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**McNAIR SCHOLARS  
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**RESEARCH JOURNAL**

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## **A MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR**

The San Jose State University McNair Scholars Program is pleased to present the third SJSU McNair Scholars Research Journal. This journal represents the diverse and practical research experiences of the McNair Scholars during the 2005-2006 academic years.

I would like to congratulate the scholars for their hard work, dedication and accomplishments in the summer research program. My sincere appreciation to the faculty mentors for their guidance, time and commitment to the scholars, their research and the program. A particular word of thanks goes out to the families and extended support systems that made these outstanding presentations possible.

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**Tim Alichanh**

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Individuals Consistent  
Self-Reference Label  
During Inner Speech:  
Another Outlook for  
Psycholinguistics

**Biography**

*Tim Alichanh is originally from Laos. He is excited to be the first person in his family to aspire to get a doctoral degree. He is passionate about research and enjoys going out and conducting experiments. He feels a great sense of accomplishment when his hypothesis is laid out and executed the way he envisioned. He believes a doctoral degree will allow him to practice abroad in his native country. He hopes to enter a Doctoral program in Clinical Psychology with a focus on forensic psychology. Lastly, he strongly believes in charity and volunteering his time to help others.*

**Abstract**

Humans think to themselves using *inner speech* a covert subvocalization in the mind. Young children use *private speech* to aid themselves in different tasks. Individuals use a specific *self-reference label* (srl) (e.g. you, I, or a first name) within their inner speech. This research was conducted to determine what individuals use for their srl and if that srl changes. The participants in the study consisted of three female and five male undergraduate students, three full-time employed males, two full-timed employed females,

and a homemaker, all between 19 and 35 years old. The apparatus used were a sports water bottle, two plastic cups, and three poem templates. The templates were short poems, consisting of first, second, and third person perspectives. The experimenter used random assignment to assign one template to each participant. Each participant read one short poem, poured a drink of water and drank it, and was interviewed using the author's questionnaire about their inner speech. Due to the small sample size, the results were inconclusive whether srls are consistent for individuals.

### **Introduction**

Theories by Piaget and Vygotsky (1962), and studies by developmental psychologist such as Kagan and Amsterdam support that self-awareness in children occurs gradually at the age of two years. In Amsterdam's (1972) classic red rouge study, a toddler looks at himself in the mirror without the red rouge makeup. Later, the parent applies a red rouge dot onto the child's cheek and the toddler glances into the mirror for a second time. The child recognized this foreign red dot because of the prolonged attention by either staring or touching the new object. This possibly predicts the self-awareness of themselves as individuals but is somewhat speculative. It is more accurate to suggest that the child is thinking about himself or herself by having such thoughts as "me." Furthermore, the toddler knows their reflection including the bodily properties that do belong or do not belong. Overall, children who did the self-recognition needed to be an average of 24 months old for this phenomenon to appear.

Furthermore, this distinct awareness in the thinking of an "I" or "me" is transparent in children. According to Kagan (1981a), two year olds who participated in his experiment would sometimes cry if they had to work on tasks that are more difficult. For example, Kagan observed children manipulating a simple sequence task prior to a complicated one. Although the children were competent to finish the first simple task, their reaction suggested that they were conscious of their inability to fulfill the complex task. Their reaction to the realization of their inability was

unhappiness, indicating an awareness of their own competency level.

Moreover, this self-awareness of children is when they start to distinguish themselves as individuals. They know that the reflection is them in the mirror. They may say the word “me”, ‘I’, or their “first name,” inside their heads while in front of the mirror. However, this is a guess because there is no data on this topic. We do not know much about children’s inner speech. However, Flavell, who worked with children older than two, conducts some of the most recent research on this topic.

Furthermore, in a two experimental study, Flavell et al. (1997) demonstrated that children ages 4 to 7–years-old had little awareness of their inner speech. For the first experiment, 4-year-olds believed people had the inability to silently read, count, or recall items from a shopping list. In addition, 4-year-olds had the tendency to deny that inner speech is a normal activity for humans. This is in contrast to 6 or 7-year-olds and adults who were aware of inner speech. Experiment 2 revealed that 4- and 5-year-olds were poor in detecting their own inner speech capabilities when asked to think silently about their name. The experimenter asked the participant, “Did you say your name to yourself in your head, or did you have a picture of your name in your head?” A statistically significant amount of children reported that they had a picture in their head, instead of saying the name silently. This study indicates that children tend to acquire knowledge of inner speech at age seven. This could be accounted for by the fact that children start practicing inner speech during the period when they start reading, writing, and doing arithmetic in first-grade (Flavell, et al. 1997).

In addition, *Egocentric speech* is a phrase or sentence uttered by children to themselves and for themselves. On the other hand, *private speech* is utterances made by people for themselves and others. Much of what we know of children’s inner speech is based on Vygotsky and Piaget’s study of egocentric speech. Their central debate was on a child’s private speech, and Flavell’s terminology, was an important function of designating when egocentric speech disappeared. This means that at the moment a child stops using private speech, egocentric speech will begin to

decline. However, Piaget failed to notice, according to Vygotsky's (1962) critique exactly how the transition of egocentric speech moves covertly into inner speech. Piaget contends that private speech happens during the preoperational period when preschoolers are naturally egocentric. He viewed private speech as an impediment to crossing over to the next stage of cognitive-social development, known as the operational stage. Because of this, it fades away as children become more social and holds a less egocentric view.

On the other hand, Vygotsky hypothesized instead that egocentric speech does not fade away but instead transforms into inner speech. He viewed language as a tool to organize ones thoughts. When children vocalize out loud to themselves, this is the first clear link to both private speech and inner speech. Private speech is common in children between the ages of two to five (Piaget, 1926). They use this method to solve computational problems that are difficult for them. For example, using there fingers to count out loud or working on a jigsaw puzzle, comments such as "this piece goes here." Otherwise, this private speech would be inside their minds. This phenomenon goes covert only when the problem is easy and/or the child is at the stage when private speech transitions into inner speech. This logically presumes that when the child can think the words instead of vocalizing it, then they will eventually sub-vocalize consciously. Therefore, this decreases the use of private speech by the child. For clarity, private speech does not become obsolete or unnecessary, instead it just goes underground. Researchers report this happens typically at the age of nine (Diaz et al., 1987).

Moreover, from Kagan's observation, we know what pronouns a child uses during their private speech. He recorded what type of pronouns a child used when they were at play. These pronouns are important because it suggests what they may be using during inner speech. The following paragraph discusses the possible pronouns a child uses during private speech.

Moreover, self-descriptive utterances were defined as one-, two-, or three-word phrases. It has to occur when the child is action oriented and while he is speaking a word or sentence that refers to

his action. Such examples are “up” as the child is climbing, “run” as he is running, and utterances that contain “I, my, mine,” or the child’s first name (e.g. “My book,” “I sit,” “Todd eat”). If the utterance refers to an object, “Bird” when the child sees a bird, then it was not a self-descriptive utterance by the observer (Kagan, 1981b).

Children start using I, we, me, or their first name when their mean length utterance (MLU) is equal or greater than two. An observer calculates MLU by counting the quantity of one, two, or three word phrases. Then the observer computes the average for that session. There is a minimum criterion of 50 intelligible utterances for it to be valid session. All children produce this type of self-descriptive utterance with the pronouns I, we, me, or their first name between 19.5 to 25 months (Kagan 1981b, p70). An example is “I sit” or the formula “I” followed by a predicate.

Therefore, when children’s private speech is in the form of I, we, me, or their first name, this eventually disappears and transitions into inner speech. Children will begin to use inner speech to direct themselves to accomplish a task or goal. They will use a specific pronoun when performing inner speech. The experimenter in this present study predicts that the pronoun they use is the one that is common to them during private speech.

According to the results of Vygotsky’s study (1962), he generalizes that inner speech has peculiar syntax in comparison to external speech. He states that inner speech has an abbreviated structure, meaning that there is no subject. There remains only the predicate part of the sentence. Vygotsky reports that this predicate-only abbreviated structure occurs consistently in all his experiments, thus, he assumes it is the basic form of inner speech.

However, this assumption is false based on this present study’s findings. Adult’s inner speech has a subject part. Although it is generally true that inner speech is an abbreviated structure. The findings support that another type of inner speech uses specific pronouns for narration.

Currently there is no literature on adult inner speech, or on what *self-reference label* (srl) individuals use. Srls are pronouns either in first, second, or third person that people use to identify

themselves during inner speech. For clarity, *self-examine dialogue* (sed) will be used to describe a specific type of inner speech. Sed is when someone speaks to himself or herself about an action or goal-oriented task such as “I need to get some groceries”. Secondly, these sedes may be thoughts pertaining to self-evaluation, self-improvement, or self-disclosure. For example, “I have to get into shape” is a self-improvement type of sed.

This study is important because it will reveal a new element in the psycholinguistics of inner speech. Currently, there is little to no data on what srls adults use during their inner speech. By building a foundation on human srl, it will open other avenues of research. Srl is a structure of human psycholinguistics and by learning more about this new element, it may provide a direction for future research.

### **Methods**

For this experimental procedure, priming effect was used to manipulate the participant into using a specific srl, whether that be first-, second-, or third-person perspective. Priming effects is a useful tool for cueing a participant’s cognition towards a particular behavior. For example, according to one study, language is an effective private self-prime and collective self-prime. Two hundred seventy-six participants were primed by either “think of what makes you different from your family and friends” (private self-prime) or “think of what you have in common with your family and friends (collective self-prime).” When primed with the private self-prime, Native American English speakers who are from an individualistic culture responded with the form “I am honest” on a 20 question self-attitude instrument. When primed with collective self-prime, Native Chinese Mandarin speakers who are from a collective culture responded with the form “I am a member of my family.” The study’s results support that language can be used to prime native speakers for a collective self-concept or a private self-concept. Depending on the type of self-prime utilized by the native speaker (Trafimov et al. 1997).

In this study, by using observation and interviews the experimenter discovered what srl the participant prefers during their sed. This is accomplished by having the participant read a poem and afterwards asking him or her what srl they used when pouring some water into a cup. The questions are from the Interview Protocol, a questionnaire (see Appendix C) that the experimenter reads to the participant. In this questionnaire the purpose of the fifth interview question, "When you were about to get a drink of water, how did you mentally tell yourself to do so?" is to determine what srl the participants use. In addition, the sixth interview question, "When you need to go to a store, how do you mentally remind yourself to do so?" is a self-report of the participant's knowledge of their srl. Questions seven and eight reveal if the participant uses any other srl and if the current srl has changed in the past.

For this study, the experimenter used three poems that were in either first, second, or third person perspective. The different perspectives of the poems created a priming effect on the participants when they were getting a cup of water. The priming effect from each template influences the participant to use that specific srl or at least be aware of it. For example, when a participant read a first person template, the "I"s throughout the poem became salient to them. Because the template is in first-person, the priming cues the participant to think, "I have to pour water." This priming effect is similar for the second- and third-person poems in that the participant should become aware of using a second or a third-person perspective. The hypothesis is that when getting the drink of water the participants will use the same person-perspective as the templates.

### ***Subjects***

The participants (N=14) were three female and five male undergraduate students, three full-time employed males, two full-time employed females, and a homemaker, all between the ages of 19 and 35. Three of the observations took place in a church Sunday school room, another five occurred at the experimenter's

home, and six took place in a reserved room at the SJSU Martin Luther King University Library.

### ***Apparatus***

The experimenter used a sports water bottle filled with water, two plastic cups positioned on top of each other, and three templates for this research project. The three templates consisted of short two-paged poems in either first, second, or third person perspective (see Appendix A).

### ***Procedure***

Each participant entered the room and took a seat across from the experimenter. The experimenter then assigned one out of the three templates to each participant by using a six-sided dice. If the experimenter rolled a one or four then template 1 was used, two or five for template 2, and three or six for template 3. Finally, the experimenter used matching to distribute similar quantities of the three different templates to the last four participants. After the template was determined, the experimenter then placed the sports water bottle and the two cups positioned on top of each other in front of the participant. The experimenter then gave the participant an Assignment Sheet (see Appendix B). The Assignment Sheet instructed the participant to read the first page of the poem, get a drink of water, and then finish the second page of the poem. Finally, the experimenter used the Interview Protocol as a guide to interview the participant (see Appendix C).

### ***Results***

The main purpose of this study is to support the hypothesis that people use srls in a consistent manner. To find support means that the participants self-report of their srls must be the same for both question number 5 and 6 (see Appendix C). For example, if a

participant with the “I” perspective prompt answered number 5 by writing, “I thought to myself, I have to pour water now,” they would confirm the priming. Thus, substantiating the participants srl as “I” or first-person perspective. Secondly, on question number 6 if the participant responded “I remind myself by thinking ‘I have to buy some groceries today,’” again substantiating the srl as “I” or first-person perspective they would support the hypothesis that people’s srls have a consistent pattern. Consequently, any mismatch answers to question number 5 and 6, for example, “I” for number 5 and a first name such as “Alvin” meaning a third-person perspective for number 6, is unsupportive of the hypothesis. This was the basic formula used to grade each participant to find support for the hypothesis.

Tallying the raw data revealed that 50% of the participants had matched responses to question number 5 and 6. This states a coin toss type of significance, meaning the tally is inconclusive, happened by chance, or that the srls are arbitrary. Only one participant had matched all three variables meaning the first-person template with a first-person perspective for question number 5 and question number 6. Meaning she read a first-person poem, and then reported that her srl was “I” for question number 5 and 6. This supports that there was a priming effect from the template on this reader. However, this is inconclusive because the sample size is too small.

Although this study has inconclusive results, there are some interesting findings. For example, there is a fourth-person perspective srl used by participants. This means that the participant cued themselves to get a drink of water by automatically doing the task or by using a verb and noun combinations (e.g. “get water”) or visual cues such as imagining themselves pouring water. Another interesting observation is on participant number 9 who was the only participant to report a third-person perspective srl (i.e. a first name such as Thomas).

### **Discussion**

Preliminary observations made by the experimenter before the study began revealed that people use third-person srls or a

combination of first-person or second-person srls. In this experiment, two participants suggested using a third-person srl. Although there are no data on children's srl, the experimenter believes if a child uses a third-person srl during private speech the he or she would mostly likely use a third-person srl during inner speech as an adult. The same pattern would follow for second-person and first-person srls. Therefore, this habit of using a specific srl during childhood private speech would follow the person into adulthood inner speech.

Whether or not the three templates manipulated the participants to use or become aware of a specific srl before getting the drink of water remains a mystery. The following four premises discuss whether the templates priming effect has construct validity. One premise is whether getting a drink of water after reading a template was an automated reaction. The participants were instructed beforehand what they had to do after reading the templates. Therefore, they did not have to remind themselves sub-vocally to pour a cup of water. However, this automation may be another type of srl (i.e. a fourth-person perspective) they use. The second premise is simply that the templates had no effect. Possibly the participants choose the srl that was common to them. Therefore, after reading the template the participants cued themselves to pour a cup of water by using a srl that they commonly use. The Third premise is that the srl is arbitrary. Therefore, the participants choose the srl randomly, meaning they used whatever they felt like using at that moment. Fourth premise, the templates work by making the srl salient to the participants. Therefore, the template cued the participants to use that srl when pouring a cup of water. However, there is some conflict in order to support premise four, for example, if the participant's srl is first-person then the template read during the experiment must be the first-person template. Therefore, all three variables must match, meaning the template perspective, and questions number 5 and 6.

Furthermore, if the template perspective did not match-up with their srl then hypothetically the participants would not use that srl to cue themselves to get a drink of water. For example, if the participant's srl is hypothetically first-person and he or she read a

second-person template and reported first-person on question 5 and 6. This means the template did not manipulate the independent variable. And this was the same pattern that occurred for the majority of the participants, out of the 50% who matched on question 5 and 6, only one had matched all three variable of template perspective to question 5 and 6. This discrepancy is difficult to think or explain, therefore manipulation of the independent variable remains inconclusive and a riddle.

Because there is a mystery on construct validity and due to the complex premises. The simple explanation is premise 2, that the templates did not matter. This means construction of the templates and usage of different templates by the participants had little effect. Furthermore, any poems read by the participant would suffice. Instead of this study being an experimental design, this makes the current study a mixture between an observational research design and interview self-report survey.

When the experimenter read question 5 (see Appendix C) to the participants, often he would have to rephrase this question a second time. By suggesting a first-, second-, third-, or fourth-person srls, for example, asking the participant, "Did you think to yourself, 'I have to pour water?' or maybe 'you have to pour water'" On question 6 the same problem occurred, the participant sometimes would not understand the question. Then the question would be rephrased, for example, "What do you think to yourself? Do you say 'I need to go to the store?' or maybe something else." These are experimenter biases because it possibly influences the participants to state the srls suggested during the interview.

For future studies, the experimenter needs a bigger sample size to find a change in percentages of the results. This means either an increase or decrease of percentages of participants who matched responses on question 5 and 6. Instead of the 50% matched responses of question 5 and 6 in the results of this study. Secondly, the study was not able to use Chi Square Analysis due to the small sample size. This type of data analysis would reveal if the proportions of people who use a specific srl happened by chance or if there is a statistical significant difference. Furthermore, concluding if there is strong or weak construct validity for using

the three templates. Lastly, question section II and section III should be counterbalance (see Appendix C). This is done by asking question section II then section III to a group of participants and then reversing it by asking section III then section II to a different group of participants. Doing this would reveal if the order of the questions given to the participant had a different effect.

According to the results from the interview, most participants use either a first-person srl or a fourth-person srl. Only one participant used a third-person srl and a few used a combination of first-person and second-person srl's. No matter what srl the individual used, it is his or her own choice, which is presumed naturally occurs through the advancement of language acquisition during early childhood. Based on this study's interview, most participants are not aware of what type of srl they. This type of cognitive data never occurred to them until it became salient during the experimental procedure. Therefore, it is important that people know what srl they use so that they have the choice to change the srl if they choose. In addition, when people know their srl it is a starting point to better control of their psycholinguistic environment.

Our society has a stigma on thinking out loud or adult private speech, it is considered very awkward for eavesdroppers. Therefore, this genuine information on human srl needs to be disseminated into the scientific community and later into our popular media. By doing so, it may lessen the stigma on our culture's taboo of speaking about personal inner speech. This is a topic that humans do not know much about or stray from speaking of due to its unpopularity and it being a naturally awkward subject. People need to share their thoughts and tell others what they are thinking out loud. By doing so it will help our community to become more psychological healthy and more intimate by speaking about our thoughts and processes to each other. In conclusion, we will share more about our psychological environment and develop further data on what is normal or abnormal inner speech.

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## ***Appendix A***

Template # 1 first-person

### **I Like Myself**

I like myself! I'm glad I'm me. There's no one else I'd rather be. I like my eyes, my ears, my nose. I like my fingers and my toes... (first page)

Inside, outside, upside down, From head to toe and all around, I like it all! It all is me! And me is all I want to be. And I don't care in anyway

What someone else may think or say... (second page)

By Beaumont & Catrow, 2004

Template # 2 second-person

### **Oh, the Places You'll Go!**

Congratulations! Today is your day. You're off to Great Places! You're off and away! You have brains in your head. You have feet in your shoes You can steer yourself any direction you choose. You're on your own... (first page)

Out there things can happen and frequently do to people as brainy and footsy as you. And when things start to happen, don't worry. Don't stew. Just go right along. You'll start happening too. OH! THE PLACES YOU'LL GO!... (second page)

By Dr. Seuss, 1993

Template #3 third-person

### **They love them all**

They are his parent Samson is their child. They kept a quiet place. He can be wild. They are that calm face. Sarah has their giggle. They are her wait. She has the wiggle. They are the carriage ride. She is a Queen... (first page)

They her dry towel She is their wet bath. They make his dinner. He likes chocolate cake. They are his bedtime. Sammy is wide-awake. They are her finish line. She is their race... (second page)

By Love, 2001

Revised version by Alichanh, 2007

Key: the ellipses at the end of each page means truncation of the stanzas in the original template used in the experiment. .

***Appendix B***

Assignment Sheet

Please Print

Gender:

Ethnicity:

Languages Spoken:

Read the poem that I will later give out it contains two pages. When you are done with the first page of the poem, pour yourself some water then drink from the cup. Finally, finish the poem by reading the second page.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. I will tape record the interview and need your consent. You are free to refuse permission for me to keep written records of your participation. Furthermore, you may leave this study at anytime if you feel uncomfortable. Your records and participation is confidential.

Signature\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix C**

Interview Protocol

I. Warm-up Question

- 1. When you read a book, do you read it aloud or silently?
- 2. Which method do you prefer?
- 3. Do you say the words inside your mind?
- 4. What would you call this when you read silently in your mind?  
(Mention inner speech or the term that they choose)

II. After the apparatus

- 5. When you were about to get a drink of water how did you mentally think to yourself to do so?  
i.e. first-person, second-person, third-person, or other srls try not to suggest if possible!

III. Substantive Question

- 6. When you need to go to a store, how would you mentally remind yourself to do so?
- 7. Do you call yourself anything else besides \_\_\_\_\_?
- 8. Did you ever change this? Yes/No      How often?

Dice roll #_____	T#1	T#2	T#3
	1	2	3
	4	5	6

Key: 1&4= template # 1, 2&5=template

# 2, 3&6=template # 3

Participant # \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix D**

## Results Overview

gender	language	apparatus	label report	template	consistent
2	2	4	1	1	no
1	1	1	4	2	no
1	2	4	1	3	no
2	1	1	1	2	yes
2	2	4	4	1	yes
1	1	4	4	1	yes
2	1	1	1	1	<b>yes</b>
1	2	4	4	3	yes
1	1	4	3	1	no
1	1	1	1	2	yes
2	3	1	1	3	yes
1	1	4	1	2	no
2	2	4	1	3	no
2	2	4	1	3	no
1=male	number of languages spoken	from question #5	from question #6		7 out of 14
		1=first-person, 2=second-person, etc.			

**Priscilla Almada**

Major: Psychology

Mentor:

**Dr. Jennifer Gregg**

Impact of Ethnicity on  
Avoidance Coping in Diabetes  
Mellitus

**Biography**

*Priscilla Almada is a junior majoring in Psychology and Anthropology. She is currently an active member and officer of Psi Chi National Honor Society in Psychology and a student affiliate of the American Psychological Association (APA) and Contextual Psychology. Her graduate school interests are in Acceptance Commitment Therapy (ACT), health psychology, and culturally relevant clinical issues. She plans to pursue her Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology in the fall of 2008, and hopes to spend her academic career being both a professor and clinician.*

## **Abstract**

The present study aims to test a model that proposes that ethnicity will be positively associated with the average level of avoidance coping, and will serve as a moderator between group assignment (ACT treatment or Education-Alone treatment) and the level of avoidance coping, self-management, and HbA<sub>1c</sub>. The hypothesis was tested in archival data (Gregg, Callaghan, Hayes, & Glenn-Lawson, in press) collected as part of a randomized, controlled trial run at a low-income community health center. Approximately 75% of participants were ethnic minorities. All participants were randomly assigned to an ACT-enhanced educational group or education-alone group. Participants were assessed for diabetes-related acceptance, self-care behaviors, and HbA<sub>1c</sub> at pre-treatment and a three-month follow-up. Moderation effects of ethnicity were not found, but ethnicity was a significant predictor of acceptance scores. These findings suggest that while ethnicity is clearly an important part of how patients moved on acceptance, group membership had a more powerful effect on outcome. Although ethnicity is important to consider in a clinical context, acceptance can be moved independently of a patient's ethnicity by ACT treatment.

## **Introduction**

Type 2 Diabetes (hereafter referred to as diabetes) is a chronic metabolic illness characterized by the body's inability to create or effectively use its own insulin. Insulin regulates the body's blood sugar level by converting sugar (glucose) into energy needed for basic bodily functions. Insufficient insulin production results in elevated levels of blood sugar that are correlated with the development of cardiovascular complications, increased risk of blindness, kidney disease, and loss of limb functioning, among others. Despite the dangerous consequences associated with poor self-management, ideal compliance to a diabetic regimen is maintained by less than half of all people with diabetes (Harris et al., 1999). Management of diabetes is complex and difficult. Diabetes is not a disease that can be managed by a physician or

specialized medication in most cases. Diabetes requires self-management and strict compliance to a lifestyle change consisting of restrictions in diet, regular exercise and daily blood sugar testing. Motivation to adhere to a diabetic regimen is especially difficult because even meticulous compliance is not a guarantee against complications.

Many argue that the United States fosters an obesogenic environment that perpetuates unhealthy behaviors. The country's predominant advertising sector promotes high-calorie, high-profit foods. Fast food is affordable, palatable, and readily available. When complemented with a sedentary lifestyle, Americans are culturally at greater risk for developing diabetes. The United States is a hub for diabetes, ranking in the top three countries in the world in terms of prevalence, affecting 6.2% of the population (King, Aubert, & Herman, 1998). In the ten-year span from 1991-2001 the diagnosis of diabetes among Americans increased 61%, pushing diabetes from the seventh leading cause of death in the U.S. to the sixth (Satterfield, 2003; National Academy on an Aging Society, 2000; National Institute of Diabetes and Digestive and Kidney Diseases, 2002).

At the same time, the United States has undergone rapid demographic changes in its racial and ethnic composition. The current immigration rates are the highest in U.S. history. U.S. Census reports predict that by the year 2010 racial and ethnic minorities will become a numerical majority, with white Americans representing approximately 48% of the population (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). Diabetes affects people of all ages, racial groups, and socioeconomic strata; however, diabetes disproportionately affects ethnic minorities, particularly Native Americans (18.8%), non-Hispanic African Americans (15%), and Mexican Americans (13.6%) (Shoenberg, Drew, Stoller, & Kart, 2005). In addition to higher prevalence rates, ethnic minorities are at greater risk of poor self-management due to: a) disparities concerning access to and quality of health care (Walker, Mays, & Warren, 2004); b) financial limitations; c) communication

problems with physicians; d) higher frequency of polychronic conditions; and e) cultural barriers (Utz, Steeves, Wenzel, Jones & Muphy, 2006).

There are several complex cultural factors that hinder the process of successful diabetes intervention in the United States. Diabetes prevention and maintenance in the U.S. emphasizes the values and beliefs of Western-European biomedicine. The conceptualization of health primarily assumes biological etiologies of disease, and assessments, diagnoses, and treatments are made accordingly. Taking a universal approach to diabetes management is inappropriate, especially for American minorities whose etiology of disease directly conflicts with the biomedical model. Incongruent explanatory models of disease further complicate and hinder the individual's ability to manage his or her diabetes.

Understanding cultural functions of behavior is crucial in explaining the human experience of and response to diabetes. Culture is a complex, systematic collection of knowledge shared by a group of people. This body of knowledge spans several semantic categories including ideas about disease. The cognitive framework that culture provides acts as a mechanism for giving the human experience meaning. Therefore, cultural knowledge creates cognitive reality. Humans do not experience reality directly; rather, reality is defined by cultural systems of meaning. Cultural systems of meaning are analogous to scientific paradigms (Castillo, 1997); they provide consistent explanatory models.

Like other cultural events, disease is a cultural construction created by the imposition of human meanings on naturally occurring processes (Joralemon, 2006). The conceptualization of disease would not exist without the cultural meaning system that created it. In an example of this, Sedwick (1981, p.120) stated, "The fracture of a [human's] femur has, within the world of nature, no more significance than the snapping of an autumn leaf from its twig: and

the invasion of a human organism by cholera-germs has no more the stamp of 'illness' than does the souring of milk by other forms of bacteria." Disease is a complex system of meanings. The subjective experience of disease is constructed by the cultural context in which it occurs. Culture defines the indicators of disease, causation, effects, diagnosis, and appropriate treatment. In addition, culture affects how the person expresses that they are ill, how they are viewed by members of the culture, how the disease is perceived, and how the disease interacts with the individual's interpersonal relationships.

Diabetes is laden with cultural meaning, making a universal treatment regimen problematic. The greatest single challenge faced in diabetes management is maintaining a desired quality of life. A desired quality of life is threatened when people with diabetes are instructed to make changes in their lifestyles that prevent them from maintaining their cultural traditions and preferences. There are difficult cultural barriers engrained in American diabetes maintenance regimens including restrictions in diet and exercise.

Eating and exercise are culturally influenced behaviors. For example, Chinese Americans have multiple cultural connotations for food and eating. Chun and Chesla (2004) found that a group of Chinese Americans with diabetes believed that, "food abundance is central to life satisfaction, health and social bonds." Chinese Americans who have this cultural construction for food may have unique cultural barriers regarding their ability to make restrictions in diet. This study also found that Chinese Americans have culture-specific views on exercise. Many participants in this study believed that strenuous physical activity, such as running and other cardiovascular exercises, can compromise health. Similarly, women that have diabetes and are of Indian and Pakistani descent find exercise regimens especially difficult to adhere to due to cultural taboos that restrict women from exposing their bodies to the opposite sex, and the non-existent availability of single-sex exercise facilities (Lawton, Ahmad, Hanna, Douglas & Hallowell, 2006). In another example of the defining role of culture and

language, the Bengali dialect, Sylheti, has no positive translation for the word “exercise” (Davies, 2006).

Diabetes management is an increasingly pressing issue as individuals experience difficulties in adhering to established treatments. As such, the prevalence of the disease is increasing at epidemic rates among quickly expanding minority groups. Due to these issues, some researchers have begun to explore the psycho-behavioral components of self-management and have yielded successful results. Gregg, Callaghan, Hayes, & Glenn-Lawson (in press) found that an ethnically diverse sample of patients with diabetes reported better diabetes self-care and significantly decreased blood glucose levels with a combination of Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT) and diabetes management education.

ACT is a behavioral therapy founded on the premise that emotional regulation and experiential avoidance are major contributors to maladaptive behaviors in a variety of areas (Blackledge & Hayes, 2001). ACT changes the conventional, therapeutic goal of attempting to eliminate unpleasant emotions by allowing patients to try to fully experience these emotions in the service of achieving personally valued goals. Therapy focuses on: (a) clarifying personal values and identifying barriers to achieving value-related goals; (b) committing to actions necessary to reach outlined goals; and (c) experiencing private events without engaging in counterproductive avoidance behaviors through the process of psychological acceptance (Zettle, 2003). ACT therapeutic principles focus on individually defined values and goals allowing the patient to set goals based on their own cultural values, thereby preventing distress and worry about fulfilling specific cultural mores.

ACT is a promising therapeutic alternative for minorities in accordance with its theoretical premises and its demonstrated effectiveness in the physical health domain in three randomized controlled trials (Gregg, Callaghan, Hayes, & Glenn-Lawson, in

press; Lungren & Dahl, in press; and Guaidiano & Herbert, in press). Although ACT appears to be an effective alternative therapy for minorities, no ACT study has specifically addressed the relationship of ethnicity and culture to avoidance coping or acceptance. Therefore, the specific aim of the present study is to test a model of the relationships among ethnicity, avoidance coping, diabetes self-care behaviors, and Hemoglobin A<sub>1c</sub> (HbA<sub>1c</sub>), a measure of blood glucose concentration. We hypothesize that ethnicity will moderate acceptance coping as measured by the Acceptance and Action Diabetes Questionnaire (AADQ), diabetes self-management, and HbA<sub>1c</sub> levels.

Due to the differences between cultures with regard to explanatory models of disease and disease-related coping styles, we predict that ethnic groups will differentially increase in diabetes-related acceptance. We expect that the differences in coping styles will be illustrated by significant differences in AADQ difference scores between ethnic groups (Caucasian, Hispanic, Asian), providing supporting evidence that ethnicity is both a predictor and moderator variable in the ethnicity x group interaction. Based on institutionalized health discrepancies in minority populations (Walker, Mays, & Warren, 2004; Utz, Steeves, Wenzel, Jones & Muphy, 2006) and successful treatment effects of ACT on self-management of diabetes (Gregg, Callaghan, Hayes, Glenn-Lawson, in press), we predict that ethnicity will also be a predictor and moderator of self-management in the ethnicity x group interaction. Due to the strong positive relationship between self-management and HbA<sub>1c</sub> (DCCT, 1998), we also predict a corresponding prediction and moderation effect on HbA<sub>1c</sub>. To test the moderator variable model, the hypothesis will be tested on archival data collected as part of a randomized, controlled effectiveness trial (Gregg, Callaghan, Hayes, & Glenn-Lawson, in press).

## **Methods**

### ***Participants***

The original study (Gregg, Callaghan, Hayes, & Glenn-Lawson, in press) was conducted at a low-income primary care facility in the San Francisco area. A total of 81 participants were recruited from the community health center based on the following criteria: (a) diagnosis of type 2 diabetes; (b) referral by primary care provider; (c) willingness to be randomly assigned; (d) time availability to participate in the intervention and post assessment; and (e) ability to speak and understand English. Approximately 75% of participants were racial minorities (30% Asian/ Pacific Islander, 29% Hispanic, 19% Other). The sample was equally representative in gender (52% female) and the mean age was 51 years old.

### ***Attrition***

Of the 81 participants, eight did not complete the study. There were no significant differences between the completers and non-completers on any measure or demographic variable.

### ***Treatment Protocol***

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two treatment conditions: Education Alone (n=38) or Acceptance Commitment Therapy and Education (ACT; n=43). There were no significant differences between the two groups regarding BMI, medication/insulin protocols, or pre-treatment complications. Both interventions were delivered in a one-time daylong workshop consisting of seven total hours of treatment.

### ***Education Alone***

The education alone intervention served as the control group. The purpose of this condition was to give patients an increased understanding of diabetes self-management. Patient education covered the following topics: diabetes disease process; diet

management; the importance of consistent physical activity; monitoring and interpreting blood glucose levels to improve metabolic control; and acute and chronic complications correlated with poor diabetes self-management.

### ***Acceptance and Commitment Therapy and Education***

The ACT condition served as the experimental group. The ACT treatment intervention consisted of an abbreviated version of the Education Alone condition with ACT material added. ACT material focused on clarifying personal values related to diabetes self-management and identifying psychological barriers in achieving value-related behavior. Additional ACT components included exercises that worked on increasing acceptance of diabetes-related thoughts and feelings, without engaging in avoidance of diabetes self-management.

### ***Measures***

Participants were assessed for diabetes-related acceptance, self-care behaviors, and glycosated hemoglobin (HbA<sub>1c</sub>) before treatment intervention and at a three-month follow-up.

### ***Self-management***

Self-management scores were composed from the number of days per week patients reported engaging in exercise, adhering to diet, and self-monitoring blood glucose.

### ***Diabetes-related acceptance***

Diabetes-related acceptance scores were based on an ACT process measure called the Acceptance and Action Diabetes Questionnaire (AADQ). The AADQ is an 11-item instrument and is answered using seven-point Likert scales, with responses ranging from 1 (never true) to 7 (always true). The AADQ was developed to measure acceptance of diabetes-related thoughts and the extent to which they interfere with valued goals related to diabetes self-management, and preliminary analyses indicate good psychometric properties (Cronbach's alpha = .94).

### ***Hemoglobin A1c***

Hemoglobin A1c (HbA<sub>1c</sub>) is a measure of glycemic control. HbA<sub>1c</sub> levels are obtained by a single blood sampling, which reflect a 60-90-day average of a person's blood glucose levels. HbA<sub>1c</sub> levels are reported as percentages. For the purposes of the original study, an HbA<sub>1c</sub> of less than or equal to 7% was considered to indicate successful diabetes self-management and a 1% drop in HbA<sub>1c</sub> was considered clinically significant.

### **Results**

Primary outcome data are presented in Gregg, Callaghan, Hayes, & Glenn-Lawson (in press). Table 1 presents the correlation matrix with the means, standard deviations, and alphas for the primary scales (AADQ, self-management, and HbA<sub>1c</sub>).

### ***Mean Change Score Differences***

Mean change score differences were found between ethnic groups on both acceptance and self-management, but no differences were found on HbA<sub>1c</sub>. Both Hispanic ( $M = 1.87, SD = 9.58$ ) and Caucasian ( $M = 10.86, SD = 22.23$ ) participants increased in acceptance scores, while Asian-American ( $M = -4.38, SD = 11.81$ ) participants decreased in levels of acceptance scores. All groups increased in self-management scores, but mean change score differences between Caucasian ( $M = 3.60, SD = 3.68$ ) and Hispanic American ( $M = 3.45, SD = 3.89$ ) participants were relatively similar in comparison to Asian-American participants' scores ( $M = 0.83, SD = 3.26$ ).

### ***Moderator Analysis***

Moderator analyses were conducted based on the recommendations of Aiken and West (1991) in order to determine if ethnicity moderated the impact of group assignment on outcome. Separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted for each outcome variable (acceptance of diabetes, self management, and HbA<sub>1c</sub>). The main effects (group assignment and ethnicity) were entered in Step 1. The interaction term for group assignment and ethnicity were entered in Step 2 (see Table 2).

### ***Diabetes-Related Acceptance***

We predicted that ethnic groups would differentially increase in diabetes-related acceptance as measured by the AADQ, and that this would be impacted by treatment condition membership. Given this, we expected ethnicity to serve as a significant predictor to AADQ outcome, and as a significant moderator of treatment and AADQ change. While ethnicity served as a significant predictor for change in acceptance ( $R^2 = .23$ ; change  $R^2 = .23$ ;  $F [4, 50] = 3.64$ ,  $p = .011$ ), it did not serve as a significant moderator between treatment condition and change in acceptance ( $R^2 = .30$ ; change  $R^2 = .07$ ;  $F [3, 47] = 1.64$ ,  $p = .193$ ).

### ***Self-management***

Based on the existing literature (Chun and Chesla, 2004; Lawton, Ahmad, Hanna, Douglas & Hallowell, 2006), we expected ethnicity to be a significant predictor of self-management outcome. We also expected ethnicity to be a significant moderator of treatment and self-management, given that we predicted that, as patients of different ethnic backgrounds achieved higher levels of acceptance, this difference would extend to self-management behaviors as well. Contrary to our prediction, ethnicity was not a significant moderator for the interaction between treatment condition and self-management ( $R^2 = .13$ ; change  $R^2 = .03$ ;  $F [3, 57] = .619$ ,  $p = .606$ ).

### ***Hemoglobin A<sub>1c</sub>***

Given our hypothesis that treatment group and self-management would be significantly moderated by ethnicity, we expected to see a corresponding moderation effect on HbA<sub>1c</sub>; given the relationship between self-management, it was consistent then that similarly our prediction regarding HbA<sub>1c</sub> was also not confirmed ( $R^2 = .16$ ; change  $R^2 = .09$ ;  $F [3, 65] = 2.40$ ,  $p = .076$ ).

## **Discussion**

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the impact of ethnicity on diabetes-related acceptance, self-management, and HbA<sub>1c</sub> on a sample of low-income patients with type 2 Diabetes.

Although differences between groups were found on mean change over time, no moderation effects were found for ethnicity. However, ethnicity was found to be a significant predictor of change in acceptance. These findings suggest that while ethnicity is clearly an important part of how patients moved on acceptance, group membership had a more powerful effect on outcome. Ethnicity is an important predictor for individuals' levels of acceptance, but it did not moderate the group x acceptance relationship. Although ethnicity is important to consider in a clinical context, acceptance can be moved independently of a patient's ethnicity by ACT treatment.

The results of the current study should be interpreted by taking the following limitations into consideration. The total number of participants in the study is relatively conservative ( $N= 81$ ), and when the participants are further separated into treatment groups and ethnic groups, this increases the risk that the data may not accurately represent the actual distribution of scores within and between ethnic groups. Another weakness of this study is that it is a post-hoc analysis of data that was not designed specifically for a moderator analysis of ethnicity. This increases the chances of alpha inflation and also poses a more serious issue. Although racial and ethnic demographic categories organize massive amounts of information, an ethnic gloss approach poses serious problems. Ethnic categories change over time and situations, carry different meanings for individuals and groups, and minimize within-group differences (Phinney, 1996).

