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A FLOWER IN THE GARDEN OF DEATH: PORTRAYALS OF NEW YORK PROSTITUTE HELEN JEWETT AND THE REGULATION OF FEMALE SEXUALITY IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY UNITED STATES

by

Mark Bernhardt, Ph.D.[*]

ABSTRACT

On April 10, 1836 a New York prostitute named Helen Jewett was murdered. The crime became a national sensation when the story was picked up by James Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald*. Jewett's story was also told in a number of pamphlets published later about her life and death. In telling the story of her murder, Bennett and the authors of the pamphlets constructed a particular identity for Jewett in death which they used to reassert control over her sexuality. This identity was indicative of early nineteenth-century U.S. society's attempt to suppress the notion of female sexual desire and deny women sexual autonomy by portraying a prostitute, the most potent symbol of female sexuality, as lacking sexual desire and autonomy.

Keywords: *Helen Jewett, New York prostitutes, female sexuality, nineteenth-century newspapers in the U. S.*, New York Herald

Introduction

In the early hours of April 10, 1836, New York prostitute Helen Jewett (also known as Ellen) was killed in her bed by a blow to the head with a hatchet. Her assailant then set the bed on fire in an attempt to cover the murder. Police accused a young clerk

[*] Dr. Bernhardt is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Philosophy at Jackson State University.

named Richard Robinson, who had been Jewett's last client that night, of the crime and arrested him several hours later in his rented room just a few blocks from the brothel (Cohen 1999, 3-7, 10, 13-14).

Normally a prostitute's murder would not attract much attention. However, the tale of Jewett's death became a national sensation when newspaper publisher James Gordon Bennett devoted extensive coverage to the case in his *New York Herald* because he saw a way to use the crime to speak out on concern over the behavior of young people in 1830s America. Other writers also recounted the saga in various pamphlets published about the affair and used it to express their opinions on certain social issues. In telling the story of her demise, Bennett and most of the pamphlet authors sought to transform Jewett into a more respectable figure in death than she had been in life. They portrayed her as an innocent victim of seduction and circumstance rather than a deliberate violator of society's sexual code. By arguing that Jewett's descent into prostitution was a result of victimization rather than complicity, they reveal how antebellum U. S. society attempted to control female sexual behavior by denying full sexual autonomy to those who did not fit the ideal that women naturally refrain from sexual activity.

Regulating Behavior

Regulating the behavior of teenagers and young adults was a growing concern in the early- to mid-nineteenth-century U. S. The emerging market economy drew young men and women away from family farms to urban centers where they broke free of traditional forms of social control, such as family supervision, church discipline, and community surveillance, and were exposed to a myriad of temptations (Sellers 1991, 16, 20-1; Ryan 1981, 63-64; Stansell 1987, 84). Furthermore, large numbers of young immigrants entered the country, and nativists believed that they were predisposed to depravity, which exacerbated public fears about delinquency (Burrows and Wallace 1999, 475, 478, 514,

533). New York, which solidified its position as the nation's leading mercantile city with the building of the Erie Canal and trade connections with Europe, drew thousands of such rural migrants and immigrants (Burrows and Wallace 1999, 429-31). The city's population grew to 270,000 in 1835 and more than 500,000 by 1850 (Burrows and Wallace 1999, 433-34).

Once in the city, these young single people, like Richard Robinson, settled in the growing number of boardinghouses that provided living space for this demographic. Here they were left unsupervised, as their employers, who had traditionally acted as surrogate families and maintained discipline through the apprenticeship system, moved to suburban neighborhoods. Under such circumstances it was easy for young people to live anonymous lives and engage in 'debauchery' without fear of social repercussions (Cohen 1999, 11; D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, 56-57). Bennett spoke directly about the problem of the unsupervised urban young: "There exists no parental authority over young men . . . . T]hey are lawless and barbarous . . . .The halls, gaming houses, houses of ill name, are permitted to exist unmolested by the judicial authorities, and to corrupt and demoralize all the youthful population of the city" ("The Mysterious Murder" 1841, 2). The city offered many vices that moralists claimed corrupted the young, with the Jewett case emphasizing the threat of sexual immorality.

The religious movement that was the Second Great Awakening, which began in Kentucky in 1801 and lasted through the 1830s, induced a less tolerant attitude toward the loss of virginity at this time, and, consequently, society attempted to restrict illegitimate sexual activity (Cohen 1999, 227-28; Gilfoyle 1992, 98). One means for doing this was to socialize women into sexual regulation, which, it was assumed, would subsequently curb male sexual activity. Society focused on molding female behavior partly out of a belief that women were endowed with greater morality than men; thus, it would be easier to encourage them to refrain from sex. Women were told that by nature they experienced negligible sexual desire, to convince them that they

should not be susceptible to sexual temptation. Then, to discourage sexual activity if they were tempted, women were warned of the dangers of sex. Women who had premarital intercourse risked dishonor, and it was alleged that such a dishonoring could cause madness and lead to death. Furthermore, a woman was assured that, if she became pregnant, abandonment by the man was all but certain in this increasingly mobile society. Finally, women were threatened with the claim that sexual immorality could lead them into prostitution, the ultimate disgrace Ginzberg 1990, 11-14; Gilfoyle 1992, 98).

Prostitution

Prostitution received considerable attention because of the rate at which it was expanding in connection with the social and economic changes taking place in the country. The sex trade in New York, specifically, boomed with heightened demand from single male immigrants, sailors, out-of-town businessmen, and journeymen, all pouring into the city (Burrows and Wallace 1999, 484). City officials did little to curb prostitution's expansion in the 1830s. New York had no law against prostitution, only against running a brothel (Cohen 1999, 74; Gilfoyle 1997, 19). This is not to say that prostitutes were free from harassment by the police– they were frequently arrested on charges of vagrancy and disorderly conduct. In comparison, despite their blatant illegality, brothels were subjected to police action only if they created a neighborhood disturbance (Cohen 1999, 74). Even then the police were unlikely to shut down brothels because societal elites frequented them and many were rented out by the city's wealthiest citizens (Gilfoyle 1997, 34, 36). John R. Livingston, one of the city's prominent landowners, rented out twenty-five brothels, including the brothel in which Helen Jewett was murdered (Cohen 1999, 118; Gilfoyle 1997, 44). Other businessmen, such as theater and hotel owner John Jacob Astor, encouraged the establishment of brothels near their businesses to draw more customers (Cohen 1999, 118; Gilfoyle, 1997, 44). In this way, prostitution blurred

the lines between disreputable and respectable. Supposedly upstanding, moral citizens were directly linked to the world of amoral sex, undermining the code of chastity they claimed to support.

As one of the prostitutes working in the city's sex industry, blatantly and publicly violating the ideal of the virginal woman, Helen Jewett symbolized moralists' worst fears about what happened when female sexuality went unchecked. George C. Foster, a New York journalist, detailed the consequences for such women in his book *New York by Gas-Light*, a collection of stories about the city's underworld. He characterized the prostitutes he interviewed and observed as sexual deviants who had lost all trace of their female virtue – they openly and willingly engaged in illicit sex, something proper women did not do. He provides a description of two prostitutes he claims to have witnessed looking for customers along Broadway:

> Here are the two ladies approaching us, magnificently attired, with their large arms and voluptuous bosoms half naked, and their bright eyes looking invitation at every passer by. Their complexions are pure white and red, and their dresses are of the most expensive material, and an ultra fashionable make. Diamonds and bracelets flash from their bosoms and bare arms . . . . But for their large feet and vulgar hands, they would be taken for queens or princesses . . . . As they pass, they look hard at you, and exclaim familiarly, "How do you do, my dear? Come, won't you go home with me?" . . . . [T]he fine ladies pass on, stopping for a moment to exchange oaths and the most disgusting obscenity, in loud and mocking voice, with those flashily-rigged young men who stand at the entrance of an oyster-cellar. (Foster 1850, 70)

Once they found a "target," he describes how they stalked the man and lured him to his doom. Foster makes it clear that in his

opinion prostitutes are vulgar, deplorable women who not only ruin their own lives but are a threat to respectable society.

