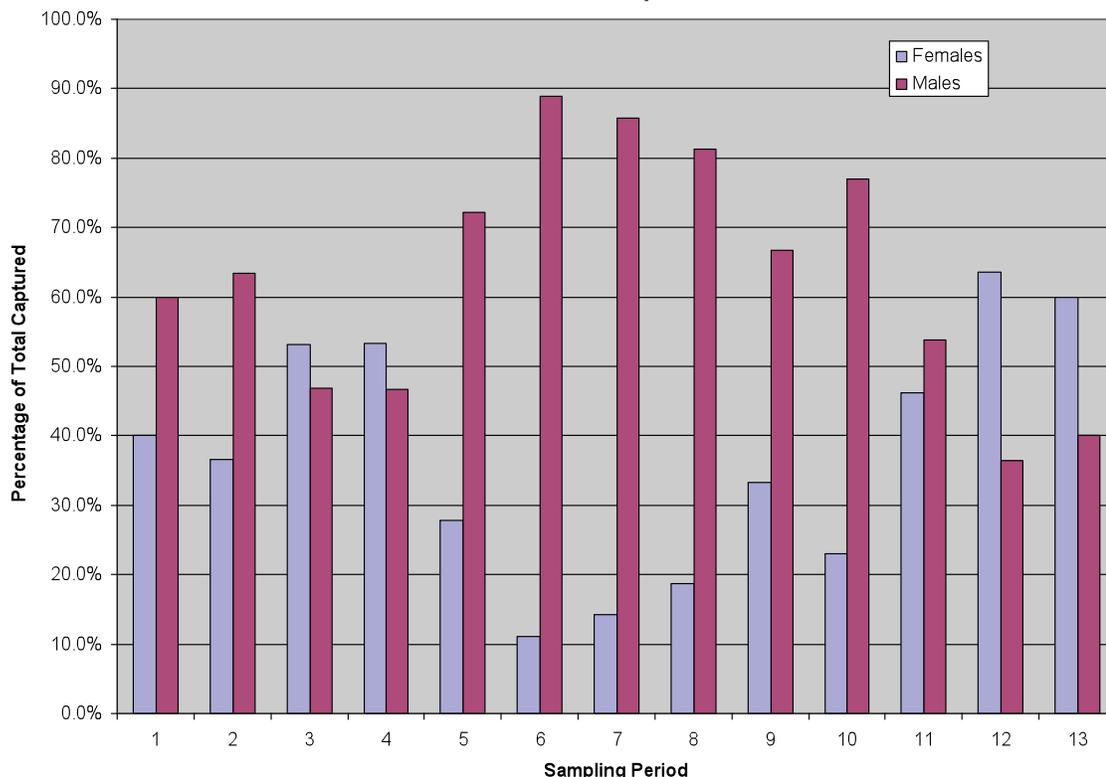


Figure 4. A comparison of the ratio of males to females across the sampling period. Results show that males outnumbered females for a majority of our sampling periods. During the middle sampling period the ratio was heavily skewed toward males.