Another issue with using ethnicity as a measurement of culture is that it provides an oversimplified and artificial measurement of the individual and their personal culture. "The point behind understanding cultural diversity should not be to create a whole new set of more sophisticated forms of prejudice," (Hayes & Toarmino, 1995, p. 23). Understanding cultural diversity is a means of facilitating treatment for an individual and not the group to which he or she belongs. Simply knowing the ethnicity of an

individual cannot provide adequate information to understand and/or predict that individual's behavior.

Despite several limitations, this study extends previous research on ACT by focusing on ethnicity and by examining ethnicity's moderating effects on acceptance and the clinical relevance of culture in health care settings. Our results indicate that further investigation of cultural differences with regard to acceptance is warranted and that there is a need for ACT practitioners to consider cultural influences of culture on acceptance. Future studies will need to address the aforementioned limitations. One possible direction for future research is to focus on culturally relevant behaviors that may affect the individual's explanatory model of disease, values, and levels of acceptance. This evaluation would include collecting detailed information on the individual's: a) cultural explanations of his or her illness; b) cultural meaning of key symptoms, idioms of distress, and culture syndromes; c) socio-political influences; d) meanings of the illness that are imposed by the society (i.e., stigma); and e) social supports on functioning, impairment, recovery, and relapse (Castillo, 1997). By examining the mechanisms that underlie the impact of culture on acceptance coping, practitioners may be better equipped to help their clients manage their diabetes or other non-health related conflicts.

**Table 1**  
***Mean Change Scores, Standard Deviations, and Between-Group Comparisons***

	AADQ	Self- Manage ment	HbA <sub>1c</sub>
<b>Caucasian</b>			
<b>M</b>	<b>10.8571</b>	<b>3.6000</b>	<b>-.1474</b>
<b>SD</b>	<b>22.22908</b>	<b>3.68006</b>	<b>1.54106</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>			
<b>M</b>	<b>1.8667</b>	<b>3.4500</b>	<b>-.4957</b>
<b>SD</b>	<b>9.57576</b>	<b>3.88621</b>	<b>1.79506</b>
<b>Asian</b>			
<b>M</b>	<b>-4.3750</b>	<b>.8333</b>	<b>-.5667</b>
<b>SD</b>	<b>11.80889</b>	<b>3.25847</b>	<b>1.52933</b>
<b>Between Groups F</b>	<b>3.729</b>	<b>3.258</b>	<b>.388</b>

*Note.*  $N = 81$ . AADQ = Acceptance and Action Diabetes Questionnaire.

**Table 2**  
***Moderator Effects***

	B	SE B	$\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup> Change	FR <sup>2</sup> Change
<b>AADQ</b>						
Constant	-20.8	8.54		.22 5	.225	3.638
Caucasian	1.881	5.857	.053			
Hispanic	-5.79	6.290	-.147			
Asian	6.853	6.129	.187			
Group x Ethnicity Interaction	-25.6	15.81		.29 9	.073	1.640
Caucasian x Group	-11.8	12.54	-.612			
Hispanic x Group	-12.2	12.96	-.540			
Asian x Group	10.33	12.31	.407			
<b>Self-Management</b>						
Constant	3.201	2.689		.09 7	.097	1.610
Caucasian	.380	2.042	.031			
Hispanic	-.710	1.906	-.062			
Asian	-2.92	1.943	-.254			
Group x Ethnicity Interaction	8.657	5.068		.12 5	.028	.619
Caucasian x Group	4.911	5.006	.755			
Hispanic x Group	3.541	3.902	.519			
Asian x Group	5.167	3.997	.642			
<b>HbA<sub>1c</sub></b>						
Constant	.378	.774		.06 2	.062	1.122
Caucasian	.656	.569	.178			
Hispanic	.123	.557	.035			
Asian	-.104	.564	-.030			
Group x Ethnicity Interaction	-.662	1.478		.15 5	.093	2.395
Caucasian x Group	-2.01	1.187	-.981			
Hispanic x Group	-1.22	1.11	-.567			
Asian x Group	.622	1.12	.256			

Note.  $N = 81$ . AADQ = Acceptance and Action Diabetes Questionnaire.

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**Marites  
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Child and Adolescent  
Development with a  
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Understanding Relational  
Aggression in Adolescent  
Girls.

**Biography**

Marites Alvarado is a Senior majoring in Child and Adolescent Development with a minor in Psychology. Currently, she is works as a Registered Polysomnographic Sleep Technologist in a sleep center. Also, she works for a prestigious Child Development Center located in Cupertino. Her passion has always been to research the lives of children and adolescents. She plans to receive her Ph.D. in Child and Adolescent Development or in Developmental Psychology.

**Abstract**

The purpose of this article is to provide an overview of previous literature on understanding relational aggression of adolescent girls, with the specific aim at making this information relevant towards prevention programs and educational institutions. This research draws upon scholarly sources regarding the

definition, social and emotional development aspects, and consequences of relational aggression. Literature on peer and familial influences are examined. The article concludes with suggestions for further programs based on the works by Rosalind Wiseman and Mary Pipher. Such programs are constructed to increase prevention and awareness of relational aggression. Furthermore, suggestions on future research are provided.

### **Introduction**

School is not always a place where students feel comfortable and accepted by their peers. Moreover, it is not uncommon for a teenage girl to be mistreated by her fellow classmates in such a way that she feels exposed and embarrassed. This can be exemplified in a scene from the movie, *Mean Girls*. The main character is invited to be part of a group, she shares her intimate secrets with them and in the end her secrets are known throughout the school. Although movies can exaggerate adolescent daily life, maltreatment of this kind seems to be common among adolescent girls and is referred by researchers as Relational Aggression. Relational Aggression (RA) is defined as “harming others through damaging relationships, feelings of acceptance, inclusion in social groups, and friendships (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995).” Simply RA can be thought of as using social relationships to damage a person by attacking their emotional, psychological, and physical well being. This can be done by behaviors such as gossiping and isolating someone from the group.

Moreover, key aspects of RA include intention to hurt their targets and frequency of occurrence. Studies show there is a negative correlation between the frequency of attacks in RA and victims feeling of self-worth. (Merrell, Buchanan, & Tran, 2006). Meaning, the more attacks the victim experiences the lower their feelings of self-esteem. In addition, students use both indirect behaviors and direct confrontation as well as other techniques such as Internet postings to hurt peers. For example, RA has been identified in web sites such as *MySpace*. Taken from I- Safe American Student Survey (2005), 42% of teenagers admit they have been bullied online, while one in four have experienced it

repetitively. Also, fifty-eight percent of teens admit they have used the Internet to hurt or harm someone else's feelings. Furthermore, RA negatively impacts teenage girls because it significantly affects their well being and social relationships. Therefore, I will review existing research on RA, its effects on teenage girls, and prevention efforts.

### ***Silenced Aggression/Negative Effects***

Most recently the topic of RA has been discussed in print media. Many of us are familiar with books that relate to RA such as *Queen Bees and Wannabees* by Rachel Wiseman or *Reviving Ophelia* by Mary Pipher. Yet, despite all the attention children and adolescents are still being victimized by their peers. A large body of research has demonstrated that nearly 40% of teenage girls are relationally victimized (Sullivan, Farrell, & Kliewer, 2006). Despite this, prevention programs have been primarily focused on physically aggressive boys.

Moreover, many teenage girls are being ignored because educational institutions have focused more on restricting physical aggression. Also, female students agree that programs are not effectively meeting their needs. A survey conducted by Crozier and Skliopidou (2002) demonstrated that 64% of students believed their school did not handle bullying problems effectively. The main reason for this is that many school personnel did not know the appropriate ways to deal with RA. Also, school personnel did not know the characteristics that related to RA and as a result could not assist the students that needed help. However, since RA is a covert, or sheltered behavior it is very difficult to identify. Therefore, prevention efforts need to be specific in terms of recognizing the signs and symptoms of this behavior.

Consequently, many teenage girls who are relationally victimized experience problems. As we have seen in the past with the Columbine high school shooting, teens will resort to desperate measures to plead for help. Victims feel socially incompetent because they are constantly teased and gossiped about by their peers. Research has made evident that being relationally victimized lowers an adolescent's self-esteem for both short and long term

periods of time. In addition, without effective programs, adolescents' drug and alcohol abuse increases as shown in a study by Sullivan, Farrell, and Kliever (2006) who surveyed 276 eighth graders in an urban public school system regarding drug use and RA. One question in their survey dealt with the number of students who experienced RA more than once and used drugs to deal with their pain. They found that there was a significant correlation between relational victimization and drug use, especially for cigarette and alcohol abuse. Therefore, relational violence not only leads to lower feelings of self esteem but can result in substance abuse problems as well. To lessen the negative effects that correspond with RA such as drug use and cigarette and alcohol abuse, school personnel need to be aware of the characteristics that are related to RA.

My hypothesis claims that intensive prevention programs will change adolescent females' beliefs, emotions, and behaviors within same sex peer relationships. For instance, Sullivan et al., (2006) studied educational institutions which promoted positive climates in schools, and eventually influenced students to view bullying as intolerable. This resulted in students helping each other through bullying crisis at school. In addition, a large amount of research has demonstrated that parents who are involved in their child's life can alter the way their child acts. In addition, successful programs are able to include the surrounding community as well as parents. Furthermore, once school administrators feel confident at handling bullying situations students will feel more secure about approaching adults with their problems.

The purpose of this article is to identify both adolescent females who cause RA and those who are negatively affected by it. Furthermore, detailed information is provided to identify risk factors and consequences of RA. Finally, current prevention efforts will be discussed as a model for future programs.

### ***Female Development, Gender Norms, and Relational Aggression***

Surprisingly, researchers suggest that RA is a part of "normal" female social and emotional development. For example, 92% of adolescent girls believed that social exclusion was not

bullying (Raskauskas and Stoltz, 2004). On the contrary, these teenagers classified such behaviors as gossiping, passing notes, and giggling about someone else as bullying. Also, teenage girls agreed that bullying was harmful to a person's self-esteem and body image. Another study by Crick and Grotpeter (1995) used a peer nomination form that surveyed 491- third through sixth graders to determine who used overt or covert behaviors to display aggression. They found that females are more likely to use covert behaviors to display aggression.

Theorists also show that teenage girls' social development and the way they form friendships also create an environment where RA is cultured. More specifically, research has demonstrated that since adolescent females place a large emphasis on close relationships, RA is used to maintain social status and prevent the individual from being isolated from the group. In American culture there is pressure for young children to conform to their appropriate gender group. Since many females are taught to be expressive and intimate with their friends, danger within their friendship could mean they do not meet the standards to be part of that group. Moreover, other girls that have not been excluded from the group might participate in relationally aggressive behaviors in order to stay in the group. When conflict arises, bystanders are literally forced to take a position and are usually encouraged to retaliate against the victim (Werner & Crick, 2004).

On the other hand, there has been controversy about whether RA is gender specific. Young males in elementary school have used RA on their peers, yet as they get older physical aggression becomes more important. Unfortunately, teenage girls' negative feelings about keeping intimacy in relationships are more pronounced than boys are. Of course, it can be argued that females who accept gender role stereotypes are more vulnerable to these negative feelings. Owens, Slee, and Shute (2000) argued that girls exhibit the behavior more frequently than boys. Even at an early age, girls focus on expressiveness and self-disclosure during social discussions.

Furthermore, studies have labeled the group that uses RA most often the *controversial group*. Crick and Grotpeter (1995)

suggested that controversial students are disliked by victims of RA but are liked by peers that have escaped maltreatment from them. In fact, they will use both positive and negative behaviors to influence their peers. These adolescents might actually be very popular but are not very liked. Controversial adolescents will use their popularity to be in control of every social situation (Young, Boye, & Nelson, 2006). For example, a cheerleader who is viewed as cool and popular can also be viewed as domineering. In order for students to keep or upgrade their social status they will use both physical aggression and RA (Young, Boye, & Nelson, 2006). Therefore, girls' emphasis on peer group acceptance can promote RA.

### ***Environmental and Biological Factors***

Teenage girls' own social and emotional development are factors that contributes to RA, however, other big risk factors develop as a result of biological and environmental agents. For example, adolescents who have Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) are both at risk for being both perpetrators and victims of RA. Teenage girls with ADHD are known to be impulsive and aggressive in both class and social environments. And without the necessary peer relationships experienced throughout childhood and adolescence, many do not experience the sense of belonging to a group, and they lose opportunities to benefit from perspective taking and cooperation on tasks (Dumas, 1998). These experiences are needed to function with their peers.

Also, victims with ADHD are often seen by their peers as disruptive and appear inattentive. Attention to talking is important to teenage girls as most talk about everything from their daily routines to dating. Teenage girls who are seen as victims are often identified by friends, parents, or school personnel as at fault for provoking the attack. Although, relational aggressors tend to be domineering and critical, they believe that aggression will provide a positive outcome for themselves (Dumas, 1998). Therefore, using aggression is their strategy to impress their peers.

Environmental factors meaning both the home and school environment also affect students. Parents or guardians are usually

responsible for socializing their children. Likewise, when adolescents experience conflict at home, they start dealing with conflict at school in the same way. More specifically, if an adolescent witnesses his/her parents isolating each other from their bedrooms or worse gossiping about each other, their children will start to believe that is the ideal behavior in dealing with problems. In a study of 108 families, children ages 8-16 kept diaries for 15 days to record their emotions. They found that children who were exposed to destructive conflict at home and negative parental emotionality were most likely to express aggressive behavior at school (Cummings, Goeke-Morey, & Papp, 2004). Besides experiencing conflict at home, adolescents might receive inconsistent, harsh, or even coercive parenting interactions from their parents if there is severe marital conflict at home (Hart et. al, 1992). Subsequently, children will use the behavior that they are most familiar with, which in this case was aggression. For example, Lopez, Olaizola, Ferrer, and Ochoa (2006) interviewed 843 Hispanic adolescents and found that aggressive females compared had higher levels of conflict at home than non-aggressive rejected females. In contrast, rejected teenage girls who were not aggressive had a negative attitude about school, but had lower conflicts at home.

Moreover, children's views on RA are shaped not only through watching their parents and their friends, but also through various media facets and cultural stereotypes (Huesmann, Moise-Titus, Podolski, Eron, 2003). American culture does focus a considerable amount on competition, independence, and power (<http://www.opheliaproject.org>). Knowing this, adolescents are exposed to RA ten times more on television than at school. Consequently, many adolescents believe they can relate to the characters on television and imitate the same behavior. Similarly, exposure to violent television is correlated with aggressive behavior (Huesmann et. al, 2003). In a longitudinal study, Huesmann et. al., (2003), showed that exposure to media violence as a child influences aggressiveness in adolescents and adults. If adolescents are constantly surrounded by images of acquisition of power, competition, risky behavior and of course, RA, they will

start identifying the same behaviors as socially appropriate. For example, RA is shown in reality shows such “Survivor” or the popular teenager television show “the O.C.” In addition, Huesmann et. al., (2003) mentioned that less exposure to television viewing during childhood and adolescence can decrease aggressive behavior.

### ***Social, Emotional, and Physical Consequences***

It is important to study RA because it produces negative short and long term effects. Moreover, any type of violence can cause serious problems for victims. First of all, RA victimization correlates with drug and alcohol abuse (Sullivan, et al., 2006). In order for these victims to cope with the stress of RA, some adolescents will turn to drugs. According to Weiner and Crick (2003), high levels of RA are associated with lower levels of anger control and related to drug use. Also, the higher the frequency of RA victimization, the more likely they are to advance their alcohol use. Adolescents use alcohol and drugs as stress relievers (Lopez, Olizola, Ferrer, and Ochoa, 2006). There are plenty of students, approximately 35 percent who have experienced multiple acts of RA and will resort to doing drugs and alcohol because they have a negative perspective about their social life; and have low social and academic self-esteem (Lopez, Olizola, Ferrer, and Ochoa, 2006). Specifically for females, higher levels of victimization increases the frequency of smoking marijuana (Sullivan, et al., 2006). Eventually, with victims constantly avoiding their problems they might become dependent on the substances they abuse.

Another consequence of RA is psychological maladjustment. RA can be considered psychological warfare. Sullivan et al., (2006) studied positive associations between RA and anxiety and depression. Since teenage girls are more serious than boys about social relationships, being isolated could be distressing (Werner & Crick, 2004). For example, Crick (1995) showed that victims who are repeatedly rejected by their peers will consequently begin to believe that everyone is trying to hurt them. In turn, these victims can become relationally aggressive in the future. Victims become perpetrators because they learn the basics

of psychological maladjustment. Unfortunately, they discover that not every relationship contains honesty and trust. Furthermore, they realize that in order to avoid being in the same situation again, they retaliate by doing the same things or worse to others.

Likewise, victims can also become lonely and depressed. Studies have shown that victims are perceived by their peers as being different and vulnerable to attacks (Crick, Casas, & Nelson, 2002). For this reason, victims report that they internalize the problems that they are having with their peers and feel less self-worth than other teens (Young, Boye, & Nelson, 2006). Therefore, victims could start to blame themselves and begin to withdraw and become depressed about their situation. Consequences are more severe if an adolescent was relationally victimized by their close friends. For example, teenage girls experience a considerable amount of psychological distress such as loneliness if they are victimized by their friends. According to Raskauskas and Stoltz (2004), victims compare experiencing RA as stressful or more stressful than the death of a close friend or failing a year of school.

Victims of both physical and RA also have trouble concentrating on their schoolwork because they are worried about what their bullies will do next and how they are going to deal with it. As many as 29 percent of victims have trouble concentrating on their schoolwork (Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2004) as a result of RA. In addition, this could lead to lower grades and academic failure. For this reason, adolescents will not only feel like a failure in keeping meaningful friendships but also in academics. This means that in the future they would lack interest in higher education and could be prone to be in abusive relationships.

More importantly, victims who demonstrate physical distress are unable to give parents, teachers, and school administrators an idea that they are being bullied. Raskauskas and Stoltz (2004) showed that adolescents that are relationally victimized have frequent absences at school. Similarly, twenty percent of adolescents 13 to 16 years old have skipped school to avoid being victimized (Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2004). Victims will also seek refuge from bullies at the nurses' offices through complaining of physical symptoms such as headaches and

stomachaches. In fact, 22 percent of victims report feeling ill after being victimized. At this moment, the nurse could take the opportunity to intervene. However, they may not know the signs of RA.

### ***Prevention***

There are two significant programs that are equally promising in dealing with RA. The common theme is identifying the causes and trying to address the problem. The rate of victimization of teenage girls is proof enough that we need prevention programs. The fact that as many as 40% of teenage girls believe schools do not remedy bullying is a problem (Raskauskas & Stoltz, 2004).

The first program that will be discussed is called *Owning Up/Empower Program*. Rosalind Wiseman author of *Queen Bees and Wannabees* is created this program. In her book, she discusses the importance of education and self-empowerment to overcome RA among teenage girls. One focal point of her book is to reduce gender stereotypes and norms which create an environment for RA. It is common in adolescence to conform to gender stereotypes that are learned from peers and friend. For example, stereotypes about girls as powerless may lead girls to use RA to gain control. In this program, Wiseman informs teenage girls that it is their right to fight the violence that erupts in RA. Girls need to know that they do not have to conform to society ideals such as the image of girls' as helpless. The *Owning Up/Empower Program* encourages teenage girls to act against these stereotypes by identifying the root of the problem and solving it. This will prompt the victim to feel empowered and lessen the effects of lowered self-esteem. Further, when teenage girls understand that there are many ways to understand and recognize beauty, it boosts their own self-esteem and changes their perception of others.

When discussing stereotypes, another important one worth considering is the "double standard" of sexuality. The *Owning Up/Empower Program* teaches teenage girls that the double standard is very serious and needs to be dealt with. Why is it that boys are able to practice more sexual freedom that girls do? When

boys are rumored to have sex with different girls, their masculinity is praised and their popularity increases. However, girls who display similar behavior are labeled as promiscuous. Future generations need to change this double standard.

Besides stereotypes, the program addresses the role of *the Bystander*. Teenage girls who are not the victims or the perpetrators but are present in the group and are indirectly involved in the conflict are bystanders. Bystanders are usually stuck in the middle of conflict. They are afraid to defend the victim because they do not want to be victims themselves. Usually, they will reluctantly agree with the perpetrator and resist stating their own opinions. In the end, bystanders become submissive to the perpetrator. Therefore, the program urges bystanders not to ignore the problem but to feel empowered to take a stand against RA.

Lastly, the topic of cyber bullying is mentioned as a problem that needs to be discussed in the program. The *MySpace* website is another way that teenagers socialize. It is a modern way to socialize instead of going to the mall or the local hangout. Although, teenage girls are not physically present while chatting with their friends online, they can still use slanderous websites. Moreover, teenage girls are taught in the program to solve their problems with one another early on instead of using gossip or web sites to vent their frustration.

Ideally, prevention programs need to address stereotypes, the role of the bystander, and cyber bullying. Author Mary Pipher discussed the Ophelia Project in her book, *Reviving Ophelia*. The exact name for her project is Creating A Safe School Environment (CASS). CASS works towards creating a healthier, safer environment for children. Contrary to popular belief, teenage girls want support from their parents, teachers, and the community especially during these rough times. Individual schools adapt this program and invite parents and community members to promote a positive school environment. Not only are parents involved with their children's' school activities but are also made aware of the symptoms that accompany RA. Hence, they will be able to help their child early on, instead of finding out when the problem has gotten worse. And the fact that parents, educators, and the

community will be involved in this process gives teenage girls the appropriate resources needed to battle RA. Additional support from community organizations such as the YMCA, Girl Scouts, and Junior League assist schools in teaching teenage girls to respect, protect, and hold each other accountable for their actions. This is a key point of the program because teenage girls use RA because they have a lack of respect for other girls. On the other hand, bystanders do not know how to protect their friends during this crisis. However, in the end perpetrators have to be accountable for what they do and victims have to be responsible to stand up for themselves.

To reduce RA, schools must not tolerate bullying. Prevention education is key in spreading this message. One way to reinforce a no tolerance rule is by assigning peer mentors. Teens are trained to be mentors so they can build efficacy and empathy skills and relay this to their peers. As peers and mentors get comfortable with each other, they can help each other through crisis situations. Moreover, victims will not feel alone when they are being victimized. Bystanders will have the confidence to express their opinions freely because their mentor can help them through the aftermath. As a result, both victim and bystander will not have to suffer the consequences for taking action.

Teenage girls can also gain support from after school activities. CASS encourages girls to join after school activities such as basketball or tutoring. Studies have shown that students who join after school activities are less likely to use RA (taken from <http://www.opheliaproject.org> ). The fact that parents, educators, and the community will be involved gives teenage girls the appropriate resources needed to battle RA.

Aspects of the Owning up/Empower and CASS prevention programs need to be adopted to eradicate RA at its roots. Effective programs must: educate families, school personnel, and communities, train peer mentors, fight gender myths, and address the role of the bystander.

### **Implications**

More research needs to be devoted to relational aggression across ethnic groups. Most studies of RA have focused on white, middle class girls in urban schools. It would be interesting to know if relational aggression exists in other cultures. Or perhaps North American media promotes relational aggression. Researchers must investigate the role of cultural stereotypes in promoting RA. Lastly, prevention programs must increase awareness about RA on the Internet as well as in school. Through promoting awareness and acknowledging RA as a real problem, maybe more schools will begin dealing with it.

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The Cultural Construction  
of Menopause in two  
botánicas in Northern  
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**Biography**

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## **Abstract**

This research examines the cultural construction of menopause in two botánicas\* in Northern California. The goals of the project are threefold. Firstly, I seek to understand how, and if, menopause differs in its cross-cultural definition. Secondly, I reviewed existing literature regarding menopause, its symptoms, and remedies, as it may pertain to the American medical model. Thirdly, ethnographic methods such as participant-observation and open-ended semi-structured interviews were used to collect data on cultural alternatives for dealing with menopause among botánica customers. The project focuses on these research questions: How do botánica women define menopause? Do all women experience menopause? If so, how? What menopausal symptoms do women experience? Furthermore, the project will help me form the foundation for more in-depth research in the future.

## **Introduction**

My interest in the topic of menopause first began during conversations with my mother regarding her menopausal experience. Upon hearing my mother's experience, and being an anthropologist living in a multicultural population, I started wondering how menopause was viewed cross-culturally. What cultural schemas did women have regarding this stage of their lives? If indeed menopause had a different cross-cultural definition, then how were menopausal symptoms being approached? I was especially interested in knowing what natural alternatives' women were using. In a multicultural population it is important to increase our awareness of menopause, a condition that affects or will affect all women in the population. These questions formed the basis of my project: the cultural construction of menopause in two botánicas in Northern California.

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\* Botánicas are Latino shops that sell natural alternative medicines such as herbals and plants.

## **Review of Literature**

The reviewed literature consisted of Western women's (defined here as residing in Australia and United States) menopausal experiences in comparison to Asian women's (Taiwanese, Japanese, and Chinese) experiences which demonstrated three findings. Firstly, the incidence of symptoms differ between Western and Asian women. In three cross-cultural studies Western women suffered more menopausal symptoms than Japanese, Taiwanese, and Chinese women (Anderson et al. 2004). Among the three Asian groups hot flashes and night sweats were not the core symptoms reported. However, they were the two most associated and reported symptoms in Western menopausal women (Fu et al. 2003). Japanese women experienced more somatic symptoms, such as tension and shoulder stiffness (Anderson et al. 2004). In contrast to Western women, Taiwanese women frequently experienced tiredness, backaches, and light-headedness (Fu et al. 2003). Chinese women also frequently reported experiencing tiredness and memory difficulties (Shea. 2006). Furthermore, the differences in symptoms indicate that no universal symptom can be associated with menopause.

Secondly, studies have shown that women's attitudes, beliefs, or expectations about menopause may contribute to their menopausal experience. For example, in northern India, menopause is viewed as an end to social restrictions. The positive perspective indicates a link in Indian women not reporting any menopausal symptoms (Fu et al. 2003). In the same way, in a Peruvian town, women are very eager to enter menopause because multiple taboos are placed on them that relieve them of household chores (Barnett. 1988). A 2004 study consisting of a sample size of 2500 Japanese women concluded that Japanese women shared a similar positive perspective; they viewed menopause as having little impact in their lives (Anderson et al. 2004). However, there are a few exceptions with the westernization of Japanese culture in recent years. The role of Japanese women has changed in that there is more pressure for women to maintain their traditional roles as well as get accustomed to new changes. Therefore, Japanese

women reported having more psychological and somatic symptoms than Australian women in general, while Japanese women still experience fewer *menopausal* symptoms (Anderson et al. 2004). In a study about expectations of menopause, 50% of American women reported menopause as unpleasant and disagreeable (Anderson et al. 2004). Since, American women held negative notions they reported experiencing more symptoms than the groups mentioned. Furthermore, a significant link is demonstrated in areas where women have positive pre-notions of menopause and as a result report fewer symptoms (Shea 2006).

Thirdly, in the reviewed literature natural alternative remedies or medicines contribute to the care of menopause, however, they are not equally represented in American biomedicine.\* In American biomedicine, hormone pills or estrogen/hormone replacement therapy are the most common solutions for dealing with menopause. The primary reason for prescribing such medications is that menopause is viewed as a hormonal deficiency disease. The goal of these medications is to target and maintain women with the appropriate level of estrogen; however, these medications have significant side effects, which can be dangerous to women.

On the other hand, herbs and plants such as black cohosh, soy products, and red clover are natural products commonly used in different cultures for menopause. Their success varies according to the population in which they are used. For example, studies indicate that Japanese women may experience fewer symptoms than women in Canada and United States, because of the high concentration of soy in the Japanese diet (Lock 1998). American biomedicine cautions patients before starting to use them as treatment because certain herbs and plants can be dangerous. Therefore, in brochures and literature of American medicine it appears there is a written cultural bias regarding the use of natural medicines in menopause. Yet, women in immigrant and ethnic minority communities frequently use traditional herbal medicines.

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\* The application of the natural sciences, especially the biological and physiological sciences to clinical medicine.

The cross-cultural variability of menopause, and the psychosocial need to align cultural expectations and therapeutic interventions suggests that a strictly biomedical approach, as defined by many American medical practitioners, is not the best fit for a multicultural population. Adherence to biomedical regimes is further complicated by the many ways in which menopause is understood. If menopause is not viewed as a hormonal deficiency disease, then hormonal replacement therapies will not be viewed as the most appropriate action. Moreover, access to biomedical care differs by class, language, and ethnicity. This set of problems would suggest that social scientists need to examine the variety of beliefs around menopause, and find therapeutic interventions that are safe, effective, and culturally appropriate. If menopause is defined as a natural life stage that requires a “natural” intervention, it is logical to see how alternative, complementary herbal therapies are culturally constructed, used and understood.

Furthermore, the purpose of my project is not to determine which medicine—natural or American—is best suited for menopause. Ethnography cannot demonstrate efficacy because discourses of success are rooted in people’s cultural schemas of medicine. Ethnographic methods were used to gather cross-cultural schemas in regards to menopause, its symptoms, and approaches towards it. My project should increase the understanding of cultural schemas found among women in two botánicas in Northern California. It may illustrate a path in which both natural and American medicine collaborate together.

### **Method**

In this study, ethnographic methods of observations and open-ended semi structured interviews were performed in two botánicas located in San Francisco and San Jose. A combined total of eight interviews were conducted each varying in length from 15-20 minutes to 1-1 ½ hour. The interviews were conducted in Spanish and consisted of seven female botánica customers/patients and two interviews with the male herbalist. In the summer of 2006, I sat in a corner of each store with my laptop observing for five to six hours and taking hand written notes. After observing I

would then transcribe my notes into detailed field notes. I arrived as the store opened at 10:00 a.m. and left at 3:00 p.m.—three to four hours before closing. As per the advice of the herbalist assistants these were the hours when the store had the highest volume of customers. However, one day of each week I would arrive later in order to leave an hour before closing to observe if a change in activity occurred. The level of activity fluctuated; there were days (within the two weeks) when few entered the store.

The major difference between the two stores was in the activity level. The San Francisco botánica was busier than the San Jose botánica. At the San Jose store the majority of customers pre-ordered their products (by calling the herbal assistants in advance) allowing them to quickly come in and out of the store. The San Francisco store had a more constant flow of walk of Pedestrian traffic that led to an increase in customers. Therefore, the store's window served as a great advertisement tool because customers would be drawn to the window display, which led them to go inside and explore. The level of activity affected my chances of interviewing because it was important for me to interact with customers. For instance, the slow pace of the San Jose store limited my interviewing opportunities resulting that only three of the eight interviews were performed there. On the other hand, the San Francisco store's high pace resulted in five of the eight interviews being conducted and I was privileged to interview the herbalist—he only consulted customers at the San Francisco botánica.

All of the interviews were conducted on site as the customers, all female, came in to pick up their products, purchase additional products, or consult with the herbalist. The interview focused on the following self initiated questions, which I asked depending on the flow of our conversation: How do you define menopause? Do all women experience menopause? If so, how? What menopausal symptoms do women experience? The selection process for interviews were not random because the study targeted women preferably in their forties or fifties, yet younger women willing to participate were also included.

There were two approaches used for setting up an interview; first, I had asked the herbalist assistants for their assistance. If possible, they could introduce me to informants they felt were appropriate for the study. The second approach was simple and direct, upon identifying the informant (by appearance) while she waited for assistance or to see the herbalist, I would introduce myself, tell her a brief summary of my project and ask her if she would like to participate. If the female informant did not want to participate, I would thank her for her time and move on to the next woman or continued observing. However, if the female informant wished to participate, then she would be interviewed. The herbalist assistants provided an extra chair to use where interviews could take place. The assistance of the herbalist in making the research possible was truly appreciated.

In each botánica there were two full-time female employees. Although they do not have an official job title “herbalist assistant” embraces their job position. Their duties included maintenance of the store, restocking and ordering supplies, recommending products to customers relating to their genenic healing needs, booking consultations, updating themselves with information of new herbal medicines/products, notifying customers of their appointments, and many other tasks that were essential for the store’s overall functionality. For instance, during times when the herbalist is away on business all responsibility devolves to the herbalist assistants, including the store’s financial dealings. They cannot, however consult with customers; only the herbalist is allowed to give specific recommendations. The herbalist has a high level of trust in his assistants and includes them in the selection of inventory for the botánica should.

The following is a list of herbs and plants from the botánicas inventory, which are recommended to female customers who are dealing with menopausal symptoms. Moreover, a brief description of the product and its uses is provided.

- 1) Black Cohosh: Available in tablet or herb (the plant itself) form recommended to be taken 2~4 capsules/teas daily, helps during menopause for hormone imbalance.
- 2) Soy: Available only in tablet form and to be taken at least twice daily to help reduce hot flashes.
- 3) Dong Quai: It can be purchased in tea bags, tablets, and plant bottles varying on the form recommended to be taken at least twice daily, for irregular menstruations, vaginal infections, and menopausal symptoms like hot flashes and others depending on the woman.
- 4) Ginkgo: It is only carried in tablet form to be taken 2~4 times daily, it increases energy level and helps circulation problems and memory difficulties.
- 5) St. John's Wort: Available in plant and tablet form and to be taken daily between 2~4 times before or after meals. It helps people dealing with difficulties urinating, nervouness, and depression.

As mentioned, these are just five of the most common used natural alternative methods for dealing with menopause as suggested by the herbalist and herbalist assistants. Also, in a 2005 study, regarding the success of botanical and dietary supplements, these five herbs and plants were the most commonly reported to have been used by other cultures (Geller & Studee 2005).

### **Results**

The average age for the seven women interviewed was 53, the age range varied from the oldest being 76 and the youngest 42. Results from the eight interviews (the eighth being the herbalist interview) indicated four implications. First, menopause is an individual experience and symptoms cannot be generalized to all women, rather it is dependent on what the woman reports. Second,

the majority of women did not experience hotflashes as one of their menopausal symptoms. Third, women linked attitudes or perspectives towards menopause as a key in determining symptoms. Four, there was a difference in preference of natural medicine over American biomedicine.

When I asked my informants if they believed a woman's menopausal experience is universal, all of my informants denied the universality of women's menopausal experience in terms of symptoms and beliefs. Rather they claimed that menopause varies according to the individual, and is an experience that is not representative of everyone or should be characterized into a single medical discourse. However, all seven women agreed that menopause started at the end of menses. Jolina\*, a 76 year-old Latina woman, stated, "Dealing with menopause certainly depends on the individual because symptoms could be different." Alice, a 52 year-old Latina said, "A woman's menopause experience depends on the woman it can not be generalized to represent all of us." In addition, the herbalist assistants and herbalist agreed with informants' position, as exemplified by the biomedical remedies they recommended to a menopausal woman. They did not make any presumptions regarding their symptoms, nor were they quick to hand out solutions; instead they listen first to what the woman was experiencing. It was essential that they listened first, and then recommended the herb or plant needed secondly. Valeria, one of the four herbalist assistants says, "When it comes to menopause, I listen to her complaints first, because my advice depends on what the woman needs taken care of." The implication here is that botánica customers view individuals holistically and not stochastically, as statistically compliable symptoms. Therefore, seeking treatments for menopause greatly depends on the individual woman for this particular population.

As mentioned, in American biomedicine hotflashes are the dominant symptom associated with menopause, nevertheless, only two women reported experiencing hotflashes frequently. Two

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\* In order to conceal informant information and assure privacy and confidentiality all names were replaced with pseudonyms.

reported only experiencing them once or twice but were not certain they were hotflashes because the sensation of feeling hot could be related to the climate. For example, Annie said, "I felt hot once but wasn't sure if it was because of the weather." Also, Jolina, who reported never experiencing hotflashes during menopause said, "If a woman suddenly gets hot it's because of the temperature, change in climate, or humidity. Or if she gets hot when the weather is cold it could be due to her clothing maybe she is wearing something that's making her hot like a sweater." Three women reported not experiencing any hotflashes. The herbalist asserts that it depends on the woman. He relates that the most reported symptom to him was depression, emotional volatility reported by the women as feeling "emotional." In the following is the list of symptoms seven women reported experiencing:

- Depression = 5
- Lack of sexual desire = 2
- Hotflashes (frequently) = 2
- Difficulty sleeping = 2
- Dry mouth = 1
- Anxiety (nervousness) = 1
- Dizziness = 1
- Night sweats = 1
- Headaches = 1

A clear cultural schema emerged from the eight interviews: Women's attitudes toward menopause will shape how they experience menopause. Four women and the herbalist commented lifestyle would mitigate the degree of difficulty a woman encounters during menopause. My informants commonly referred this method as "good nourishment." Bruce, the herbalist, comments,

A woman's menopausal experience will greatly depend on her past life. If she had a good nourishment process by walking, not smoking, maintaining a good diet, has a harmonious relationship with her partner, and it constantly nourishing the body with

natural supplements then she will easily go through menopause. But too many are performing bad nourishment to their bodies.

Jennifer added when explaining her depression symptom,

A big factor that effects a woman's menopausal experience is the psychological process. What I mean, is that the woman's attitude towards menopause, how does she approach it in the beginning, during, and after. If she has a negative psychological perspective towards it then she will have a negative experience. My sister-in-law is a great example. But if you have a positive attitude towards menopause like being happy of being old then it will be different.

The other two informants did not make any direct comments regarding good nourishment as a preventive method, but indicated that the degree of difficulty is determined on the level of stress a woman had in her life before reaching menopause. For example, Annie referred her symptoms to her "stressful life." Kai, a 58 year-old Mexican woman, was the only one to not link her menopausal symptoms to stress or attitude towards it; however, she explained her symptoms were the result of decline in estrogen, a standard biomedical explanation.

Among the seven women interviewed, not surprising given the venues, there was a preference for natural medicine over American biomedicine in treating menopause. Four of the informants, including the herbalist, Bruce, preferred natural medicine in contrast to American biomedicine, and three women did not favor either one but rather mixed both medicines, interchanging remedies or medications in accordance to their complaint or pain. For instance, Jolina's response, "I use whatever medication or method that helps me regardless if it's natural or not." The three women, who mixed both medicines, two said they used natural medicine such as plants, herbs, and leaves more frequently than western medicine for two reasons. Natural medicine was cheaper and secondly women had easier access to remedies compared to the process of obtaining Western medications. Jennifer, a 49 year-old Mexican woman, says,

Getting medication from a pharmacy is a long and expensive process. First, you have to see a doctor then have the doctor prescribe the medication in order to give it to the pharmacist. And then you wait a while until finally you can get it and pay a \$20-40 dollar co-pay. But with natural medicine all I have to do is come here (the botánica) get what I need and pay no more than \$20 dollars.

The last informant, Martha, a 58 year-old Mexican woman, did not indicate a clear preference between the two, but had been recently introduced to natural medicine after she tried hormone pills (western medicine) and discontinued use. Excluding the herbalist, all of the women commented that they had tried American pharmaceutical medicines at some point in their life, yet later switched solely to one or mixed medicines. Therefore, for botánica customers' using natural medicine is economically beneficial and convenient.

The three women and the herbalist strongly believed that American biomedicine had dangerous side effects. Taking scientific laboratory-made medications, also referred as "chemical medicines," were not "natural" and contributed to a person's illness, which made them feel worse. Annie, a 47 year-old Latina woman, says, "...unlike natural supplements, chemical medicine has too many side effects as listed in the sheet of paper the pharmacy gives you. That only makes you worse." Moreover, Rebecca a 42 year-old Salvadorian woman, refused taking her anti-depressants (prescribed by her physician) because she felt it would only make her dependent on them. She says, "I refused to take the depression medication because once you start you can't stop. Chemical medicine only calm down the problem, it numbs it, while natural medicine targets it." The herbalist, Bruce, also emphasizes the natural, but for different reasons; he posits that American biomedicine goes against a natural process for a woman (menopause). He explains,

Since menopause is a natural process in which a woman's body is no longer reproducing providing women with hormones is bad. Western medicine is trying to trick the body into thinking that it

is still producing estrogen—as if a woman is still continuing their periods rather than accepting it. The tricking of the body by Western medicine is what contributes for women to have negative experiences during menopause.