Seduction

Such assessments reinforced the perception that women needed to preserve their virginity at all cost. Nevertheless, there was some hope for women deemed morally fallen. Despite the claim of women's moral superiority and aversion to sex, it was believed that women could unwittingly fall prey to the numerous libidinous men who cunningly sought to seduce them and steal their innocence (Cohen 1999, 209-10, 227-28, 230). The woman still faced admonishment for losing her virginity, but the act was viewed as less reprehensible and the woman got some sympathy as a victim if she was seduced rather than a complicit participant (Gilfoyle 1997, 98; Hill 1993, 140). It is not clear what percentage of "seduced" women were actually raped, and it was difficult for women, with whom the burden of proof lay, to prove she had been raped. Unless signs of physical trauma were evident to show that she had resisted, it was assumed that she willingly submitted to the man's advances (Weeks 1981, 22, 41).

Moral reformers sought to protect women from the evils of lecherous men. They lobbied state legislatures to make seduction a crime, with 40,000 women in New York signing a petition in support of an anti-seduction law in 1841 (Hirshman and Larson 1998, 92-93). The passage of anti-seduction laws provided women with legal standing as victims and established punishments for their seducers. Furthermore, in some cases fathers or male guardians filed "seduction suits" in court against the men who dishonored their daughters or wards to help salvage the women's reputations by proving she was a victim. Seduction suits were among the most common civil suits in nineteenth-century courts (Cohen 1999, 209-10, 227-28, 230; Hill 1993, 140).

A major reason why society accepted seduction as mitigating responsibility for women's sexual activity is that seduction denied women sexual autonomy (Weeks 1981, 22).

Seduction implied that men had more control over women's sexuality than did women. The unequal power relationship between men and women in sexual relationships, as described by Michel Foucault, reaffirmed both women's civil status as dependents of men and, in accordance with the sexual repression and regulation of the age Foucault notes, the belief that women experienced minimal sexual desire (Foucault 1990, 3, 6, 26, 83; Weeks 1981, 41). The seduction suits further reinforced this notion of male control, as it was a man who filed the suit on behalf of his female charge. The ability to file such suits returned male relatives and guardians to their positions as the traditional protectors of female virtue after they lost some of their control as a result of young women's leaving home for work in the cities. Helen Jewett tried to restore some of her own respectability with a story of seduction. She claimed she was an orphan taken in by a wealthy family and sent to boarding school where she was seduced (Cohen 1999, 47). It was the dishonor of this seduction that then forced her into prostitution, not sexual depravity stemming from her own desires.

Reconstruction of Jewett's Identity

After her murder, Bennett and other biographers used Jewett's seduction story to reconstruct her identity and reassert control over her sexuality by presenting Jewett as a woman tripped up by tragic circumstances beyond her control yet fundamentally of noble character. The story ultimately was more effective in their hands, primarily because Jewett was now dead. The murder enabled them to use violent descriptions and images of her death to garner sympathy for her, she having died so young and in such a tragic manner, and to emphasize that she was no longer a threat to the established code for proper female sexual behavior because she was now dead. Death is seen in the Christian religious tradition as a progression to a form of rebirth. Hence, in a modified spiritual sense, Jewett goes through a rebirth of her identity in death by becoming a sympathetic, harmless victim, which might make

society more willing to overlook her iniquity (Bronfen 1992, 103). Furthermore, her death allowed her story to be used as a moral lesson concerning the consequences of stepping out of society's defined sexual norms, potentially saving other women from the same fate (Kalikoff 1986, 19). Thus, violence is integrally linked to the gender and sexuality ideologies of the day because of the way in which the violent acts committed against Jewett allowed Bennett and the other writers to construct an identity for her that otherwise would have been incompatible with her lifestyle. This new identity permitted Jewett to transcend any transgressions she committed when she was alive and controlled in death a woman who was not so easily controlled in life.

Bennett began the process by looking into Jewett's past. He discovered that she was really Dorcas Doyen from Augusta, Maine, and that her father sent her to work for a judge after her mother died; she was seduced by someone in Augusta, and she left the judge's family to go to Portland before eventually ending up in New York. Bennett sought to humanize Jewett by making this tale of her life the lead report on the first day of his coverage. He portrays Jewett as a good girl who slipped just once through seduction, and, as a result, was sent careening into a life of prostitution ("The Recent Tragedy" 1836, 1). Several contemporaries of Bennett also addressed this theme of seduction ruining the lives of otherwise respectable women in their writing. Lydia Maria Child's short story "Rosenglory" (1846) and Margaret Fuller's political tract *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1843) both attack seduction and the corresponding hypocrisy of tolerating male sexual liberty while ostracizing women for the same acts (Child 1846, 241-60; Hirsham and Larson 1998, 92). In this context, where women were susceptible to men's assaults against their virginity and having their reputations unfairly destroyed, Jewett becomes an innocent victim rather than a licentious transgressor.

Two other printed accounts of Jewett's life portrayed her in the same moral light. In one pamphlet from 1836, entitled "Authentic Biography," the anonymous author says that "It is true,

she was a girl of the town; but she was far removed from the degraded, ignorant, vicious beings generally known as such . . . ." In this telling she was seduced by a law student with whom she ran off to Portland after she became pregnant. However, when the infant died and the "scoundrel" abandoned her, she had no other option as a disgraced woman but to turn to prostitution. She nobly refused to pass herself off as a respectable woman, and, in the author's opinion, this was all the more reason to respect her (Cohen 1999, 88-90).

An 1870 history of the case by Thomas Dumphy and Thomas Cummins provides a particularly extraordinary tale of Jewett's journey into prostitution. In this version her first love comes at age eleven with a teenaged boy named Sumner. When their parents found out about this "unholy intimacy" the boy fled and took a job as a sailor. Jewett went to work for the local judge and after five years reencountered Sumner. The two had an affair. When the judge found out, he threw Helen out of his home. At this time, Sumner returned to his ship. Helen, with nowhere else to go, moved to Portland where she was tricked into prostitution. Eventually a wealthy man rescued her and she consented to marry him, but Sumner came back and Jewett's fiancé caught them together. This brought an end to the engagement, and, to make matters worse, Sumner died not long afterward. Jewett then left Portland for Boston where she was kidnapped and later rescued by another wealthy man to whom she became engaged. However, just before their marriage, an anonymous letter revealing her prostitution in Portland caused him to end the relationship. From Boston, Helen went to New York where she reentered prostitution and was ultimately murdered by Richard Robinson (Dumphy and Cummins 1870, 128-30).