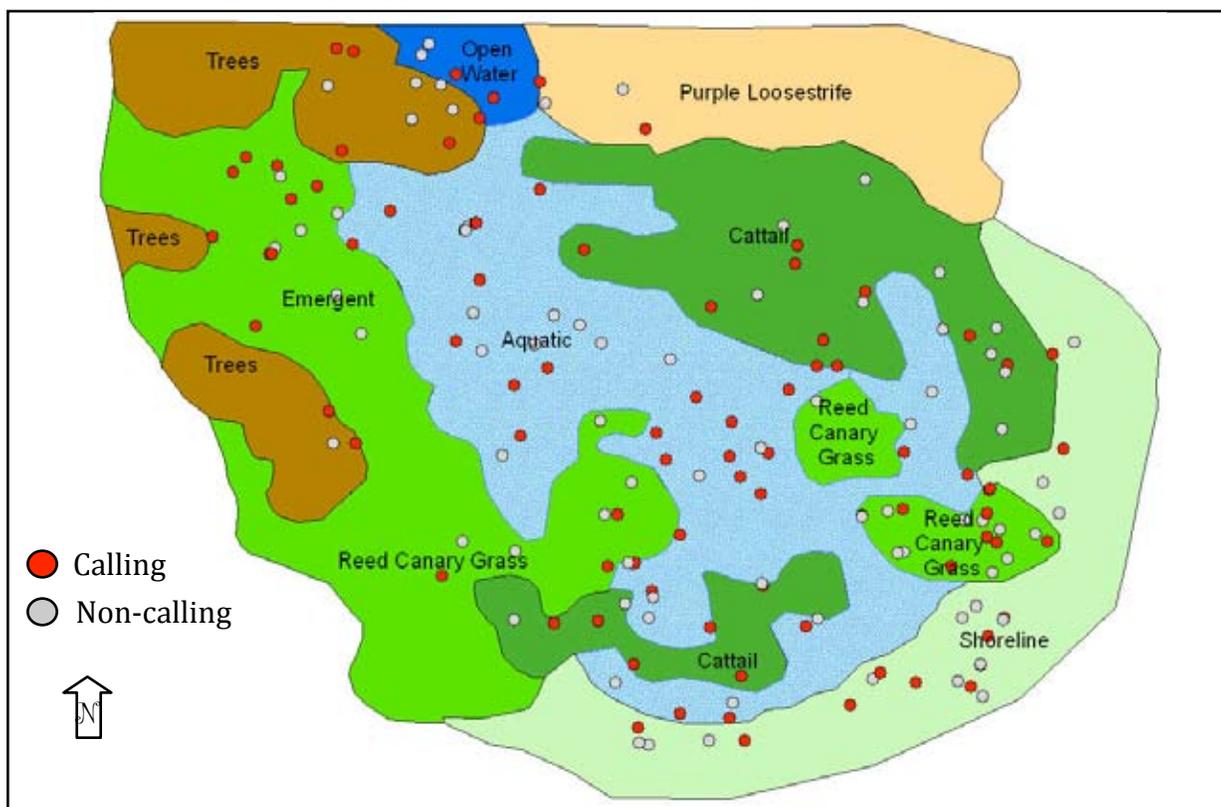


Figure 5. Distribution of capture locations in Hyla House Pond across the sampling period. Frogs were found distributed across the pond; however, the northeast, southwest, and west of the pond had much lower activity.

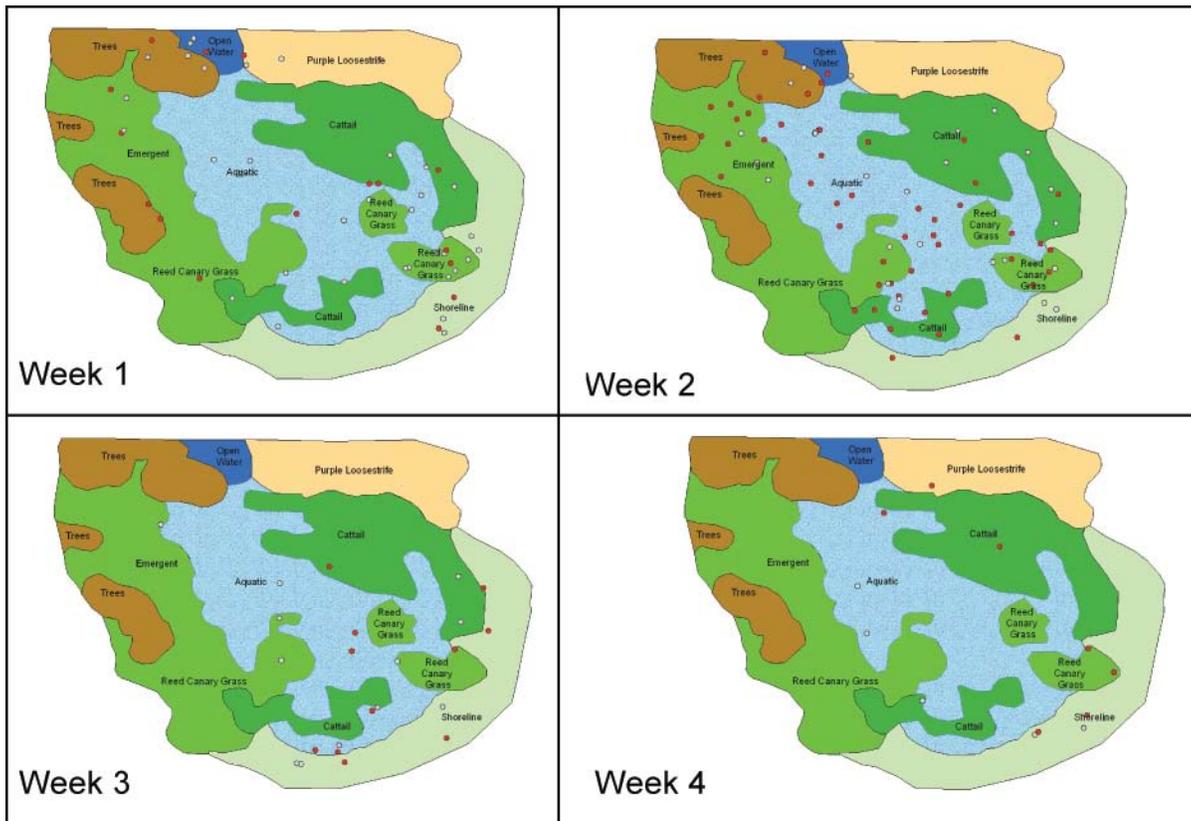


Figure 6. Weekly distribution of capture locations in Hyla House Pond across the sampling period. Early in the sampling period frogs were found in the northwest and southeast corners. By week 2, frogs had distributed across the pond with large concentrations in aquatic vegetation and emergent vegetation. By weeks 3 and 4, fewer frogs were found and mostly in the southeast corner.



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

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.

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