Therefore, to the three women and herbalist a cultural construction of “natural,” which they define as inherently benign is suggested. It is implied that because “natural” herbs and plants come from the ground they are better for you, specifically when a life condition like menopause is also viewed as a “natural” part of a woman’s life.

### **Discussion**

The American medical model defines menopause as the end of menstruation and it is considered a transition or normal condition in women’s aging process (Kaiser 2003). It has been estimated that most women experience menopause as early as their mid-forties and commonly in their fifties, and the perimenopausal period can last for an estimated ten to fifteen years. According to American cultural expectations, once a woman experiences menopause she is expected to undergo a series of symptoms such as hot flashes, sleeping problems, and hormonal imbalance. Historically, the medicalization\* of women’s bodies has presented menopause as a negative experience, for instance, menopause being a “deficiency disease” or described as “failing ovaries” (Lock 1998). In fact, only recently has menopause been defined in a more positive or neutral tone, as demonstrated in Blue Shield’s brochure on the matter, “Menopause marks the beginning of a new phase in life.” Nevertheless, specific biomedical therapies for menopause have not taken similar steps and still represent the discourse of medicalizing women’s bodies. However, in a multicultural population like in a botánica setting where the definition of menopause as a deficiency disease is not widely accepted.

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\* Medicalization refers to the process in which behaviors, problems, or events are conceptualized as diseases or medical conditions.

My project confirms other cross-cultural studies that indicate variations from a classic American biomedical model. The interviewed women reported a variety of symptoms with depression being the most and night sweats and dizziness being the least frequent. Although American medicine strongly associates hotflashes with menopause, among the women I interviewed hotflashes were rarely reported or were interpreted as ambiguous with respect to causality. Similarly, my study reaffirmed the schema in which women's attitudes towards menopause affect their experience. Specially, the lifestyle component of "good nourishment" before entering menopause was viewed as salient. The belief held if women maintained a healthy lifestyle mentally and physically they would most likely have little or no difficulties with menopause. For example, dieting, exercising, and relieving of stress would result in a smooth transition into menopause.

American biomedicine was viewed critically by these adherents of traditional medicine regarding menopause. The women interviewed overwhelmingly criticized it. Although, some practiced both natural and Western medicine, natural medicine was highly preferred. They viewed medications prescribed by Western institutions as generating side effects that contribute to a woman's difficulty with menopause rather than relieving symptoms. In contrast, natural alternatives helped menopausal women with little or no side effects. This belief underscored the value of "natural" as a cognitive category. In addition, Western medications were criticized for being expensive and hard to obtain, whereas, natural herbs and plants are cheaper, and more accessible. For example, a woman can attend a botánica and purchase a bottle of black cohosh—an herb that helps relieve depression or hormone imbalance (Gellar et al 2005) for \$4.95—a price viewed by the interviewed women as less expensive. The bottle typically lasts for a month or longer (depending on the individual).

Yet, the cultural authority of American biomedicine has influenced the practices of "traditional" herbal medicine. First, natural medicine has adapted the concept of estrogen even though it refutes the American biomedical model. An example is presented in a bottle of herbal medicine carried by the botánica. In

the label of the bottle it advertises that it targets estrogen loss. The association of the decrease of estrogen with menopause is an American biomedical model that is also referenced by a botánica customer. Second, orally ingesting medication in the form of pills is a practice of American biomedicine, which natural medicine now provides. Nearly half of the shelves in both botánicas carried natural herbs and plants that had been made into pills. Third, the packaging of natural medicines is in the format that closely resembles those found in pharmacies in American biomedicine. For instance, the natural herb or plant is placed in a white bottle with directions on the label. These aspects indicate the ways natural medicine has adapted to American biomedicine.

### **Implications for Future Research**

My project consisted of a small self-selected sample size that reflects the perspectives of female botánica customers. This environment preselected women with only Latino backgrounds. Their information was useful in understanding their cultural ideologies of menopause. However, the next step for future research is to conduct research with a larger sample size. This would yield a boarder sample of women with wider ranges in age and experiences. Also, conducting research in wider circumstances rather than in a self-selected setting, will say more about women from various cultural backgrounds. In a multicultural population where the definition of menopause as a hormonal deficiency disease is not always accepted increasing research in this medical model will be beneficial to a wider population by potentially enhancing practitioner-patient communication.

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**Steven Armstrong**  
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James Bond: Mythological  
Mystery Man

What lies at the Root of James  
Bond's Universal Appeal?

**Biography**

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**Abstract**

Chapman, James, "A License to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond Films," (Columbia University Press, 2000) examines the James Bond films not only as entertainment, but works of art that have contributed greatly to cinema and the culture of the times. Hundreds of books and articles have been written about Ian Fleming's creation, James Bond, but not many focus extensively on the deeper reasons for his allure. Bond's appeal lies not only in the life he leads on the edge, the numerous gadgets at his disposal, the beautiful women encounters, and the plethora of maniacal enemies; rather, his connection to the mythological seems to resonate as the

most powerful motivator beneath the surface of Bond's enormous attraction for both men and women. Joseph Campbell's The Hero with a Thousand Faces considers how archetypal themes present themselves through countless stories within the central universal theme of what he calls the Hero's Journey. It is this journey that is perhaps the most crucial aspect of James Bond's appeal.

### **Introduction**

"Bond. James Bond." These words, first immortalized by Sean Connery in the 1962 film, *Dr. No*, are among the most recognizable in cinematic history. For many, James Bond represents the quintessential action hero: the epitome of cool, handsome, suave, and debonair, the secret agent who always succeeds whatever the challenge. This is Bond, who has changed little in his 53 years in popular culture... or so it would seem on the surface. Although the formula of James Bond's adventures has undergone slight variations, the basics have remained unchanged. Why? Because it works. This reason leads to other questions: Why does this formula work? What about it keeps audiences coming back for more? What about the character of James Bond appeals to us? This latter question is most important, for if the character of James Bond doesn't work, the entire formula fails. It can be likened to the baking of cheesecake without cream cheese. It simply would not be a cheesecake, but something else.

When Ian Fleming created Bond, many critics saw the novels as being nothing more than schoolboy fantasies laden with gratuitous violence and sex. Similarly, the representation of women in the sexist, male-dominated world of Bond also created negative vibes with many feminists. Yet, Bond's birth soon gained followers that would grow exponentially. This paper tackles the initial question: What is the appeal of the character of James Bond at its root or universal level? From the vivid imagination of Ian Fleming, to a pop-culture icon, James Bond has reached mythic status, in parallel with such heroes of mythology as Odysseus and Achilles, or other pop-culture figures like Superman, Batman, or Harry Potter. The archetypal aspects of Bond must not be overlooked. He is the

archetypal hero, and fits the original pattern/prototype hero that all heroes are modeled after in some fashion.

As both a scholar and a fan of the James Bond mythos, I recognize and respect the effect that James Bond has in virtually every corner of popular culture from film to music to video games to clothing; however, beyond the “fan-club” mind-set, a scholarly investigation must deepen our understanding of James Bond by delving into specific elements contributing to his mythic status: the creator of James Bond, the Cold War that gave birth to him, both the literary and cinematic successes of Bond, who likes him and why, and the Bond women and their attraction to him. These elements help explain his mythic reputation and why we are still fascinated with him decades later.

### ***The Father of James Bond, Ian Fleming***

Who is this man, James Bond? What’s his story? What must be understood first is the life of James Bond’s creator, Ian Fleming. Many believe that James Bond, quite simply, *was* Fleming. The two shared similar backgrounds, tastes, wardrobes, as well as weaknesses, such as high-stakes gambling and women. Yet, will a look at the life Ian Fleming help us understand Bond? Ian Lancaster Fleming was born in England in 1908. Service to the country ran in the family as Fleming’s father, Valentine Fleming, was a member of Parliament and was killed in battle. When Fleming came of age, he attended military school at Sandhurst, but failed to distinguish himself as did his older brother, who excelled at everything. Ian Fleming ended up withdrawing without an officer’s commission (Cork, 1).

Before he began writing, Fleming was unsure about what to do with his life. He worked in banking and journalism before joining the British Navy, in which he served for several years. Following the second World War, Fleming went back to London to manage foreign correspondents for the *Sunday Times*. Shortly afterward, he left London for Jamaica, where he purchased a large space of land on the unspoiled North Shore on which to build a house he would

call “Goldeneye.” In this house, the character James Bond was born. Fleming survived to enjoy the initial success of James Bond, but unfortunately, would not live to see Bond become a legend. Though it is not clear, many presumed that years of alcohol consumption and smoking contributed to Fleming’s failing health in the late 1950’s. Ian Fleming died on August 12, 1964 of heart failure – months prior to the release of the third official Bond film, *Goldfinger*. He was only 56. Though Fleming was physically gone, he had created a character who would allow its author to live on in spirit and to be remembered in ways he never thought possible (Cork, 1).

### ***A New War Calls for A New Hero***

Great wars are nothing new. Wars have had their heroes, some more notable than others. The Trojan War had Achilles. The American Civil War had President Lincoln. However, in the 1950s, a new kind of conflict loomed over the world like none before it. It gave rise to a new kind of hero who would fight against its evils through literature as opposed to traditional firearms. By 1952, the year 007 was created, the world was in the middle of a treacherous danger called the Cold War. The constant struggle on a daily basis for global control, and the delicate balance for power swaying threateningly from month to month, created a global friction that set the stage for Ian Fleming.. Still, the direct motivation for the creation of James Bond, as the espionage historian David Stafford concluded, occurred on May 25<sup>th</sup> 1951 (Cork and Scivally, 12).

In the six months following what would later be called the Cambridge Spy Case, Fleming sat down and began writing the first James Bond novel, *Casino Royale*. He had been longing to write an espionage novel, and the case of the Cambridge spies may have presented him the framework for it. Fleming’s biographer, Andrew Lycett, has noted, “What raised *Casino Royale* out of the usual run of thrillers was Ian’s attempt to reflect on the disturbing moral ambiguities of a post-war world that could produce traitors like Burgess and Maclean” (Cork and Scivally, 12). Fleming wrote a story from a perspective diametrically opposed to the “old boy”

group, which were the more privileged kind of prep school boys of the “in-crowd.” Instead, he wrote a story of a handsome, heterosexual spy, who, upon doubting the importance of the battles of the Cold War, learns the unpleasant difference between good and evil.

In the story, Fleming’s hero falls in love with a woman called Vesper Lynd. She is an attractive agent among the high ranks at MI6 who is being disastrously manipulated by the Soviets. Bond is powerless to prevent the inevitable and disturbing consequences, including Lynd’s suicide. In this story, Bond does not save the world, nor does he get the girl. He does, however, make a vow to fight. “But now he would attack the arm that held the whip and the gun. The business of espionage could be left to the white-collar boys. They could spy and catch the spies. He would go after the threat behind the spies, the threat that made them spy” (Fleming, 179).

*Casino Royale* was soon introduced to the masses and by the time Fleming sat down to begin his second 007 adventure, *Live and Let Die*, all of the vulnerability and inexperience within the character of James Bond had vanished, marking the beginning of many changes in Bond’s character. After the death of Vesper Lynd, whom Bond planned to marry in *Casino Royale*, he became the cold and objective secret agent fans know him to be. To replace the initial self-uncertainty of Bond’s character, Fleming had developed him into “a healthy, violent, non-cerebral man in his middle thirties, and a creature of his era. I wouldn’t say he is typical of our times, but he is certainly of the times,” said Fleming of his character (Cork and Scivally, 14). Tony Garland said in his essay, “James Bond: An Obsessive Personality”: “Bond is at once a part of society and yet distinct from it” (Garland, 1). Garland’s observation shows Bond to be of “the times,” whatever that time is, be it the 1950’s or the 2000’s. The opening sentence of *Live and Let Die* defines the world in which Bond lives: “There are moments of great luxury in the life of a secret agent” (Cork and Scivally, 14). From the outset, Fleming seemed determined to

create a sumptuous world that glamorized the life of a secret agent – a world removed from the harsh deprivations of the post-War years. He challenged many of the expectations his readers had, successfully recreating the popular image of the secret agent, but with important changes: the Bond novels steered clear of many of the clichéd aspects of the popular thriller genre, such as fedoras, trench coats, and the theme of betrayal.

### ***The Literary Success of James Bond***

While the Soviets criticized the materialism, capitalism, and decadence of the West, Fleming allowed his readers not to be ashamed of these traits, but to embrace and feel positively about them. He wrote in great detail about the finer things in life, ranging from clothes and cars to food, wine, and women. Bond novels were essentially fairy tales, with Bond, the icon who characterized Fleming's values, overpowering the villains who represented the evils of the world. They were also incessantly innovative stories that were imaginative and entertaining. (Cork and Scivally, 14).

Fleming's novels swiftly became bestsellers in Great Britain, and a fast-growing faction of fans started anticipating the release of a new Bond adventure each spring. In the U.S. however, Bond was not as popular – at least not initially. In 1954, *Casino Royale* was released to an unresponsive welcome by American audiences, with the simultaneous release of the live teleplay broadcast by CBS, based on the novel in autumn of that same year. Despite the lukewarm reception, Fleming was already working on the novel that would establish James Bond as a literary phenomenon as opposed to simply a bestseller. This new story was based on both Fleming's experience of traveling to Istanbul for an Interpol conference and the real-life assassination of an American spy.

Fleming utilized this incident as a starting point in the Bond novel, *From Russia With Love*. The suspenseful plot shows the potential murder of Bond disguised as a suicide after his affair with a Soviet secretary aboard Europe's most well-known train. The Soviets' goal would not only mean the complete humiliation of the West,

but also the elimination of a key British agent (Cork and Scivally, 14). As a brief aside, aspects of this story are reminiscent of the poisoning of former KGB agent, Alexander Litvinenko, in November of last year. Litvinenko, a forthright critic of Russian president Vladimir Putin, believed that his poisoning was an “order from President Putin to kill him.” On his deathbed, he called the poisoning “a classic way” that Russian agents work. (Gutterman,1).

Upon finishing the manuscript, Fleming appointed his first literary agent in October of 1956, who was responsible for handling Fleming’s foreign language rights. Peter Janson-Smith had immediately sold rights in Fleming’s previous four books to a Dutch publisher, marking the beginning of James Bond’s extraordinary international success. Not long after the UK publication of *From Russia With Love* in 1957, the *Daily Express* contacted Fleming with an offer to bring James Bond to the comic strips. As a result, Fleming, already at the forefront of the news pages, made his way to the forefront of the comic pages. By this time, Fleming had earned his first rave-reviews in the U.S. One critic of the *New York Herald-Tribune* stated, “It is quite apparent that Mr. Fleming is intensely observant, acutely literate and can turn a cliché into a silk purse with astute alchemy. No question” (Cork and Scivally, 15). The ball had begun to roll for Fleming in America, but it didn’t stop there. In October of 1962, the first James Bond film, *Dr. No*, was released; however, although Bond was not a significant screen success by this time, he had become quite successful in the literary world. In time, Bond’s run on the silver screen would surpass his literary success and the character would find his place in cinematic history.

### ***James Bond: Cinematic Icon***

It was not until the release of the fifth Bond novel, *From Russia With Love*, that Bond was acknowledged as a real accomplishment for Fleming. The reaction was similar with Bond’s cinematic success. Those who viewed *Dr. No* were split down the middle in terms of their opinion of it. Some enjoyed the film, and others were

not so pleased with it. Critics were divided on just how right Sean Connery was for the role of James Bond. Some felt his “rough edges” were far removed from the refined and sophisticated James Bond of the novels, while others agreed that Connery’s body language and flair were a perfect fit for the character with whom he would later become synonymous (Chapman, 85).

Thus, not until September of 1964, with the release of the third Bond film, *Goldfinger*, would James Bond be cemented in cinematic history. Enter: “Bondmania.” Both in the U.K. and in the U.S., Bond had grown beyond all expectations. By the time *Goldfinger* was released, the “Bond formula” “had been perfected. It not only set the standard to which all other Bond films would adhere, but would also give rise to the explosion of spy mania, which spawned countless spy-themed films and television series, such as *Mission: Impossible*, *The Man From U.N.C.L.E.*, and *Secret Agent Man* as well as spy spoofs like, *Get Smart*. Spy mania would later re-emerge in the mid 1990’s and beyond with the introduction of a new Bond for a new generation, Pierce Brosnan, in his first outing as James Bond in 1995’s *Goldeneye*. The film, like its predecessors of the mid 1960’s, paved the way for a new wave of spy films like *Austin Powers: International Man of Mystery*, as well as more serious films like 1996’s *Mission: Impossible* starring Tom Cruise, and 2000’s *The Art of War* starring Wesley Snipes in the first successful attempt at a black James Bond-type character (Cork and Scivally, 294).

### ***Who Likes James Bond and Why?***

Today, James Bond is so popular that it is difficult to canvas the world and find anyone who hasn’t heard of him. According to an estimation by the late Albert Broccoli, producer of the Bond series, “one half of the world’s population has seen a James Bond movie” (Garland, 1). James Bond is very much a part of contemporary culture today as he was of the culture of 50’s and 60’s. What is inherent in the world of Bond that attracts both audiences and readers to his exploits? Generally speaking, James Bond is attractive because audiences of the films and readers of the novels

can vicariously experience mystery, adventure, luxury, and danger through Bond from the comforts of a movie theater seat or reading chair. , One can travel to exotic locations, meet intriguing people, and enjoy the finer things in life just by simply opening a book or watching a film. Also, James Bond speaks to the events or issues relevant to the times. For some, Bond provides alternative ways to look at the harsh realities of society, particularly war and terrorism (both in our day and during the Cold War days of the 50's and 60's). In terms of the specifics of who likes James Bond, the different views should be examined carefully.

Most men, for instance, enjoy Bond for the same reasons a man would rather go see an action/adventure movie as opposed to a drama or a "chick flick": the violence and sex factor. While most of today's action films feature violence and sex, what they lack is a certain level of classiness and elegance unique to the Bond films . Men also find the gadgets and the fast, luxurious cars intriguing. As the saying goes, boys will be boys. Boys must have their toys, and Bond, while a refined and sophisticated English gentleman, can also exhibit that boyish charm and immaturity usually associated with male adolescents and their desire for gadgets and cars,. Moreover, men are attracted to his calmness under intense pressure, his self-assurance, and his ability to escape any situation via a handy gadget or sheer wit. Perhaps most important are the women of James Bond, another key element of the highly successful Bond formula, and who rank at the top of the list among his male fans. This phenomenon also raises questions about his women. Who are they? From where have they come? How have they changed over time? What do the Bond women, who could be considered his "toys," bring to the world of Bond that perpetuates the fascination with him?

### ***The Women of James Bond and Women's Attraction to Him***

The Bond Woman, or "Bond Girl," (the politically incorrect term and coveted honor by some women who have themselves played Bond Girls), has gone through just as much of an evolutionary process as Bond himself both in the novels and in the films. In

order to understand how the Bond Woman has become who she is today, it is important to understand why she is every bit as special as is James Bond.

When Fleming published his first novel in 1953, the “Bond Girl” was a different kind of woman from those previously seen in literature and films. She was mysterious and beautiful, intelligent and classy. These were indications that she was more than merely an object of “to-be-looked-at-ness” (Chapman, 84). The Bond Woman also had the power of sexuality at her disposal and she knew how to use it to get what she wanted, a quality which is especially prevalent when the Bond Girl makes the leap from the page to the cinematic screen. This occurred because the producers of the films saw fit to add more sensuality and suggestiveness than was in the actual story. In *Dr. No*, three women are significant: Sylvia Trench, Miss Taro, and Honey Ryder (played by Ursula Andress), the woman with whom Bond ends up. These three women can be separated into levels. Virtually every Bond Girl (with a few exceptions) can be placed onto one of the following levels simply described as the “lower Bond Girl,” the “middle Bond Girl” and the “top Bond Girl.” Miss Taro, a double agent working for Dr. No against Bond, served the purpose of luring him into a trap meant to lead him to his death. She used her seductive powers to do so, but Bond survives the trap and ends up turning the tables on her, sending her to jail. Just as Miss Taro manipulated Bond, he does the same to her, casually using her for sexual pleasure to pass the time as he waits for the police to arrive and take her away. Based upon this example, she can be placed at the lowest level (d’Abo and Cork, 27).

Sylvia Trench, the first woman Bond meets in the film, is just as bold as is Bond. She enjoys high-stakes gambling, taking risks and totally immersing herself in the moment. Trench uses her seductive abilities (after sneaking into his hotel room) to get Bond to stay behind to take her to bed after he has been ordered by his superior to leave on the first flight to Jamaica and begin his assignment. Because she goes to great lengths to get to Bond, and it is she who

seduces him to stay (as opposed to the flipside, that is, Bond usually persuading the woman to go to bed with him,) Sylvia Trench is placed on the mid level (d'Abo and Cork, 27). She carries some weight with Bond, but not enough to get him to fall for her.

Finally, there is Honey Rider, the last woman Bond encounters in the film. From her classic introduction, wearing the legendary white bikini and emerging from the sea onto the shore of the Jamaican beach, she provides the criteria that all succeeding Bond Girls would follow. At their first meeting, Bond is intrigued by her. Honey Ryder exudes strength and security not only with herself, but also with her sexuality. She is also intelligent and far from naïve. She is not afraid to let Bond know that he has entered her world. While she is a woman who exhibits the confidence usually associated with males, she manages to retain her femininity, paving the way for a new kind of woman. For these reasons, Honey Ryder is placed at the top level of the Bond Girls, making her one of the most memorable women who have participated in the Bond adventures. One cannot think of the presence of the cinematic James Bond and not mention the impact of the quintessential Bond Girl.

From a male standpoint, much of what is stated previously is appealing. The stories, from a male creator, are told from a male point-of-view. So why would a Bond woman appeal to women? First, Bond is attractive to women as an ideal man: confident, intelligent and capable of sweeping any woman off of her feet. On a deeper level, he is not just cold and calculating like a robot, but a man with real fears, which he manages to conceal extremely well. This male is also sensitive and capable of loving. In short, Bond feels genuine emotions. He questions the nature of his profession (should he/shouldn't he continue being a spy due to its dangers), he questions whether it might be better to live a normal life with a wife and children, a pondering more prevalent within the language of the novels than in the films. Readers can actually relate to the character of Bond on a more personal level; they *become* Bond. As

Emily Jenkins states in her essay, "The Sensitive Bond," "the Fleming novels do something the films cannot possibly do: they put us inside Bond's body." Jenkins goes on to say, "When I read those books in seventh grade, I *was* Bond. They elicited in me a kind of transvestite empathy that transcended whatever unarticulated problems I may have had with their politics or values."

Jenkins' essay supports the belief that there is indeed something alluring about Bond to women. A woman is able to become Bond and understand him, and therein lies the attraction to him. What woman would not enjoy the company of a man who can not only be her knight in shining armor, but who also is not afraid to address his feelings and show a softer side? The cinematic Bond is very much afraid to be sensitive. In fact, much of what he does has become viewed as pure escapist entertainment, providing what most male fans want (not what women want). Film-goers don't want to see a sensitive Bond who falls in love. For instance, the 1969 Bond film, *On Her Majesty's Secret Service*, did poorly at the box office and among audiences. In it, Bond falls in love and actually gets married. The film was an attempt to bring a more realistic Bond to the big screen. Audiences were not happy. The literary Bond however, is able to provide the same entertainment to readers (some of whom are women) while bringing in the deeper elements of emotion and drama, which are part of what holds these stories together.

To return to the Bond Girls, these women, particularly those of the later films, are every bit as intelligent and capable as is Bond, and can be viewed as his equals, another attraction for women. Some, including former Bond Girl, Famke Janssen, secretly fantasize about being James Bond. "I think that every man wants to be James Bond...and it's always been my secret desire, too," says Janssen (Cork and Scivally, 251). Janssen is part of a certain group of women who enjoy James Bond. However, another group of women do not share her enthusiasm for the character. Those who are part of this opposing group find the fantasy world of Bond to

be unrealistic and at times appalling, arguing that the gratuitous sex and violence associated with Bond contributes to violent behavior among adolescents, particularly males in society. Some also feel that James Bond promotes promiscuity unsafe sexual interaction with numerous partners, further serving to paint a negative picture of the role of women in society. Particularly for these reasons, some women could do without James Bond (Chapman, 84). They feel that Bond's only purpose is to fulfill the fantasy of a male-dominated audience and that he is just as bad as are the enemies he faces. He is just as immoral, using his license to kill for the "greater good" of mankind, while casually using women as he does his gadgets, with the same disregard and indifference. These women ask,, how could such a man be considered a hero in any sense?

### *Mythic Aspects of Bond*

In my view, James Bond is indeed a hero. First, the question begs to be asked, what constitutes a "hero"? The Oxford English Dictionary defines a hero as 1.) a person, typically a man, who is admired for his courage or outstanding achievements (in mythology and folklore), a person of superhuman qualities, in particular one of those whose exploits were the subject of ancient Greek legends; 2.) the chief male character in a book, play, or film. Given these definitions, Bond would certainly fall into the category of hero. Consider great mythic heroes such as, Odysseus, Hercules, King Arthur, or even more contemporary heroes such as Spider-Man or Luke Skywalker. While they differ from one another, they all have a few things in common. Some of the qualities most heroes have are: 1.) Physical stature: they are tall, dark and handsome "manly men," or at least the more conventional ones were (e.g., the heroes from the old Westerns, like John Wayne or Clint Eastwood; even Bond can be placed here); 2.) They are intelligent, calm under pressure and able to think and act quickly; 3.) They are also willing to risk a great deal; and 4.) They have the ability to assimilate, to become chameleon-like and blend in to their surrounding environment when it suits them.

These heroes also take what's called "The Hero's Journey." Every hero takes such a journey, whether in the context of a coming of age story, as is the case with Luke Skywalker maturing into his abilities as a Jedi Knight, or a ten-year adventure to get home to one's family, as is the case with Odysseus. The work of Joseph Campbell, whose studies of world mythology have had enormous influence, as shown in *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, which explores archetypal themes through countless mythologies within the central universal framework of the Hero's Journey. This journey is perhaps the most crucial foundation of James Bond's allure. Both in the novels and in the films, Bond embarks on a never-ending journey. He goes from place to place battling the evils of the world; he is very much the "wanderer" archetypal hero of mythology. The anti-feminist, Camille Paglia, notes the following mythic parallel: "James Bond is like Odysseus in Homer's poem who goes from place to place meeting villains, or being seduced by half-divine women" (d'Abo and Cork, 111). Paglia feels that this mythic parallel to Bond is an important element that explains the fascination he inspires in readers and audiences, and in the Bond Women as well.

### **Conclusion**

#### ***Why Does Bond Live On and Do We Still Need Him?***

Why does any hero live on? Their stories are told over and over again. Don't they become boring after a while? The answer is no. If Bond's stories were tiresome, he could not have endured as long as he has. His story is one that has been told before and one that has been told yet again, in the 21<sup>st</sup> Bond installment, *Casino Royale*. It is the third film adaptation of Ian Fleming's first novel (but the first official one, which is to say the first to be produced by MGM, Sony Pictures, and Columbia Pictures), which tells the story of how James Bond became 007. Bond's allure is as timeless as that of many other heroes of mythology that are still in our collective consciousness. For the same reasons that high schools still assign *The Odyssey*, that biblical heroes like Moses, David, and Jesus are discussed outside of church, and that heroes like

Spider-Man, Superman, Batman and Harry Potter (who himself is surrounded by a plethora of mythologies) are so popular, Bond remains just as relevant today as he was during the Cold War.

While key elements of his character remain the same, Bond has been updated to fit the changing times. The Bond of the 60's who embraced the sexual revolution simply would not survive in the politically correct world of the 2000's without becoming a parody of himself. He would never be taken seriously. Bond's appeal lies deeply rooted in his resonance with the archetypes of mythology.

Human beings need heroes like Bond: not only do they allow us to escape to another world, to imagine and fantasize about being like them, but on a much deeper and much more intimate level, they also assist us in facing our own personal crises. We think of what they have overcome and apply it to our situations. Heroes don't always win. In fact, sometimes there is a lot on the line and a lot is lost, much like what occurs in real life. Take Superman for instance; with all the things he can do, he cannot save *everyone*. Sometimes people die, as was the case during the Imperix War, in which the Man of Steel was too late to save millions of innocent people (Beatty, 25.) Though he is seemingly indestructible, Superman is in fact fallible, as are the humans who look up to him. The story of David and Goliath is another example of an applicable story. It is one that a child may relate to if he/she is having problems with a bully. The story of Jacob and his struggle with the angel (and mankind) is a struggle that many still face today. We struggle against religion and the notion of an all-powerful God, we question it as well as ourselves. Often times, there are also internal battles that we fight with ourselves. The Hulk's alter ego, Bruce Banner, deals with much internal conflict. Anakin Skywalker (and Luke) and the bulk of the great heroes have had to cope with their inner thoughts, fears and doubts. These stories work on most any level, whether one is a child or an adult.

As for Bond's stories, they won't be leaving us anytime soon; he is still going strong well into the first decade of the 21st century. No

matter what social or political reform our world faces, no matter what the current crisis is, as long as audiences and readers crave clever stories of sophisticated action with beautiful, intelligent women and the occasional 'Q' gadget to help us get through these difficult times, James Bond will return.

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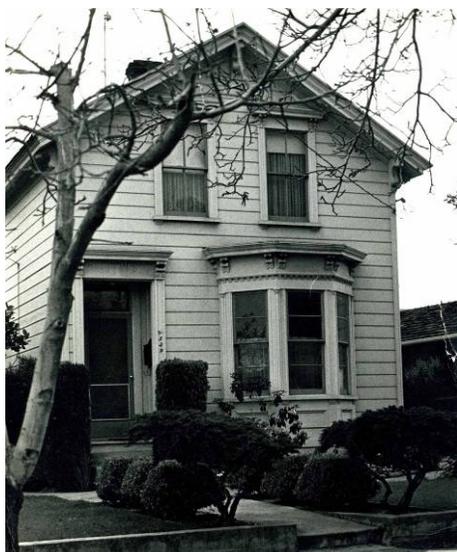
The House on 5<sup>th</sup> Street

**Biography**

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**Abstract**

A house is more than just a structure; it is a living piece of history. It tells many stories over decades, sometimes over centuries. Symbolically a house can hold bits and pieces of the people who have lived there and have memories of that place; recollections of what happened while they were there and also perhaps a glimpse of future development in terms of where people and the city that surrounds it will go. A house is not just made of wood it is made of memories. This article is about the life journey and memories of George Kawakami and the house at 529 North 5<sup>th</sup> Street in the City of San Jose, California.



***THE HOUSE ON 5<sup>th</sup> STREET***

### **Introduction**

There are three Japantowns left in the United States, and they are in California, a far cry from the many that once existed.<sup>1</sup> These three are still thriving communities. The Japanese came to California between the 1890s to the 1920s, and bought land and built businesses, homes, schools and churches. When the laws were changed to stop them from acquiring land, they found another way to survive. While the winds of racism and discrimination continually battered their communities, the Japanese weathered the storms and put down roots in California. They did not waver in their decision to come here; they made this their home and not until the government saw fit to intern these immigrants and their sons and daughters, who were American citizens, did the Japantowns begin to disappear. San Jose's Nichonmachi (Japantown) is one of the three that remain. The reasons for this are complex. Unlike

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<sup>1</sup> Isami Arifuku Waugh, Ph.D.; Alex Yamato, Raymond Y. Okamura (17 Nov 2004). "A History of Japanese Americans in California," HISTORIC SITES. National Park Service, <[http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/5views/5views4h.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views4h.htm)>

(02 Feb 2007).

those in many other areas, many of the Japanese who had settled in San Jose chose to return to their hometown community after they were interned. Moreover, it is through their perseverance and their sense of belonging that Nichonmachi San Jose still exists. To best understand this unique community, this paper will explore the history of one of San Jose's Nichonmachi homes on 529 North 5<sup>th</sup> Street, and the life of the family that owned it: the Kawakamis.

### ***The House on 5<sup>th</sup> Street***

In 1870 Ulysses S. Grant was president of the United States, the South was busy rebuilding after the Civil War, and California had undergone a gold rush and had entered the Union. By 1870 the Santa Clara Valley's wheat production had passed gold as California's "leading wealth producer."<sup>2</sup> In 1870 Tucker W. Williamson, Sr., a capitalist from North Carolina, built the house currently located at 529 North 5<sup>th</sup> Street, San Jose, California. The property changed hands over time for several reasons, and, on December 2, 1884, Tucker Williamson's descendants claimed the property to Caroline Williamson. Caroline appears to have remained the owner until it was sold again in 1886; but remained a tenant in the house until at least 1889, when Paul Butler purchased the property. Butler used the house as an investment, leasing it to Paul Kerr until 1919 when Kohachi Kawakami purchased it with a vision and a \$1,000 loan. It was then that George Kawakami, American-born son of Kohachi Kawakami, became a home owner at the age of one.<sup>3</sup>

### ***From Foreign Shores***

In 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act stopped the flow of Chinese immigrants into the United States. The abrupt termination of Chinese immigration left a void in the cheap labor pool tapped by the emerging capitalists of the West, such as the Santa Clara Valley farmers. These farmers, prior to 1882, hired Chinese male workers

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<sup>2</sup> Clyde Arbuckle, *Clyde Arbuckle's History of San Jose*. (San Jose, CA: Smith McKay Printing Company, 1986) 140.

<sup>3</sup> Bonnie Bamburg, "History Report and Evaluation for the Japanese American Museum; 529 & 535 North Fifth Street, San Jose, California," (prepared by Urban Programmers, 2005).

who had been pushed out of the gold mining areas of the California by the 1850s, and had come to San Jose in search of employment. These sojourners had come to work and had left their wives in China, planning to return after they had made their fortunes. These Chinese laborers established a bachelor society north of downtown San Jose. More Chinese men joined the initial pool of Chinese workers and they provided an invaluable source of labor for the growing agricultural industry; draining swamp land, establishing irrigation systems and introducing unique specialty crops. As the agricultural industry became more successful, farmer's animosity towards the Chinese grew with their dependence on this indispensable labor force. However, anti-Chinese sentiment and the 1882 Chinese Immigration Act led to the dwindling of the Chinese bachelor society in San Jose's Chinatown.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, this opened the door for the recruitment of a new immigrant labor pool. By 1888 many Japanese replaced the farm labor void left by the Chinese and began to work in the Santa Clara Valley.<sup>5</sup>

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century many Japanese emigrated from Japan to Hawaii to work in the burgeoning sugar and pineapple industries. In Japan the Meiji government, in power at that time, was focusing on the industrialization and modernization of Japan. Inflation and high taxes were the result, which affected the Japanese peasant class hard. Many immigrated to the United States in hopes of finding economic stability.<sup>6</sup> It was during this time period that Kohatchi Kawakami moved to Hawaii and married, Fuji Nishimachi; both were from Kumamoto, Japan. They were both employed by Spreckels, a large sugar producer in Hawaii. Kohatchi worked in the fields, and Fuji worked in the Spreckels household. Spreckels Sugar Company owned operations in Hawaii

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<sup>4</sup> Timothy Lukes and Gary Okihiro, Japanese Legacy : farming and community life in California's Santa Clara Valley, (Cupertino, CA; California History Center, De Anza College, 1985) 19.

<sup>5</sup> Ronald Takaki, "Issei and Nisei: the Settling of Japanese America," in The Asian American Experience, adapted by Rebecca Stefoff (New York and Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> Cornish and Carey Inc., San Jose Japantown Historic Context Statement and Intensive Survey, October 2006, 3.

and California, so it was not long before Kohatchi began to hear of the growing opportunities further east in California.



left: Masao, Kohatchi, Mitsuye, Fuji and (bottom) Elsie - circa 1908 - Courtesy George

Most of the Japanese immigrants who came to America during the early 1900s were single men. This first generation is called Issei, and they could find work only in low paying, unskilled agricultural employment. They worked their way up, first as farm workers, then sharecroppers and tenant farmers; some even acquired land. Their extensive agricultural experience contributed to agrarian success and many of the Japanese, including the Kawakamis, decided to stay and make their homes permanently in California.

The Kawakamis would settle in San Jose.

Kohachi Kawakami and his family were unique compared to the predominantly single male Japanese that entered California from 1900 to 1910. Unlike most Japanese male immigrants who did not know anyone in California, the Kawakami family (Kohachi was 32 years old, Fuji was 27, their son Masao and daughter Mitsuye) in 1905 came to San Francisco and stayed with friends and relatives to ease their transition to the United States. Kohachi soon found employment in San Jose. In San Jose he met another old family friend, Mr. Saito, who managed a boarding house on Sixth Street. Here Kohachi lived while he worked on the farms of Santa Clara Valley.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Elsie Kawakami Inouye, "The Kohachi Kawakami Family of San Jose, California," interviewer E. Shimizu, (1993).

In addition, during this period the Japanese replaced the aging Chinese agricultural workforce. The Japanese who came to the Santa Clara Valley on a permanent basis stayed predominantly in boarding houses in the areas between Taylor and Empire Streets and 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Streets in San Jose. That area, located right next to the dying Chinatown of Heinleinville, became known as Nihonmachi or Japantown.

It was also in 1905 that *The San Francisco Chronicle* set about to defame the male Japanese immigrants, accusing them of crimes that ranged from attacking white women to being the cause of “crime and poverty in California.”<sup>8</sup> Also, a series of anti-Japanese articles prompted the formation of the nativist *Japanese and Korean Exclusion League*, which eventually claimed over 80,000 members.<sup>9</sup> As an increasing number of well-educated Japanese came to America, European Americans became resentful of the competition for land and their prejudice was expressed in many ways. The Hakujiin (white person of European descent) California communities resented the Japanese presence; one response from the San Francisco School Board was to segregate the Japanese in the public schools. To neutralize the situation, in 1907 The Gentlemen’s Agreement was struck between Teddy Roosevelt and the Japanese government. The purpose of the Agreement was to halt the immigration of the Japanese male laborers into the United States and make the segregation issue disappear.<sup>10</sup>

The Gentlemen's Agreement of [1907](#) was an informal agreement between the [United States](#) and [Japan](#). Japan agreed not to issue passports for citizens to the United States, thus eliminating immigration. In exchange, schools in [San Francisco, California](#) agreed not to discriminate against students of Japanese descent.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> SHG Resources: State Handbook & Guide, <<http://www.shgresources.com/ca/timeline/>> (02 Feb 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Densho, [The Japanese American Legacy Project](#), <<http://www.densho.org/resources/default.asp>> (25 Dec 2006).

<sup>11</sup> [Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia](#), “Gentlemen’s Agreement,”

<[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gentlemen%27s\\_Agreement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gentlemen%27s_Agreement)> 03 Jan 2007.

As a result of the Gentleman's Agreement, settled Japanese men sent for Japanese wives, picture-brides, during a campaign that lasted almost ten years. The Japanese second generation, born in the United States, the Nisei, were legal U.S. citizens.<sup>12</sup>

Japanese families permanently settled into the agricultural communities where they could find work. As the Japanese became more successful in agriculture, they posed an even bigger threat to California farmers because they were beginning to buy their own land. In 1913 the California state government passed The Alien Land Law. This made all aliens who were ineligible for citizenship unable to buy or own land. One way the Issei circumvented this law was for those who had American-born children, called Nisei, to put the land in their children's names. This was a way to ensure continuing ownership. The Hakujiin made the Alien Land Law more rigorous in 1920 by closing loopholes found in the original law, which allowed Japanese into the United States. At that time Japanese-American farmers were responsible for over ten percent of California's crop totals.<sup>13</sup> The federal legislation against the Japanese culminated when Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1924. This law effectively ended all Japanese immigration to the United States.<sup>14</sup>

In 1924 there were seven Kawakami children. George was six years old with an older brother, Earl, and four older sisters; Elsie, Emmy, Bertha, and Clara; the youngest Kawakami, Eddy, was one. George had begun his public education at Grant Elementary School in San Jose, not far from his home on North 5<sup>th</sup> Street. Also, By that time Kohachi Kawakami had leased 20 acres of farmland on Gish Road, which included a large house. As the 20<sup>th</sup> century wore on, George's father maintained his 20-acre tenant farm and also the family vegetable garden in the far left corner of his property on 5<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Densho

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

Street. Mr. Kawakami would truck his crops from the Gish Road farm into San Jose and sell them to a wholesaler.