In all three accounts, the chroniclers of Jewett's life seek to lay the blame for her fall into prostitution on someone other than Jewett and to minimize her sexual autonomy. For Bennett and the author of "Authentic Biography," her seducer is the one responsible. For Dumphy and Cummins, an innocent love affair and her inability to later resist the man was Jewett's downfall. It

cannot be denied that she was a "fallen woman" in terms of having lost her virginity, but she was portrayed to the audience as undeserving of the life her circumstances thrust upon her. Likewise, in addressing her life after her fall, none of her biographers condones the acts in which she engaged as a prostitute, but they paint a portrait of Jewett as a redeemable soul, different from other prostitutes. Bennett specifically writes, "… she was the flower of that garden of death–she was the Venus of that Palos of destruction–she was the beautiful ruling spirit of the place of perdition" ("The Recent Tragedy" 1836, 1). Jewett thus becomes a sympathetic figure; she is not presented as sexually depraved. At the same time, her story becomes a cautionary tale for other women about what can happen if they lose their virginity. Jewett always tried to do the right thing after her initial sexual encounter, but in every version of the story she ran into trouble. Even though her fall was not her fault, it had repercussions on the rest of her short life. This reality about what happened to the noble Jewett was designed to give other young women the motivation to be ever vigilant in protecting themselves from the same fate by doing all they could to avoid seduction and temptation.

Not everyone believed that Helen Jewett possessed an honorable nature, however. The anonymous author of the pamphlet *The Life of Ellen Jewett* (1836), for instance, is sympathetic with her as a victim of the initial seduction but describes her as "polluted" and a "degraded wretch" when discussing her life as a prostitute (Cohen 1999, 90-91). Here, the image of the absolved prostitute is countered with the image of the irredeemable "whore"–a woman who has sunk too low to regain any of her virtue, the opinion of prostitutes expressed by Foster, for example, because she makes herself sexually available to men. In emphasizing her sexual availability, *The Life of Ellen Jewett* highlights a vulnerability that all seduced women faced–becoming sexually available to one man could result in her sexual availability to all men.

In this sexually restrictive society, acquiring sexual access to women through seduction was a fantasy for at least some men.

Foster alludes to this fantasy in his account of the man hunted by prostitutes described earlier. The prostitute fools the man into believing that she "is some timid creature" and he delights that he might be able to seduce her (Foster 1850, 72). While *The Life of Ellen Jewett* is more judgmental of Jewett, all of the versions of her story played to society's fears of what the loss of virginity does to a woman. Just one mishap of teenage sexuality resulted in her fall from respectability to social marginality, forced her to resort to prostitution, and ultimately led to death.

Generating Sympathy

After establishing who she was and mitigating her guilt for her sexual indiscretions, Bennett began using her death to generate sympathy for Jewett by providing graphic details of the crime scene and the violence done to her. In doing so, Bennett focuses on Jewett's body in a way that simultaneously engages the male fantasy of gaining sexual access to vulnerable women and further emphasizes her lack of sexual autonomy. He caters to male fantasy by suggesting an eroticism exuded by the corpse, almost pornographic in nature. He writes: "He half uncovered the ghastly corpse. I could scarcely look at her for a second or two. Slowly I began to discover the lineaments of that corpse as one would the beauties of a statue . . . ." He goes on to say that the body looked as white and polished as marble. "One arm lay over her bosom– the other was inverted and hanging over her head. The left side, down to the waist, where the fire had touched was bronzed like an antique statue of antiquity." Here, he compared the corpse to the statue Venus de Medicis. "For a few moments I was lost in admiration at the extraordinary sight–a beautiful female corpse– that surpassed the finest statue of antiquity." Finally, he noted the gashes to her right temple, returning to the fact that Jewett was the victim of a brutal slaying, "…inflicted upon her head three blows, either of which must have proved fatal . . . ." ("The Recent Tragedy" 1836, 3; "Still Further of the Tragedy" 1836, 4). While providing his readers a sexualized view of Jewett, Bennett's

portrayal of her body as an object, like a statue, takes away her sexual autonomy. She is now inanimate and acted upon, no longer able to initiate action and violate society's sexual code.

This combination of sexualization and inanimateness becomes even more apparent in the pictures of her body. Bennett did not publish any pictures, but three pamphlets about the case did include illustrations that connect the erotic allure of Jewett's body and her lack of autonomy (Banta 1987, 13-14). The texts that accompanied these illustrations provided descriptions of the murder equally as graphic as Bennett's. However, the pictures do not convey the brutality of the crime. They remove the blood and the burned flesh. Combining graphic descriptions of the crime with scenes that removed much of the murder's gore allowed the reader to be horrified by the descriptions and feel sorry about what was done to this young woman while simultaneously providing an erotic view of her body–dead but not mutilated. They also emphasized her lack of autonomy by allowing the viewer to see her body being acted upon.

The erotic manner in which Jewett's corpse is portrayed in these illustrations fits Laura Mulvey's theory on viewing the female body. The spectator of the image is assumed to be male, so the image of the woman, as an object of sight, is designed to flatter men (Mulvey 1975, 57-68). Because men at this time generally believed they did, and should, have control over female sexuality, as both the corrupters and protectors of women, it is men who initiated the process of reestablishing control over Jewett's sexuality. Thus the illustrations of Jewett fit male perceptions of who she is or should be. She is an innocent victim of seduction and a beautiful prostitute, vulnerable and sexually alluring to men on both counts. Jewett's lack of autonomy in the pictures fits John Berger's argument that the meaning which producers convey in images is often rooted in the relationship between male and female figures (Berger 1972, 45-7, 64)–Richard Robinson and Helen Jewett in the case of these illustrations. The man's presence in the picture is defined by the power which he embodies and what he is capable of doing to the female figure–he acts. The woman's

presence defines what can and cannot be done to her–she is acted upon.

One of the pamphlet illustrations shows the murder about to happen (Fig. 1). In this picture Jewett is sleeping as Richard Robinson approaches the bed (Wilkes 1849, 118). The image defines Jewett as the innocent victim and Robinson as the evil killer. Robinson possesses physical power, which is manifested in what he is about to do to the female figure–murder her. Robinson is dressed in a dark top hat and cloak, identifying him as the villain. His legs are straddled wide as if preparing to deal the death blow. The sleeping Jewett is taken unaware. Lying there, Jewett becomes a sexualized sight for men. However, the sexual nature of the scene is muted by the fact that she is fully clothed. The producer of the image preserves her modesty and subsequently exerts a degree of control over her sexuality by covering up any indication that she has recently engaged in sex. In the text that accompanies the picture the author takes the position that Jewett is a fallen woman worthy of society's absolution by downplaying Jewett's sexual autonomy and highlighting male control over female sexuality through seduction. Thus, she is not the typical prostitute in the context of this scene, allowing the audience to perceive her differently than it might have if she had been presented as one of the sexually deviant prostitutes Foster