*Elsie Kawakami far right – SJ J-town cannery Workers – courtesy George Kawakami collection 1920s*

Elsie and her other sisters went to work to help support the family, too. Elsie initially worked in a clothing store in Japantown. With the opening of a large cannery nearby, owned by California Packing Company - CPC, located along

Jackson and 7<sup>th</sup>. Elsie found work, along with other Japanese, Italian, Mexican, and white workers.<sup>15</sup> The growth of these nearby industries along the railroad track laid the foundation for a resilient Japantown.

Life was not all work for George; he spent a lot of time downtown, which is a half a block away from the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street. He bought traditional Japanese food at Tobachi's, a local grocery store. There was also a dry goods store where George's father would take him and buy whatever clothing his mother was not able to make - shoes and other types of dried goods for the household. The Kawakamis did all their shopping in Japantown, as did most other Japanese families who lived in the area; this



*(L-R), Jerome, Eddy Kawakami, Oliver, Nick, Sport the dog, neighbor George, ? courtesy George Kawakami, 1913*

<sup>15</sup> George Kawakami interviews by Margo McBane and Karen Clementi, Japanese American Museum of San Jose, July 2006, transcribed by Karen Clementi (2006).

reinforced the sense of community and cohesiveness.

Days were filled with community events, gatherings and time with *the Gang*. George spent time with his friends from Grant Elementary over on Jackson Street. They called themselves *The 5<sup>th</sup> Street Gang*. These young boys spent their free time playing football at 5<sup>th</sup> and Jackson, still a dirt road at that time. In addition, George also played baseball once in a while with his American friends.<sup>16</sup> George and his siblings also attended many cultural functions held at the Buddhist Temple farther north on 5<sup>th</sup> Street, and also at the Methodist Church, too which they belonged, located across the street from their house.

The Kawakami family retreated within their house as well. The front room of the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street was the parlor where they had several chairs and a phonograph, some beautiful Japanese screens and a couch. George and his sisters would go into the front room to listen to music and dance. Eddy, who went through a electricians course in high school, wired the house in the late '30s and George continued to listen to classical and swing music on his radio in the front room. Although it was not a large house for nine people, it managed to fit them. George recalled, with a slight smile on his face, on Halloween they would light fires down by the sidewalk to keep away the mischief-makers – perhaps *the 5<sup>th</sup> Street Gang*.

When George was older, he helped his father on the farm. He remembered staying out at the ranch house when he worked; he picked raspberries, tomatoes, peppers and onions just to name a few. When the Depression struck in 1929 Kohachi still had the farm and kept it until sometime between 1931 and 1940, but eventually left tenancy because he felt his children did not want to continue farming. After that he did odd jobs, and picked fruit in the area. George remembered that they could not buy clothing; both parents, and the children who could, worked to keep the family's head above water. San Jose Japantown suffered during the

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<sup>16</sup> George Kawakami Interview (2006).

Depression years, there was minimal construction and the number of properties remained vacant but the Japanese residents remained.<sup>17</sup>

In 1937 George graduated high school. (high school here) Shortly after graduation, he moved to

Oakland and found a job driving a laundry truck. Kohachi, Fuji, Earl, Elsie, Emmy, Clara, Bertha and Eddie continued their life at 529 N 5<sup>th</sup> Street. By 1940 Japantown had grown and included approximately 93

businesses and 19 organizations serving the Japanese American community in San Jose and Santa Clara County, an increase of roughly 50% from two decades earlier.<sup>18</sup> This included 19 community organizations ranging from the Methodist and Buddhist



*Class of 1937 – George Kawakami  
Top row, 3<sup>rd</sup> from R  
Courtesy of George Kawakami*

Churches to the San Jose Chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL).<sup>19</sup> The community businesses were expanding and so was its resident population. Then the unthinkable happened.

Japan bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the



*Buddhist Temple – 1930  
Courtesy History San Jose*

<sup>17</sup> Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1915); Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1925); Polk's San Jose (California) city directory including Santa Clara County (San Francisco: P.L. Polk & Co., 1935); Polk's, (1940).

<sup>18</sup> Cornish and Carey Inc., *San Jose Japantown Historic Context Statement and Intensive Survey*, October 2006, (25).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

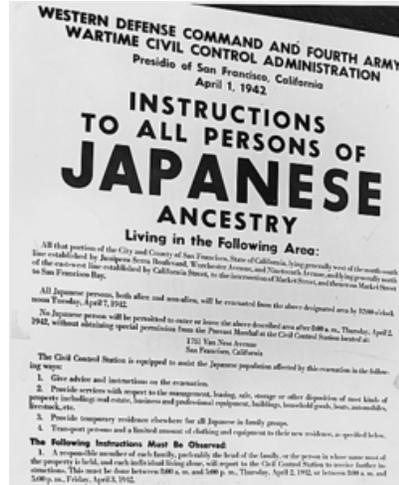
following February Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. The Order authorized the Secretary of War to define military areas "from which any or all persons may be excluded as deemed necessary or desirable." Two and a half months after Pearl Harbor, 110,000 Japanese Americans, two-thirds of who were citizens, were evacuated from their homes and relocated to ten inland U.S. concentration camps. The episode was called by the ACLU "the worst single wholesale violation of civil rights of American citizens in our history."<sup>20</sup>

### ***Internment***

Executive Order 9066 almost destroyed San Jose's Japantown community. The Japanese had to abandon their homes and sell what stock they had in their businesses at a great loss.

Many left their property in the care of non-Japanese friends, neighbors, or business associates. Benjamin Peckham, a Caucasian attorney who had been involved in most of Japantown's real estate transactions prior to the war, looked after many of these same properties, as well as the Buddhist temple building and all of the belongings people had stored there on the eve of internment. Similarly, John Crummy, head of the Food Machinery & Chemical Corporation, served as the Caucasian trustee of the Japanese Methodist Church during the war.<sup>21</sup>

George left Oakland to be with his family. They were classified as living in Zone "A", which was the area closer to the coast. They



*Executive Order 9066*

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 26.

were among the last Japanese to leave Santa Clara Valley. They leased the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street to a white family, stored their belongings in the church and hired a lawyer who they trusted to oversee the management of their property.

On Memorial Day 1942 Kohachi, Fuji, Elsie and George were evacuated to Santa Anita Racetrack in Los Angeles where they were placed into a horse stable. George clearly remembered the vile smell of horses and their excrement. All five shared the 10 x 10 stable until they were sent to Heart Mountain relocation camp in September of that year. The heat in Los Angeles was unfamiliar to the Kawakamis, and it only got worse as they moved inland. They traveled by train and upon arriving at Heart Mountain were assigned to barracks. Moreover, when Executive Order 9066 was first signed in 1942 there were no relocation centers available. The government allowed some Japanese to voluntarily evacuate from California



*Santa Anita Racetrack  
Assembly Center – 1945  
Library of Congress*

For a short period in March 1942, Japanese Americans were encouraged to move from their Pacific Coast homes to the interior of the country. A small number of families were able to take advantage of this and thus avoid incarceration.<sup>22</sup>

Eddy, Earl and Emily did not go to camp; they evacuated earlier and traveled to Denver to avoid internment. Clara had previously relocated with her husband to New York. George's sister Bertha was not well enough to go and remained in a local hospital where she sadly died while her family was interned.

<sup>22</sup> Ken Kashiwahara, "The Japanese-American Experience After WWII,"

[Return to the Valley](http://www.returntothevalley.org).

< <http://www.returntothevalley.org/about.html#jai2> > (20 Feb 2007).



Eddy in Italy – 1944  
Courtesy George Kawakami

Shortly after they left San Jose, Eddy enlisted in the 100/442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team, a unit composed of Japanese Americans. He went to Heart Mountain to say goodbye to his family before he left for Italy. While at Heart Mountain George signed the ‘yes yes’ Agreement, an oath of loyalty to the United States – that asked two questions: (1) would they be willing to be drafted to fight in the war or volunteer as a nurse and (2) would they swear to obey all the laws of the U.S. and not interfere with the war effort.<sup>23</sup> This enabled him to leave Heart Mountain and go to Chicago, where he then went to work for Norden Bomb Sight, a company that contracted with the US government to make bomb sights for fighter planes. While George was there, the residents of Chicago asked him what nationality he was, George told them he was Japanese, and said, there was not much of a reaction, just a comment that he was one of the first Japanese-Americans they had ever met. In Fact, Anti-Japanese sentiment was not rampant throughout the United States, especially towards those who were American citizens.

Back in Heart Mountain, internment impacted the Kawakami family. Kohachi and his wife Fuji aged quickly with the disgrace of imprisonment and with little productive work to do in camp. Elsie tried to stay busy.



Kohachi, Elsie, Fuji  
Heart Mountain  
Courtesy George Kawakami

<sup>23</sup> [Asian Nation, Construction & Destruction](http://www.asian-nation.org/internment.shtml), < <http://www.asian-nation.org/internment.shtml>>, (11 Feb 2007).

She took sewing and art classes and had a busy social circle with friends, but all longed for their home in San Jose. There were times that groups of internees would hike out into the desolate Wyoming countryside just for a change of scenery. They played football and baseball, and during the winter months created their own ice-skating rink. The camp atmosphere was supposed to resemble home, a community, but it did not. Because of the cheap construction of the barracks, the tar paper covering the walls soon ripped apart and the wind whipped through the cracks between the wooden structures.



The camp was made up of 468 buildings, divided into 20 blocks. Each block had 2 laundry-toilet buildings. Each building had 6 rooms each. Rooms ranged in size from 16' x 20' to 20' x 24'.

There were 200 administrative employees, 124 soldiers, and 3 officers. Military police were stationed in 9 guard towers, equipped with high beam search lights, and surrounded by barbed wire fencing around the camp.<sup>24</sup>



*Rows of barracks built by U.S. military to house the internees.  
Courtesy Ryan Hill*

Internees lost their privacy and rights, even though many were American citizens. Heart Mountain was a miserable place for any human being; it certainly was not 5<sup>th</sup> Street.

<sup>24</sup> Frank and Joanne Iritani; *Ten Visits: Asian American Curriculum Project, Inc.*; San Mateo, CA; ©1995.

### *Life After Camp*

The years of internment took their toll on the Kawakami family and the San Jose Japantown community. Almost 50% of Japanese properties in Japantown remained vacant throughout the war.<sup>25</sup> The other 50% were occupied by other ethnic minorities.<sup>26</sup> Many buildings previously owned by Japanese were demolished. While many Japanese did not return to their previous hometown communities on the West Coast, San Jose's Japantown was one of the very few to which the Japanese did return to in large enough numbers to revive it. Cornish & Carey, Inc., who did a historic survey of Japantown, attributes the return of Japanese to San Jose to three things:

...the continued potential for agricultural success in the Santa Clara Valley, the strength of San Jose's pre-war Japantown community, and the willingness of others to protect Japanese American property in San Jose during the war. Doctors and community leaders returned, establishing San Jose's Japantown as a center for evacuee support services.<sup>27</sup>

Not only did San Jose's Japanese population return, but Japanese from other West Coast communities came also because of Anglo hostility elsewhere and the resulting demise of previously existing Japanese communities.<sup>28</sup>

George Kawakami was not one of the Japanese that returned to San Jose immediately after internment. He stayed in Chicago after the war ended and lived with his brother Earl. He made friends and went bowling quite a bit; a passion that he kept up until his 90s. While he was bowling, George met his future wife Edythe, a

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<sup>25</sup> Cornish & Carey, Inc., (27)

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

Japanese woman from Southern California who had been interned in Arkansas. She had come to Chicago and found work in the growing computer field. After marriage they continued to live in Chicago for six or seven years before moving back to San Jose. They stayed with Kohachi and Elsie for a short time, and then moved on to San Francisco where George began to work in the floral industry. George changed jobs and both he and Edythe then moved to Mountain View, where both of his sons were born in the 1950s. George presently resides there with his wife Edythe.

In contrast to George, his parents, Kohachi and Fuji, did return to San Jose after the war along with Elsie, who was 37 years old. They came back because of the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street, the house they owned. Unfortunately, the Kawakamis found that the family who had leased their house refused to leave until their lease was up some months later. Still more difficult was seeing their home, being badly abused and in horrible shape. Kohachi and Fuji, like many other returning Japanese, found room in a boarding house close by. Kohachi and his wife also ran that boarding house called Civic Unity Hostel at 639 N 5<sup>th</sup> Street, next to the Buddhist Temple.<sup>29</sup> When they were finally able to move back into the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street later that year they cleaned and repaired the



*San Jose Japantown "Civic Unity Hostel"  
evacuee center, 1945*

*Japanese American Relocation Digital Archives  
Courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of  
California, Berkeley*

<sup>29</sup> Photographer: Mace, Charles E. -- San Jose, California. 6/11/45, courtesy of The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

< <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft1m3nb092/?brand=calisphere> >  
(20 Mar 2007).

house to make their home again. However, some things were not the same, not long after they returned, Fuji died.<sup>30</sup>

### ***Moving On***

Upon reclaiming his home on 5<sup>th</sup> Street, Kohachi decided to retire. He maintained his vegetable garden and was finally able to relax. Elsie was still living at home and Eddie was there briefly after he got out of the army, but before moving back to Denver and starting his family Emmy was now in Ohio with her own family and Clara were still in New York with her husband.

Japantown thrived after the war. Its borders grew outward to accommodate more businesses and a growing residential population. This was largely due to the accessibility of housing in the immediate area. The older, smaller homes in Japantown were not as appealing as the larger, newer homes to the middle-class white population. The spread of San Jose's urban landscape was also reaching into Japantown as more and more businesses opened. The availability of higher education at San Jose State University was very appealing, and accessible. The university had opened their doors to the Japanese and encouraged their enrollment. Additionally, large companies such as Lockheed began to hire Japanese Americans. Both Methodist and Buddhist Churches were re-established and involved with the resettlement of the Japanese. Japantown had several Japanese doctors and dentists with growing practices and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) once again was functioning.<sup>31</sup>

The Japanese American Citizens League is a national organization whose ongoing mission is to secure and maintain the civil rights of Japanese Americans and all others who are victimized by injustice and prejudice. The leaders and members of JACL also work to promote

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<sup>30</sup> George Kawakami Interview (2006).

<sup>31</sup> Cornish & Carey, Inc., (29).

cultural values and preserve the heritage and legacy of the Japanese American community.<sup>32</sup>

The '50s, also were to represent changes to the Kawakami family. In 1954 Kohachi Kawakami finally became a US citizen but four years later, in 1959, Kohachi died, leaving the 5<sup>th</sup> Street house forever. He was 86 years old. Elsie had married during the 50s and she now lived with her husband in the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street. As the 1950s moved into the 1960s, San Jose Japantown saw more changes. The city of San Jose set up the City of San Jose's Corporation Yard "eventually encompassing the entire block between East Taylor and East Jackson Streets on the north and south and North 6<sup>th</sup> and North 7<sup>th</sup> Streets to the west and east."<sup>33</sup> This redevelopment displaced many of the Chinese and Japanese businesses that made up the original Japantown business district. This demolition took place before the passage of 1970 CEQA Act was in place. CEQA "evolved into a procedural act that governs the review and approval process for all large developments in California"<sup>34</sup>



Kohachi in the garden at  
5<sup>th</sup> Street House 1950's  
Courtesy George Kawakami

Elsie continued to live in the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street. She grew beautiful flowers and took great care of the bountiful garden on the side of the house. The family grew bamboo on the side of the house which spread everywhere,

<sup>32</sup> San Jose JACL, < <http://www.sanjosejacl.org/> > (04 Mar 2007).

<sup>33</sup> Cornish & Carey, Inc., (29).

<sup>34</sup> Robert B. Olshansky, "The California Environmental Quality Act and Local Planning," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 62, 1996.

including under the house. The giant pepper tree, possibly one of the largest in the county, was no longer standing; the termites had gotten their fill. The house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street stood strong, it was built out of virgin redwood, and George attributes the use of square nails for making the structure so sound.<sup>35</sup>

After the 1970s Santa Clara Valley's economy shifted from agriculture to technology. The orchards were torn up for housing tracks and residents found work in urban-related industries. The canneries, so long an important part of this area, became obsolete and an environmental concern. When they closed down, other businesses and buildings took their place.

In 1987, the Japanese American Resource Center of San Jose, JARC, evolved out of a research project which had examined the growth of the Japanese community during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its research papers, photographs and many other objects were housed for a time on the top floor of the Issei Memorial Building, which used to be the Kuwabara Hospital. These objects were preserved for their historic value, research and public viewing.

In 2002, the name changed from Japanese American Resource Center/Museum (JARC/M) to Japanese American Museum of San Jose (JAMsj) to better reflect the museum's archival focus. JAMsj now occupies the former residence of Tokio Ishikawa, M.D. two doors south on North Fifth Street.<sup>36</sup>

The growth of preservation of Japantown was catalyzed by the JAMsj. Through their efforts the City of San Jose became actively involved in the historic preservation efforts of this community and

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<sup>35</sup> George Kawakami Interview (2006).

<sup>36</sup> JAMsj. < <http://www.jamsj.org/about.html> > (03 Mar 2007).

many projects have been instituted in an effort to save this important part of California history.<sup>37</sup>



*George Kawakami in front of 529 N 5<sup>th</sup> Street  
July 2007*

As the century turned to 2000 Elsie and George were the last two surviving Kawakami children. As the new century began, there was a new beginning for the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street. Elsie died in 2004 and for a time the house stood vacant. JAMsj, now next door to the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street, saw both an opportunity to expand the museum and also preserve a historic home. George Kawakami, the last of his generation, sold the house on 5<sup>th</sup> Street to the JAMsj. The house will remain an important part of the cultural landscape and is representative of San Jose's Japantown, past, present and future.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.



This is a rendition of the new JAMsj on the right and the Kawakami House on the left.

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(20 Mar 2007).



## **Antoinette Davis**

Major: Psychology

Mentor:

### **Dr. Arlene Asuncion**

Academic Achievement  
School Climate and the  
Student-Professor  
Relationship

### **Biography**

*Antoinette Davis was born in Plainfield, New Jersey, but has lived in Northern California for most of her life. She is currently a senior double majoring in psychology and behavioral science. In addition, she is the current treasurer of Psi Chi National Honor Society in Psychology, the secretary of the student organization Students Against Intimate Violence (SAIV), and a member of San Jose State University's Peer Mentor Program. Her graduate school interest is in preventative services for at risk youth, specifically youth with behavioral and substance abuse problems. Antoinette plans on entering a Doctoral program in Clinical Psychology.*

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## **Abstract**

While many students enroll in college, many do not obtain their degrees. College dropout rates are increasing due to many factors, one of which is poor academic achievement. The current study addresses factors that have an effect on academic achievement among college students, focusing on the importance of a positive school climate. School climate is an overlying term that encompasses many other factors that effect academic success. Professor's expectations of, and attitudes toward their students, in addition to the philosophies of a given institution both effect school climate. Proving a positive school climate for students has been shown to promote high levels of academic achievement in all levels of education. Upon realizing the importance of positive school climate, many schools are currently implementing various programs to improve the climate of their schools.

## **Introduction**

In this study, I will explore school climate and the relationship between professor's academic expectations, student's knowledge and understanding of these expectations, and student's academic achievement. College dropout rates and poor academic achievement of students are significant problems in a large majority of colleges. Professors often predetermine the characteristics that "good students," or rather students who excel academically possess (Trujillo, 1986). Professor-student interaction often varies depending on whether or not students embody these desirable characteristics. Studies have shown that professors have specific expectations of their "good" and "bad" students, and also that students' academic achievement is partially determined by their awareness of these expectations (Parr & Valerius, 1999). Furthermore, the varying levels of interaction that occur between professors and students have been found to have an effect on students' academic achievement levels.

When students know and understand what their professors expect of them, they are better equipped to excel academically in any given course. The lack of communication between professors

and students concerning what types of behavior are expected inside and outside of the classroom setting often lead students to believe that they are “good” students, while their professors may not view them the same way. By having both students and professors know and understand the characteristics of “good” and “bad” students, the academic achievement levels of college students may increase, and the dropout rates may decrease.

The school climate may effect whether students are deemed “good” or “bad”. School climate is a term used to describe “the quality of interactions between teachers and students, including how teachers interact with students, what sort of expectations and standards they have for students, and what kinds of methods are used in the classroom” (Arnett, 2004, 469). Moreover, students with high academic achievement levels most often have teachers who have high expectations of their students, and set firm rules and guidelines for them. Academic achievement is influenced by both school and classroom climates. It is more likely that students excel academically in classes with a positive climate than in classes with a poor climate. Many methods have been used to evaluate and improve school and classroom climate, one popular method is the use of questionnaires to determine ideal classroom conditions and to identify discrepancies between ideal classroom conditions and actual classroom conditions (Garrisoti, 2004).

The quality of instruction, opportunities for learning, and positive teacher-student interactions are highly influential in the academic achievement of students (Garrisoti, 2004). Many believe that the amount of funding that a school receives, or whether a school is private or public determines the quality of the education that one will receive. This is true to a certain extent, however, some studies show that school climate may be the single most important factor in determining the quality of a school, and the education that one receives. Students who attend schools with positive climates often have higher attendance rates and academic achievement levels, and lower rates of participating in delinquent behaviors (Arnett, 2004).

I conclude that students who are more knowledgeable about their professor’s expectations of them will be viewed more

favorably by their professors than other students, who are not familiar with the professor's expectations. In addition, positive school climate is of utmost importance in student's ability to perform well in the academic setting. Also, the fact that certain students are viewed more favorably by their professors than other students will have a positive impact on their academic achievement. Moreover, the opposite would hold true as well, students will be negatively affected if they are unfamiliar with their professor's expectations.

### ***Effects of school climate on academic achievement***

School climate may be the single most important factor in determining the academic success or failure of students. A positive school climate is not dependent on which school one attends, but on the environment inside and outside of the classroom, and the attitudes and commitment of the professors in those classrooms. Much research has been conducted on the effects of school climate on the academic achievement of students. The National Education Association (NEA) began the "Keys to Excellence in Your Schools" (KEYS) program to assist schools in the evaluation and improvement of school climate (Garrisoti, 2004). KEYS, a self-assessment tool, has six dimensions: shared understanding and commitment to high goals; open communication; collaborative problem solving; continuous assessment for teaching and learning; personal and professional learning; resources to support teaching and learning; and curriculum/instruction scale (Garrisoti). These six dimensions were designed to measure the organization of schools, which has been shown to affect both learning and teaching. KEYS 2.0 is the latest version of the assessment tool, and includes questions regarding: curricular emphasis, instructional strategies, and assessment qualities (Garrisoti). One of the many goals of the KEYS program is to help schools identify problems and form a strategy to improve both school and classroom climate.

Researchers have found that a positive classroom climate can offset the negative effects that a poor school climate can have on academic achievement (Garrisoti).

The KEYS survey was first tested in the spring of 2000, participants included 1,061 public school teachers (Garrisoti, 2004). Participants were asked to identify the academic achievement levels of students in one of their classes on a scale ranging from primarily high achieving to primarily low achieving (Garrisoti). Of the 1,061 respondents, 426 were chosen to provide further information about their classes via KEYS. The participants who were chosen for further analyses taught classes that consisted of students who on average had: high achievement levels, average achievement levels, or low achievement levels. A variety of analyses were conducted on the data collected from the teachers, and matrices were constructed to match the answers given by the teachers with the reported achievement level of their classes. Researchers correctly matched 55% of the participants' responses to the achievement level of their classes. To date, the KEYS program has been implemented in many public schools in the United States. While the KEYS program was predominately implemented in primary and secondary schools, similar programs have been implemented in colleges and universities in the United States.

### ***Effects of professor's expectations on academic achievement***

Previous research has indicated that students' academic achievement levels are affected by the ways in which they are viewed by their professors. Researchers have also found that professors generally assign their students to high or low expectation groups, which in turn affects the amount of student-teacher interaction that takes place for each student (Trujillo, 1986). Three main behaviors that professors acknowledged when assigning students to groups were: classroom participation, completing assignments on time, and visiting the professor during office hours (Trujillo).

Moreover, Trujillo (1986) surveyed and observed 155 classes from 23 departments at a large Midwestern university.

Participants in the study included college students and college professors. All classes that participated in the study were small in size (less than 30 students), and had at least 2 African-American students enrolled. Over a 12-week period of time, the professors' were observed while teaching their classes by coders, using a modified version of the Brophy/Good Teacher-Child Dyadic Coding Scheme. At the end of the observational period, the researcher mailed each professor a questionnaire.

Trujillo (1986) found that there was no significant difference in the complexity of professor's answers to questions asked by minority or non-minority students. However, professors spent significantly more time answering questions that were asked by non-minority students than questions asked by minority students. Professors also asked non-minority students more complex questions significantly more often than minority students.

Also, researchers have found that by conforming to stereotypes, students can influence their professor's perceptions of them. Parr and Valerius (1999) studied student behaviors that professors found to be the most and least desirable. The researchers conducted their study at a large research oriented Midwestern university, and at a smaller teaching research oriented Midwestern university. Participants included 1332 professors, 990 from the larger university, and 324 from the smaller university. The researchers measured the professor's perceptions of various student behaviors using a modified SBQ scale. Researchers asked the professors to rate the desirability of each behavior as well as how frequently they witnessed each behavior in the classroom setting.

Results showed that the most desirable behaviors involved student participation, which included: visiting professors during office hours, making positive comments about the class, and discussing paper topics (Parr and Valerius, 1999). The most undesirable behaviors included: sleeping in class, reading the newspaper in class, and flirting with the professor (Parr and Valerius). The researchers found that professors rewarded students who exhibited desirable behaviors, and that student-teacher interaction increased when the desirable behaviors were exhibited.

Other research has shown that students are more motivated

to excel in a course when they feel that their professors like them. Also, Wilson (2006) found that verbal and non-verbal cues exhibited by professors, such as calling students by name, and making eye contact with students, motivated students to do well in their classes. The participants in this study included 1,572 students enrolled in 61 undergraduate courses, and 44 professors from a southeastern liberal arts university. Students completed a survey that measured their rating of the course that they were enrolled in. The surveys gathered information on both student's perceptions of their professor's attitude toward them, and student's attitudes toward their professors.

Wilson (2006) found that student's ratings of their professor's attitude toward them significantly influenced the level of motivation that students felt to perform well academically. The researcher also found that students' perceptions of their professor's attitude toward them significantly predicted student's overall course grades. Student's perceptions of their professor's attitude toward them also affected their enjoyment levels. Therefore, student's attitudes toward their professors were also predicted by professor's attitudes toward their students.

### ***Expectations of various types of institutions***

While general expectations of "good" students and the positive attitudes of professors have been shown to effect academic achievement, there are more specific expectations that also exist. Researchers have studied the ways in which race, gender, and the type of institution that one attends influence experiences in the academic setting, which in turn effect academic achievement Chavous, Harris, Rivas, Helaire, Green (2004) studied the role that the educational environment affects students and the ways in which students perceive and react to race related experiences. Some researchers believe that African-American students attain greater academic success in institutions that teach philosophies that are similar to those present in the African-American community (2004).

The same study explored the differences in academic achievement among African-American students enrolled in two

different types of institutions. Participants included 277 African-American students from a predominantly White university (PWI), and a historically Black institution (HBI), 93 men and 184 women. Researchers mailed participants surveys regarding: their college experiences, a background of their previous educational training, stereotypes of expectations in their major, sense of belonging in their major, competence in their major, personal academic performance (current GPA), and their families. Follow-up surveys containing the same information were sent out following the initial survey.

No significant differences in academic competence (GPA) were found between students attending the PWI and students attending the HBI based on the student's survey responses regarding their mother's education level, or family income. While the student's high school GPA varied significantly between institutions, there was no mention of differences in college academic competency. There were significant gender differences in majors of men and women at the PWI. Technical majors were dominated by men, and non-technical majors were dominated by women (2004). No significant gender differences were found in the majors of men and women at the HBI.

However, the researchers found significant differences in stereotype expectations between participants enrolled in the PWI and participants enrolled in the HBI. Students at the PWI identified significantly more stereotype expectations than students at the HBI (2004). Chavous, Harris, Rivas, Helaire, and Green (2004) also found that the stereotype expectations were higher for men than women in both the PWI and the HBI, however, stereotype expectations were higher among men at the PWI. Although there were differences among the stereotype expectations that were present at each institution, these phantom expectations did not significantly affect academic competence (GPA).

Other research has found that students of all ethnicities and genders who attend HBIs had higher self-efficacy ratings, reported higher academic outcome expectations, and had higher goals than students who attended PWIs. Lent, Sheu, Schmidt, Brenner, Wilkins, Brown, Golster, Schmidt, et al. (2005) compared students

self perceived ability to succeed academically at two HBIs and one PWI. Participants included 487 first year engineering students from three eastern universities, 122 women, and 364 men. The researchers administered questionnaires to all of the students and asked them to rate their levels of self-efficacy confidence to perform academic tasks, and academic performance, as well as their intention of completing their degree.

The students who attended the HBIs had significantly higher scores on the self-efficacy, outcome expectations, technical interests, social support, and educational goal scales than students attending the PWI. There were few significant differences between the scores of men and women at any of the three universities. Women at all three universities had higher levels of social support and reported fewer social barriers than male participants. Overall, Lent et al. found that there were many academic advantages of attending a HBI.

### **Conclusion**

It can be concluded that the academic success of students is dependent on multiple variables. The concept of school climate encompasses many of these variables including: professor's expectations of their students, professor's attitudes toward their students, the philosophies held within the institution, and student's attitudes about their professors and the school environment. As a result a growing number of schools are implementing programs and procedures to improve school climate. It is true that students are able to excel in schools with unfavorable climates; however, positive school climates allow more students to feel motivated to attend classes regularly and to excel academically.

The expectations that professors have of their students and their attitudes toward their students are often apparent in their style of teaching and can have a large impact on students' success in any given course. When students feel that their professors like them, they are motivated to attend class regularly, and to do well on tests and other course work. Student's perceptions of their professor's attitudes toward them also influence the attitude that they have toward their professors. Students given low expectations generally

receive less attention from and interaction with their professors than their peers who are placed in the high expectation category. This in turn can discourage students from initiating out of class interaction such as visiting professors during office hours, or calling or emailing a professor for help with course material. While those in the low expectation category may attempt to contact their professors, there is the possibility that their professors may not respond, or may not respond in a timely manner after the attempt was made. Therefore, maintaining positive professor-student relationships plays an important role in the academic success of students.

The philosophies that underlie professors teaching methods at any given university are also important in terms of the academic success of students. When the philosophies of the institution that one attends are relevant to one's familiar surroundings, it provides the opportunity to become more connected to the material that is being presented in class and to the institution as a whole. This connection may help to both facilitate positive interaction between students and their professors, and keep students engaged in their education; causing them to be more motivated to learn and excel in their courses. The philosophies that institutions embody may also have an impact on student involvement in co curricular activities. Many students look for familiar surroundings as a source of relaxation and comfort outside of the classroom setting. Experiences inside of the classroom may negatively impact student's willingness or desire to become connected with the campus outside of the academic setting. Overall, a positive school climate helps to form a strong base for academic success among students of all ages, ethnicities, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

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## ***Hosai Ehsan***

Major: Sociology (MA)

Mentor:

**Dr. Mitra Rokni**

Prevalence of Domestic Violence  
in Afghan Households

## **Biography**

A native of Afghanistan, Hosai Ehsan is a graduate student in Sociology. She completed her undergraduate work at University of California Santa Cruz, where she did work with the Santa Cruz County Office of Education and the Pescadero Migrant project. Although born in war-torn Afghanistan, Hosai spent most of her life as a refugee in Pakistan and in various parts of Arizona and California. Until her refuge to the United States [the sixth grade], Hosai had only received two years of formal education. In 2003, She revisited Afghanistan and volunteered with the United Nation to recruit women voters, as well as volunteering for the Ministry of Finance to develop a student internship program. It was these experiences that caused Hosai to pursue a career in Sociology with an emphasis on gender, women's rights and social change. Hosai is the founder of the Ehsan Family Project in Jalalabad, Afghanistan--which since 2001, has been successfully giving micro-grants to merchants and small family businesses to improve profits. An active community member, a dedicated citizen, and a motivated student, She plans to further her graduate career in order to teach at the university level. Through her work, she hopes to advocate for women's rights in the third world.

## **Abstract**

The majority of scholarly studies related to domestic violence in minority communities focus on African American and Latino households. These studies fail to acknowledge the prevalence of domestic violence particular to Afghan households in both Afghanistan and in the United States. In this study, I examine the attitudes and beliefs of Afghan men and women in the United States towards domestic violence, in an attempt to find the rates of prevalence, possible causes, and to understand the reasons for its acceptance. Combining both qualitative and quantitative methods, I used availability data sampling and snowball sampling for the surveys (N=72), as well as key informant interviews (N=11) to collect research data.

Findings suggest that patriarchal beliefs are a direct cause of domestic violence in Afghan households in California. Other factors that contribute to the prevalence and acceptance of domestic violence are Afghan traditional values, educational levels, socioeconomic status, loss of community/family based support and lack of available prevention programs for women. Furthermore, it was found that the lack of unavailable resources is a leading threat to unveiling and combating this critical issue in Afghan communities. The study also suggests advocacy campaigns and further research which may be successful in raising awareness and developing strategies to counter the violence.

## **Introduction**

Domestic violence is a major predicament in Afghan households today. It is an issue that has a long history, sees no barriers and impinges on Afghan women's well being in Afghanistan as much as on Afghan-American women in the United States. Although the United States has a large number of domestic violence cases of various magnitudes recorded annually, it is not known how many of them have occurred in Afghan households. Similarly, the issue has not been investigated in Afghanistan, thus making the frequency a large mystery.

Although in the United States “race is a standard factor examined in national surveys on [domestic] violence, most of the minority research is on African American or Latino populations,” leaving much to be wondered about other ethnicities (Bogard 2005, p.27). Violence in women’s lives is typically conceptualized as a series of abusive, horrible or tragic events; and domestic violence is explained as a cycle of violence (Dabby 2002). The cycles, however, occur at different stages of the women’s lives, and moreover, all women do not experience domestic violence equally or in the same ways (Bogard 2005). Exposure to domestic violence imperils the development of children as well, as they attempt to form their own intimate relationships throughout life (Osofosky 1999). According to Russo (2000), “violence against women has multiple interconnected sources, and is not tied exclusively to an isolated system of misogyny and male dominance,” (p.16).

Looking at households of Middle Eastern and South Asian decent, we find that males are (and have been) the primary breadwinners and decision makers of the family. Similar to historic western culture, women and children are considered the chattel or the property of men (Roberts 1996). Dasgupta (2002) argues that many Caucasian Americans presume that ‘other’ cultures, especially minority ones, are far more accepting of domestic violence than the U.S. culture. American mainstream society still likes to believe that the abuse is limited to minority ethnic communities, lower socio-economic strata, and individuals with dark skin colors. It is important to comprehend that, more importantly, gender roles and male patriarchy influence women’s understanding and tolerance of domestic violence (Liang, Goodman, Narra, Weintraub 2005 & Ahmad, Riaz, Barata, Stewart 2004). Although patriarchy is found across all cultures, immigrant women are more likely to become vulnerable to experiencing detrimental expressions of patriarchy (Ahmad *et al.* 2004).

In addition, misinterpreted and contradictory (in meaning) Quranic text, classism, racism and sexism, shape male perceptions of dominance and patriarchy. The Quran and Hadith emphasizes equality between men and women as individuals, and as

worshippers. Furthermore, the writings also advocate women being able to conduct business or attain an education without consent from their husbands, while allowing for male polygamy, and thus, giving women lower inheritance shares and valuing women's testimony in court only half as much as males (Ghuman 2003). True, most Afghans are Muslims, but Islam alone is only one of the factors influencing Afghan women's intimate partner relationships. Afghan traditional values, history, socioeconomic status, male hierarchy, and cultural stereotypes need to also be considered, when attempting to investigate domestic violence and the reasons for its acceptance.

In countries like Morocco, Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Northern India, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan, males remain the primary financial contributors of the household, and their social standing highly depends on keeping their women secluded from the public view. This seclusion of women is used by politicians as a way to express political agendas related to the preservation of cultural identity and traditions (Moghadam 1993). Looking at Afghanistan under the ruling of the various political regimes, control over women's movement and autonomy is a way to express and impose political agendas and power (Moghadam 1993). Although this study is specific to Afghan-American families who physically no longer live in Afghanistan, their ideology continues to be that of male dominance and female subordination. Factors of national political instability, immigration, loss of family-based support system, inaccessibility to education, failing to gain cultural capital as well as financial dependence influences the gender based dominant and subordinate position and becomes a catalyst to domestic violence.

Moreover, for centuries, Afghan women have been victims of war, socioeconomic struggles, lack of education, and most other resources. The past thirty years of Afghanistan's political upheavals have magnified these struggles, placing Afghan women at socially, politically, economically, and even physically disadvantaged positions. According to the World Fact Book, only 7.4 percent of women in Afghanistan are literate, marriages are most often arranged (not to be confused with forced) and generally

take place in the early teen years. Access to health care and other resources is often controlled by the male household leaders (husband, father, brother-in-law), which places women's social and psychological well being in great jeopardy. Although Afghan women who have been raised in California tend to have more education, have some say about their marriages and can access resources more freely, domestic violence continues to occur in their lives.

Most often it is believed that migration to the United States automatically improves women's status and safety; however, it is not actually true (Dasgupta 2005). In her work "Women's Realities; Defining Violence against Women by Immigration, Race and Class," Dasgupta (2005) refers to the South Asian community and raises a question of why a community, which can be oppressive at times, is so important to immigrant women. A suitable answer inscribed well within her work illustrates that escaping from the community can deprive them from the support that their community offers. Such support could include but is not limited to, translation services, link to social and economic resources, family or friends' interference, and even providing temporary shelter and escape in the case of violence (Dasgupta 2005).

Another issue that exasperates the problem is that the Afghan communities in California have no women's shelters, hotlines or any other resources of similar sort for battered women. Often Afghan women are faced with having to weigh the costs versus the benefits of staying with abusive partners. The highest cost of physical and emotional distress abused Afghan women face cannot defeat the benefits of avoiding cultural burdens of shame and honor synonymous with divorce.

### **Method**

Data for this research paper was collected through availability data sampling, snowball sampling, key informant interviews and a mix of other methods in order to increase the validity of the findings. Since there are not specific places where Afghans work or live in dense populations, it was not viable to use a random sampling method. I asked two community organizations, who I knew had a large Afghan membership, to provide me with membership lists that I could use to conduct the survey at random. Due to the sensitivity of the issues addressed in the questionnaire, both organizations apologetically denied my request. For the aforementioned reasons of topic sensitivity, possible mass-retaliation from the public and thus in turn concern for my own safety caused me to refrain from conducting the survey in mosques, and several other large-scale community events that took place over the summer.

As a viable option, I used availability sampling—where I approached Afghans at various smaller-scale community gatherings, shops and parks to conduct surveys. Further, I used snowball sampling where I asked each respondent if they knew of people who might be willing to take the survey. A total of 140 surveys, in equal proportions, were distributed among female and male Afghans, age 18 years and older. Respondents reported residing in counties as far north as Humboldt, as far east as Sacramento down to San Diego, California. The survey included 28 closed-ended questions. Item 29 on the survey was left open for additional comments. The survey addressed questions related to demographics, couple relationships, marriage and domestic violence among Afghans in the United States.

In order to preserve confidentiality, the survey respondents were reassured that there were no identifying marks on the surveys. They were further instructed to place the completed survey in an attached blank envelope, and return it to me personally or mail it to the address indicated on the survey. Each participant was fully informed about the nature of the research, what is required, as well

as any possible stresses and benefits. They were also given the option to withdraw at any time.

In my study, Domestic violence was defined as intentionally attempting to physically abuse (slap, kick, punch, push, grab) and/or injure a female spouse/partner. The survey had a surprising return rate of 58% for females and 45% for males. The data collected from the surveys was analyzed using line graphs, pie charts and tables.

In addition, I conducted eleven key informant interviews with six female and five male adult Afghans. I conducted the interviews in English, Pashto and Farsi, depending on the preferred language of the subjects. Key informants tend to be the type of people that the community has trust in and looks up to for a variety of reasons. They are also the ones families (especially women) tend to approach in the event they decide to seek help concerning violence within their households. The research did not require key informants to share personal experiences of family violence, but rather give information about the community—tell stories they might have heard, talk about cases they might have observed and give any information they might know regarding domestic violence amongst Afghans.

The key informant respondents I interviewed had a minimum of five to a maximum of twenty years of experience serving the Afghan community in various professional and personal levels in California. They ranged from people with no education, to those who had attained post graduate degrees in medicine, agriculture, social sciences, and education. Their ages ranged from twenty-six years to sixty-seven years. One key informant interviewee was single due to divorce, while others were married, or remarried to Afghans.

A series of eleven open-ended questions were asked during the key informant interviews. Their responses were transcribed. Despite its elevated prevalence, discourses surrounding domestic violence are kept reticent in the Afghan culture, and therefore all respondents were prudent about not revealing their identities. All but one male and one female respondent asked to be interviewed anonymously. The data collected from the key informant

interviews was analyzed using coding schemes that classified responses to categories that related to a single variable. For example, punching, kicking, pushing, pulling, and slapping were all related to the variable of hitting in the coding scheme.

## Results

### *Prevalence/Acceptance*

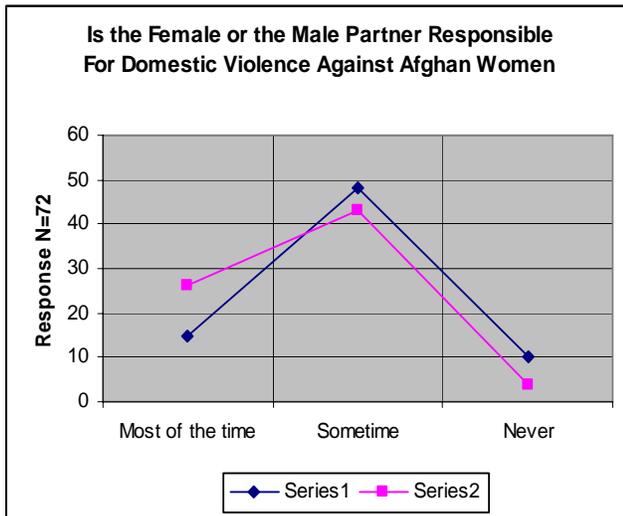
A total sample size of individuals forming (N= 72) is considered as the results are analyzed. Let it be understood that numbers appearing in parenthesis next to various factors are based on the 72 (out of 140) survey responses received. It refers to the total number of respondents agreeing on a variable. For example, a majority of females (34) feel that violence should be reported to the police: means that 34 females agreed that violence against women should be reported to the police. Responses from the key informant interviews are used to enhance and support the research design. In order to preserve the confidentiality of the people whose stories have been told in the interviews minor details that do not affect survey outcome have been altered.

*Table 1* describes rates of prevalence versus acceptance of domestic violence in Afghan households. A majority of female and male respondents in nearly equal proportions believe that domestic violence against women occurs in most (31) or in some (30) households and that it is culturally accepted in most homes. It was also found that Afghan women often (35) do not report violence against them to the law enforcement. However, a greater majority of females (34) as opposed to a minority of the males (8) feel that it should always be reported. Moreover, key informants stated that U.S. law and prevention programs are not culturally sensitive and, therefore, are not a viable option for intervention in Afghan household matters.

<b>Table 1: Prevalence Vs. Acceptance</b> N=72→100%			
	In most homes n→(%)	In some homes n→(%)	In no homes n→(%)
<b>Occurs</b>	31→43%	30→42%	3→4%
	Often	Sometimes	Never
<b>Accepted</b>	35→49%	18→25%	11→15%

Graph 1 further describes female and male attitudes towards family violence. It is made evident that a larger number of males (48) and a surprisingly moderate number of females (43) are considered at least somewhat responsible for violence in Afghan households. Overall, males are thought to be mainly the perpetrators and, therefore, more accountable for aggression against their female partners.

Graph 1:



It is further indicated that a majority of respondents (37) agreed that Afghan women in the United States are not less likely to fall victim to domestic violence, yet 50 respondents stated that it has not ever and does not occur in their own households. Three key informants did, however, report having been victimized by male partners.

“How about I tell you my own story,” a female key informant began nervously:

*My husband and I argued over various issues. When he got upset he would slap me, pull my hair, kick and punch me and curse me out. He would also disrespect my family. My children would cry and beg for us to stop fighting. One of my children recently told me that he attempted to commit suicide at one point because he could no longer bear to see the fighting and arguing. My children eventually grew up, and stood up for me. My husband is still mean, but after 23 years the physical abuse has stopped. I'm glad, because divorce was never an option for us as it brings shame on the family.*

Furthermore, key informants dissect the issue of family violence in Afghan households in the United States. They report having heard of or seen numerous cases of mild to severe physical female partner abuse, involving pushing, pulling, slapping, kicking, punching, breaking bones, violence causing miscarriages, black eyes, killing and using weapons such as guns and knives. In addition, frequent psychological abuse including minimizing, cursing, disrespecting, controlling, and stalking were reported as well. Many case-stories were retold by the key informants. They all mimicked each other, summing up an overall rigid picture of Afghan-American intimate partner relationships.

The story below realistically exemplifies the prevalence and acceptance of family violence in Afghan households.

*An Afghan couple had two children and the third was on the way. The family was welfare recipients. The mother-in-law who lived with the couple caused many problems. She and her son*

*wanted to save as much money as possible in order to send it back home. Every time the wife made an issue out of this her husband beat her. Once the beating was so severe that she went into shock and ended up having a miscarriage. The neighbor and I called the ambulance, despite the husband's persistence in convincing us not to. He argued that going into shock was normal for his wife during pregnancy. When the wife recovered, she denied the abuse to the law enforcement and continues to be married to the same man today.*

### ***Negative Effects on Children***

100% of survey respondents agree that domestic violence negatively affects Afghan children. Key informant interviews indicated that Afghan children most often witness domestic violence, as it occurs in their households. They further explain that such experiences cause children to have low self esteem, lower academic achievement, slower performance in daily tasks, alienation, deviance, as well as depression. One respondent even reported her child attempting suicide as an escape from his abusive household. Several key informants agree that family violence is a learned trait. They believe that Afghan boys who are raised in abusive households mimic the father and become abusive later in life, while Afghan girls who are raised in abusive households learn to tolerate abuse from their future partners—much like their mothers did. Key informants further report that most cases of family violence involve children getting physically and psychologically harmed or kidnapped by either one or both parents.

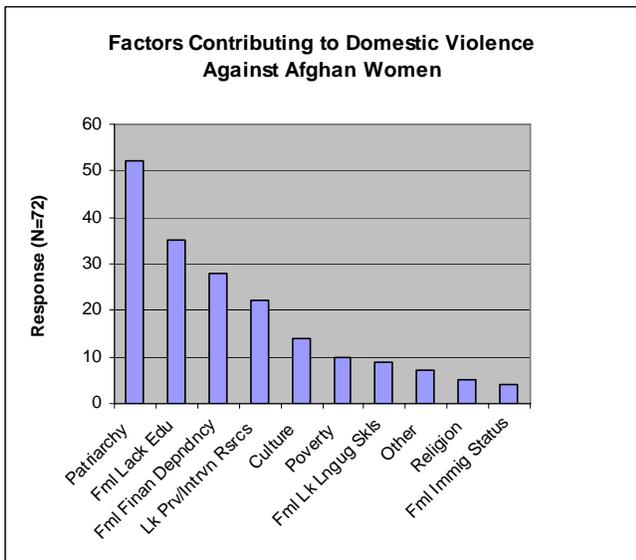
A Key Informant remembers a case from years ago:

*A woman arranged her daughter's marriage with her nephew from back home. He came to California and the couple began having major problems. He was very closed minded and she was raised here so she was Americanized. During one fight the couple pulled their baby from each other and broke nine of his bones. The emergency room doctors called the police and the couple went to jail.*

**Causes**

Graph 2 describes rates of various socioeconomic, cultural, religious, and male partner dependencies on domestic violence. It is evident that patriarchy (52), followed by female lack of education (35), female financial dependency (28), and lack of resources (22) are the trivial factors influencing prevalence of family violence in Afghan households. Culture (14), religion (5) and female immigration status (4) were considered least influential causes of violence against women. A majority of respondents reported that arranged marriages were somewhat (53) common, and somewhat (53) responsible for domestic violence amongst Afghan couples in the United States.

Graph 2:



Key informants emphasize that factors of patriarchy, male favoritism, victim-blaming, low self-esteem, lack of trust, education/awareness, communication, prevention/intervention resources, and stressors (where the male is under socioeconomic stress) are tightly coiled within the cycle of violence. The case below is a direct example of the use and misuse of Afghan male

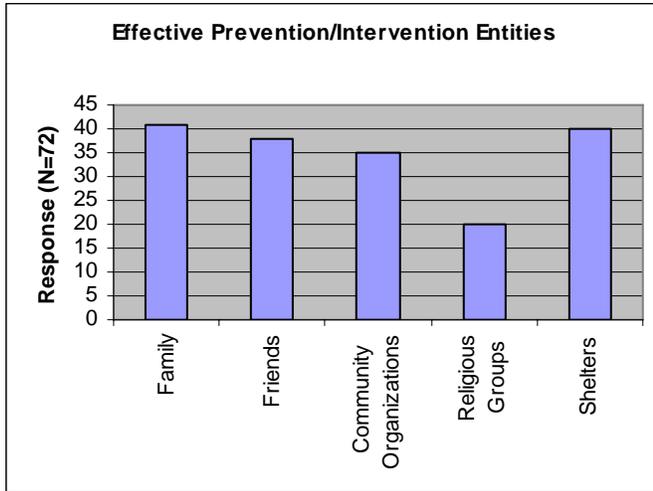
privileges—rewarded by misinterpreted cultural and religious ideology.

*A couple had several children, some of whom were disabled. When an argument between the spouses arose, the husband beat the wife. The wife depended fully on her husband because the entirety of her family was in Afghanistan, she was illiterate, didn't speak English, and couldn't drive. The man eventually married a second woman. Despite all of the abuse and polygamy the first wife never called the police on him nor did she ask for a divorce. He divided his time between the two wives as convenient for him. He ended up having two children with the second wife who he had also been physically abusing since the beginning of their marriage. Eventually, the second wife called the police on him and ended up divorcing him. He now lives with the first wife—fulltime.*

### ***Prevention/Intervention/Resources***

*Graph 3* describes various intervention and prevention techniques and programs that are assumed to be successful. Let it be known that a great majority of respondents (53) state that there are no resources within the Afghan community for women facing family violence. Most respondents believe that seeking help via counseling (60), extended family (41), shelters (40), friends (38), and community organizations geared towards helping Afghan women (35) would be helpful entities in the fight against domestic violence. Religious groups (20) are rarely considered helpful in the prevention of domestic violence.

Graph 3:



Key informant interviews clarify that Afghans are enigmatic about their intimate partner relationships. The preliminary element of uncovering the issue places the researchers and the respondents in great danger. Such was the case with a community member who attempted to raise awareness of the issue of intimate partner abuse in order to form a support group. Public retaliation and physical attacks caused him to refrain from proceeding, as told by a key informant. The people in the community feel that raising awareness will help women recognize the problem and, therefore, increase the divorce rate. Moreover, “Divorce of course will break homes and bring a bad name upon the family” comments key informant Dr. Abdiani.

Preservation of self and family reputation and Afghan traditional values are key factors preventing Afghan women from seeking help. Women who do seek help are stigmatized and lose respect within the community. Divorced women are considered a

burden on the family for financial and social reasons, and have a much lower chance of remarrying.

Lastly, key informants stress the fact that awareness, education and readily available resources are critical in preventing domestic violence against women. Prevention and intervention methods need to be strategically in place in order to begin uncovering this vital issue.

### **Conclusion**

In this study, patriarchy was found to be a direct cause of domestic violence against women in Afghan households in California. Other factors contributing to the prevalence of violence were Afghan traditional values, educational level, socioeconomic status, financial dependency, loss of community based support, and lack of available prevention programs. Based on data collected from surveys and key informant interviews forty to fifty percent of households were believed to be facing domestic violence—and a majority of these cases are not reported to the law enforcement. Burdens of cultural shame and honor are dominant reasons keeping women and children from speaking out and seeking help.

Causes of domestic violence in Afghan households in California run the gamut of traditional values, socioeconomic statuses, male hierarchy, immigration, loss of family/community based support, inaccessibility to education, failure to gain cultural capital, and financial dependence. When women's positions are pessimistically shadowed, they become more vulnerable to violence. They cannot separate from the abusive partner because that will bring shame on the family. Furthermore, most of them do not have the financial independence or cultural capital to survive on their own, thus being obligated to remain with their abusive partners.

In addition, children who are exposed to domestic violence face emotional disorders such as depression, low self-esteem, lower academic success rates, and are likely to mimic or be subject to learned violent traits in their own relationships. These children are found to be aggressive, depressed, to have low-self esteem,

perform poorly in academics, have poor problem solving skills, and may suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (Carter, Weithorn, Behman 1999). When mothers are victims of violence, they are less likely to be emotionally available and responsive to their children's needs. The lack of such basic trust and security, which is the foundation of a healthy development, causes youth to substitute family for peer groups such as gangs, where learned violence is repeated in dealing with disputes and frustration (Carter et al. 1999, Osofosky 1999).

The lack of available resources remains a leading threat to the unveiling and combating of the issue of domestic violence in Afghan communities throughout California. Shelter programs specific to minority communities are either nil (as is the case for the Afghan community) or grassroots efforts (Malley-Morrison, Hines 2004). Furthermore, cultural insensitivity and language barriers prevent Afghan women from reaching intervention programs in California. Afghan women must first be able to take advantage of 'exosystem intervention programs' where they learn how to escape from further violence (Malley-Morrison, Hines 2004). A more advanced and later step would be to combat the causes of spousal abuse in an effort to enable women to gain full control over their bodies and acquire the power to be free beings. It is absolutely crucial to begin advocacy campaigns that unveil the reticent issue of violence against women in the Afghan communities throughout California. Furthermore, it must be reiterated that the issue of domestic violence is not specific to only Afghan households, but holds true to all cultures across the globe. Great care must be taken when drawing conclusions about Afghan women, men and their intimate relationships.

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## **Delilah Gallardo**

Major: English

Mentor:

**Dr. Linda Mitchell**

Dracula and the “New Woman:” Stoker’s Critique of Victorian Gender Ideology

### **Biography**

*Delilah Gallardo is originally from San Jose, California. She has just earned a B.A. in English and Certificate in Professional and Technical writing from San Jose State University. Her graduate interest is in publishing and professional editing and she plans to enter a Masters program in publishing and writing.*

### **Abstract**

The following essay argues that Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* (1897) is a critique on Victorian society’s fear of the emerging “New Woman.” Stoker uses female erotic vampires as a vehicle to express society’s anxiety over sexually confident women. I am going to highlight aspects of the novel modern readers may not be aware of, in an attempt to explain why Stoker’s novel has become an immortal work of literature. The popularity of *Dracula* can be attributed to Stoker’s successful attempt to holdup a mirror to the Victorian Age—a time when women’s roles were dramatically being revolutionized. Victorian gender

ideology rigorously governed the boundaries between the sexes in order to constrain women. However, women responded to the restrictions through the manifestation of the “New Woman,” who was characterized by her demand for both social and sexual liberation. The anxiety over the depleting traditional gender roles and direct references to the “New Woman” permeate Stoker’s novel.

### Introduction

Sensualistic, erotic, sexy, evil, seductive, temptresses—the female vampire’s epithet often possesses such evocative language. In Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*, vampires are portrayed as evil temptresses: libidinous females with carnal appetites for men’s blood. Stoker’s artistic image of vampires has significantly affected the appearance of vampires in modern-day representations. Erotic vampires have become habitually standard in pop culture. When the popular television show *Buffy the Vampire Slayer’s* (1997) innocent school girl Willow Rosenberg literally gets sucked into becoming a vampire, she transforms into a lustful gothic seductress. In addition, in Whitley Strieber’s novel *The Hunger* (1981), the lovely vampire Miriam Blaylock prowls New York City nightclubs clad in leather dress using her sex appeal to lure her victims to her apartment for a night they would regret. Today, Stoker’s illustration of the vampire is exploited by modern literature and film due to its sexually exotic appearance, which appeals to modern audiences.

However, what is also intriguing about *Dracula* is the novel’s significance at the time of its publication. Although Stoker does not provide the first example of sexually transgressive vampires, *Dracula* still exists as the most popular of all vampire stories. Many other female vampires were introduced during the nineteenth century. For example, J. Sheridan Le Fanu’s *Carmilla* (1872) tells the story of a lesbian vampire who tries to seduce a young woman into joining her in eternal life, and Mary Elizabeth Braddon’s *Good Lady of Ducayne* (1869) recounts the story of a woman who uses the

blood of young girls to sustain her beauty. Although each story has its own authentic twist, they all carry sexual undertones.

Since its introduction into the literary tradition, the vampire has been associated with sexuality due to the way it preys upon the naked neck of its victim. Moreover, the morbid dread they raise in humans often signifies repressed sexual wishes. Throughout the nineteenth century, the vampire exceeds the limitations between accepted and deviant sexuality. Vampire stories, like *Dracula*, offer social commentary on the human world. In *The Gothic*, David Punter and Glennis Byron support that the vampire is 'the ultimate embodiment of transgression' (268). Ironically, Stoker uses the vampire (a being without a reflection) to reflect the women's position during the Victorian Age.

### ***Women in Victorian Culture***

In order to properly recognize the relevance of *Dracula* to female sexuality, one must understand the nineteenth century women's position. Prior to the rise of the "New Woman," the rights of Victorian women were comparable to that of a child's. Once a woman entered into holy matrimony, she was considered her husband's property rather than his equal. The wife's personal belongings, income, and children were by law under the husband's charge; furthermore, women were not allowed to vote, sue, or own property. They were stifled by society's stringent expectations of their behavior.

The ideal Victorian woman was confined to two roles: the virgin model of innocence and the wife and mother of nurturing. In *The Women and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*, Nina Auerbach affirms that in the Victorian period, the only women worthy of worship were monuments of selflessness with no purpose beyond the long influences they exuded as daughter, wife, and mother (16). Therefore, if women did not conform to society's ideal gender roles, they were ultimately rejected.

Although there were feminists who protested against female oppression, there were just as many anti-feminists whom believed in sustaining the image of the ideal Victorian woman.

Eliza Lynn Linton is one of the contributing writers in the *Woman Question*: a debate on Victorian gender roles. *The Woman Question* produced an amalgamation of responses, ranging from passionate support to equally zealous opposition of women's equal rights. Linton declares the anti-feminist view on womanliness in the following passage:

We call it 'womanliness' when she removes from herself every suspicion of grossness, coarseness, or ugliness, and makes her life as dainty as a picture, as lovely as a poem. She is womanly when she asserts her own dignity; womanly when her highest pride is the sweetest humility, the tenderest self-suppression; womanly when she protests the weaker; womanly when she submits to the stronger. (Linton 110)

The emphasis on female propriety had a great affect on Victorian sexual attitudes. Since there was an intense desire to maintain the women's image of decorum and goodness, sex became more of an act of shameful duty rather than a form of pleasure; hence, women were not allowed to openly express their sexual desires. Victorian society strived to place women on a pedestal of purity. In *Sexual Repression and Victorian Literature*, Russell M. Goldfarb wrote that the Victorians desperately wanted their wives and mothers to be sexually pure; they placed women on a pedestal as a reminder that society wanted them to be sheltered (41). The idea of civilizing sex began as a puritanical drive to alter the manners and habits of the rich and poor. Goldfarb describes Victorian sexuality in three words: 'inhibited, restrained, and repressed.'

In *Victorian Women*, Joan Perkins reveals that sexual love was no longer to be pleasurable or fun but a marital duty. Women's bodies hidden in long voluminous clothes were almost as much of a mystery to themselves as to men (51). Many adults were completely ignorant about whole areas of human sexual behavior. The extent of sexual education in the mid-nineteenth century was restricted to talk of chastity before marriage and of fidelity after marriage.

The 1890's saw an increase in feminist awareness, which was a precursor to the mass movement of female suffrage that would peak in the next decade. The "New Woman" threatened men, for she refused to be content with the traditional economic and sexual conventions of women's right. Since women were striving to be independent of male control, the "New Woman" was by conservative standards no longer considered a female. This stereotype labeled feminists as aberrations, which resemble the unknown invading species in *Dracula*. Therefore, although Stoker wrote during a time when women were forced to embody a symbol of purity, he gave the women in his novel a sense of sexual freedom.

### ***Revamping Female Sexuality***

Bram Stoker critiques Victorian society by using dangerously sexual female vampires in *Dracula* to represent the Victorian fear of sexually confident women. Furthermore, the novel illustrates the dangers of sexual females and juxtaposes the vampiric predatory female with the ideal Victorian woman. The obsession with keeping Victorian women virtuous is illustrated through Stoker's treatment of the women in *Dracula*: Mina Harker, Lucy Westenra, and Dracula's three vampire brides. Carol A. Senf wrote in "Daughters of Lilith" that the female vampire is everything traditional women are not encouraged to be: aggressive, destructive, rebellious, and irresistibly sensual (200).

Dracula's vampire brides appear in the beginning of the novel. Stoker writes, "All three had brilliant white teeth, that shone like pearls against the ruby of their voluptuous lips. There was something about them that made me uneasy, some longing and at the same time some deadly fear" (Stoker 43). In this quote from Bram Stoker's Gothic novel, *Dracula*, Mina's fiancé Jonathan Harker fluidly encapsulates society's attitude toward 'voluptuous' women in the Victorian Age as a 'deadly fear.' Although Stoker's novel was published in the late Victorian period (1897), when a transition toward more liberal views on sexuality were well under way, the anxiety toward

uninhibited female sexual expression was a strong ruling force for society.

During his strange stay at Castle Dracula, Jonathan Harker describes his encounter with the lascivious women. The fairest of these supernatural women introduces him to a pleasure he has never known. Since *Dracula* is an epistolary novel, Harker expresses his reaction in a journal entry, which allows him to give a first-person account of his experience with the sexually aggressive vampires. Harker writes,

Two were dark, and had... great dark, piercing eyes, that seemed to be almost red. The other was fair...with great, wavy masses of golden hair and eyes like pale sapphires. I seemed somehow to know her face, and to know it in connection with some dreamy *fear*. (Stoker 41)

Harker's 'dreamy fear' represents his trepidation of sexually aggressive women. Harker also gives a vivid description of the women although physical beauty was purportedly not important during the period. The women's loveliness is apparently so overwhelming that it makes Jonathan forget his Victorian sense of decency. Harker continues

I felt in my heart a *wicked, burning desire* that they would kiss me with those red lips. . . .The fair girl shook her head *coquettishly*, and the other two urged her on... 'He is young and strong; there are kisses for us all.' I lay quiet...in an agony of *delightful* anticipation. The fair girl advanced and bent over me with...a bitter underlying the sweet, a bitter offensiveness, as one smells in blood. (Stoker 41-42)

The vampires reek of the macabre perfume of blood that Harker finds intriguing and 'strangely arousing.' He recounts how the fair girl slyly flirted with him 'coquettishly,' which was unquestionably improper behavior for a woman of that period. However, Jonathan admits that he desired the lewd women; he confesses that he felt a 'wicked burning desire' for them. The women gave him pleasure that he was not able to receive from

socially accepted women, due to the restrictions on Victorian sexuality. Jonathan writes,

The fair girl went on her knees and bent over me, fairly gloating. There was a deliberate *voluptuousness* which was *both thrilling and repulsive*, and as she arched her neck she actually licked her lips like an animal... Lower and lower went her head as the lips went below the range of my mouth and chin and seemed about to fasten on my throat. (Stoker 41-42)

Although he claims that he was experiencing both 'thrilling' and 'repulsive' emotions, he did not end the girl's playful game. Dracula had to interrupt them, which proves that Jonathan was too overwhelmed to put a cease to the situation himself. The anxiety lies in the fact that the women were able to make Jonathan succumb to his unfaithful longing for them even though he knew it was indecent. The vampire women are examples of voluptuous and sexually confident women as a threat to society; for they have the ability to entice men and make them utterly forget themselves.

In compliance with the conventions of Victorian society; the three brides must ultimately lose their lives by the end of the novel, due to their impropriety. They are killed by Professor Van Helsing, the embodiment of the Victorian suppressor, whom after refusing to be seduced by them, kills the vampires out of disgust over their sexual demeanor. Since the female vampire's sexual confidence defies the standards of male-dominated society, Stoker must allow the female vampires to be vanquished. Their death illustrates society's intense anxiety over uninhibited female sexual expression. In addition, Stoker contrasts female vampires with women who fit the Victorian Ideal. After Jonathan Harker's diabolical tryst in Transylvania, the focus of the novel switches to Dracula's England conquests: Mina Harker and Lucy Westenra. Lucy is a vivacious girl with three marriage proposals at her feet. She follows the Victorian formalities of a young woman by placing great importance on the idea of marriage. Although she does exude the common

characteristics of a Victorian woman, her rebelliousness is seen in a letter she writes to her best friend, Mina Harker. Lucy protests, "Why can't they let a girl marry three men, or as many as want her, and save all this trouble?" (Stoker 62). After Dracula's arrival in England, Lucy's priorities no longer revolve around her suitors. She develops a habit of sleepwalking late at night to be with Dracula in an old cemetery (a time when such inhibitions are often forsaken). Dracula functions as a catalyst of transgression, for he stimulates the release of repressed desire in Lucy. Mina writes in her journal that she notices changes in her friend; she claims that Lucy is turning pale and languid.

Mina and Lucy's fiancé, Arthur Holmwood seek assistance from Dr. Seward and Professor Van Helsing whom determine that she has been infected by the blood of a vampire. In an effort to rescue Lucy from Dracula's grasp, the men attempt a series of blood transfusions, for they feel that only the blood of strong noble men can cure a woman's ailments. Ironically, Lucy can be considered a polyandrist: a woman married to more than one husband at the same time, for her blood transfusions essentially can be considered a morbid form of marriage amongst the party of men. This is proven when the men decided to keep the transfusion a secret from Arthur.

Despite the men's efforts, Lucy becomes a vampire and becomes known throughout England newspapers as 'the bloofer lady' who kidnaps children during the night. This is an obvious rejection of maternity and serves as a comment on the "New Woman" rejecting the traditional roles of Victorian motherhood. This attitude towards children is also apparent when Dracula feeds the three vampire women an infant as compensation for not being allowed to consume Jonathan. The vampire Lucy is very much of her period with her coldness toward children. Anti-mothers were characteristic of nineteenth century literature, especially in works by conservative polemicists who regarded feminism as a threat to a woman's maternal nature. Furthermore, the blood of the men was not enough to save Lucy, for the transition into a new type of woman cannot be

stopped. This metaphorically foreshadows the rising changes regarding women's rights in the early twentieth century.

However, the greatest struggle over women's roles occurs at the end of the novel. When the men decide to rid Lucy of her vampire form, the battle over her soul becomes a metaphorical struggle between the emancipation of female sexual expression and Victorian principles pertaining to women's roles. The shock of Lucy's altered appearance is described in Dr. Seward's diary, he writes

Lucy Westenra, but yet how changed. The sweetness was turned to adamant, heartless cruelty and the purity to *voluptuous wantonness*...by the concentrated light that fell on Lucy's face we could see that the lips were crimson with fresh blood. As she looked, her eyes blazed with *unholy* light, and the face became wreathed with a *voluptuous* smile. Oh, God, how it made me shudder to see it. (Stoker 231-232)

Dr. Seward describes how Lucy's purity transforms into 'wantonness.' Stoker makes the word 'voluptuous' synonymous with the word 'vampire;' his language strives to emphasize Lucy's revealed sexuality. He expresses her seductiveness as something 'unholy'—'it made him shudder.' Dr. Seward goes on to tell how Lucy seduces her fiancé Arthur with her mesmerizing voice; she begs "Come to me, Arthur. My arms are hungry for you. Come, and we can rest together. Come, my husband, come!" As for Arthur, he seemed under a spell; moving his hands from his face, he opened wide his arms" (Dracula 232). Arthur's swooning over Lucy is comparable to Jonathan's submissive behavior with the three vampires, for they are both defenseless against the women's seductive powers. Lucy's words are both a plea and a promise of sexual gratification.

In the end, Lucy's fiancé must puncture her undead body with a wooden stake in order to send her tortured soul to its proper resting place: "The body shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions; the sharp white teeth champed

together till the lips were cut” (Stoker 233). The staking of Lucy presents the most brutal enactment of the restoration of gender boundaries. When Arthur reinstates Lucy’s purity by driving a stake through her heart, he literally thrusts her back into a socially respectable state by penetrating her with his manly stake. Although Lucy’s soul is restored to its proper resting place, she still forfeits her life in order to find peace. In the end, Lucy’s life does not get saved because she indulged in her sexuality. Moreover, Mina Harker is the only female survivor in the novel.

Mina represents the ideal Victorian woman. From the beginning of the novel she proves herself to be dedicated by aiding Jonathan and Lucy through their illnesses and transcribing journal entries in an attempt to find Dracula. In addition, she is a working woman, but not an improper one. Jobs such as governessing or school teaching were the traditional occupations of Victorian women who needed to support themselves. Mina does not desire a career in medicine, the arts, the universities, or school administration, which were becoming available to the new, aspiring generation of women at the end of the century. Through Mina, Stoker presents the model of Victorian female virtue. After everyone decides to read each others letters and journals, it is Mina who makes a transcript of the material. When she works closely with Van Helsing, he says of her, “Ah, that wonderful Madame Mina! She has man’s brain—a brain that a man should have were he much gifted—and woman’s heart. The Good God fashioned her for a purpose...when he made that so good combination” (Stoker 209). However, his comments exemplify the male Victorian fear of the “New Woman” by insisting that Mina stay uninvolved, he states “she must have nothing to do with this so terrible affair. It is not good that she run a risk so great...Even if she be not harmed, her heart may fail her” (Stoker 300).

The men in the novel inadvertently put Mina Harker into Dracula’s clutches by refusing to let her participate in the hunt, so once again the men fail to save the woman. Stoker allows Dracula to attack Mina in order to show that all women are at

risk of becoming overly sexual. Mina speaks of her attack by confessing that she felt “bewildered, and, strangely enough, I did not want to hinder him...I felt my strength fading away, and I was in a half-swoon” (Stoker 316-317). Although Mina does not transform into a voluptuous vampire, she confesses that she does not want to hinder Dracula, which is contradictory to an innocent woman’s thoughts. She admits her indecency by censuring herself—repeating over and over how ‘unclean’ she has become. She represents an aspect of Victorian anxiety, which fears that no woman is safe from impurity, for even the novel’s ideal woman is infected.

Stoker must conclusively destroy all of the seductive vampire women to metaphorically illustrate Victorian attitudes toward sexual women. Phyllis A. Roth writes in her article, “Suddenly Sexual Women in Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*” that only relations with vampires are sexualized in the book. For instance, it is only after Lucy becomes a vampire that she is allowed to be voluptuous. The women vampires in *Dracula* are openly erotic and approach their victims boldly. Many women vampires in literature are portrayed as bloodsuckers, rebels, or both, but virtually all of them are characterized by their overt eroticism after the publication of *Dracula*.

### **Conclusion**

*Dracula* symbolizes a danger that haunted fin-de-siècle England. Traditional gender norms upon which the middle-class households were based were collapsing due to the emergence the “New Woman.” However, Carol A. Senf wrote that the over eroticism of the female vampire is no longer frightening because sexuality in women is now an acceptable, even desirable, trait (209). To the contemporary reader, the name *Dracula* may spark the classic image of the 1940’s actor Bela Lugosi playing *Dracula* or of Francis Ford Coppola’s popular film adaptation in the 1990’s, yet what is it about the novel that has made *Dracula* an immortal work of literature?

The novel draws an intriguing picture of Victorian society, while seamlessly entertaining the reader with images of

the undead and uncanny. Stoker went a step further with his Gothic tale by interspersing his critique on Victorian culture within the text. The climaxes in *Dracula* are always as erotic as they are Gothic, yet the novel's soft porn subtext and revolutionary female characters seem to have been accepted with complacency by its Victorian public because it was neatly cloaked by the Gothic tradition. The novel produces powerful and sexually aggressive females in opposition with the pure woman in an attempt to stabilize gendered identity. Like society, the men in the novel are restrictive. Since the men cannot save the women from Dracula's clutches, all of the vampirized women die. Therefore, although the men cannot stop the inevitable alterations in the infected women, they do allow it to spread to other women. In supernatural disguise any topic may walk freely through Victorian London, much like Dracula himself. The Gothic is frequently considered a genre that re-emerges during times of cultural catastrophe and serves to discuss the anxieties of the age by analyzing them in a displaced form.

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### **Parvinderjit Kaur**

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Synuclein and Its Role in  
Parkinson's Disease

### **Biography**

*Parvinder Kaur is originally from Tracy, California. She is currently a junior majoring in Biochemistry with a minor in Humanities. In addition, she has been a member of Sikh Student Association, as well as a member of San Jose State University's Peer Mentor Program. Her graduate school interest is in neurological disorders.*

### **Abstract**

The SNCA gene encodes alpha synuclein, a member of the family that also includes beta synuclein, and gamma synuclein. The protein is small (140 amino acids) and contains an N-terminal a-helical region, a hydrophobic central component and an acidic C-terminal region. Alpha-synuclein behaves like apolipoproteins. In adult mammals, synuclein expression is generally higher in brain regions that are most obviously involved in ongoing experience dependent synaptic modification. Parkinson's disease (PD) affects 5 % of the general population by the age of 85, whereas early-onset disease is infrequent. Pathologically, neuronal loss is observed for the pigmented, dopamine producing neurons of the substantia niagra while Lewy bodies containing aggregated alpha-synuclein

are found in surviving cells of the brainstem. Alpha synuclein has been specifically implicated in Parkinson's disease (PD). Two autosomal dominant mutations have now been identified that segregate with familial Parkinsons Disease – A53T, and A30P substitutions. Subsequently, it was discovered that genomic duplications and triplications at the SNCA locus can also cause autosomal dominant, early onset PD.

### **Introduction**

Parkinson's disease (PD), which was first described by James Parkinson in 1817, is the second most-prevalent neurodegenerative disorder in the Western world (1). It is characterized by depigmentation of the substantia nigra (SN), which is caused by the selective and progressive loss of dopaminergic (DA) neurons and also by the presence of intraneuronal proteinaceous inclusions known as Lewy bodies (LBs) within the surviving neurons of the SN and other brain regions. These inclusions are enriched in filamentous  $\alpha$ -synuclein and other proteins that are often highly ubiquitinated (See Figure 1). The clinical manifestations of PD include slowness of movement (bradykinesia), muscular rigidity, resting tremor and postural instability. Symptoms can be at least partially alleviated by the administration of an exogenous dopamine precursor L-3,4-dihydroxyphenylalanine (L-dopa).

The percentage of affected individuals within a population rises from 1% at 65 years to 5% at 85 years, making age the main risk factor for PD. The majority of cases are thought to be idiopathic. However, in 5–10% of cases, PD is thought to have a genetic component, showing both recessive and dominant modes of inheritance. Until the recent advances in the identification of some of the genes that underlie rare familial forms of the disease, little was known about the molecular pathogenesis of PD.

### ***Synuclein Structure***

The SNCA gene encodes  $\alpha$ -synuclein, a member of the family that also includes  $\beta$ -synuclein, and  $\gamma$ -synuclein (1). The protein is small (140 amino acids) and contains an N-terminal  $\alpha$ -

helical region, a hydrophobic central component and an acidic C-terminal region (2). A defining feature shared by all synucleins is the presence of a loosely repeated motif throughout the first 93 residues, causing a variation in hydrophobicity with a strictly conserved periodicity of 11 (3). Synuclein proteins are heat-stable and relatively soluble, and lack any currently defined sequences for intracellular targeting, despite their enrichment in presynaptic terminals. Synucleins also have a high degree of specific sequence conservation. Rat and mouse alpha synuclein are identical throughout the 93 residue helical domain, and human and canary proteins differ from them by only two residues; particularly notable is the universal conservation of tyrosine at position 39 in all three synucleins. Synucleins interact specifically with other proteins, perhaps via distinct domains, both along the amphipathic helices and in the strongly acidic C terminus (4). It has been shown that alpha synuclein forms a complex with factors Elk-1 possibly by binding ERK-2. This complex of alpha synuclein with ELK-1 and ERK 2 is believed to have an effect on the MAP kinase pathway (5). Additionally it has been shown that synuclein may also complex with Nurr1 (6).

Synuclein is enriched at presynaptic terminals, and in the adult human brain, it is expressed in deeper layers of the cerebral neocortex, the hippocampus (CA2 and CA3 regions) and the substantia nigra (1). In adult mammals, synuclein expression is generally higher in brain regions that are most obviously involved in ongoing experience dependent synaptic modification (3). Alpha synuclein has been specifically implicated in Parkinson's disease (PD). Three autosomal dominant mutations have now been identified that segregate with familial PD – A53T, A30P and E46K substitutions (7). Genomic duplications and triplications at the SNCA locus can also cause autosomal dominant, early onset PD (8).

### ***Alpha synuclein vs. Beta synuclein***

The alpha gene sequence is distinguishable from the beta gene in subtle respects. The alpha, uniquely, has a histidine at residue 50 (beta has a unique histidine at 65). The alpha and beta

proteins share a conserved C terminus with three identically placed tyrosine residues. The alpha contains 11 residues that are specifically absent in beta (positions 73–83); nevertheless, a uniquely long stretch of uncharged residues is maintained in both proteins (62–79 in alpha and 66–84 in beta) (7). This region of increased hydrophobicity and relative divergence in alpha synuclein lies at the heart of the ‘NAC’ domain (residues 61–95) purified from AD amyloid. Beta synuclein is almost a carbon copy of alpha synuclein. Beta synuclein was first identified as a brainspecific protein in bovine and rat, later it was shown to be a phosphoprotein, and has recently been detected at low levels in tissues other than brain (3). The alpha and beta proteins are extremely similar. Thus, as a first approximation, where one protein is (alpha or beta), the other is likely to be but recently it has been shown that alpha can also occur without the presence of beta (1).