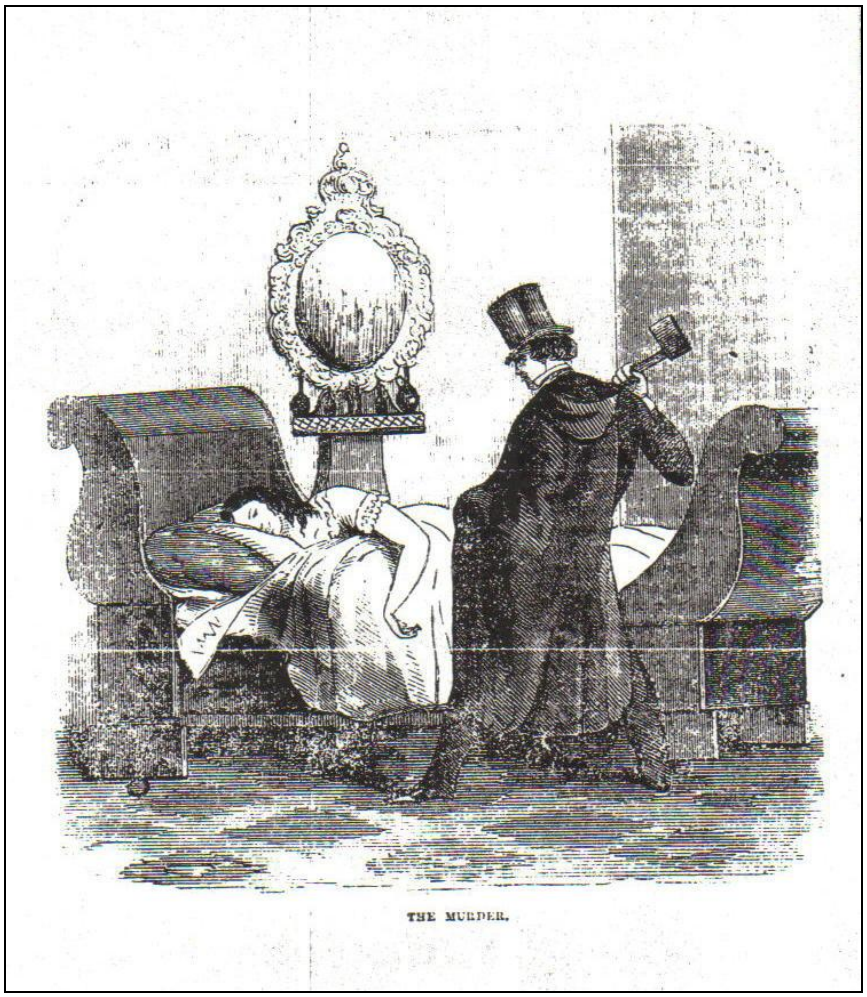

Figure 1: Richard Robinson Approaching Helen Jewett While She Sleeps Courtesy, New York Historical Society.

describes. Men, whose actions destroy vulnerable women, are the real villains–Robinson because he has killed Jewett, the man who seduced Jewett because he sent her careening into prostitution, and all the men in the world who seduce young women and leave them to face death because they intentionally undermine female virtue. By highlighting men's villainy, the pamphlet inadvertently demonstrates the injustice of the patriarchal system by making it very clear how few sexual options women have.

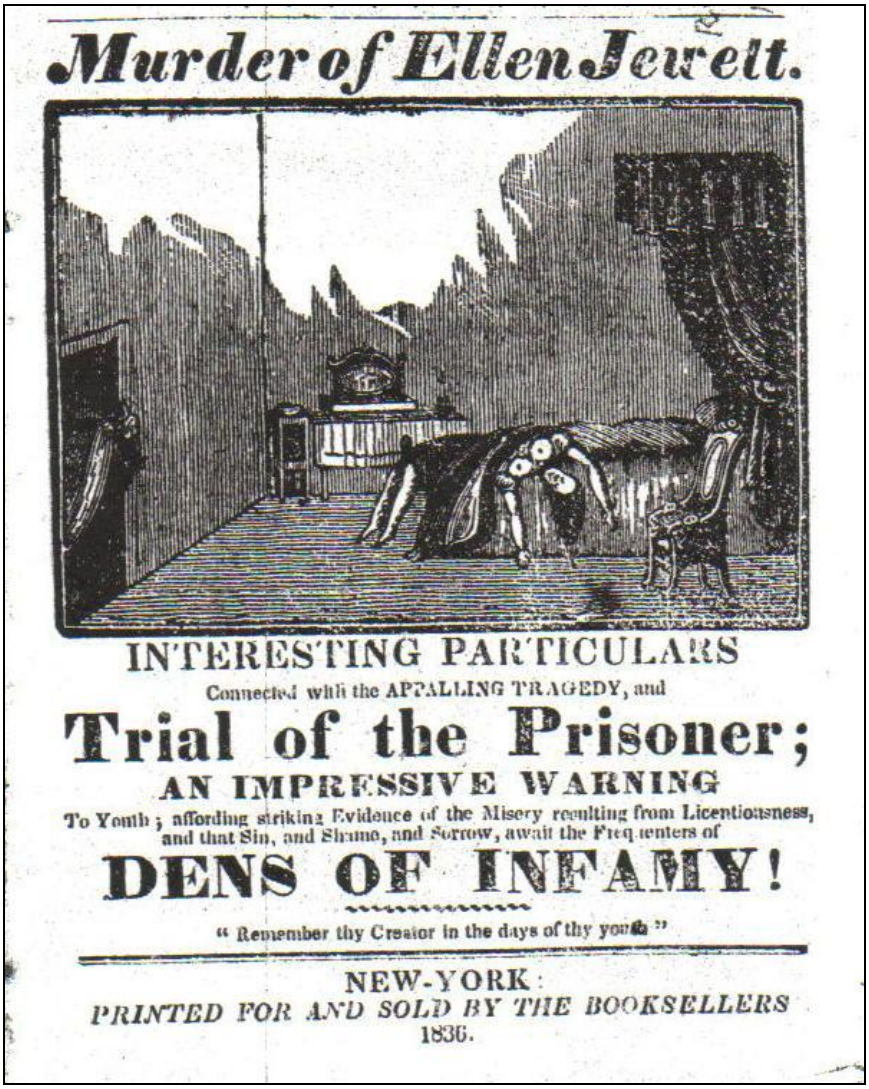

Figure 1: Richard Robinson Approaching Helen Jewett While She Sleeps. Courtesy, New York Historical Society.

The pictures from the other two pamphlets portray the murder after it has taken place. One shows Jewett lying on her bed –her feet, head, and arms dangling off the sides (Fig. 2). Robinson is visible leaving through the door (*Murder of Ellen Jewett* 1836, cover). In this case, Robinson has exerted his power, having already committed the act of violence on the female figure by the time the viewer is allowed to look upon the scene. This picture is not very graphic, depicting only the body, which the viewer is

supposed to know is dead. While the view of this pamphlet's author is similar to that of the first–Jewett as seduced victim, Robinson as cold blooded killer, men as the general enemy of female virtue–there is a significant difference. Here her breasts are bared. This image provides a more sexualized scene, which makes it more alluring to the male viewer and allows the audience to assign a different meaning to her based on society's code for female sexuality. The text still denies her sexual autonomy, but the picture does less to distance her from the sex acts in which respectable women did not engage. In this way, the author simultaneously grants Jewett a modicum of respectability and acknowledges that she did violate the virginal ideal. By including a picture that allows the viewer to see Jewett after she is dead, however, the author makes it clear that society has nothing left to fear because Jewett is no longer able to continue violating society's sexual code. Any autonomy she may have had is now gone.

The final picture is from the pamphlet most critical of Jewett, *The Life of Ellen Jewett*. Here, Jewett is shown lain out on her bed, dressed in a nightgown (Fig. 3). There is a spot on her right temple, indicating where she was struck. Robinson is in the back of the picture, looking over his shoulder at Jewett as he moves toward the door (*The Life of Ellen Jewett* 1836, 54). Again, Robinson has already exerted his power over the female figure. Like the first illustration, this picture shows the beautiful victim killed unaware in her sleep. It emphasizes her beauty in the way that her features are drawn, with her wound barely visible. Once again, though, the sexual nature of the picture is restricted by the fact that she is fully clothed. In this case, the preservation of Jewett's modesty seems to contradict the image of her that the author wants to present based on the text, that of an irredeemable whore. Nevertheless, he is still sympathetic in regards to Jewett's seduction, placing responsibility for her fall in the hands of the man. While Jewett may have ultimately lost all traces of her female virtue, the men who seduce women, and Jewett's seducer specifically, are still the villains here. These two views together deny Jewett both absolution and complete sexual autonomy. As

with the previous illustration, this picture emphasizes this lack of autonomy by showing Jewett dead, no longer able to act and engage in immoral sex. Therefore, she no longer poses a threat to society.