### ***Apolipoprotein-like Structure***

A conserved periodicity of 11 in a synuclein is characteristic of the amphipathic helices of apolipoproteins, and if a helical secondary structure is assumed for this domain in synuclein, a well-ordered amphipathic arrangement of amino acids emerges. Apolipoproteins are lipid-binding proteins which are the constituents of the plasma lipoproteins, sub-microscopic spherical particles that transport dietary lipids through the bloodstream from the intestine to the liver, and endogenously synthesized lipids from the liver to tissues that can store and metabolize them. Secondary structure rules developed from study of repeats in the apolipoproteins predict four consecutive class A2 helices in synuclein. A hallmark of the class A2 helix is the presence of paired lysines on each side of the helix at the polar–apolar interface, and these are conspicuous and conserved in all the synucleins. The class A2 helix mediates exchangeable lipid binding in apolipoproteins and probably also in synucleins, which have been shown now to bind synthetic vesicles containing acidic phospholipids. This lipid binding is accompanied by an increase in  $\alpha$ -helix content from 3% to approximately 80%. The stabilization

of  $\alpha$ -helix structure upon lipid binding helps to reconcile the extreme degree of sequence conservation with the initial finding of a random structure in solution. An apolipoprotein-like, exchangeable interaction with lipids may also account for the early identification of synucleins as synaptic vesicle associated proteins despite the equivocal evidence for membrane association from subsequent electron microscopic localization and subcellular fractionation studies.

Relative to apolipoproteins, synucleins are unusual in their high degree of specific sequence conservation. Rat and mouse  $\alpha$ -synuclein are identical throughout the 93 residue helical domain, and human and canary proteins differ from them by only two residues; particularly notable is the universal conservation of tyrosine at position 39 in all three synucleins. This suggests evolutionary constraints that extend beyond the ability simply to bind lipids, an ability that is maintained in apolipoproteins with much less restriction on the specific identity of particular residues. It is likely that synucleins also interact specifically with other proteins or hormonal factors, perhaps via distinct domains, both along the amphipathic helices and in the strongly acidic C terminus.

### ***Normal function of synuclein***

The normal function of  $\alpha$ -synuclein is not well understood but it is implicated in the regulation of vesicle dynamics at the presynaptic membrane, and is important in learning and neuronal plasticity (9). Transgenic animal models that lack  $\alpha$ -synuclein have been generated to gain insights into the normal function of the protein in vivo. In most cases, these knockout animals lack an overt neurological phenotype, possibly owing to redundancy between the synucleins. However, subtle phenotypes have been reported (10). In particular,  $\alpha$ -synuclein knockout mice have synaptic deficits and, in antisense-treated hippocampal cultures, there is a reduction in the expression of synapse-associated proteins and number of vesicles in the presynaptic reserve pool.

Although in the brain  $\alpha$ -synuclein seems predominantly cytoplasmic, it also associates with native membranes and

phospholipid vesicles in vitro (11). Binding to lipids is mediated by the highly conserved amphipathic N-terminal region, which, upon binding, folds into two approximately equally long  $\alpha$ -helices (4). Much work has been done to examine the binding preferences of  $\alpha$ -synuclein to establish its precise function (e.g. facilitate localization to synaptic lipid rafts). The function of  $\alpha$ -synuclein–lipid binding in the brain is unclear, but might be connected with lipid-mediated signaling, trafficking and metabolism.  $\alpha$ -Synuclein also regulates lipid uptake; indeed, SNCA knockout mice have decreased fatty acid assimilation and incorporation into brain lipids (12). This function in lipid metabolism seems to extend to mitochondria; a significant disruption to normal mitochondrial membrane phospholipid composition, most notably a reduction in cardiolipin, was found in SNCA knockout mice together with impairment of complex II and complex III respiratory chain activity. However,  $\alpha$ -synuclein does not localize to mitochondrial membranes and is more likely to function in the trafficking or uptake of precursor lipids.

A novel physiological role for  $\alpha$ -synuclein in protecting nerve terminals from injury has been recently demonstrated; cysteine string protein (CSP $\alpha$ ) is a synaptic-vesicle protein with homology to Hsp40-type co-chaperones (13). CSP $\alpha$  seems crucial for the long-term integrity of the synapse and for the maintenance of normal levels of soluble NSF attachment receptor (SNARE)-protein complexes at nerve terminals. Presynaptic SNARE complexes are responsible for mediating the docking, fusion and recycling of presynaptic vesicles. The effect of  $\alpha$ -synuclein was not mediated through direct interaction with CSP $\alpha$  or SNARE components, but somehow restored reduced levels of other co-chaperones.

The functions of the synucleins are not well understood.  $\alpha$ -Synuclein binds to lipid membranes, forming an amphipathic helix. Given the location of a pool of  $\alpha$ -synuclein at synaptic membranes, there may be a synaptic role for the protein. In support of this idea,  $\alpha$ -synuclein knockout mice have synaptic deficits (3). An early report suggested a loss of dopamine release in the striatum, whereas a more recent study showed a decrease in paired-pulse

facilitation in the hippocampus. This may correlate with a loss of synaptic markers in antisense-treated hippocampal cultures. Taken together, these observations suggest that  $\alpha$ -synuclein plays a role in regulating the reserve pool of synaptic vesicles in brain. Possibly related to lipid binding,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  synucleins also inhibit phospholipase D2 at physiological concentrations. However, knockout animals show no PD-like symptoms, suggesting that loss of protein function does not cause disease.

The first  $\alpha$ -synuclein mutation that was discovered is an A53T point substitution. An unusual aspect of the mutation is that the amino acid is already a threonine in rodents and other species. Subsequently, three additional mutations have been found: A30P in German kindred, and a triplication of the wild-type gene in a large family from Iowa. Pathology from three of these kindreds is available and shows  $\alpha$ -synuclein-positive Lewy bodies in the brainstem as well as nigral cell loss. However,  $\alpha$ -synuclein pathology is not limited to the nigra in many of these cases.

### ***Pathological role of $\alpha$ -synuclein: aggregation in Parkinson's Disease***

Pathologically, neuronal loss is observed for the pigmented, dopamine-producing neurons of the substantia nigra whilst Lewy bodies containing aggregated  $\alpha$ -synuclein are found in surviving cells of the brainstem. Parkinson's disease (PD) is a neurodegenerative disease that is both common and incurable. The majority of cases are sporadic and of unknown origin but  $\alpha$ -synuclein, when mutated, gives rise to rare, familial forms of the disease. Recent histological studies indicate that  $\alpha$ -synuclein is present at very high levels in Lewy bodies, the intracellular inclusions that are a hallmark of both PD and dementia with Lewy bodies (DLB), and are also frequently observed in AD (3).

Mice and rat studies have shown the clear association of mutant and wild-type  $\alpha$ -synuclein with PD. Wild-type overexpression recapitulates many of the features of PD including mislocalization of  $\alpha$ -synuclein from its normal axonal/synaptic location into neuronal cell bodies, non-fibrillar and detergent-insoluble accumulation of  $\alpha$ -synuclein, reduced dopaminergic

(tyrosine hydroxylase positive) nerve terminals in the striatum and motor abnormalities (3,10). Human A30P mutant alpha-synuclein mice also display mislocalization of alpha-synuclein but lack fibrillar inclusions, although detergent insoluble accumulation has been observed in Kahle's model. In addition gliosis, progressive motor abnormalities, altered short-term hippocampal synaptic plasticity, increase tau phosphorylation at Ser 396/404 and Ser 202 and motor dysfunction have all been described (3).

Relative to the normal human gene, the PD-linked allele encodes a single substitution, at residue 53 (Thr instead of Ala). Interestingly, residue 53 is one of the few sites in the protein where species divergence is apparent, and Thr is normally found at this position in the alpha protein in other species. The human A53T alpha-synuclein mutation appears to have the most toxic effects when expressed in mice (10). As well as mislocalization of alpha-synuclein and severe progressive motor abnormalities, A53T expression leads to pathological non-fibrillar and fibrillar accumulations of alpha-synuclein and ubiquitin (3).

A-synuclein is one of several proteins associated with neurodegenerative diseases that have a high propensity to aggregate, beta pleated sheet-like bonding stabilizes the aggregated forms. This contrasts with the unstructured protein in solution or folding when bound to lipid, earning a-synuclein the title of "a protein chameleon". A central hydrophobic region of a-synuclein, near the repeats, tends to self-associate, contributing to aggregation (7). This region is not shared with b-synuclein, and consequently these homologues vary radically in their propensity to aggregate. In fact, b-synuclein can prevent a synuclein aggregation in vivo and in vitro. The C-terminal acidic tail of a synuclein inhibits aggregation and, hence, truncated forms are more prone to aggregate. This ability of wild-type a-synuclein to aggregate presumably explains its presence in the several sporadic synucleinopathies.

The end product of a-synuclein aggregation is the formation of heavily insoluble polymers of protein known as fibrils (See Figure 2) (3). It is thought that fibrillar a-synuclein is the building block of Lewy bodies. The most direct evidence for this is

immunogold labeling showing that  $\alpha$ -synuclein is present at sites along fibrils isolated from Lewy bodies. Lewy bodies contain many proteins other than  $\alpha$ -synuclein, including neurofilaments and other cytoskeletal proteins, suggesting there are coprecipitants that might be important in aggregation. However, fibrils can be formed *in vitro* from  $\alpha$ -synuclein alone, suggesting that this protein is sufficient to form inclusions.  $\alpha$ -Synuclein is also the most sensitive marker for Lewy bodies, implying that it is necessary for Lewy body formation.

Although the A53T mutation promotes the formation of such fibrillar species, A30P does not. In fact, A30P slows the rate of fibril accumulation but strongly promotes the formation of oligomeric species (7). No studies on the E46K mutation have been performed to date, but the pathology in these cases suggests the mutation would have an effect on fibril formation. Because aggregation is a concentration- and nucleation-dependent process, the Iowan triplication is predicted to promote accumulation of oligomers and fibrils. It has been recently shown that oligomeric  $\alpha$ -synuclein is deposited in detergent-insoluble fractions from brains of patients with the triplication mutation. Figure 1 shows an outline of the  $\alpha$ -synuclein aggregation pathway, with an emphasis on the effects of different mutations.

The fact that all mutations promote the formation of oligomeric rather than fibrillar species has led some to suggest that oligomers, not fibrils, are toxic. Oligomers, also referred to as protofibrils, can form annular structures that may have pore-like properties and might damage membranes. Recently, annular  $\alpha$ -synuclein oligomers have been isolated from human brain samples. There is some additional evidence to support the idea that oligomers are the toxic species for  $\alpha$ -synuclein. In most cell culture models, toxicity is seen without heavily aggregated  $\alpha$ -synuclein, and it has been suggested that soluble species mediate toxicity.  $\alpha$ -Synuclein aggregation and deposition into insoluble fractions occurs later than cell death *in vitro*. Conversely, Lewy body formation involves deposits of fibrillar  $\alpha$ -synuclein into very insoluble fractions. Therefore,  $\alpha$ -synuclein aggregation is the key

step that drives both pathology and cellular damage, but these two outcomes can be dissociated from each other.

Common effects between mutations, such as the formation of oligomers, are important to note, as they are more likely to be related to the pathogenic mechanism than differential effects (3). However, this is true only if both mutations are unambiguously causal. The A30P family is relatively small, leading to concerns about whether the mutation is truly causal, although the mutation does segregate with disease with a reasonably high penetrance. A second difficulty is the lack of autopsy studies. Positron emission tomography data show presynaptic nigral cell loss, and the clinical phenotype is reported to be “to that of sporadic” PD (9). However, as PD is defined primarily by pathology, the diagnostic accuracy is unclear. If oligomeric species mediate toxicity to neurons and A30P promotes only oligomer formation, and if Lewy bodies are a consequence of the formation of fibrillar species, then one might predict that the A30P family would have much fewer Lewy bodies than the other mutations and might be defined as parkinsonism not PD. However, assuming that the A30P mutation is causal, then all of the  $\alpha$ -synuclein mutations share the same causal agent and so have the same etiology. It is clear from the above discussion that protein aggregation is important in the disease, and hence it is critical to elucidate both genetic and nongenetic factors that increase this aggregation. Promoter alleles that increase expression of  $\alpha$ -synuclein, therefore increasing protein concentration, are associated with sporadic PD. Metals, pesticides, and oxidizing conditions all promote  $\alpha$ -synuclein aggregation, suggesting a reason why these appear to play a role in sporadic PD. Synuclein also undergoes a number of posttranslational modifications, some of which enhance aggregation (7). The phosphorylated form of  $\alpha$ -synuclein is found in Lewy bodies. However, given that  $\alpha$ -synuclein is basally phosphorylated, whether phosphorylation precedes aggregation and/or deposition is unclear. Tyrosine nitration and methionine oxidation also occur, although again whether nitration or oxidation is required for  $\alpha$ -synuclein toxicity has not been directly tested. Finally, cleavage of  $\alpha$ -synuclein is also associated with deposition. Because the C-terminal region of the

protein prevents aggregation, removal is predicted to promote aggregation. Although  $\alpha$ -synuclein is expressed in many tissues, symptoms are restricted to particular neuronal cells. Part of the reason is that aggregation does not occur equally in all tissues (3). For example,  $\alpha$ -synuclein is not as heavily aggregated in blood samples as in the brain from patients with the triplication mutation.

Why is the brain vulnerable to these processes when other tissues also express the same protein? There are likely to be several contributing factors (7). Expression of  $\alpha$ -synuclein is high in the brain compared to other tissue. Brain also has a high concentration of macromolecules, which may promote aggregation by molecular crowding. The brain may have a higher oxidative stress level than other tissues. Some neuronal groups may be highly vulnerable because catechols, including dopamine, can stabilize oligomeric intermediates of aggregation. Conversely, inhibition of dopamine synthesis ameliorates  $\alpha$ -synuclein toxicity. These observations reinforce the idea that oligomeric  $\alpha$ -synuclein species are toxic.

One aspect that deserves special discussion is the potential role of lipids. As stated above,  $\alpha$ -synuclein adopts a helical conformation when bound to lipid membranes (3). This is a fairly stable conformation, which would inhibit conversion of protein into fibrillar forms. However, lipids can also promote  $\alpha$ -synuclein aggregation, especially forming oligomeric species. If oligomers were the toxic species, then lipids would promote  $\alpha$ -synuclein toxicity. The A30P mutation, but not A53T, decreases  $\alpha$ -synuclein's affinity for artificial lipid membranes and promotes its cytosolic accumulation in yeast. This discussion suggests that  $\alpha$ -synuclein is the causative agent in PD.

### **Conclusion**

The data amassed show clearly that  $\alpha$ -synuclein is a factor in Parkinson's disease. Many experiments share the assumption that  $\alpha$ -synuclein is directly neurotoxic under certain conditions, either in a monomeric or aggregated form (9). The supposition underlying this broad category of hypotheses is that  $\alpha$ -synuclein induces a toxic gain of function. Numerous mechanisms of toxicity have been proposed. Evidence that  $\alpha$ -synuclein, and the known

mutations can function as nucleation sites and promote aggregation under certain conditions has led some researchers to propose that various forms of aggregated  $\alpha$ -synuclein are cytotoxic. Modifications of  $\alpha$ -synuclein, through exposure to metals, dopamine metabolites, oxidative stress, exogenous toxins, and mitochondrial insufficiency, have been proposed to transform  $\alpha$ -synuclein into neurotoxic species. Covalent bonds forming homopolymers or heteropolymers of  $\alpha$ -synuclein can be induced by nitration, leading to proposals that these bonds underlie the insolubility of inclusions such as Lewy bodies.

The discovery that  $\alpha$ -synuclein binds to lipids opened new lines of investigation (3). Specific classes of lipids induce  $\alpha$ -synuclein oligomerization upon binding, and in some circumstances can disrupt membrane bilayers. Small oligomers termed protofibrils are capable of penetrating membranes and forming porelike channels, which are proposed to be the neurotoxic species through a mechanism of abnormally increasing membrane permeability. The investigators note that protofibrils precede the formation of fibrils and suggest that fibrillation is cytoprotective. Similar arguments have been made that aggregates such as Lewy bodies are formed as a compensatory attempt to sequester neurotoxic molecules.

Impairment of  $\alpha$ -synuclein degradation has been proposed as a mechanism for elevation of cellular concentrations of  $\alpha$ -synuclein, aggregate formation and neurotoxicity (14). The proteasome appears to be the major organelle responsible for physiological degradation of  $\alpha$ -synuclein. Degradation of mutant  $\alpha$ -synuclein is less efficient than that of WT. Other modifications of  $\alpha$ -synuclein may impair proteasome degradation as well. Ubiquitin is a common component of large aggregates containing  $\alpha$ -synuclein and other proteins, suggesting an unsuccessful attempt of degradation by proteasome.

By contrast, other lines of evidence suggest that  $\alpha$ -synuclein-related neurotoxicity arises from a loss of function (3). While  $\alpha$ -synuclein catabolism has been studied fairly extensively, very few studies have addressed  $\alpha$ -synuclein synthesis directly. In some studies, there is evidence to suggest that both mRNA and protein

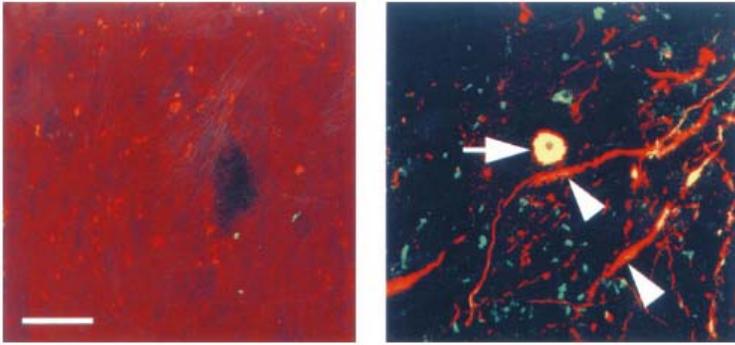
from the mutant allele are down-regulated. Conversely, a-synuclein triplication in a PD family is the rare case in which a-synuclein up-regulation has been found in the synucleopathies.

Alpha-synuclein was discovered to be an inhibitor of tyrosine hydroxylase (9). Lowering the concentration of free cellular a-synuclein was demonstrated to increase tyrosine hydroxylase activity and increase dopamine synthesis. Based upon this data, a-synuclein was proposed to function physiologically as a negative regulator of dopamine synthesis. The sequestration of a-synuclein into Lewy bodies could lower the concentration of available protein. The subsequent increase in tyrosine hydroxylase activity leading to increased dopamine levels has been predicted to contribute to neurotoxicity. Alpha synuclein is definitely a key factor in neurological disorders such as Parkinson's disease and needs further attention so therapeutic remedies to such disorders can be discovered.

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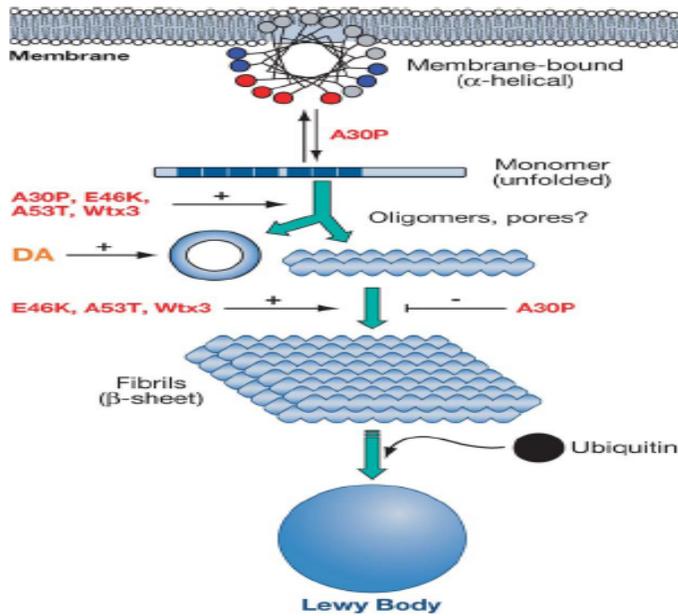
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**Figure 1 (14)**

Immunocytochemical detection of synuclein in normal and PD brain. Shown are thin optical sections (confocal microscopy) of substantia nigra immunostained for synuclein (red) and ubiquitin (green; double labeling in yellow). Normal nigra (left) demonstrates pericellular neuropil synuclein immunoreactivity. PD nigra (right) demonstrates a double staining Lewy body (arrow) as well as synuclein immunoreactive dystrophic neurites (arrowheads) which are occasionally ubiquitinated. Scale bar, 25mm.



**Figure 2 (7)**

The pathogenic cascade of  $\alpha$ -synuclein aggregation.  $\alpha$ -Synuclein exists in solution as an unstructured monomer, shown as a linear structure, similar to Figure 1. Inside the cell, the monomer is in equilibrium with membrane-associated forms with higher helical content, shown schematically as an amphipathic helix. In the helix, blue and red circles indicate charged residues, gray circles are nonpolar and hydrophobic amino acids. The A30P mutation disfavors membrane binding. The green arrows indicate the pathogenic formation of aggregated species. All mutations reported to date increase the rate of formation of oligomers or protofibrils, which may also produce pores. Oligomers and other intermediates are kinetically stabilized by dopamine (DA). However, these are transient species that further aggregate to form mature fibrils, which are stabilized by  $\beta$ -sheet-like interactions and are highly insoluble. The formation of Lewy bodies is presumed to be a consequence of fibrillization. Events such as the attachment of ubiquitin (*black dot* in the figure) are thought to be secondary to the initial aggregation and deposition processes.



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The Possibility of Moral  
Values Outside an  
Interpersonal Context:  
A Problem in Scheler's  
Phenomenological Ethics

**Biography**

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## Abstract

I dispute Scheler's idea that moral value is inevitably a by-product of willing non-moral ends. The first part of the paper aims at providing a brief overview of Scheler's phenomenological ethics. I then evaluate two opposing arguments for whether moral values surface in willing the realization of non-moral values. I argue that the picture of moral interaction captured in Scheler's valuation is too simplistic. Moral values become extant only within the interaction of persons in which my actions either directly or proximately affect another. To capture this reality more accurately, I argue for the use of the term "interpersonal transactional categoriality" rather than "intersubjective," as used by Phillip Blosser.

### ***The Possibility of Moral Values Outside an Interpersonal Context:***

#### **A Problem in Scheler's Phenomenological Ethics**

Within the history of moral philosophy—a history full of twists and turns in a great river of ideas—Max Scheler and his phenomenological approach to ethics arguably takes a significant and unique place. It is significant because Scheler's *magnum opus*, *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values*, contains perhaps one of the most voluminous critiques of Immanuel Kant's ethics, a noteworthy feat considering the enduring influence of Kantian moral philosophy. It is unique because it is phenomenological in its approach, an approach which has never been matched in its thoroughness within the phenomenological movement. One aspect of Scheler's ethics that sets it apart from other systems is its explanation of the origin of moral values.

For Scheler, moral value is necessarily generated as a by-product of realizing non-moral values. A preliminary example of Scheler's valuation is an artist who is deliberately attempting to create a beautiful painting. Scheler would say that this artist, in attempting to realize a positive goal, or, more specifically, a

positive *aesthetic* goal embodied in his creative work, realizes a moral good as a by-product. Thus, along with the positive non-moral *aesthetic* value realized by the attempt to paint a work of art, a positive moral value is co-realized i.e. the moral value 'good'. I want to argue that this is not necessarily the case. It seems *prima facie* specious to assert that every act which seeks to realize a positive or negative *nonmoral* value necessarily brings about the existence of a moral good (or evil).

This paper will undertake three tasks. First, I will provide an introduction to Scheler's phenomenological approach to ethics that will serve to buttress our understanding of his system. Secondly, I will examine two arguments for and against Scheler's assertion as to the relationship between moral and non-moral values. Lastly, I will critically evaluate the contemporary dialogue and argue that not all acts seeking to realize a non-moral value necessarily generate a moral value.

### ***I. Scheler's A Priori Nonformal Ethics***

The distinctiveness of Scheler's ethics is such that some preliminary remarks are needed. Thus, it would behoove us to consider first what inspired Scheler to formulate his ethical program as he did. The title of his main work, *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values*, reveals what aspects of moral philosophy he intends to tackle. But what is formalism, and what does it mean to have a formal ethics as opposed to a non-formal one? Within the field of ethics, a typical definition of formalism is that moral rightness or wrongness is contingent upon the kind of action i.e. the "form" of the action performed. Conversely, a nonformal ethics sees the rightness or wrongness of moral agency as dependent on the consequences of a particular action. Given the title of his main work, one would think that Scheler holds to one of these views. However, if one attempts to seek Scheler's position within the conventional definitions of either, it becomes clear that he holds to neither.

To understand why this is so, one must understand Scheler's reaction to Kant's formalist ethics. Kant's governing ethical principal was his categorical imperative, which mandated

that all our moral acts must conform to the formal principle of *universalizability*. This principle ignores any other ends which a particular act may attempt to achieve and instead focuses on the action performed itself, obliging that one must act only if one is rationally and freely willing to make that particular act a universal moral law. Thus, one does his moral duty not because of some moral good (e.g.  $x$  number of homeless children that will be fed tonight) that might occur, but because the duty is good in and of itself as a universal principle. For Kant, the moral imperative of charitable giving should always be an obligation unmodified by changing factors such as the number of children being fed. Referring to Kant, Philip Blosser notes in his book *Scheler's Critique of Kant's Ethics*, "The basis of moral action cannot be anything so capricious and fleshy as experience, but *must reside in the a priori judgments of pure practical reason.*"<sup>38</sup> Kant associates the *a priori* with the faculty of reason, assuming that it is the only way to achieve the stability of the *a priori*, and thus more suitable as a foundation for ethics.<sup>39</sup>

Scheler's disagreement with Kant is grounded in the fact that he does not commit what he believes is an assumption on Kant's part by identifying the *a priori* with the formal and the *a posteriori* with the nonformal.<sup>40</sup> Still, Scheler does not disagree with Kant concerning the necessity of grounding ethics in the unempirical *a priori*.<sup>41</sup> Both philosophers agree that a morality that determines good and evil by referring to empirical ends is basically inadequate due to its tendency to relativize moral values. Their point of departure is that Scheler simply asks the question: is it possible that the *a priori* can have a nonformal basis? In other words, he asserts that the traditional tendency to prefer an *a priori*-formal ethics over an *a posteriori*-nonformal one poses a false

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<sup>38</sup> Philip E. Blosser, *Scheler's Critique of Kant's Ethics*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995), p. 28. Emphasis mine.

<sup>39</sup> The identification of the 'a priori' and 'rational' is, of course, not exclusive to Kant.

<sup>40</sup> Max Scheler, *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values*, trans. Manfred S. Frings and Roger L. Funk (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. 53-54.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

dilemma—we do not need to choose either. For Scheler, there is a great possibility for an *a priori*-nonformal ethics.

As Blosser notes, Scheler “holds out” for a material teleological ethics.<sup>42</sup> Scheler despises ethics based on *empirical* ends (the conventional understanding of nonformal ethics), but he believes that there is a possibility of an ends-based ethics that is not dependent on empirical ends, but on *a priori* values.

Contemporary talk of values (in non-philosophical circles) is almost always understood as talk of *moral* values, which tends to muddle philosophical discussion of values in general. One must, in fact, consult Scheler’s understanding of *nonmoral* values to understand his ethics, as the two are intertwined. For Scheler, nonmoral values, by themselves, do not have an existence in the same way that objects in the real world do, nor do they exist in some transcendent world of values resembling Plato’s Forms. Though having no existence apart from their particular instantiations in objects within the real world, Scheler nonetheless posits that values are autonomous from their real world bearers.<sup>43</sup> Scheler uses the analogy of the color spectrum: colors have no existence but in that which instantiates them, but nonetheless are able to be thought of apart from any one thing that instantiates them.<sup>44</sup> In other words, one can conceive of the color ‘red’ without necessarily associating it with a red apple, fire truck, lipstick, etc. In the same way, the *aesthetic* value of a beautiful painting *as a value* is independent of it: we can speak easily about other beautiful things, sights, or persons. Besides, while the painting could be destroyed, the *aesthetic* value of the beautiful remains unharmed. Hence, values are autonomous and independent of their particular bearers.

Speaking of values also leads us to see that they can be experienced as being positive or negative.<sup>45</sup> The truth of this dichotomy, however, is independent of our ability to feel the

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<sup>42</sup> Scheler’s Critique of Kant’s Ethics, p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> Manfred S. Frings, The Mind of Max Scheler, (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2001), p. 23-25.

<sup>44</sup> Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values, p. 12-13.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81-82.

positive/negative polarities in particular instantiations of values in their bearers, but instead lies in the phenomenological intuition of value essences. In other words, it is independent in the sense that one can phenomenologically see that a polarity exists among the different spheres of values (aesthetic, intellectual, ethical, etc.) without having to feel particular instances of, say, the aesthetic value found in a sculpture.<sup>46</sup> One can see that there are positive/negative aesthetic values apart from specifying particular instances of positive values such as symmetry or proportion, or negative values such as asymmetry or disharmony in a particular sculpture. This idea is critical to Scheler's understanding of moral value, as we shall see below.

Nonmoral values are not only autonomous, they are stratified in an objective hierarchy. The order is not discerned through an act of deduction and rational judgment (though Scheler does not exclude that possibility), but is instead intuitively given phenomenologically.<sup>47</sup> Values range from the sensually pleasurable/painful (at the lower end) to 'life' values (which have cultural implications), 'spiritual' values (concerning aesthetic, juridical, and intellectual values), and religious values (which constitutes the highest rank). This order of rank is, furthermore, given to us in phenomenological reflection and is based on criteria such as duration, complexity, and their ability to satisfy the individual.<sup>48</sup>

Since this objective hierarchical order of values is given to us *a priori* through phenomenological intuition, Scheler reasons that it can provide a stable foundation for ethics. This ethics is nonformal and teleological without devolving into the consequentialism that he and Kant rejected, and is grounded at the same time in the *a priori* without necessarily being characterized as formalism. Thus, this hierarchy of *nonmoral* values provides Scheler with the possibility of objectively defining the *moral*

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<sup>46</sup> I am indebted to Philip E. Blosser for making this distinction through personal communication.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105-110.

<sup>48</sup> Manfred S. Frings, *The Mind of Max Scheler*, (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2001), p. 31-34.

values of good and evil without recourse to a formalism such as Kant's.

For Scheler, moral good and evil is co-realized through the act of realizing nonmoral values according to their place in the hierarchy and their positive or negative realizations. In other words, the moral value of "good" is generated *through* and *with* an act of realizing<sup>49</sup> nonmoral values that are higher in the value hierarchy and/or positive in character. This also means that moral "good" cannot simply be an object to be realized by itself since it only appears as a by-product of realizing *nonmoral* positive values.<sup>50</sup>

Scheler's definition can perhaps be clarified by a practical example. As an undergraduate student, my choice of how to spend my limited finances would, for Scheler, be a moral decision. My choice of spending the thousand dollars in my bank account to pay for my tuition and textbooks over a decision to spend it on leisurely activities is a morally good choice. In preferring to sacrifice fleeting pleasures (which for Scheler constitute the lowest rung in his hierarchy) in order to realize the higher value of education through the act of paying for tuition, a moral good is generated as a by-product of my attempt to pay for tuition. Now imagine that the website that offers the online payment option crashes at the same time that it is processing my payment. According to Scheler, the moral value of "good" is nonetheless generated and attaches to my being as a person despite the failure of the act of payment. In other words, my personal act of willing the realization of a higher positive nonmoral (intellectual) value over an act of willing a lower positive nonmoral (pleasure) value generates, as a by-product, the moral value of "good."

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<sup>49</sup> This act of realizing is a willing or desiring for the bearer of the nonmoral value to be realized, and to be distinguished from the actual success of bringing about the bearer of nonmoral value. In other words, moral value is realized whether one is actually successful in realizing the nonmoral value. This further distinguishes Scheler from being a consequentialist. Philip E. Blosser, Scheler's Critique of Kant's Ethics, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995), p. 66-67.

<sup>50</sup> Max Scheler, Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values, trans. Manfred S. Frings and Roger L. Funk (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. 27.

Scheler's account of moral values implies that moral values do not occupy a sphere of values in the same way that the values in his hierarchy do. Indeed, it should be noted that for Scheler, the only moral values that can be realized are those of "good" or "evil". "Moral values" will not be found alongside "aesthetic values," "religious values," "cultural values," "juridical values", etc. They do not occupy a sphere of value at all. This is because, as Scheler says: "[Moral] value appears *on* the act of willing. It is for this reason that it can *never* be the content of an act of willing. It is located, so to speak, on the back of this act..."<sup>51</sup> The *only* time that the moral values of 'good' and 'evil' appear is "on the back" of our willing attempts at realizing *nonmoral* values such as aesthetic, religious, cultural, etc. values. Moral values are thus radically dependent on particular realizations of nonmoral values. This radical dependence is exactly what is disputed in this paper.

## ***II. A Critique and Defense of Scheler's Distinction***

This is not the first time that Scheler's distinction between moral and nonmoral values has been criticized. Philip Blosser first points out the glaring problem with this distinction in his paper, "Moral and Nonmoral Values: A Problem in Scheler's Ethics": "The problem...consists in the obvious fact that one can identify numerous nonmoral values whose 'realization' one would hesitate to call *morally* 'good' or 'evil.'"<sup>52</sup> There are many instances in which the realization of a nonmoral value does have moral impact, as in my above example of paying for my tuition; if I fail to use the money for tuition and earn a college degree, this could adversely affect the well-being of my family to which I am morally obliged to care for. But, as Blosser asks, do we wish to say that every realization of a nonmoral value inescapably generates a moral value? It seems obvious that we cannot. We can think of instances in which realizing nonmoral *academic* values would have no moral

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Philip E. Blosser, "Moral and Nonmoral Values: A Problem in Scheler's Ethics," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 48, no. 1 (Sept. 1987): 139-43, at 141. See also, Philip E. Blosser, *Scheler's Critique of Kant's Ethics*, (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995), p. 85.

impact whatsoever, such as when a student ‘kills time’ by working on algebra problems or logic puzzles.<sup>53</sup> Blosser notes that a student may feel obliged to work out the problems correctly (what he calls a “normative ought”<sup>54</sup>), but this feeling of obligation cannot feasibly be considered a *moral* obligation. Thus, the perception of different value normativities does not always generate moral obligation and, in fact, such nonmoral normativities can be distinguished from moral normativities even where there is moral obligation. The student who takes care in responding to logic problems on his final not only realizes a positive intellectual value in accordance with logical normativity, but fulfils his moral obligation to his family by ensuring he does well enough to earn his college degree.<sup>55</sup> One can distinguish between the logical normativity and the moral normativity in this particular situation, and the ability to do so (according to Blosser) implies that Scheler’s identification of the *moral* with the *normative* is inadequate. Consequently, it is reasonable to consider that there is a sphere of “moral values” alongside the others in Scheler’s hierarchy because the perception of moral obligation would seem to involve moral normativity.<sup>56</sup>

Responding to Blosser’s assertions in *Scheler’s Critique of Kant’s Ethics*, Peter Spader admits that it seems rather obvious that

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<sup>53</sup> The student lacks a moral motive when he ‘kills time’. If the logic problem being worked on were found on a class final that the student needed to pass in order to receive his college degree and thereby assist him in providing for his family, then a moral motive would exist. Blosser’s contention with Scheler is that he has no way of distinguishing between moral and nonmoral motives.

<sup>54</sup> Blosser broadens the scope of the “normative ought.” Scheler considered the “normative ought” as that which supplies *moral* obligation in the act of intuiting value essences. Blosser expands the term to capture not only moral normativities, but all possible value normativities such as mathematical, logical, grammatical, and aesthetic normativities. Philip E. Blosser, “The ‘Cape Horn’ of Scheler’s Ethics,” *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 121-43, at 132.

<sup>55</sup> The moral obligation presumably lies in the fact that a college degree may ensure greater financial assistance. A moral obligation may also exist because the family is financing his education.

<sup>56</sup> Philip E. Blosser, “The ‘Cape Horn’ of Scheler’s Ethics,” *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 121-43, at 134.

aesthetic values are amoral, or at least ‘less moral’ than other nonmoral values such as ‘courage’ or ‘honesty’. He says: “We are much more inclined to morally condemn a person for cowardice or dishonesty and morally praise him or her for courage or honesty than we are to morally condemn for an aesthetically bad painting or morally praise for an aesthetically excellent one.”<sup>57</sup> However obvious it may seem, Spader contends that the above valuation is mistaken and is confused because of the types of bearers that aesthetic values have as opposed to other nonmoral values such as ‘courage’ and ‘honesty’. According to Scheler, aesthetic values are in essence borne by objects,<sup>58</sup> while ‘honesty’ and ‘courage’ are primarily borne by persons or living beings in general.<sup>59</sup> Since moral values are exclusively borne by persons, there is an inclination to believe values such as ‘honesty’ and ‘courage’ are ‘more moral’ than aesthetic values whose bearers are objects. Yet, despite having the same bearers as moral values, the realization of nonmoral values such as ‘honesty’ and ‘courage’ can be readily distinguished from the moral value co-realized. Since aesthetic values are equally distinguishable from the moral value co-realized, Spader argues that nonmoral values such as ‘honesty’ and ‘courage’ (despite their types of bearers) are just as ‘distant’ from moral values as aesthetic values are. In other words, the inclination that we have to classify aesthetic values as ‘less moral’ than ‘courage’ or ‘honesty’ is inaccurate; aesthetic values are *just as capable of being* moral as the values of ‘courage’ and ‘honesty’.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Peter H. Spader, Scheler’s Ethical Personalism: It’s Logic, Development, and Promise, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), p. 284.

<sup>58</sup> Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values, p. 85-86.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86. ‘Honesty’ is a ‘spiritual value’ and ‘courage’ is a ‘vital value’. The former is borne only by persons, while the latter is borne by living beings in general i.e. plants, animals, etc.

<sup>60</sup> Spader states it: “Thus, there is a difference between the aesthetic and the moral, but one must not conflate the vital and the personal in such a way as to claim a greater distance between the aesthetic values and the moral values than between other nonmoral values (for example, the values of honesty and courage) and the moral values.” Peter H. Spader, Scheler’s Ethical Personalism: It’s Logic, Development, and Promise, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), p. 285-6

### ***III. The Existence of Moral Values in an Interpersonal Context***

The implications of Spader's attempted rebuttal is that the artist who sits down and simply sketches a pencil drawing, without moral motive but aiming to exercise his drawing ability according to aesthetic normativity, would still necessarily realize the positive or negative moral value of 'good' or 'evil' according to the aesthetic value of the drawing. Despite how intuitively incorrect this formulation may appear, Spader's defense of Scheler would leave one with no other option because for Scheler, "...the difference we sense between aesthetic values and other types of values does not lie in the moral irrelevance of aesthetic values, but rather in the fact that the aesthetic values are an autonomous realm of values and are realized in a unique type of bearer."<sup>61</sup> So that inclination to simply label aesthetic values as amoral is felt because they are embodied by impersonal objects, and not because in the context of 'killing time' sketching simply appears to be void of moral relevancy.

I question the thoroughness of this argument because I fail to see how, even if one intuitively sees the distinction between the bearers of value, one cannot acknowledge that there are occasions in which one's actions are devoid of moral content. It seems to me that for an individual who may agree with Scheler's distinction of bearers (and for him to intuitively see that there is a difference between values borne by persons and objects), it would still make no difference to Blosser's contention that the realization of nonmoral values does not necessarily generate moral value. In short, I see no contradiction in holding Scheler's distinction of bearers and yet acknowledging situations in which no moral value is generated in the realizing of nonmoral value. This reading of Scheler may be possible, given that the section in which he discusses values and their bearers merely concerns basic kinds of *a*

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

*priori* essential relationships amongst the values in his hierarchy.<sup>62</sup> I invite the reader to see how sound this attempted reconciliation is.

Furthermore, the reason why I am not inclined to agree with Scheler's formulation of how moral values are generated is because moral interaction is much more complex than Scheler or Spader would allow. For an act to be classified as moral, it would have to take place in some sort of interpersonal context in which my actions either directly or proximately affect another person. In this, I agree with Blosser's referencing of Sokolowski's formulation that moral agency comes about when, "an agent is taking the good or bad of another agent as such as his own good or bad in some way or other."<sup>63</sup> To clarify, a person who realizes material values through his own personal acts of willing, must commit this act of willing in the context of an interpersonal relationship where his motive has as its object the good or bad of another person whether directly or indirectly. The artist who sits down and simply sketches for the sake of exercising his drawing ability does so in a context devoid of an interpersonal relationship involving the good or bad of another person, and thus his realization of a positive aesthetic value through his personal act of willing cannot generate a moral value. Conversely, if we were to know the motives of this particular sketch artist, it would condition that act of willing which realizes an aesthetic value; the artist who is sketching a piece of propaganda for an anti-Semitic organization for the purpose of inculcating a hatred for Jews would indubitably be a realization of a moral evil. Whereas the artist who is attempting to sketch something of high aesthetic value for the sake of feeding his growing family—given the moral obligation inherent in such an interpersonal context—would be realizing a moral good.

This formulation resembles Blosser's own amendment to Scheler's ethics which he dubs an "intersubjective transactional categoriality." Blosser suggests, however, that the transactional

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<sup>62</sup> Max Scheler, Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values, trans. Manfred S. Frings and Roger L. Funk (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), p. 81-110.

<sup>63</sup> Robert Sokolowski, Moral Action: A Phenomenological Study, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 156.

context inherent within interpersonal relationships can also occur in a person-to-animal, person-to-environment, or even a person-to-inanimate-object relationship. Hence, he uses the term “intersubjective” instead of “interpersonal” to allow for an analysis of such subject-object relationships.<sup>64</sup> This analysis is indeed a more comprehensive approach in analyzing what is or is not moral action because it gives us the ability to analyze even inanimate objects, such as Blosser’s example of a wedding ring, as an object within a subject-object relationship:

A wedding ring...bears a moral value—not subjectively, but objectively by way of imputation. As a subject, it bears only the physical-chemical values of its composition. But as an object, it bears numerous values (for example, aesthetic, economic, religious, historical)—one of which is the moral value signifying fidelity.<sup>65</sup>

Despite our difference in terminology, I believe that I can essentially accomplish the same thing as Blosser does with his “intersubjective transactional categoriality” in allowing for an analysis of subject-object relationships such as his ‘wedding ring’ example by retaining the term “*interpersonal* transactional categoriality.” As Blosser correctly states, inanimate objects do not bear moral values originally and internally as persons do, but instead bear moral value by way of imputation.<sup>66</sup> However, this imputed moral value—in the case of the wedding ring, the moral value of fidelity—can only exist within the context of an interpersonal relationship. Hence, I believe that it is more appropriate to retain the term *interpersonal* transactional categoriality to prevent potential confusion because it seems to me that such subject-object relationships (such as those between persons and wedding rings) come into being only within an interpersonal context.

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<sup>64</sup> Philip E. Blosser, “The ‘Cape Horn’ of Scheler’s Ethics,” *American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 121-43, see p. 135-43.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

Perhaps an objection can be raised in the case of a person's relationship to animals or the natural environment. Does an interpersonal context exist in such relationships? Blosser would assert that there is no *prima facie* relationship between a person and his natural environment.<sup>67</sup> I would argue that our relationship with nature involves at least a tacit relationship with our fellow man, and that this tacit relationship is enough to qualify personal agency, in this context, as moral agency. If we brazenly decimate whole forests or dispose of toxic chemicals irresponsibly this undoubtedly has an effect on other persons to whom we are morally obliged. To the extent that our intention is to disregard this interpersonal obligation when dealing with the natural environment, then we commit a moral evil.

In our relationship with animals, I agree with Blosser that there is some sort of transactional structure in which I am concerned about the animal's good as my own, but that this also takes place only within an interpersonal context—in this case, one is morally obliged to *oneself* (though not exclusively) to treat animals in a moral manner. It seems to me that subordinating the ethical treatment of animals to a moral obligation to oneself as a person would answer why it is not morally evil to kill an animal for nourishment. We are after all not taking the cow's good or bad as our own when we are eating that juicy steak, but we would be inaccurate in saying that steak-lovers are somehow lacking in moral character. It would be inconsistent with the dignity of one's personhood to treat animals inhumanely and cruelly particularly because of the injurious effects on the character of the perpetrator, but one does not violate the moral obligation to oneself by humanely and responsibly killing animals for the purpose of nourishment. All in all, I think that one must take into account the interpersonal context—the moral obligation to oneself—when dealing with the ethical treatment of animals.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

### Conclusion

Does the amendment of an interpersonal transactional categoriality entail a wholesale revision of Scheler's ethics? I do not think it does. Surely, Blosser's amendments to Scheler's ethics would not have boded well with the philosopher's own writings, but I am not sure that Scheler would have completely rejected such modifications. That is to say, Scheler might have been open to such criticisms. Spader points this out by saying that Scheler, at one point in *Formalism*, makes a distinction between "aesthetic values" and "values that belong to the ethical sphere" though Spader clarifies that Scheler does this prior to fully expounding on the moral values of "good" and "evil".<sup>68</sup>

In the end, Scheler's conception of the relationship between moral and nonmoral values is too strong: Blosser's critique of Scheler's conception seems to cripple the claim that realizations of nonmoral values *necessarily* generate moral values, and it seems safer to hold the modified view that moral values are generated as by-products only when a moral normativity is engaged in addition to nonmoral (such as aesthetic or economic) normativities. As Blosser himself has admitted, this amendment is something that Scheler would not agree to. It seems, however, necessary to prevent Scheler's ethics from being too simplistic and bordering on the absurd.

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<sup>68</sup> Peter H. Spader, Scheler's Ethical Personalism: It's Logic, Development, and Promise, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002), p. 283.



**Christina Riad**

Major: Nursing

Mentor:

**Dr. Colleen O’Leary-  
Kelly**

Factors Contributing to  
Medical Adherence in  
Diabetic Patients

**Biography**

Christina Riad graduated in Dec, 2006 with a Bachelor’s of Science in Nursing, and currently works as a critical care registered nurse at Kaiser Permanente. Christina is also a member of Sigma Theta Tau International honors society of Nursing. Christina is very passionate about improving the quality of life for patients who are chronically ill through research and education. Christina hopes to pursue a PhD in Nursing Science. Outside the academic life, Christina loves to hike and to spend time with family and friends.

**Abstract**

This is a research study designed to explore the motives behind medical adherence and diabetes self management in individuals living with Type I or Type II Diabetes. The sample for this study consisted of 19 individuals with diabetes who were also attendees of a local diabetes support group in San Jose. They participated by filling out a survey form which included demographic, qualitative and quantitative data in regards to their health condition and management. The results demonstrated that clients who had a good relationship and effective communication with their primary care provider were more likely to have a better outlook on their condition and scored more positively on the Likert

scale medical-adherence questionnaire. The implications of these results for future research are discussed.

### **Introduction**

Diabetes Mellitus is a chronic health condition affecting millions of Americans today. There are two different types of diabetes. Type I which is also called Insulin-dependent diabetes. It results from inability of the pancreas to produce insulin. The other kind is type II diabetes also called insulin resistant diabetes, develops due to the inability of the body cells to take up this insulin. According to the Center for Disease Control & Prevention (CDC); "Diabetes now affects nearly 21 million Americans – or 7 percent of the U.S. population, and continues to be the sixth leading cause of death in the United States." Because diabetes is a chronic illness, it requires life-long management, and lifestyle changes. Therefore, compliance is important in the process of adapting to lifestyle changes in individuals with diabetes.

Several previous studies discussed the issue of compliance and non-compliance in relation to healthcare and therapeutic regimens. Compliance is the extent to which a person's behavior (in terms of taking medications, following diets or executing other lifestyle changes) coincides with medical or health advice (Cameron, 1996). On the other hand, non-compliance is when an individual does not follow their recommended medical regimen intentionally or unintentionally.

Since Diabetes is a chronic condition, many emotional, psychological, and psychosocial issues might be involved in living with it. The purpose of this study is to explore the factors that contribute to treatment compliance and sources of motivation in individuals with diabetes. By identifying these factors, appropriate resources and educational materials can be provided to these individuals to help them gain control over their health conditions.

### **Literature Review**

Previous research has examined the issue of diabetes compliance. For example, Cameron (1996) examined factors involved and suggestions for promoting compliance with

therapeutic regimens in general, not specific to any health condition in particular.

Cameron discussed some of the factors that are believed to have an influence on patient compliance. These factors included (a) knowledge and understanding, including communication (b) quality of interaction, including the patient-provider relationship and patient satisfaction (c) social isolation and social support, including the effect of the family of the patient (d) health beliefs and attitudes and health model behaviors, and (e) factors associated with the illness, such as duration and complexity.

Another study was conducted by Coates and Boore (1998) who investigated the influence of health beliefs, perception of control and knowledge about the condition upon the practice and outcome of self-management of insulin-dependent diabetic individuals. This study surveyed 375 individuals with insulin-dependent diabetes who were between the ages of 18-35 and were clients of two large diabetic clinics. Demographics, health beliefs, and knowledge information were included on the survey, while data related to metabolic control were collected from their records at those clinics. The findings of this research study were divided in 3 major categories: health beliefs, perception of control and knowledge.

Most of the participants' health beliefs revealed that the complications of diabetes were severe, and that they were susceptible to developing them. Most of the participants also believed that they had an internal perception of control over their condition, regardless of whether or not the outcome was deemed desirable. Finally, for the knowledge category, most of the participants answered the majority of questions pertaining to their condition and diabetes in general correctly. The findings of this study were interesting and somewhat assuring; however it was limited to patients with insulin dependent diabetes only (Coates & Boore, (1998). Therefore, it is important to look at how individuals with type II diabetes would respond to this kind of a study.

Another preliminary study done by Ando and Ando (2005), investigated the psychological factors affecting clinical attendance and glycemic control of Japanese patients with type II diabetes.

Their sample size consisted of 50 patients, ages 20 to 63 years who were diagnosed with type II diabetes. The sample was divided into 2 groups; those who discontinued their attendance at the diabetes clinic for 6 months or more, and those who continued regular follow-up treatment and attendance. Major findings of this study included the following:

1. No significant differences in sex ratio, mean age, marital status, or years of education between the two groups on clinical attendance or glycemic control.
2. The mean depression score was significantly higher for patients who discontinued clinical attendance.
3. The mean General Activity score of individuals who discontinued clinical attendance was significantly lower than in those who attended regularly.
4. The mean Thinking Extraversion score of patients from the discontinued group was significantly lower than the continued group. (Coates & Boore, 1998)

The researchers suggest that understanding the psychological characteristics of diabetic patients might support their continuation of clinical attendance. This is an important principle in caring for diabetic individuals in general. As discussed earlier, diabetes is a chronic life long condition. This gives rise to complex emotional and psychological factors that might influence the individuals' perception and sense of control over their condition. This study had valuable findings, however, it mainly focused on the consequence of poor diabetes self management of patients with type II diabetes. Thus, the objective of the following study is to explore the motives behind medical adherence and diabetes self management of patients with both type I and type II diabetes.

### **Methods**

The sample population for this study included individuals 18 years of age and older who had either type I or type II diabetes mellitus. Participants were attendees of a local diabetes support

group in San Jose. There were 19 participants, of which 11 participants were females and 8 were males. The following table presents a summary of the demographics of the participants.

**Table 1**

Age 26-40	4
Age 41-65	13
Age 65+	2
High School diploma:	1
2 year college degree:	2
Bachelors degree or above:	16
Type I diabetes: (Insulin dependent)	17
Type II diabetes:	2
White/ Caucasian:	15
Chinese/ Chinese American:	2
Middle Eastern/ North African:	2

This study is both quantitative and qualitative. The purpose was to describe what factors might contribute to compliance with diabetic self care. A survey questionnaire form was used. On one side of the questionnaire, demographic data was collected. The survey also contained qualitative questions to evaluate the extent of the participants' motivation to stay healthy and to explore the relationship and satisfaction with their health care provider. The other part of the questionnaire contained the quantitative questions which used the Likert scale numbered from one to five

- 1- None of the time.
- 2- A little of the time
- 3- Some of the time
- 4- Most of the time
- 5- All of the time

The questionnaire contained 11 questions asking the participants to indicate how often in the past 4 weeks have they performed certain tasks related to their diabetes management. The

questions covered different areas of lifestyle changes for individuals with diabetes such as exercising, cutting down on smoking, alcohol, following a low salt, low fat diet, and carrying diabetes medical supplies and sources of glucose for emergencies. Participants were to choose from the above 5 answers on the scale. A copy of this questionnaire form is attached in the appendix section.

### **Results**

The value of the most recent glycosyated Hemoglobin A1c of each participant was used as the primary and most accurate indicator of the extent of medical adherence and diabetes self management. A1c levels measure the average blood glucose values for 3 previous months. The healthy recommended level of A1c is anything below 7 according to the national institute of health. In this study, individuals who had lower A1c levels also had positive results on the Likert scale questionnaire indicating that they followed a regular exercise program. The average level of A1c was 6.7 with 5 participants having above normal levels.

Ten participants indicated that when tested, their blood glucose level is usually higher than normal. 13 participants or 68% said that when they tested their blood sugar, it was out of normal range more than two times in the past week. 16 participants indicated that they check their blood sugar more than two times a day; of these 16 participants, 11 had the recommended levels of A1c which might suggest that there is a correlation between the frequency of checking blood sugar levels and achieving healthy levels of A1c. Further studies are needed to explore this possible correlation. Table 2 represents the quantitative results.

**Table 2**

	None of the time	A little of the time	Some of the time	Most of the time	All of the time	NA
Exercised	1	3	6	4	5	
Took RX	0	0	0	5	14	
Cut down smoking if applicable	3	0	0	0	4	12
Checked blood sugar	0	2	0	4	13	
Checked your feet for minor bruises	1	1	6	6	5	
Carried a source of glucose	0	1	1	3	14	
Carried medical supplies	0	1	0	0	18	
Followed a low salt diet	8	2	4	3	2	
Followed a low fat diet	4	5	2	5	3	
Followed diabetic diet guidelines.	0	2	5	3	9	
Cut down on drinking if applicable	2	1	1	3	2	10

### Discussion

As table 2 shows, most of the answers are skewed to the right side, indicating positive diabetes self management for most of the participants. 31% of participants indicated that they exercised some of the time, while 26% exercised all the time. 63% said they do not smoke and 53% do not drink.

In response to the question: Have you modified your lifestyle since you were diagnosed, and how? 16 participants or 84.2% answered yes. Modifying diet and exercising more frequently were the two main ways by which participants indicated a lifestyle change. When asked what motivates you the most to stay healthy? 57.6% of the participants said fear of complications, fear of negative consequences of non compliance, and desire of a higher quality of life. Also, 21% indicated that their family and

children were the primary motive for them to take control of the diabetes. Another 21% indicated that they were the primary motivation for their own diabetes self-management. In addition, Patient-physician relationship is a key to positive patient outcomes.

In response to the question asking them to describe the relationship with their current primary health care provider, nine participants or 43% described it as excellent and revealed that they were very satisfied with their current provider. Some of the positive characteristics they attributed to these providers were knowledgeable, understanding, and motivational. One participant indicated that his endocrinologist is himself a diabetic for 40 years; therefore, he feels he is very understanding and sympathetic. Seven participants or 36.8% indicated that they go for routine exams and follow-up appointments and that there was nothing special about their relationship with their provider. Interestingly, among these 7 participants, 3 had above normal A1c levels, and 5 indicated that fear of diabetes complications was their primary motivator for their diabetes self care. This may imply that poor communication and relationship between the patient and physician is a factor for negative patient outcome and of creating within patients fear and uncertainty about their disease, rather than understanding and motivation

### **Limitations**

The main limitation of this study was the sample size. This study had only 19 participants. This number is not large enough to generalize the findings to all individuals with diabetes. All the participants were members of a local diabetes association, and attendees of diabetes support groups. The fact that they are already actively involved in their care of diabetes through community resources suggests some degree of compliance and involvement of their own care; therefore the findings might not apply to other individuals with diabetes who are not a part of an association. Lastly, the research was intended to study individuals with both type I and type II diabetes, yet only 2 participants had type II diabetes.

### **Implications**

This study is preliminary and future research on this topic is recommended to further investigate the results. Further research about the role of primary care providers for individuals with diabetes on their health outcomes is highly encouraged. If it is established through further research that having an empathetic, understanding and motivating physicians helps the patient outcomes, then more teaching and awareness should be directed toward these physicians to become so.

### **Acknowledgements**

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*Appendix*

**Demographics and Health Survey Questions**

<p><b>1- Gender:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Male</li> <li>• Female</li> </ul>	<p><b>2- Age:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 18-25</li> <li>• 26-40</li> <li>• 41-65</li> <li>• 65+</li> </ul>	<p><b>3- Highest degree earned:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Middle School</li> <li>• High School</li> <li>• College degree</li> <li>• Bachelor’s Degree</li> <li>• Graduate degree</li> <li>• Post graduate</li> </ul>	
<p><b>4- Ethnicity:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ American Indian/Alaskan Native</li> <li>▪ Black/Afro American</li> <li>▪ Hispanic/Latino American</li> <li>▪ Filipino</li> <li>▪ Chinese/Chinese American</li> <li>▪ White/Caucasian</li> <li>▪ East Indian/Pakistani</li> <li>▪ Pacific Islander</li> <li>▪ Japanese/Japanese American</li> <li>▪ Middle Eastern/North African</li> </ul>		<p><b>5- What type of diabetes do you have?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Type1 (Taking Insulin)</li> <li>▪ Type 2 (taking oral medications)</li> </ul>	
<p><b>6- How long have you been a diabetic?</b></p> <p>----- Years----- Months</p>	<p><b>8- How often do you check your finger stick blood sugar level?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Never</li> <li>▪ Once daily</li> <li>▪ Twice a day</li> <li>▪ More than twice a day.</li> </ul>		
<p><b>7- If available, what is your Hemoglobin A1c level?</b></p> <p>-----</p>	<p><b>10- When my blood sugar level is out of normal range, it is usually:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Higher than normal</li> <li>▪ Lower than normal</li> </ul>		
<p><b>9 In the past week, how many times has your blood sugar level been out of normal range?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Never</li> <li>▪ Once</li> <li>▪ Twice</li> <li>▪ More</li> </ul>			

**11- Have you modified your life style since you were diagnosed? If so, how?**

**12- Who or what motivates you the most to stay healthy? (ex. Family, children,....)**

**13- Briefly describe the relationship with your current health care provider? And how satisfied are you with him/her?**

***Medical Adherence Behaviors***

How often have you done **each** of the following in the **past 4 weeks**?

	None of the time	A little of the time	Some of the time	Most of the time	All of the time
Exercised regularly	1	2	3	4	5
Took prescribed medications on time	1	2	3	4	5
Stopped or cut down on smoking	1	2	3	4	5
Checked your blood sugar	1	2	3	4	5
Cut down on drinking Alcohol	1	2	3	4	5
Checked your feet for minor bruises, injuries, and ingrown toe nails	1	2	3	4	5
Carried something with sugar as a source of glucose for emergencies	1	2	3	4	5
Carried medical supplies need for your self-care. (ex. Glucometer,..)	1	2	3	4	5
Followed a low salt diet	1	2	3	4	5
Followed a low fat diet	1	2	3	4	5
Followed diabetic diet guidelines	1	2	3	4	5



## **Muey Saeturn**

Major: History

Mentor:

**Dr. Mary Pickering**

Cuba Contra Iran: How  
Oppression Influences  
Women's Education

### **Biography**

*Muey Saeturn was born in Thailand, and at the age of five emigrated to the United States with her family. She has since lived in the Bay Area. Muey is currently a senior majoring in history with a minor in humanities. In addition, she is an active member of the National Honor Society in History, Phi Alpha Theta (PAT), as well as the History club. Her graduate school interests include twentieth-century global history, post-colonial theory, and gender history. She hopes to pursue a doctorate degree in world history with an emphasis on women's and gender history.*

### **Abstract**

The education of Iranian and Cuban women has dramatically changed due to the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979 and the Marxist-Communist regime of Cuba in 1959. Following these revolutions, policies regarding women's education have undergone significant transformation within Iran and Cuba, which have severely affected women's social and educational liberties. Although policies have been implemented to ensure the development of a learned population, losses in women's personal liberties have outweighed, to some extent, their educational gains. This paper will focus on the impact of the 1959 Cuban revolution and the 1979 Iranian revolution on women's education. A comparison of the two revolutions and an analysis of the conditions of Iranian and Cuban women before and after the revolutions will work to foster a deeper understanding of the gains and limitations of women's education in post-revolutionary Cuba and Iran.

### **Introduction**

Why do a comparison of two seemingly different countries and their revolutions? And why focus on the effects of the revolutions on education, especially on women's education? At a glance, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the island of Cuba seem as though they are complete opposites. The former is governed as a theocratic state with its law based strictly on the religion of Islam, while the latter is administered according to the communist philosophies of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. In spite of the blatant difference in political thought, both countries share a similar background. This parity springs from the formation of Cuba's and Iran's current ruling governments, whose power resulted from rebellions ignited by citizens exasperated with their previous regimes.

Cubans in 1959 ousted Fulgencio Batista's corrupt government and replaced it with its present leadership, headed by Fidel Castro. Twenty years later, in 1979, the "rule of the Ayatollahs" began when Iran forced the last ruling Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, to flee the country, and by doing so, transferring complete power to Ayatollah Khomeini. This essay will reflect on how the Cuban and Iranian revolutions produced a large wave of political and social changes that continue to affect the lives of people, especially women, in the modern era. The social liberties of women in Cuba and Iran have fluctuated according to each state's vision of government. Both totalitarian dictatorships aspired to mold their countries into their particular ideology's model state. One of the ways they did this was by increasing women's freedoms and educational opportunities with the hope of gaining their support. However, instead of obtaining more liberties, women in both countries, in the end, still found themselves subordinate to their respective government's interests.

### ***Life in pre-revolutionary Cuba and Iran***

An overview of the conditions faced by women living in pre-revolutionary Cuba and Iran is central to understanding how they were affected by the upheavals in their countries. Prior to the revolutions, Cuban women had very few civil liberties in comparison to women living under the Pahlavi regime in Iran. As such, this section will examine the roles and expectations of women prior to the establishment of modern-day Cuba and Iran to elucidate the differences.

### ***Status of Cuban women before the revolution***

A woman in pre-revolutionary Cuba was considered subordinate to a man, particularly in the labor force. She did not have access to the same employment opportunities that were available to her brother or father. Moreover, with certain restrictions placed on her freedom, she was subjected to performing the “traditional” female roles, which included raising children and taking care of the household chores. Though women were encouraged not to enter into employment because of the scarcity of jobs available to men, many did work outside the home to supplement the family income. In a speech given on December 1961, Vilma Espin, Castro’s sister-in-law and President of the Federation of Cuban Women, discussed the burdens faced by most Cuban women. In her speech, Espin declared:

Women were obliged to augment the scanty family budget. In doing so, they carried out tasks at home that permitted them to earn a few cents, without ceasing to attend to domestic tasks—staying up late at night tied to the sewing machine or the ironing table, working hard to alleviate their family’s agonizing life.<sup>69</sup>

Even when women joined the workforce, they remained segregated from men. In the article, “Socialism and Feminism:

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<sup>69</sup> Elizabeth Stone, ed., Women and the Cuban Revolution speeches & documents by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espin & Others ( New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981),36.

Women and the Cuban Revolution,” Nicola Murray notes that “the major area of employment for working-class women was domestic service, and for middle class women teaching or office and shop work.”<sup>70</sup> Regardless of the barriers that confined women to stereotypical sex-related jobs, many lower-class and peasant women worked inside and outside the home. In the same article, Murray states that “64.9% of all Cuban women were housewives in 1958, and another 19.3 % were seeking work, women accounted for a small (but slowly growing) proportion of the total labor-force.”<sup>71</sup> As employees, females were considered inferior to their male co-workers. Margaret Randall in her book, *Women in Cuba: Twenty Years Later*, points out that “of every eight workers, only one was a woman, and that women worked against all the disadvantages inherent in extremely limited job possibilities with discriminatory wages and virtually no benefits.”<sup>72</sup> Despite minimal employment opportunities, Cuban women before the revolution lived in a society where economic advances were prohibited because of the overpowering male influence in their lives.

In addition to the limitations placed on the working-class women, Cuban women did not have authority over their fertility. Family size represented a man’s status in society; having more children enabled the man to show-off his virility, and ensure a respectable place for himself within the community and society.<sup>73</sup> This chauvinist attitude, exerted by most Cuban men, led to the biased notion that “birth-control would promote women’s infidelity,” argued Murray, “and undermine men’s authority.”<sup>74</sup> Wives, as a result, could not exercise control over their own body because, by society’s standards, it was their husband’s property. Before 1959, women lived as second-class citizens within their

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<sup>70</sup> Nicola Murray, “Socialism and Feminism: Women and the Cuban Revolution, Part I,” *Feminist Review* no. 2 (1979):61.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, 61.

<sup>72</sup> Margaret Randall, *Women In Cuba: Twenty Years Later* (New York: Smyrna Press, 1981), 53.

<sup>73</sup> Murray, 62.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, 62.

own country, as their essential human rights were denied to them due to the prejudice against women by most Cuban men.

### ***Status of Women in Pre-revolutionary Iran***

In contrast to Cuba, before the 1979 revolution, Iran allowed women a greater amount of freedom. During the Pahlavi regime, Iranian women were given rights similar to those given to men. The Family Protection Law granted women the right to work outside of the household without harassment from the government, and with some degree of leniency with respect to the strict dress code.

Iranian women during the rule of the last Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, benefited significantly from the Family Protection Law, which was enacted in 1967. The law intended to improve the conditions of Iranian women within the family.<sup>75</sup> For the first time, Iranian women gained rights that were once deemed only appropriate for men. Divorce, for example, under the law was made easier for women to obtain. The act also enabled women to gain custody of their children in the event of a divorce. Furthermore, it attempted to limit the practice of polygamy by requiring that a married man obtain permission from his wives or the court before pursuing another woman.<sup>76</sup> The liberties granted by the law elevated the status of women within society.

In addition to the extension in prerogatives, women—especially in rural areas—were also encouraged to work outside the home as Iran's economy grew under the Pahlavi period. According to writer S. Kaveh Mirani in *Women and Revolution in Iran*, “the increase over time in the capital stock and the demand for goods and services generated an increased demand for labor of all kinds, including female workers.”<sup>77</sup> Historian Ira Lapidus echoes Mirani's statement regarding the participation of Iranian women in the workforce. He writes, “Women, in small numbers,

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<sup>75</sup> Ira M. Lapidus, *A history of Islamic Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 858.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 481.

<sup>77</sup> S. Kaveh Mirani, *Women and Revolution in Iran*, ed. Guity Nashat (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 74.

began to enter into teaching, nursing, and factory work.”<sup>78</sup> Information on wages and salaries for Iranian female employees, however, coincided with that of Cuba’s statistics; male workers earned more money than their female counterparts. Mirani writes that “according to a survey conducted in 1971, the average daily wage paid to a female farm worker was RIs. 48 (\$0.70) compared to RIs. 89 (\$1.27) paid to male workers.”<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, without regard to the inequality in wages and salary, the demand for female workers enabled Iranian women the liberty to take advantage of the job opportunities available to them.

Women in pre-revolutionary Iran also exercised greater control over their appearance after the wearing of the veil or hejab—the Islamic dress—was banned in 1936, the year that Reza Shah “promulgated measures to modernize the status of women.”<sup>80</sup> The chadur or the veil is viewed by some, particularly the more educated Westernized Iranians, as an oppressive measure enforced by the government to keep women subordinate to men; to others, it represented total complaisance to the teachings of Islam and self-respect. By banning the customary dress and promoting Western fashion, the Shah liberated women from what journalist Jane Howard, in her book *Inside Iran: Women’s lives*, cautions as “the principle cause of women’s backwardness and the symbol of their subjugation.”<sup>81</sup> Even though the number of women that celebrated the elimination of the veil remained minimal in comparison to the entire female population, the proclamation, nonetheless, gave all Iranian women—whether it was acknowledge or disregarded—some freedom within the male dominated public space.

### ***History of Revolution***

A brief history of the Cuban revolution of 1959 and Iranian revolution of 1979 is necessary in order to understand the changes that occurred throughout the two regions thereafter, particularly to

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<sup>78</sup> Lapidus, 481.

<sup>79</sup> Mirani, 79.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 858.

<sup>81</sup> Jane Mary Howard, *Inside Iran: Women’s lives* (Washington, D.C.: Mage Publisher, 2002), 28.

women. Even though the revolutions differ in origin, revolutionary forces in both countries aimed to purge the government of corrupt officials. The following section will focus on the causes, people, and events—within the twentieth century—responsible for the creation of the Communist-Socialist state of Cuba and Islamic Republic of Iran.

### ***Cuban Revolution***

For many Cubans, January 1, 1959 represents one of the most important dates in Cuban history: the beginning of Fidel Castro's regime and the M-26-7's (the 26<sup>th</sup> of July Movement) leadership, and the end of Fulgencio Batista's dictatorship. The expulsion of a political leader from office was not a radical or uncommon occurrence in Cuba, considering the country's turbulent political history. Since gaining its independence from Spain in 1898 and the United States in 1902, the citizens of Cuba had experimented with and experienced an eclectic array of governmental frameworks that failed.<sup>82</sup> Moreover, "the politics of the period following independence were characterized by a lack of experience in self-government, and uncertain legitimacy," declares Juan del Aguila. He also says that there was "administrative corruption and recurring U.S. involvement."<sup>83</sup> Therefore, the 1959 revolution, headed by Fidel Castro did not seem like an extraordinary movement to Cubans at the time. The revolution was initiated by a group of people discontent from the corruption in the Batista government. Marifeli Perez-Stable, in *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy*, notes that "by 1958, multiple crises—social, political, and economic—besieged Cuba, and it was no small irony that the maelstrom trapped Fulgencio Batista."<sup>84</sup>

Batista's claim to power began in 1933, in the midst of political upheaval and chaos provoked by the Grau-Guiteras

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<sup>82</sup> Juan M. del Aguila, *Cuba: Dilemmas of a Revolution* (Boulder: Westview Press, Inc., 1984), 16.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>84</sup> Marifeli Perez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Courses, and Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 57.

government. The 100 day government, headed by Ramón Grau San Martín and Antonio Guiteras, implemented radical reforms and was never officially recognized by the United States.<sup>85</sup> Batista, a military sergeant, quickly brought the Grau-Guiteras administration to an end in January 1934 with support from the United States. As noted by Perez-Stable, Batista seemed to be the perfect pawn for America to use to protect its interests as well as to maintain law and order on the island: “Strikes and other working-class actions unnerved U.S. and Cuban stock...the United States, moreover, could not accept a Cuban sovereignty...Fulgencio Batista proved the wedge to defuse the popular movement.”<sup>86</sup> During his first term in office, President Batista behaved according to democratic principles. He “ably expanded the scope of civil authority,” states del Aguila, “preserving control over the military...and expanding Cuba’s commercial and trade ties with the United States.”<sup>87</sup> The Constitution of 1940 was also drafted under Batista’s leadership. The constitution “legitimized the rights of labor, proscribed latifundia, and assigned the state a central role in the economy while proclaiming the sanctity of private property.”<sup>88</sup> The presidents’ tenure as the legitimate ruler ended peacefully in 1944.

Despite leaving office quietly, Batista returned on March 10, 1952 during a bloodless coup that removed the Autentico administration of Ramon Grau and Carlos Prio from office.<sup>89</sup> After coming back into power, Batista cancelled the scheduled political elections, which outraged one particular lawyer running for congress—Fidel Castro. Livid at Batista’s actions, Castro “tried to have the coup declared unconstitutional.”<sup>90</sup> His complaints and demands that Batista be imprisoned for his unconstitutional actions were dismissed by the courts. Thereafter, Castro vowed to end

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid,41.

<sup>87</sup> Del Aguila,27.

<sup>88</sup> Perez-Stable,43.

<sup>89</sup> Robert H. Dix, “The Varieties of Revolution,” *Comparative Politics* 15, no.3 (1983): 283.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 1.

Batista's rule in what was to become the famous raid on Moncada Barracks. By mid-1953, as preparations were underway, Castro had transformed his intolerance for the dictator into a growing movement involving over 165 young Cubans.<sup>91</sup> Despite months of preparation, on the morning of July 26, the battle quickly proved disastrous. Several participants including Castro were captured and either murdered or tortured in jail.<sup>92</sup> Castro's embarrassing defeat did not put an end to his fight, but instead catapulted him and his cause into the popular imagination, thus igniting the spark for another revolution.

Opposition to Batista's oppressive regime, according to Robert Dix in his article, "The Varieties of Revolution," "came to include exiled politicians (including a former president), much of the middle class and the clergy, and urban youth of all classes, as well as several foreign governments."<sup>93</sup> Under Batista's rule, during the 1950s, the island of Cuba became inundated with corruption. Despite Batista's intentions to boost Cuba's economy, the new institutions implemented by the government primarily profited the dictator and his supporters. For example, "the newly developed banks granted Batista's supporters generous loans and declined modest requests from nonpartisans," writes Perez-Stable.<sup>94</sup> The illegitimate leader's popularity slumped even further when Castro was released from prison in May 1955. As a political prisoner, Castro managed to increase his support-network, and when released from jail continued with his plan to end Batista's career through the use of guerrilla tactics. Aside from Castro's threat, Batista's government suffered from the arms embargo imposed by the United States. The Cuban dictator's rule finally came to an end on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1959 when he fled Cuba, leaving Castro and his men in power.

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<sup>91</sup> Perez-Stable, 53.

<sup>92</sup> Wilfred P. Deac, "Raid on Moncada Barracks," Military History 20, no.3 (2003):7.

<sup>93</sup> Dix, 284.

<sup>94</sup> Perez-Stable, 54.

***Revolution in Iran***

The state of Iran in the early twentieth century was close to anarchy, with the country occupied by Britain in the south and the Soviet Union in the north.<sup>95</sup> It was not until 1925, under the leadership of Reza Khan, a military officer who came to power, that the nation of Iran became a beacon of hope for Western countries. After obtaining power, Reza Khan declared himself the Shah of Iran, created the Pahlavi dynasty, and turned the nation of Iran into a constitutional monarchy.<sup>96</sup> Lapidus writes that under the new leadership, “the state was defined in nationalist ideological terms, committed under authoritarian rule to an ambitious program of economic modernization and cultural Westernization.”<sup>97</sup> Reza Khan’s rule, however, was brief since he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, in 1941.

In an effort to modernize the country, certain reforms administered by the Pahlavi government undermined and compromised the power of Iran’s religious sector, the ulama (Muslim scholars trained in Islamic law). Though the ulama originally bolstered Reza Khan’s rise to power, their support quickly diminished once the Shah attempted to control and limit the education of the population. By establishing a secular educational system modeled after the West, the Shah weakened the capabilities of the Muslim scholars. The modest improvements in the status of women that took place under the Shah’s regime were also deemed heretical by the religious scholars.

The Ulama was not the only group against the Shah’s oppressive government; the working and peasant class were displeased with the Shah’s unsuccessful economic reforms, which seemed to benefit only a small elite class. The land reforms of 1962-64 and 1968, for example, attempted to bridge the large gap between the land-owning class and the peasantry that lived and worked on the land. The act required landowners to sell extra land to small holders and tenants, but as Lapidus writes, “because of

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<sup>95</sup> William J. Duiker, *Twentieth-Century World History* (Belmont: Thomson Learning, Inc., 2005), 260.

<sup>96</sup> Lapidus, 476.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, 476-477.

widespread evasion not as much was distributed as had officially been proposed...the new owners, moreover, lacked the capital, the technology, the cooperative organization...to maintain and increase productivity.”<sup>98</sup> The land reform and other ambitious agriculture developments led to failures that either affected or eliminated the livelihood of most workers.

Resistance against the regime intensified as the Shah’s government and Iran’s politics became more aligned with the politics of the United States. Strong relations between America and the Pahlavi administration during the 1970s infuriated and outraged a number of Iranians who believed the Shah was a puppet of the United States. “The regime was widely perceived as being based upon American political and military support,” writes Lapidus, “and as benefiting only a very narrow elite.”<sup>99</sup> The Shah’s strongest antagonist was Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini. According to Duiker he was “an austere Shi’ite cleric who had been exiled to Iraq and then to France because of his outspoken opposition to the shah’s regime.”<sup>100</sup> During his time in exile, Ayatollah Khomeini spoke against the regime and opposed the Shah’s strong dependence on the United States. Khomeini called for the reconstruction of the government and also demanded that the ulama actively participate in cleansing the country and citizens of the Western ideals he believed polluted Iran.<sup>101</sup> His radical ideas appealed to the majority of merchants, lower-middle-class citizens, and religious authorities, all of whom helped launch a revolution.

The stage for revolution was set as the Shah’s regime and Iran’s economic and political polices created more problems for the people. Demonstrations against the Pahlavi regime began in 1978, when religious students in the city of Qum rioted against the SAVAK (the secret police). These protests quickly snowballed into a massive movement that involved millions of Iranian men and

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<sup>98</sup> Lapidus, 480.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 483.

<sup>100</sup> Duiker, 261.

<sup>101</sup> Masoud Kazemzadeh, Islamic Fundamentalism, Feminism, and Gender Inequality in Iran under Khomeini (Maryland: University Press of America, Inc., 2002), 13.

women dissatisfied with the actions of the government.<sup>102</sup> As rioters filled the streets, merchants and workers closed their shops and went on strike. The strikes severely affected Iran's economy. As a result, in January 1979, under extreme pressure from his opponents and in need of medical treatment, the Shah fled the country, leaving Shapur Bakhtiar as the prime minister. In the desperate attempt to appease the rioters, Prime Minister Bakhtiar allowed Khomeini to return to Iran in February 1979.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, Bakhtiar's government could not put an end to the uprisings, and they eventually collapsed in favor of Ayatollah Khomeini's conservative ideology. In April 1979, the Islamic Republic of Iran was established with Khomeini as the Supreme leader and its politics and laws built strictly on the teachings of Islam.

### ***Post-revolutionary Cuba and Iran***

With the historical backdrop in place, the essay will now turn its attention to the drastic changes concerning women and the educational system within the two countries in the post-revolutionary era. Cuban women obtained liberties that were once deemed appropriate only for men. In contrast, Iranian women lost a significant portion of their rights. Both post-revolutionary governments modified the educational system and curriculum to reinforce and promote their respective government's agenda.

### ***Educational system: government involvement in Cuba after 1959***

Tackling the educational system became one of the top priorities for Fidel Castro's government, once it came to power in 1959. As suggested by Sheryl Lutjens, "the extension of schooling to all Cubans regardless of gender, race, class or religion is the most prominent characteristic of the first decade of post-revolutionary educational policy."<sup>104</sup> Through the Literacy

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<sup>102</sup> Lapidus, 485.

<sup>103</sup> Duiker, 261.

<sup>104</sup> Carlos Alberto Torres and Adriana Puigros, eds., Sheryl L. Lutjens, "Women, Education, and the State in Cuba," Latin America Education (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), 292.

Campaign of 1961, the creation of new educational facilities, and the expansion of day care centers, the new administration succeeded in reducing the nation's illiteracy rate from 23.9 percent to about 3 percent as well as increasing educational opportunities for all citizens—especially women. Furthermore, the educational reforms promoted the “leadership’s project for incorporating everyone into the revolutionary definition of the new Cuban nation.”<sup>105</sup> Improving the educational system consequently not only strengthened Castro’s popularity, but most importantly, helped to indoctrinate Cubans into accepting the new government’s socialist ideology.