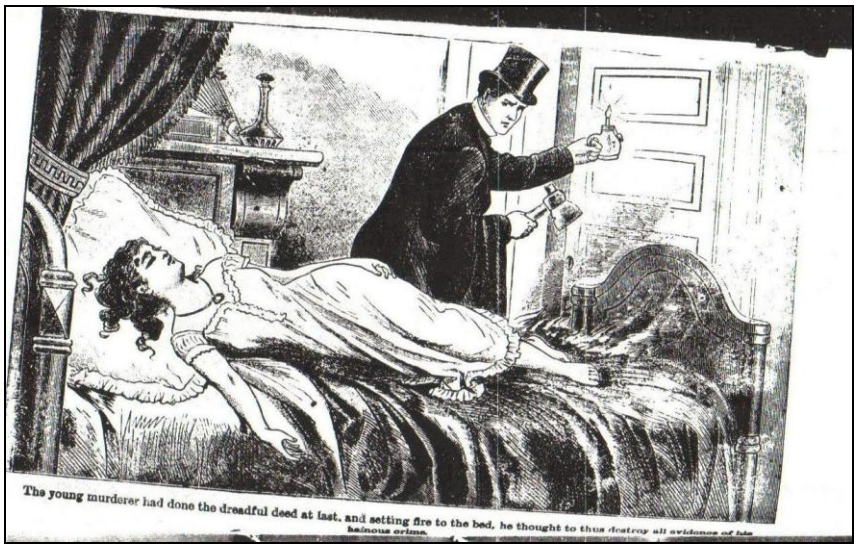

Figure 3: Richard Robinson Leaving Room After Killing Helen Jewett. Courtesy, New York Historical Society.

The significance of Jewett's death for the creation of her identity in the *Herald* and pamphlets becomes even more apparent when compared to the portrayals of living prostitutes that Foster provides. One of the prostitutes described, Anna, was the daughter of a New York farmer who told her own seduction story. She claimed that she had her first sexual encounter at the age of fifteen with a cousin named Tom (Foster 1850, 98). After Tom left to return to his university she confessed this act to the local minister. The minister demanded sex in return for covering up her deed. This coerced sexual affair went on until her parents found out about it. When they discovered what their daughter had done, her mother died and her father turned to drink and lost the family farm. Tom also abandoned her (Foster 1850, 98-99). At this point, Anna was transformed from an innocent victim of seduction into a sexual

sociopath out to ruin men the way they had ruined her. As she allegedly told Foster, "Thus, by my instinctive trust in love and my natural veneration for religion and its minister, was I, while yet a child, perverted to shame. Is it strange that I have grown hard-hearted and reckless and learned to look on life as a game of cards, at which he who wins most is the best fellow? What are men to me, but as victims to pluck, or food for my insane and fierce appetites? I have no position and no future. I live but for the present" (Foster 1850, 99). In Foster's opinion, because of this transformation and continued engagement in prostitution, her seduction story no longer absolves her, a sentiment echoed regarding Jewett in *The Life of Ellen Jewett*.

Foster was convinced that there was no hope of redemption for prostitutes. He claimed that seduced and impregnated women from the countryside were flooding into the city, seeking to escape infamy. Once in the city, out of desperation they begin their descent into total depravity by first killing or abandoning their children. They then become addicted to the temporary life of luxury that prostitution provides. They live only for the moment, seeking gratification wherever they can find it, no longer caring about their virtue or reputations. Foster states: "There may be, and doubtless are, exceptions to this rule, but we are convinced they must be rare. When a woman has once nerved herself to make the fatal plunge, a change comes over her whole character; and sustained by outraged love transmuted to hate, by miscalculating yet indomitable pride, by revenge, and by a reckless abandonment to the unnatural stimulus and excitement of her new profession, her fate is fixed" (Foster 1850, 130-31).

Social Reformers

Not everyone agreed with Foster's assessment of prostitutes. Some social reformers were sympathetic and tried to help them. As these woman-oriented benevolence societies saw it, the root cause of prostitution was not the moral deterioration of women in the wake of seduction, but rather an economic system

that kept women in poverty by paying them low wages so that they had few options but to turn to prostitution (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, 136). The research of Dr. William Sanger tended to support this view. He conducted surveys with prostitutes in the 1850s and found that a significant proportion of those in their late teens and twenties were daughters of middle-class or skilled artisanal-class parents who fell on hard times after the death of one of their parents, usually the father (Gilfoyle 1997, 66; Hill 1993, 23-24).

Sanger also provided other examples of how economic need led women into the sex trade. In two of his case studies he cited a widow with a child who earned a dollar and fifty cents a week as a tailoress, and a domestic servant who spent all of her money to treat an illness and then could not find work, as the types of circumstances that drove women to sell their bodies (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, 136; Gilfoyle 1997, 66; Hill 1993, 23-24). Pay for the kinds of jobs women could get barely covered the cost of living in New York, even when no catastrophe threatened their finances (Gilfoyle 1997, 19; Hill 1993, 27-30). Consequently, women sometimes traded sex for rent and food. Most women who prostituted themselves did so only part-time and temporarily, when they had a need for money (Gilfoyle 1997, 56, 59, 84; Hill 1993, 51, 81-87, 103).

To address the prostitution problem, benevolence societies opened homes where prostitutes could stay and the workers hoped to find them new careers. Often, however, the benevolence societies were not as successful as they had hoped. While most women might have resorted to prostitution out of economic necessity rather than moral depravity, not all saw the need to return to the kind of life society deemed respectable (D'Emilio and Freedman 1997, 143-45). Charles Dickens, who was very popular in the United States and travelled to New York on a book signing tour just a few years after Jewett's murder, believed that such failures to rehabilitate prostitutes resulted from reform institutions' not understanding the circumstances of prostitutes' lives, not because the women were irredeemable as Foster claimed. He described his encounter with one such reform house: "A suspicion

crossed my mind . . . whether the superintendent had quite sufficient knowledge of the world and worldly characters; and whether he did not commit a great mistake in treating some young girls, who were to all intents and purposes, by their years and their past lives, women, as though they were little children; which certainly had a ludicrous effect in my eyes, and, or I am much mistaken, in theirs also" (Dickens 1842, 125).

In portraying Jewett differently than the prostitutes Foster described, Bennett and most of Jewett's other biographers expressed a sympathy for her similar to that of the social reformers and that of Dickens. They were able to turn her into a much nobler character by constructing a mythical version of her life and career. Helen Jewett was beautiful, not hideous. She was cultured, not profane. She had relationships with men; she did not hunt them. If she had a child, it had died; she did not kill her baby. She was an angel, not a devil. What makes Jewett respectable in their accounts, though, is the fact that she was violently murdered and could not be accused of living a life of sin because she is no longer living *to* sin. It is impossible to imagine that Bennett could have constructed this type of image for Jewett if she were alive or would have tried to do so for any living prostitute. In this sense, Jewett only became special to people like Bennett because she was dead, no longer a threat, which allowed her identity to be reconstructed.

Proof of this lies in Bennett's treatment of the other prostitutes from Jewett's brothel in his newspaper reports. He suggests that the brothel madam, Rosina Townsend, or one of the other prostitutes killed Jewett out of jealousy and that Richard Robinson was innocent: "How could a young man perpetrate so brutal an act? Is it not more like the work of a woman? Are not the whole train of circumstances within the ingenuity of a female abandoned and desperate?" ("View of the Case of Murder" 1836, 1). Despite having built up Helen Jewett as morally pure in spite of her prostitution, here he capitalizes on the common stereotype of prostitutes as immoral. The common view held of women was that they were gentler, weaker, and more moral than men, which would suggest that the murder was not the work of a woman.