In trying to eliminate the island’s illiteracy problem, Castro’s regime boldly implemented the Literacy Campaign in the beginning of 1961. The movement encouraged and challenged the entire Cuban population—despite gender, class, or race—to learn to read and write. It called for the participation of all teachers and many urban students to leave the city and move to the countryside for nine months in order “to teach almost one million illiterates how to read.”<sup>106</sup> Volunteers were instructed to use two books prepared by the government: the Alfabetemos and the Vencemos. The first book served as a teacher’s manual and the second was used as a student workbook. At the end of the nine months, the campaign successfully taught basic reading and writing skills to some 700,000 Cubans.<sup>107</sup>

To further enhance the basic skills attained from the Literacy Campaign, other educational institutions were created by the government. Even though the new educational programs improved the conditions of rural women, they also corresponded to the government’s “view of how to increase productivity within a socialist economic and social framework.”<sup>108</sup> The Ana Betancourt schools for peasant women and the schools for retraining

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 292.

<sup>106</sup> Martin Carnoy and Joel Samoff, eds., “Educational Reforms and Social Transformation in Cuba, 1959-89,” Education and Social Transition in the Third World (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 162-63.

<sup>107</sup> Lutjens, 292.

<sup>108</sup> Carnoy, 175.

domestics as bank employees or taxi drivers, for instance, “[gave] women a sixth-grade education, the beginning of a proletarian ideology, and specific skills,” writes Randall.<sup>109</sup> In addition to training citizens for employment, Cuban schools and educational programs developed after the revolution were held “responsible for developing a particular social consciousness that corresponds to a socialist ideal, an ideal derived from discussions and struggles in the Cuban political hierarchy.”<sup>110</sup>

Another key component facilitating the influx of Cuban women into the educational and employment field was the increase in day care facilities available to mothers. In 1961, for example, only 37 child care facilities existed; however, the number grew to an astounding 152,000 in 1992-93 as a result of the government’s push for people, particularly women to enter the workforce.<sup>111</sup> The state-sponsored daycare centers allowed millions of Cubans the chance to contribute to the economy by working.

The educational policies implemented after 1959 in many ways opened the door for women to pursue their own interests without the debilitating infrastructure of pre-revolutionary Cuba. The involvement of women in the Literacy Campaign exemplified how immediately they took advantage of the new educational policies. Under the Literacy Campaign, female teachers swarmed the countryside to teach basic reading and writing skills to improvised families. Of all the people who volunteered, a remarkable 59 percent were women.<sup>112</sup> As a result of this program, the literacy rate increased from 74 percent to 97 percent in under a year. Such a jump in literacy would not have been possible without the increased involvement of women in the educational system.

Women with unsavory professions also flocked to the newly formed vocational schools, whereby they acquired the tools necessary to perform more effectively within society. The Ana Betancourt School was geared toward providing sewing skills that peasant women could use to support themselves. By 1963, only

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<sup>109</sup> Randall, 56.

<sup>110</sup> Carnoy, 174.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 299.

<sup>112</sup> Lutjens, 293.

two years after the program's inception, the demand for entrance was so great that the school was forced to require stricter qualifications of incoming women and to expand the breadth of the curriculum offered while making it more comprehensive. In the beginning, the program accepted 14,000 female students, and as a testament to the success of the program returning graduates taught on average 10,000 students for each of the following years.<sup>113</sup>

In addition to the Ana Betancourt program, schools were initiated to train domestic servants to become bank employees and taxi drivers. Women working as domestic servants were particularly impacted by the emigration of people from Cuba to the United States during the revolution. Former prostitutes and domestic workers who lost their jobs from the middle-class emigration benefited the most from the new program. By 1967, when the program discontinued, nearly 70,000 women had been re-educated to become taxi drivers, day car workers, secretaries, accountants, and translators—all contributing to the rehabilitation of Cuba's economy.<sup>114</sup>

Programs like the ones just mentioned have led to a strong increase in women attaining higher education. This increase has in fact become so significant that women have become the majority of university students. In 1988, for example, "women counted for 57.1 percent of all university-level enrollments."<sup>115</sup>

### ***Educational system: government involvement in Iran after 1979***

With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, the country's Westernized and secular educational system was transformed into a strict authoritarian entity governed by Islamic law. Following the revolution, educational institutions throughout Iran were shut down by the Ministry of Education for a period of two years.<sup>116</sup> In her memoir, Professor Azar Nafisi talks about the tactics used by the revolutionary government to eradicate

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<sup>113</sup> Lutjens, 293.

<sup>114</sup> Randall, 57.

<sup>115</sup> Lutjens, 293.

<sup>116</sup> Kazemzadeh, 27.

Western influences. Nafisi, a professor at the University of Teheran during the time of the revolution, recalls:

It did not take long, however, for the government to announce its intention to suspend classes and to form a committee for the implementation of the Cultural Revolution. This Committee was given the power to reconstruct the universities in such a way as to make them acceptable to the leaders of the Islamic Republic. They were given the power to expel undesirable faculty, staff, students, to create a new set of rules and new curriculum. It was the first organized effort to purge Iran of what was called decadent Western culture.<sup>117</sup>

The Islamic Republic's act of "Islamization" of the educational system affected the entire population—most noticeably women students—by excluding female and male students from certain subjects, segregating the classroom, and creating the Literacy Movement Organization to combat the country's illiteracy rate. The modifications purposely reinforced the dogma of the Islamic state.

Islamization was achieved by the Islamic regime's reinforcement of the gender division of subjects in higher education. The only two subjects not permitted to women prior to the revolution were mining and religious studies, and thus women were allowed and admitted to all fields of study.<sup>118</sup> However, educational policies initiated during the post-revolutionary era underlined women's subordinate status within Iranian society by prohibiting female pupils in higher education from entering into subject matters dominated by male students. Statistics indicate that a decade after the revolution, in 1987 there was a 38.5 percent increase in female student enrollment in traditional subjects such as the humanities and social sciences with a substantial decrease in

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<sup>117</sup> Azar Nafisi, *Reading Lolita in Tehran* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2003), 147.

<sup>118</sup> Kazemzadeh, 27.

subjects involving agricultural, engineering and medicine.<sup>119</sup> Men interested in subjects such as sewing, midwifery and family hygiene were also affected by the Islamic administration's restrictions, because they were not allowed to enter these fields. Nursing was open to male students, but the maximum admissions quota for men entering the programs was set at 50 percent.<sup>120</sup>

Segregation of the sexes within the classroom became standard once the Islamic state came into power. Female and male students were forbidden to take courses together, and they were taught only by instructors of the same sex. The single-sex classroom policy applied to the entire system, from primary school all the way to the university level.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, gender segregation supported and aided the Islamic Republic's intention to transform Iran into a pious Muslim society.

The Literacy Movement, established in 1979 by Ayatollah Khomeini, served two main purposes. First, it aimed to lower the country's 63.5 percent illiteracy rate by providing reading classes to the people. Second, the program was used primarily by the government as a means of spreading the Islamic ideology among the people. The sexually segregated classes were taught by pious Muslim male and female instructors dedicated to the philosophy of the regime. The instructional materials such as the gender-sensitive textbooks used in Literacy Movement underline the Islamic Republic's goal of actively spreading Islamic values and promoting male chauvinism within the society. The literature, for example, reinforced the traditional male and female roles by portraying women performing household chores like sewing and cleaning.<sup>122</sup> Despite its overt "religious and political socialization," the Literacy Movement reduced Iran's illiteracy rate by 25 percent.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Parvin Paidar, Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-century Iran (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 320.

<sup>120</sup> Yeganeh, 12.

<sup>121</sup> Howard, 79.

<sup>122</sup> Golnar Mehran, "Lifelong Learning: New Opportunities for Women in a Muslim Country (Iran)," Comparative Education, no.2 (1999): 207.

<sup>123</sup> Mehran, "Social Implications of Literacy in Iran," 194.

### **Conclusion/Analysis**

Feminists assumed education to be the first step toward liberation. However, the increase in educational opportunities within post-revolutionary Cuba and Iran did not ensure women the emancipation they sought. Instead, political and ideological orthodoxy triumphed over their rights. Though in both cases, programs and institutions were made for the advancement of women, they especially promoted the philosophies of the two newly established governments.

On the surface, Cuban women seemed to be the greatest benefactors of the 1959 revolution. Women in pre-revolutionary Cuba were considered by the law and by many Cuban men to be second-class citizens within the society. Employment was scarce, and educational opportunities remained in the hands of the middle and upper-class elite. Illiteracy plagued most Cuban women living in the countryside and rural areas. After 1959, with the arrival of the revolution and the establishment of the socialist government in 1961, the lives and conditions of Cuban women improved significantly. As a result of the mass-migration of Cubans to the United States, jobs became abundant and open to both men and women. Education was made universal by the government, and thus women were encouraged to go to school and to pursue degrees in higher education. Furthermore, government-sponsored programs brought basic reading and writing skills to thousands of illiterate women.

However, when examined closely, the liberties that Cuban women inherited from the 1959 revolution appeared to support the new government's political agenda more than it freed women. In an effort to rebuild the Cuban economy after the majority of the working class fled the country, the government encouraged millions of housewives to work outside the home. State sponsored daycare facilities encouraged and freed mothers to join the workforce. Along with the daycare centers, government affiliated institutions were established to train former prostitutes and house maids in new professions. The substantial growth in the amount of women entering the employment field helped to sustain the

country. Without the participation of females, the economy would not have been able to rebound. The motivation behind the increases in women's social liberties and access to educational opportunities served to enhance the country's output per capital and to make the economy viable, therefore serving the best interest of the government.

In contrast to the Cuban revolution, the Iranian revolution of 1979 adversely affected the position of women in society by diminishing their rights. Women prior to the revolution gained some autonomy under the Family Protection Law such as the right to seek custody of the children in the event of a divorce. Educational institutions and subjects were opened to all students—both men and women. Women also had the freedom to dress according to their own principles. These rights were revoked by the authoritarian government in 1979, when the Islamic Republic of Iran was instituted. In post-revolutionary Iran, the Family Protection Law was annulled, making it impossible for divorced women to gain legal guardianship of their children. Changes in the education system and curriculum affected the lives of all students. Classes, for example, were segregated and traditional male disciplines were closed off to female students. The enforcement of an austere dress code demanded women cover their bodies. However, the Islamic State made advances to help combat the high illiteracy rate prevalent amongst Iran's female population.

The firm regulations placed on the social liberties of Iranian women after 1979 reinforced the government's authoritarian position and fostered Islamic values within society. Since women were expected to be pious Muslims, changes were made to the educational system and curriculum. Instructional materials with pictures that depicted females performing traditional household chores, for example, were used to edify illiterate students, thus emphasizing the regime's view of the ideal Islamic woman. By prohibiting women from entering certain fields of study the government furthered the disparity between Iranian men and women. In addition, segregation of male and female students within the classrooms promoted the Islamic notion that women were not to be seen in public without a male relative as an escort.

The losses suffered by Iranian women were in fact gains for the Islamic Republic. As a result, each limitation that was placed in front of women helped to advance the state's goal of cultivate a pious nation.

In sum, even though the revolutions were very different in nature, the revolutionary governments created policies that affected and altered the lives of all women living in Cuba and Iran. The rights gained by Cuban women after the revolution exceeded those that were bestowed upon Iranian women. In fact, an Iranian woman lost more rights as a result of the 1979 revolution than her counterpart Cuba after the 1959 revolution. Aside from the changes in status and privileges, both Cuban and Iranian women endured the same fate brought on by the revolutionary governments. The two politically different administrations focused on expanding their control and power through the educational system. The controversial modifications made on women's education have severely influenced the lives of millions of Cubans and Iranians. After an examination of the historical milieu and effects of the two revolutions, it is appropriate to note that the education promoted by the revolutionary governments did not free women, but placed stronger ideological shackles on them.

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**Brynné Walker**

Major: Earth Science

Mentor:

**Dr. Richard Sedlock**

Tsunami Awareness on the  
Coast of Washington State

**Biography**

*Brynné Walker is originally from Lakewood, Washington. She is currently acquiring her Bachelors degree in Earth Science with a minor in Atmospheric and Seismic Hazards. She has been a Peer Mentor for 3 years and she hopes to study natural disasters when she gets her PhD.*

**Abstract**

Tsunamis pose a potentially hazardous threat for the coast of Washington State. As tsunami activity becomes more frequent around the world, many organizations have been developing awareness programs to protect its citizens. One such organization is the Washington State Emergency Management Division, which developed a pilot program for disaster preparation for the hotel/motel industry. Presentations and surveys were conducted for

those businesses interested in tsunami preparedness. Also, two surveys were used throughout the study to find out what these staff members knew about tsunami preparedness. Surveys were distributed to each participant before the presentation began and at the conclusion of each presentation. This method was chosen to find out what employees learned from participating in this workshop. Results showed that management and staff needed tsunami evacuation maps in order to evacuate their guests and visitors effectively to their assigned assembly areas. It was also found that staff members believed it to be important to prepare supplies ahead of time should a tsunami occur. Although this study was done on a smaller scale, this type of research needs to be done on a larger basis to cover a larger percentage of the coastal hotel/motel industry. If another study like this were conducted, the entire west coast of the United States should be included as well.

### **Introduction**

A rising concern among many disaster management organizations around the world is the fear that a tsunami will hit their country leaving the public helpless and unprepared. Such organizations are finding ways to make residents and visitors more aware of the hazards that may lie before them. The purpose of this study is to find out what the hotel/motel industry knows about tsunami preparedness. This information is imperative in an area vulnerable to having tsunami activity. Likewise, business owners are responsible for their guests' safety including any and all tsunami preparedness tactics. Not long ago the All Hazard Alert Broadcasting Radio System (AHAB) and evacuation maps were set up and handed out along the coast of Washington State. Since tsunami preparedness is not taught everywhere in the world, it is important to find out information from those who have been exposed to tsunami technology and media. Technology such as the AHAB radio systems have been placed in most coastal counties of Washington state that are susceptible to having tsunamis related events.

Previous research has been done focusing on what residents of all ages know about tsunami preparedness. Questionnaires, one

on one interviews, and surveys for junior high and high school students have all been used to find out what the public knows about tsunami related events. When researchers interviewed the staff from the hotel/motel industry they found that their knowledge of tsunamis was very low (Johnston et.al 2).Based on previous studies, I hypothesize that employees and residents of the hotel/motel industry will not be knowledgeable about how to prepare for a tsunami. As a result, after each presentation, the employees and residents will increase their knowledge about preparedness and will benefit from participating in this research study.

### **Literature Review**

Tsunami awareness and preparedness has become a huge topic of conversation amongst many researchers and countries prone to having this type of disaster. In addition, many research studies focused on the publics' knowledge of tsunami preparedness. Data has been collected from the hotel/motel industry, school districts, and the community members' homes. Researchers and those interested in this type of phenomenon are trying to figure out what residents and visitors know about preparedness for this disaster. Many lives have been lost around the world due to lack of knowledge and now; many organizations and investigators are taking a stand. This type of research is important because it deals with tsunami related issues that are damaging to our coastal communities. Moreover, many researchers not only study people's lack of preparedness but also try to create learning opportunities to inform communities around the world about preparing for disasters.

The coast of Washington state is a big tourist attraction throughout the summer months. Tourists come from all over the world to visit this coast line unaware of the dangers that lurk before them. A study was done entitled, "Developing Warning and Disaster Response Capacity in the Tourism Sector in Washington, USA"<sup>124</sup> which consisted of information collected from eighteen

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<sup>124</sup> David Johnston, Julia Becker, Chris Gregg, Bruce Houghton, Douglas Paton, Graham Leonard, Ruth Garside

hotels and motels on the coast of Washington State. Researchers wanted to find out what the staff members from this industry knew about emergency evacuations. Interviews were conducted with the staff and managers of these businesses to test their knowledge of tsunami preparedness. Many of the interview questions dealt with emergency training for various hazards. This research began after the Sumatra tsunami of 2004 hit countries such as Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Thailand, and India. After this disaster, researchers found it imperative for not only residents of the coastal communities to know about tsunami preparedness but also for visitors in these areas to be aware of these disasters. They stated, "Hospitality employees play a significant role in emergency response. Furthermore, because the hospitality industry can face relatively high levels of turnover, there is greater pressure to provide training on a regular basis" (Johnston et.al 4).

Fifteen minute interviews were conducted on 24 staff members including managers from eighteen various hotels. By the end of this study, researchers found that the number of employees trained for hazard response was very low (Johnston et.al 5). They also found that from the eighteen hotels and motels that had participated in this research, only one hotel had put tsunami information in each room of their business establishment. There were also few posters up in plain view for visitors to see. In addition, it is also apparent that most tourists probably will not be thinking about natural disasters while they are on vacation. Oddly enough, a majority of employees who participated were residents of the Ocean Shores area and had some knowledge of tsunami hazards. Unfortunately, little action had been taken in training these employees in the smaller hotels and motels. Researchers also feel that even though there is a financial cost to worry about with

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training employees, the benefit would be that tourists as well as employees would respond more efficiently in the event of a tsunami.

Other articles have also focused on tsunami preparedness, however, with a different sample population than the hotel and motel industry. D. Johnston and other researchers wrote an article entitled, "Children Risk Perceptions and Preparedness: A Hazard Education Assessment in Four Coastal Communities," from the *Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences Limited Journal*. It focuses on, "people's understanding of tsunami hazards on the Washington coast and their knowledge of the Washington State Tsunami Warning System" (Johnston et.al 1). These researchers also wanted to know what type of preparedness these residents and visitors had done in order to protect themselves from these types of natural disasters. Surveys were given to over 300 residents and visitors including four schools in western Washington. These schools were located in Aberdeen, Ocean Shores, Raymond, and South Bend.

Their survey was not only based on tsunami awareness, but on other disasters that affect Washington State. A specific questionnaire was made for the students to assess their awareness of natural disasters. Questions such as "When do you think the next hazard events are likely to affect your community?" and "Does thinking or talking about tsunamis upset you?" As part of this survey, one specific section was geared toward what residents would do if a tsunami were coming. Other questions were aimed more at whether students had inquired about natural disasters from their parents or teachers, or if they had even experienced one. Lastly, a question was asked pertaining to tsunami evacuations and if these students had seen any tsunami maps from the Washington coast<sup>125</sup>.

Teachers at each school were told to give their students these surveys under the supervision of emergency management personnel. A total of approximately 390 students were used in data collection. When students were asked questions pertaining to the

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<sup>125</sup> Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences Limited

likelihood of a disaster affecting their community, 51% believed a tsunami would happen in their lifetime. Another question that had an interesting response was a question pertaining to their feelings about tsunamis. 84.1% of students said that talking about or even thinking about tsunamis scared them. Moreover, 91.4% of students said they would go at least half a mile inland or 10 feet above sea level when asked, "What would you do if a tsunami were coming?" Similarly, classroom discussion questions were also asked throughout this survey. Students were asked if teachers had talked to them about tsunamis and 79.8% of students responded by saying classroom discussions about tsunamis had happened before. In fact, 95.5% of students said that teachers brought up this topic. Findings from this research also show that 36.3% of students had never seen a tsunami evacuation map. By looking at these results, it shows that schools located on or near the coast have taken the time to teach their students about tsunami preparedness. Since schools have taken the time to teach their students about this hazard, the same should happen for the job industry on the coast. It seems that talking about this particular hazard could be scary for some individuals, but by talking about this issue, we could prepare for an effective and safe evacuation if a tsunami were to occur. With this, similar questions from this study were taken into consideration when preparing for my research on the coast of Washington State.

Lastly in the article, "Results of the August- September 2001 Washington State Tsunami Survey," Johnston "hand delivered surveys to 436 houses and mailed 733 surveys to post office boxes in six communities in Washington State" (Johnston et.al V.). This study was done to find out what residents knew about tsunami preparedness and the tsunami warning systems on the coast. Researchers asked questions pertaining to tsunami hazard maps and tsunami preparation. Their results showed that, "62% of residents had seen tsunami hazard zone maps, and 68% said that they had heard or seen other people preparing for tsunami hazards" (Johnston et.al V.). It was also proven that visitors of this area were less aware of tsunami warning systems (Johnston et.al V). In fact only 19% of visitors had seen a tsunami evacuation

map. Similarly 46% of visitors were unaware of the tsunami warning systems (Johnston et.al V).

The following survey reveals that different strategies need to be taken into consideration when trying to prepare the public for a tsunami evacuation. A question was asked if residents had taken the initiative to ask other individuals, or organizations how to get ready for a tsunami (Johnston et.al 10). They found that 69.7% of residents said they had not asked anyone for information. When they were asked if they had heard about any organization dealing with preparation, 51.2% of residents said that they had heard of the county government's preparation techniques (Johnston et.al 10). It seems that since more than half of the individuals had not asked for information about tsunami preparedness, they were leaving it up to the county government. As the government is preparing for this hazard, residents are not preparing themselves at home.

By looking at all three of these studies, it seems apparent that these studies are very similar to mine. All three of these studies wanted to know what preparation had been taken amongst the public and if certain techniques of preparation were working. When looking at my research it seems that a similar population was used in comparison to the other studies. Similar questions were also posed in these studies, but to a slightly different population. It seems that from looking at all four of these research studies, different teaching techniques need to be used when trying to get the word across about tsunami preparedness.

## **Method**

### ***Sample***

The individuals that participated in the study were those who worked in the hotel/motel industry. This particular sample was chosen due to the fact that these individuals would be responsible for their guests' safety if a disaster were to occur. Surveys were handed out to those who participated in the research to find out what the residents or staff members of this area knew about tsunami preparedness. On the survey, a question was asked pertaining to the location of their hometown. The question was asked to see if people from other cities (not located on the coast of

Washington) had knowledge of the hazards that they were living and working around.

Furthermore, many out of state residents come to these businesses on the coast of Washington unaware of the potential danger that could happen in this area. If a disaster were to happen, hotel management and staff would have to evacuate their customers in a quick and orderly fashion. Males and females from the hotel staff were trained on where to go if a tsunami were to occur. Both groups were given the option whether they wanted to participate in this research or not. Owners, general managers and other employees all participated in this research.

***The Measurement Instrument or Plan of Analysis:***

Phone calls were made to the different hotels and motels that showed interest in this program from previous meetings. If they wanted to participate, appointments were set up to meet with the managers and the other employees who were willing to participate in this research study. Meetings were held in the months of July and August, during normal business hours. The meeting consisted of them filling out a pre-presentation survey to find out the knowledge they already knew about tsunamis. Three main questions were asked to gauge their perception of tsunami preparedness. They were asked, “How can tsunamis affect the population?” “What can be done to prepare for a tsunami?” and “Do you think a tsunami can happen in Washington State?” After the survey was filled out and turned in, they witnessed a quick presentation that explained the different disasters that could happen on the coast, which could affect them and their visitors. A major emphasis throughout this presentation was put on the issue of tsunamis. Afterwards they were given evacuation route maps, NOAA weather radios, and a list of essentials that they would need to pack if they had to evacuate their businesses or homes. Tent cards, which are small cards full of tsunami evacuation information, were also given to each business to be placed in each room at the business for guests to read. Video footage from the 2004 Sumatra tsunami was also shown to them so that they could see what a tsunami looks like when it reaches the coastline.

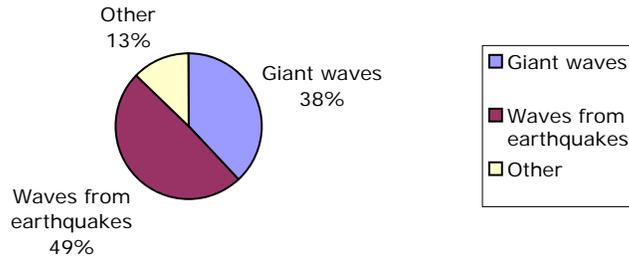
After the presentation was over, they proceeded to fill out a post presentation survey to find out what they learned from the presentation. Questions such as “What is the most important thing you learned today during this presentation?” and “What did you learn about tsunami preparedness?” were asked. Surveys were the statistical tool used in order to gain information from them that they were willing to share without feeling self conscious about their answers. Throughout this research and the presentations, my role was that of a facilitator and my presence as the facilitator was definitely noticed. By participating in this presentation, participants learned that they needed to be aware of evacuation routes located throughout their cities. They also realized that they needed to prepare evacuation preparedness kits to take with them when they evacuated to higher ground.

### **Results**

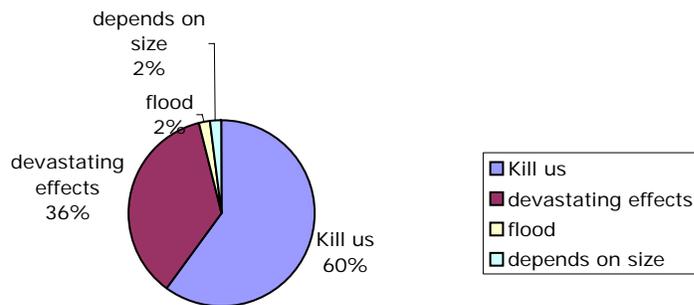
The second survey questions aimed to see if the presentation was effective. When participants were to define a tsunami, 49% of staff members were able to answer this question correctly. Moreover, 60% of participants knew that a tsunami could hurt the population, while 36% realized that a tsunami could cause devastating effects. Meanwhile, 87% of residents also believed that in order to prepare for a tsunami, they should pack a preparedness kit as a precaution for evacuation. Likewise 98% of staff members believed that a tsunami could happen in Washington State. At the conclusion of the presentation, 56% of staff members think that the most important action that should be taken in order to prepare for a disaster is to pack food and supplies, while 22% believed that they should have NOAA weather radios. Lastly, the most important emergency preparation tip learned through this presentation was to “move to higher ground.”

### Definitions of a Tsunami

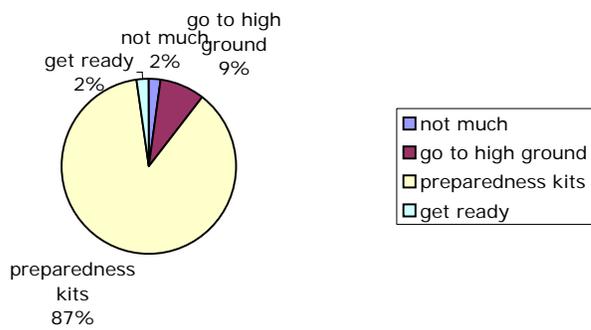
Tsunami is: A very large ocean wave caused by an underwater earthquake or volcanic eruption(The American Heritage Dictionary 2001)



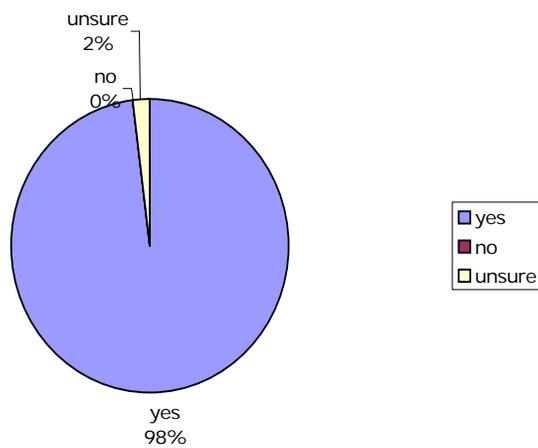
### Tsunamis affect on population



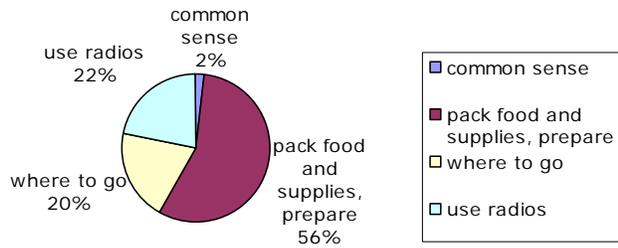
### What can be done to prepare for a tsunami?



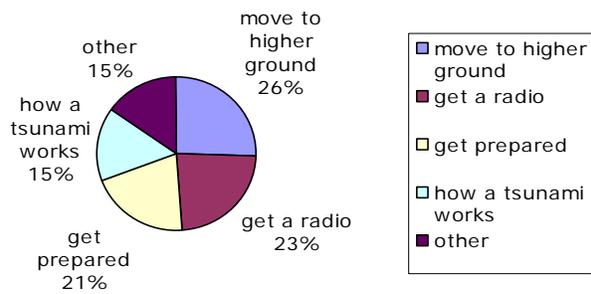
### Do you think a tsunami can happen?



### What did you learn about tsunami preparedness?



### What is one thing you did not know about tsunamis and tsunami preparedness before you came to this presentation today?



### **Discussion**

Half of the employees of the hotel/motel industry were aware of the factors that caused a tsunami. However, they were unaware that plate boundaries resided close to Washington State. If this plate were to rupture, a possible tsunami could affect this portion of Washington. Hopefully, with the knowledge they learned about this particular plate's proximity to Washington State, they will now become more prepared to react in the event of an emergency. In addition, staff members were aware that they should make preparedness kits ahead of time, which they could take with them while evacuating. It was interesting to find out that most individuals who wrote this answer were still unknowledgeable about certain essential items that they should put in the preparedness kit. Items such as cold packs, canned foods, and utility tools were all listed as part of the business survival kit. After seeing this list, many businesses realized that they should add more of these items to their preparedness kits. With this, many reasons were given as to why these essentials should be in their kits. One such reason is for them to be able to survive for a few days on their own until rescue teams can reach them. Similarly, almost all of the staff members knew that a tsunami could happen in Washington State, but still no precautions had been taken by these businesses. From participating in this study, individuals found it important to purchase NOAA weather radios, which would give them up to date information 24 hours a day. By purchasing this radio and programming it correctly, it will notify individuals if a tsunami warning has been issued. This information is useful for them to know so that they will be able to evacuate at their earliest convenience.

The catching slogan "move to higher ground" was introduced to the residents of Washington State to remind them about the proper evacuation procedure. Emergency Management officials would like individuals to remember this saying when an evacuation warning has been issued. Overall, it seems evident that businesses know that it is important to prepare for a tsunami by packing supplies, getting evacuation maps for their town, and

purchasing a NOAA weather radio. We are now hopeful that these businesses will become better prepared for events such as this.

### Conclusion

My hypothesis for this research study was partially disproved. Employees had prior knowledge on how to prepare for a tsunami but not enough training to evacuate quickly. After participating in this study, employees acquired more knowledge on how to prepare for a tsunami. Similarly I learned that if more businesses would participate in a presentation such as this, they would benefit from its influence. However, this was a small scale study; therefore, more studies are needed to see the short and long term impact of similar presentations. This study was important because it relayed information to future researchers on an effective tool in communicating this information to the public.

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- "Disaster Response Guidebook for Hotels and Motels on Washington's Coast" *Washington Military Department Emergency Management Division* 2006
- American Heritage Dictionary* 2001



**Veronica Zacharie**

Major:  
Political Science and  
Justice Studies

Mentor:  
**Dr. Constantine  
Danopoulos**

An Assessment of Public  
Opinion and Confidence  
Levels: Police, Courts and  
the Criminal Justice  
System

**Biography**

*Veronica Zacharie, is originally a Southern California native, She attended college in Northern California at San Jose State University. While in attendance her undergraduate career focused on Political Science with an emphasis on International Relations and a minor in Justice Studies. Her most memorable moment at San Jose State University was becoming apart of the McNair Scholars Program. As being a member of the scholars program She was able to meet other students that shared the same dreams and aspirations. Together they helped each other create and develop research ideas. Currently, She is pursuing her post baccalaureate education, similarly as her undergraduate education, in the Social Sciences. Veronica’s long-term life goals consist of being a diplomatic figure in the International community. During her spare time She enjoys spending time with family, friends, and her pets.*

**Abstract**

This research paper will focus on the public’s opinion and confidence in the police, courts, and the criminal justice system. Many public opinion polls conducted nation wide in the United States have asked the public: “How much confidence do you have in various criminal justice institutions...a great deal, a lot, average, very little, or none? Confidence levels include effectiveness at reducing crime, favorability of outcomes, solving crimes, and many other performance characteristics that are based on financial,

material, and personal well-being. First, I will examine the public's perceptions of the procedural fairness and ethicality of the police. Then, I will compare the public's perception of the police with their perception of the courts; therefore gaining an understanding of how people evaluate their own personal encounters with the police and courts, and how these encounters subsequently affects their attitudes. Lastly, I will draw conclusions of this research and address potential questions for research in the future.

### **Introduction**

Data on confidence levels suggest that Caucasians and African-Americans have similar views on two issues. First, Caucasians and African-Americans have less disagreement about confidence in the police protection from personal violence, with slightly fewer African-Americans having high confidence, but similar numbers of Caucasians-Americans (nine percent) and African-Americans (eleven percent) having little or no confidence in the police protecting them from personal violence. The second similarity is that both African-Americans and Caucasians have less confidence in the criminal justice system as a whole than in the specific institutions of the criminal justice system.

There are several possible explanations for why people have less confidence in the system as a whole. First, the system may be held responsible for doing little to prevent future crimes. Second, the system may be seen as failing to correct authorities who violate ethical standards, and third the system may be seen as unwilling to correct unfair outcomes that result from dishonesty or prejudice. It is important to figure out if this phenomenon is unique to the question of confidence or does it generalize to perceptions of the fairness and overall effectiveness of the system. Research in this field has compared how satisfied individuals are with an institution such as the courts to how satisfied one is with direct encounters with court officials, but it has not compared the system as a whole to its individual institutions.

### ***Evaluations of Procedural Fairness and Ethicality of Police***

Earlier literature reviews conducted in the 1970's (e.g., Decker, 1981; Sarat, 1977; White and Menke, 1978) concluded that the majority of the public holds the police in high esteem and have positive impressions of their ethical standards. This has been found to be true in Canada, the United Kingdom, and as well in the United States. For example, when members of the public in Canada were asked to rate the ethical standards associated with a list of professions, police officers were second only to physicians. In fact, an international comparison involving members of the public in over twenty nations found that attitudes towards the police were most positive in Canada and the United States.

Table 1.1 lists several key characteristics that are comprised of procedural fairness and ethical standards. Table 1.1 also provides a comparison of the views of Caucasian-American, Hispanic-American, and African-Americans have about the police, based on a nationwide survey of American adults conducted in 1992. On most of the dimensions, at least half of the respondents in each ethnic group provided very favorable ratings of the police. Two exceptions are noteworthy though. First, less than one-third of Hispanic-Americans and African-Americans (compared to almost half of the Caucasian-Americans) believed that the police are very honest and maintain ethical standards. Second, thirty-eight percent of the African-Americans compared to half of the Hispanic-Americans and two-thirds of the Caucasian-Americans believed that the police treat individuals fairly. The most variation occurs on the dimension of self-interest of crime prevention. Ethnic groups have similar views of police efforts towards crime prevention, with just over half in all groups providing positive ratings.

### ***Ethnic Differences and Socialization Effects***

African-Americans dissatisfaction focuses on unethical and unfair treatment rather than the effectiveness of police protection. From 1991 to 1993, almost one third of African-Americans and Hispanic-American adults rated honesty and ethical standards of the police as low or very low (Maguire and Flanagan, 1991). Similar results are found among younger populations. From 1978

to 1989, nationwide surveys of high school seniors' perceptions of the dishonesty and immorality of law enforcement and of the court systems revealed that these perceptions have been rather stable. Slightly fewer Caucasian-Americans than African-American high school students perceived dishonesty in law enforcement to be a considerable or great problem (Maguire and Flanagan, 1991). Maguire and Flanagan also noted that the unfavorable evaluation of African-American adults is shared by younger African-Americans as well.

Table 1.2 addresses issues pertaining to solving crimes. Hispanic-Americans and Caucasian-Americans share similar views, and these views are more positive than those of African-Americans. Surveys from 1978 to 1992 also found that African-Americans believed police officers were less courteous to them (Bishop, 1992). A Los Angeles Times Poll in 1990 also found that Hispanics were in the middle of Caucasians and African-Americans on a question about pushing people around: twenty percent of Caucasian-Americans, thirty-six percent of Hispanic-Americans, and fifty-four percent of African-Americans held an unfavorable impression of the police. Consequently, Hispanic-Americans' discontent seems to focus more on ethical standards and fair treatment, whereas African-Americans' dissatisfaction with the police seem to incorporate other issues such as their inability to solve crimes, police officers' friendliness, and response time. Caucasian-Americans also provided the most favorable ratings of police response time followed by Hispanic-Americans and then African-Americans. Response time and solving crimes have an interpersonal component-longer response time, and lack of information about police efforts to solve crimes against them may indicate a lack of respect and concern for the citizen.

### **Conclusion**

Polls that compare Caucasians to others, combining African-Americans, Hispanics-Americans, and other minorities together distort the important distinctions that may be made by these different minority groups in their perceptions of police, courts, and justice system. For example, ethnic comparisons

demonstrate that Hispanic-Americans and Caucasians have similar perceptions of the police on some dimensions such as friendliness, solving crime, and discriminatory treatment toward African-Americans.

Future research should be focused on the interrelationship between political views, specific experiences, and support for an institution within ethnic groups. Whether the importance people assign to crime control compared to due process shapes their perceptions of procedural fairness and support has received little attention, but appears to be an appealing area of inquiry based on the few studies addressing this issue.

Do Caucasian-Americans assign more importance to their political views when evaluating the police and the local courts? Are Hispanic-Americans more similar to Caucasian-Americans than African-Americans in the criteria they use to determine their level of support for the police and the court system? These are just a few of the questions that should be subject for future research in this field of study.

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## Appendix

**Table 1.1 Confidence in Supreme Court, Police, and Criminal Justice System Within Ethnicity (1994 Nationwide USA Gallup Poll)**

Institution	Caucasian-Americans		African-Americans	
	High <sup>126</sup>	Low	High	Low
Police in General	57%	10%	34%	30%
Police Protection From Personal Violence	47%	9%	38%	11%
Supreme Court	44%	17%	38%	22%
Criminal Justice System in General	14%	50%	26%	50%

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<sup>126</sup> The response categories for high were “great deal” and “a lot”, and the response categories for low were “very little” or none.” Average was the middle response category that does not appear in this table. This table was compiled from several tables in Maguire, Pastore and Flanagan (1993).

## Appendix

**Table 1.2 Public Perceptions of Fairness and Ethical Standards of Police Officers**

<b>Dimensions</b>	<b>Caucasian-American</b>	<b>Hispanic-American</b>	<b>African-American</b>
Honesty and Ethical Standards (1991) <sup>127</sup>	45%	30%	30%
1992 Gallup Poll	43%	N/A	29%
1993 Gallup Poll	53%	N/A	28%
<b>Harris Poll (1992)<sup>128</sup></b>			
Great Deal of Respect	68%	51%	51%
Treating People Fairly <sup>129</sup>	68%	54%	38%

<sup>127</sup> Data is based on the 1991, 1992, and 1993 Gallup Polls nationwide surveys of United States residents. The percentages are those who indicated either “very high” or “high”. Data was compiled from the 1990, 1992, and 1993 Sourcebooks of Criminal Justice Statistics.

<sup>128</sup> For all dimensions below, data was obtained from tables in the 1992 Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics and are based on the 1992 Harris Poll nationwide survey of United States residents.

Helpful and Friendly <sup>3</sup>	78%	71%	58%
Solving Crimes <sup>130</sup>	61%	57%	43%
Responding Quickly to Calls for Assistance <sup>4</sup>	73%	60%	50%
Preventing Crimes <sup>4</sup>	59%	56%	55%

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<sup>129</sup> The percentages are those who indicted either “excellent” or “very good.”

<sup>130</sup> The percentages are those who indicated either “excellent” or “pretty good.”

### *A Special Thanks to All the Scholars*

The McNair Scholars Staff would like to thank the 2006/2007 McNair Scholars for all their hard work and dedication. All of you have struggled through many unexpected challenges this year. Yet through it all, you have shown persistence, patience, and perseverance. All of you have accomplished great things and will continue to grow and succeed in all your endeavors. Just remember that no matter where you go, you are a McNair Scholar for life. If you ever need someone to talk too, we will be ready to listen. Good Luck with everything in the future!!!!