Young men like Robinson were known to cause trouble, unsupervised in the city. Bennett, though, is not suggesting any normal woman committed this crime. He is suggesting that a prostitute killed Jewett. Based on Foster's portrait of the prostitutes who roamed the streets, that they were depraved and a threat to undermine the moral values of society at large, especially those less beautiful, cultured, and celebrated in the press than Jewett, Bennett's readers could believe a woman committed this crime while still believing that Jewett was a respectable woman. Bennett did not have any more respect for living prostitutes than did Foster. He raised the reputation of only one prostitute, Helen Jewett, by creating for her a respectable identity after she was dead and no longer a threat.

Nathaniel Hawthorne provides insight into the public's response to this effort to restore Jewett's respectability. He tells of his visit to a wax figure display, which included a likeness of Helen Jewett (he refers to her as Ellen). Describing her figure as dressed elegantly and very pretty, he states, "The showman seemed . . . proud of Ellen Jewett" and says that the showman claims he "never knew a handsomer female." By Hawthorne's account, Jewett is one of the main attractions, noting that the women are drawn to her, having "much curiosity about such ladies" (Hawthorne 1836, 209-10). Hawthorne's remark that women have a curiosity regarding "such ladies" implies that her profession sets her apart from respectable society, and he specifically notes the moral lesson that is emphasized at the exhibit in connection with Jewett's figure. It is not clear whether she has been absolved of her sexual transgressions. However, her popularity and the recognition of the cautionary tale that her tragedy offered to others concerning the risk of lost virginity suggest that, at the very least, people's perceptions of her were influenced by Bennett's portrayal and that they attributed a certain amount of value to her life, seeing her as more than a common prostitute.

Jewett's burial at Trinity Parish provides a final example of society's attempt to control her sexuality and construct an image of innocence for her. The church classified women buried in the

cemetery as either a girl, single, married, or widowed. Jewett was listed as widowed. She clearly was not a girl nor did she leave behind a husband. Historian Patricia Cohen speculates that "single" probably sounded too virginal and would have passed judgment on her as an immoral woman who was sexually active outside of marriage. So to acknowledge the well known fact that she was not a virgin while still maintaining a semblance of respectability, "widowed" was chosen (Cohen 1999, 300).

Conclusion

Bennett and the others who wrote about Jewett were able to transform her into a more respectable figure and reassert control over her sexuality on behalf of society, but it required her death to do so. Alive, she was just another one of Foster's depraved prostitutes. Her murder allowed her to become a sympathetic victim of a tragic life who lacked sexual autonomy, symbolized by her body as an object that is acted upon, not one that acts. In this state, she more readily conformed to the era's gender ideals because she was no longer capable of threatening respectable society.

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THE MASTER'S TOOLS: CARMICHAEL'S USE OF ARISTOTLE'S AND QUINTILIAN'S RHETORICAL THEORIES OF EMOTIONAL APPEAL TO PROMOTE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

by

Cicely T. Wilson, M. A.[1]

ABSTRACT

This analysis focuses on activist Stokely Carmichael's 1967 address to students of Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington. It serves as a rebuttal to poet Audre Lorde's (1984) quote "for the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (112), for Carmichael's use of Aristotle's and Quintilian's rhetorical theories of emotional appeal as tools to persuade his audience to develop a black consciousness (rather than see themselves through the eyes of their white counterparts) did indeed dismantle the master's house of psychological oppression of black Americans.

Keywords: *Carmichael, black consciousness, Aristotle, Quintilian, black power*

Introduction

When my husband jogs in our well-established, predominantly white neighborhood, he becomes acutely aware of how many of our white neighbors see him. He knows when they see him jogging past their well-manicured lawns at daybreak, they don't see an Army veteran-turned-elementary school teacher who is, as his students call him, a big teddy bear. What they see is a

[1] Cicely T. Wilson is an Assistant Professor of Communications at Victory University and a doctoral candidate at the University of Memphis.

large, muscular, black man who may do them harm. When he runs past the middle-aged and older white neighbors who avert their eyes rather than say "good morning" or who cross the street or pretend to be inspecting their shoes upon his approach, for the duration of his jog he sees himself how many white people may see him—as a menace whose presence threatens their safety and peace of mind. When he returns home to prepare for his day as an educator, his sight of who he really is returns.

In the chapter "Of Our Spiritual Strivings" in his book *The Souls of Black Folk,* W. E. B. DuBois talked about this dual sight of oneself, calling it *double consciousness*. Double consciousness is a "second sight in this American world…looking at one's self through the eyes of others . . ." (DuBois 1969, 45). Since the African slaves' arrival in the United States, black people have had to grapple with this second sight. With one sight, we can see and celebrate ourselves for who we are—rich in beauty, intellect, ingenuity, and spirituality. With the other sight, we can see ourselves as white people see us—having nothing to celebrate—unattractive, ignorant, and shiftless beings without a moral compass who will never measure up.

As race relations shifted, many black people lost their first sight—the ability to see themselves through their own eyes only to cleave to the second sight, seeing themselves as many white people saw them. This one-sided way of regarding oneself led to a shame of being black. Following that shame were efforts to alter features unique to the black race, such as skin tone, hair texture, and facial features. For a group of people who were striving for equality, this shame and self-hatred was an obstacle that had to be addressed. There was a need for solidarity, pride, and the ability to see oneself with a true consciousness. While many civil rights leaders made great strides in bringing the black community together to fight for equality, one young leader addressed the struggle of the consciousness.

Stokely Carmichael, one of the leaders of the Black Power Movement, "aim[ed] to define and encourage a new consciousness among black people . . . this consciousness might be called a sense

of peoplehood: pride, rather than shame, in blackness, and an attitude of brotherly communal responsibility among all black people for one another" (Carmichael & Hamilton 1968, viii). It is Carmichael's conceptions of whiteness and blackness that will be used throughout this paper and not necessarily my own.

Review of Literature

While Carmichael gave many speeches, some more famous than others, this analysis focuses on his 1967 address to the students of Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington. This address is 70 minutes in length and its transcript spans 17 pages. The rhetorical text under investigation in this essay is one that uses tools of persuasion as described by both Aristotle and Quintilian. Carmichael used Aristotle's and Quintilian's rhetorical theories of emotional appeal as tools to persuade his audience to develop a black consciousness rather than see themselves through the eyes of their white counterparts.

When encouraging marginalized individuals to take their differences and use them as strengths, poet Audre Lorde (1984) wrote "for the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (112). Dr. Kim Pearson at The College of New Jersey posits that African slaves had no choice but to use the master's tools of English language and argument styles to fight for their freedom, but they added their own oral traditions to create a hybrid tool that became a new kind of tradition.

It is this use of the master's tools—emotional appeals and strategies of forensic discourse—that Carmichael used so effectively in his Garfield High address. Having majored in philosophy at Howard University, Carmichael is sure to have read the philosophies of Aristotle and Quintilian, so I believe his speech to be an intentional use of the "master's tools" to dismantle the second sight that plagued many black Americans. The purpose of this analysis is to identify how the ancient tools of persuasion and strategies of forensic discourse were aptly used in a contemporary

rhetorical text designed to spark change in the consciousnesses of black youth.

The speech contains exemplary cases of emotional appeals of anger, enmity, and shame as described by Aristotle. Aristotle defined anger as "an impulse, accompanied by pain, to a conspicuous revenge for a conspicuous slight directed without justification towards what concerns oneself or towards what concerns one's friends" (2001, 214). He defined enmity as "hostile emotions as awakened by perception that someone belongs to a detested class of individuals. The negative feeling toward the class is a permanent one" (1991, 137). Shame is defined as "a sort of pain and agitation concerning the class of evils, whether present or past or future that seems to bring a person into disrespect" (1991, 144). The recitation of atrocities and the speaker's sharing of the feeling he is trying evoke as described by Quintilian are also demonstrated in this speech delivered to persuade audience members to change how they see themselves, see the world around them, and join the movement.

After providing the contextual setting for the speech, I will discuss the emotional appeal of anger as described by both Aristotle and Quintilian and the emotional appeals of enmity and shame. I will conclude by connecting the context, audience, speaker, and the speaker's use of persuasive tools to spark change.

Contextual Setting

In 1957, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other Southern black ministers founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to bring about the end of segregation. The SCLC adopted a non-violent protest principle. In 1960, black college students began the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which was also dedicated to ending segregation and giving young black people a stronger voice in the Civil Rights Movement. Members of SNCC demonstrated the effectiveness of non-violent sit-ins, which was soon adopted by other Civil Rights groups ("This Far by Faith").

From the inception of SNCC to the Garfield High School speech, many disturbing acts of violence had taken place. During civil rights protests in 1962 in Birmingham, fire hoses and police dogs were used in attacks on black demonstrators. Also, in 1962, Mississippi's NAACP field secretary, Medgar Evers, was gunned down outside his home. In 1963, the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama was bombed during Sunday School, killing four little girls. In 1964, three civil rights workers—Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner—were killed by members of the Ku Klux Klan. Malcolm X, Black Nationalist and founder of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, was assassinated in 1965. Also in 1965, a week-long race riot took place in the black section of Los Angeles known as Watts (Brunner & Haney 2007).

By the time the Black Panthers formed in 1966, many non-violent protests had been met with violence from white attackers. SNCC, headed by Stokely Carmichael and others, rejected the original non-violent principle and embraced violence as a legitimate form of self-defense.

Stokely Carmichael

According to notablebiographies.com, Stokely Carmichael was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad. When his parents moved to the Bronx, he was admitted to the Bronx High School of Science as a gifted student. He worked with civil rights activist Bayard Rustin before he started participating in civil rights activities in New York City. He later began traveling to Virginia and South Carolina to participate in sit-ins. Refusing offers to attend traditionally white institutions, Carmichael furthered his education at Howard University where he majored in philosophy and became even more active in the civil rights movement. He joined the local Non-Violent Action Group (connected to the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee (SNCC)), traveling south to participate with the Freedom Riders who worked to end segregation on buses and at terminals. After he graduated in 1964 with a degree in philosophy, he remained in the South as an active participant in sit-

ins, voter registration drives, and picketing. He helped found the Lowndes County Freedom Party, whose symbol was the black panther.

In 1965, he replaced John Lewis as the president of the SNCC and participated in the Freedom March from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama with Dr. Martin Luther King. After seeing many non-violent protests met with violence from white Americans, Carmichael turned from the nonviolent platform and began to publicly promote the concept of Black Power, which he described as a movement towards African Americans' gaining political power. His position at the helm of the SNCC enabled him to spread the Black Power Movement, but when he decided against running for a second term as president of the SNCC, the organization soon dissolved and Carmichael shifted his attention abroad ("Stokely Carmichael").

The Black Power Message

Black Power was intended to be seen as "an attempt to instill a sense of identity and pride in black people" (Hamilton 1970, 154). Black people had been oppressed for so long and so harshly that the community was about to burst with rage and frustration. Black power sought to "organize the rage of black people" (Hamilton 1970, 156). As the Black Power movement set about "putting new, hard questions and demands to white America," white America responded with cruel violence (Hamilton 1970, 156).

The Black Power Movement was started with the goals of addressing the "growing alienation of black people and their distrust of the institutions of America, . . . creating new values and building a new sense of community and belonging," and "working to establish legitimate institutions that make participants, not recipients, out of a people traditionally excluded from the fundamentally racist processes of this country" (Hamilton 1970, 156).

At the heart of the Black Power Movement was the rejection of the lessons of slavery and segregation that caused

black people to be ashamed of themselves and to hate themselves. Black people wanted to be treated fairly—equal to their white counterparts. They wanted to be integrated and have access to the same freedom, rights, and opportunities to which their white counterparts naturally had access. Integration had a price, however. According to C. V. Hamilton, "To be integrated it was necessary to deny one's heritage, one's own culture, to be ashamed of one's black skin, thick lips and kinky hair" (156-57). It was this price, this selling of one's soul that the Black Power Movement was trying to reverse in the adult black population and prevent in the younger one; thus, the importance of Carmichael's speech to the students of Garfield High School.

Carmichael, then chairman of SNCC, had been speaking at many rallies, on college campuses, and to audiences all over the country, but his speech to the students of Garfield High School can be interpreted as one of significance because witnesses remember the immediate change Carmichael's speech exacted upon the black community.

Larry Gossett, who attended the Garfield High speech, remembers April 19, 1967 as the day "when Negroes in Seattle became blacks" (Gunn). In a *Seattle Times* article, Gossett said everything changed when Carmichael came to Garfield High School: "Stokely knew black history. Negroes were so starved for information to make them proud of who they were. The next morning, people who had gone to hear him thinking themselves Negroes, were calling themselves black. It just spread like wildfire" (qtd. in Gunn 2002).

The Seattle School Board initially denied Carmichael's request to use the auditorium for fear of violence, but later rescinded their denial. Four thousand black people of all ages came to hear Carmichael, but because the auditorium could only seat 1500, 2500 audience members heard him via speakers in the gymnasium, and yet hundreds of people were turned away for lack of space (Gunn 2002). Aaron Dixon recalled the event, saying, "the way I looked at myself and America changed" (qtd. in Gunn 2002).

Garfield High School in Seattle, Washington

After World War II, the Central District in Seattle, Washington was predominantly black. By 1961, the population of Garfield High School was about 51 percent black, although the general Seattle school district was 5.3 percent black. In the late 1960s, Garfield High School was the center of the school district's attempt to avoid forced busing[2] (Tate 2002). This situation lends significance to Carmichael's speech, because the school was predominantly black, and there was resistance to busing in white students or busing out black students to make the school compliant with desegregation orders.

While Carmichael delivered many speeches, many of which are available on the internet, I found the address to Garfield High School to be of particular significance because Carmichael wanted to reach the black youth who were being taught the abbreviated, ellipsis-filled history that so often left out contributions of black Americans. The high school years are the formative years, and to have a public figure like Stokely Carmichael speak into one's psyche the reaffirming words that a young black person has longed to hear and believed to be true had to have been an emotional experience. This address does not call the youth to bear arms and fight. Rather, it exposes the shame and the shameful, the atrocities and deceit, and it encourages authenticity of one's culture, heritage, and beauty.

Rhetorical Theory and Emotional Appeal

Rhetoric has many definitions, but the definition most relevant to this investigation of the use of emotional appeal is "an ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion" (1991, 14). The Aristotelian means of persuasion can fall into two categories—artistic and inartistic. Inartistic means of

[2] An attempt to desegregate public schools by busing in students of other races to "balance" out the population.

persuasion are those that are simply used by the speaker—hard evidence, such as facts and statistics.

The artistic means of persuasion include *logos* (true or probable argument put forth by the speaker), *pathos* (emotions awakened by the speaker), and *ethos* (the character of the speaker). While Carmichael employs all three during the Garfield High speech, this researcher will only focus on pathetic means of persuasion[3], which refers to the emotions of the audience which are awakened by the speaker, or according to Jasinski (2001), "putting the audience into a certain frame of mind" (364).

Aristotle believed that the judgments of one's audience members are influenced by the emotions such as anger, pity, and fear, for example (1991). Aristotle addresses each emotion in terms of a) the individual's state of mind, b) the person for whom the individual feels the emotion, and c) the reasons for the emotion. He believed that if the speaker understands at least one of these three aspects of the emotion, the speaker could create that emotion in the audience members, thus influencing their judgment (trans. 1991). The Aristotelian appeals of emotions will be addressed specifically by discussing anger, enmity, and shame.

In addition to the Aristotelian appeals of emotions, Quintilian's theory of emotional appeals are also relevant to the Garfield High speech. Quintilian's theory is organized as a body of instructions for the speaker who is engaged in forensic discourse,[4] and because the nature of the Garfield High speech involves an "offender" and a "victim," the speech provides models of Quintilian's theory. More specifically, Quintilian's instructions on describing the accuser's acts as "atrocious" will be of specific focus, as Carmichael models both of these principles—the offender-victim context and the description of atrocious acts.

[3] This researcher will explore other means of persuasion at a later date.
[4] Forensic discourse refers to judicial or courtroom settings (speeches of accusation and defense).

Emotional Appeal of Anger

Aristotle. In the second chapter of *Rhetoric,* Aristotle advises the reader to "understand the emotions—that is to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are excited" (2001, 182). The first of the emotions Aristotle addresses is anger. He defines it as "an impulse, accompanied by pain, to a conspicuous revenge for a conspicuous slight directed without justification towards what concerns oneself or towards what concerns one's friends" (2001, 214). His discussion does not go into great detail about the emotion itself, but rather what the speaker needs to know in order to excite such an emotion (Brinton 1988). He elaborates on the desires of the angry person, which is retaliation. It is Aristotle's comment, "the angry person desires what is possible for him" that connects his discussion on anger to the black Americans during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements (Aristotle 2001, 215).

In the case of the Black Power Movement and Garfield High speech, black Americans were angry, and the slight was inequality, oppression, discrimination, and racism[5]. They had been denied the right to vote, cheated out of land, unfairly denied jobs, provided a disparate education, and then sent to fight in wars that didn't concern them. When black America spoke up, they were met with violence. Indeed, they were angry. Black Americans were objects of contempt and were belittled, concepts on which Aristotle elaborates and defines both as thinking and treating another as being worthless. More specifically, Aristotle says, "for one who shows contempt belittles (people have contempt for those things that they think of no account, and they belittle things of no account)" (1991, 125).

Aristotle spoke of the state of mind of those who become angry. Those who become angry are distressed, "for the person who becomes distressed desires something" (1991, 127), and when these people who are longing for something are not getting it, they become "irascible and easily stirred to anger," especially against

[5] Racism is defined as the inherent belief in the superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance.

those who belittle their condition (1991, 127). Such was the state of mind of black Americans. They desired an opportunity to have the "American Dream." Not only were they being hindered from attaining it, they were being belittled for their oppressive condition and their attempt to overcome their oppression.

The students of Garfield High had experienced such anger, as it is a natural consequence of being black in the United States, so when Carmichael brought to mind certain grievances exacted upon black people by white America, he appealed to the anger about which Aristotle spoke. Because the audience members were young public school students, Carmichael's clarification of lessons that were traditionally taught were immediately relevant and were ridiculed for their flaws. His mentioning of atrocities and cruel deceptions of black Americans modeled that of both Aristotle and Quintilian.

Carmichael's description of what the young may have thought of only as entertainment was indeed an atrocity committed against Native Americans:

> You've watched the red man and the white man on TV? Fighting each other? If the red man is winning, then the white man calls for the cavalry. I mean, here comes the cavalry, and they're riding very white and very proper, and when they get up to where the battle is, they all get off their horses and they get out their guns and they systematically shoot all the red men; you know, kill'em dead. They get back on their horses and they ride back to the fort, and at the fort there's always a white woman standing there and she says (in falsetto), "What happened?" and there's always this lieutenant who says, "We had a victory. We killed all the Indians."This is very good, you know. Now the next time when the reverse happens, when the red man beats the hell out of the white man, you know, and there's one of them left draggin'on the horse, and she says (in falsetto), "What happened?" "Those

> dirty Indians; they massacred us." (Carmichael 1967)

This description of how the Native Americans were treated may have appealed to the high school students, as they were likely to still be learning about the battle between Native Americans and white Americans in history classes. The description may have also been relevant to those students who might not have thought about what they were viewing only as entertainment. While he made many references to historical injustices, Carmichael also informed or reminded the youth about the recent injustices by making the following statements throughout the speech:

> They have bombed our churches, they have shot us in the streets, they have lynched us, they have cattle-prodded us, they have thrown lye over us, they have dragged our children out in the night. We have been the recipients of violence for over 400 years . . . . if you go to writing the real history of this country you would say that this country is a country of thieves. They started off by stealing this country from the red men and committing genocide against them. Not only did it steal the country from the red men—that didn't satisfy them—they stole us from Africa. You've got to understand that this nation is a nation of thieves and is becoming a nation of murderers in Vietnam, we've got to stop it, we've got to stop it . . . . they can come into our community, beat us up, take our women,… we can never begin to match the treatment that white America has heaped upon us and continues to heap upon us. (Carmichael 1967)

The above excerpts are also exemplary of how Quintilian instructed the speaker to appeal to the emotions.

Quintilian. Quintilian instructed the readers of Institutes of Oratory to appeal to the emotions of a judge during forensic discourse:

> the most effective way for the accuser to excite the feelings of the judge is to make that which he lays to the charge of the accused appear the most atrocious act possible, or, if the subject allow, the most deplorable. Atrocity is made to appear from such considerations as these, "What has been done, by whom, against whom, with what feeling, at what time, in what place, in what manner," all which have infinite ramifications. (Quintilian 1856/2006)

Carmichael does this throughout his speech. He tells of the violations against black Americans by white Americans in such raw detail that each account was sure to anger members of the audience to some degree.

Not only did Quintilian give instructions for his readers to appeal to the emotions of the judge, but he advised speakers how to be persuasive in their own demonstration of emotions. Katula (2003) mentions rhetoricians' belief that speakers can learn strategies to assist them in displaying emotions effectively through the "speech and figurative language and planned use of facial expressions, tone of voice, gestures, etc." (6). Quintilian set forth instructions for speakers to move the feelings of a judge in forensic discourse, but the following is the most important:

> The chief requisite, then, for moving the feelings of others is, as far as I can judge, that we ourselves be moved, for the assumption of grief, anger, and indignation will be often ridiculous if we adapt merely our words and looks, and not our minds, to those passions. In delivering, therefore, whatever we wish to appear like truth, let us assimilate ourselves to the feelings of those who are truly affected and let our language proceed from such a temper of mind as we would wish to excite in the judge (6.2.26).

What Quintilian is saying is that none of the instructions will be effective if the speaker does not feel the very emotions he is trying to evoke in others. Such sincerity speaks to the ethos of the speaker. Carmichael exemplified such sincerity, which is why his speeches, the Garfield High speech and others, were so effective.

Katula (2003) condensed Quintilian's instructions into six rules, but only the first three are relevant to this speech: the speaker must know the emotions, the speaker must imagine and feel the emotions himself, and the speaker must describe the situation as the audience experienced it. Not only did Carmichael acknowledge the emotional toil of his audience and stir those very emotions to accomplish the goals of his speech, but he was able to do so effectively by showing that he, too, felt these emotions. He assimilated himself to the emotions by speaking in first person plural "we." Although he was more enlightened about the issues of the Black Power Movement and he was "teaching" the audience a new perspective, he included himself in the "teaching." This allowed the audience to feel as if they were being spoken "with" rather than spoken "at." His "all-inclusive" approach created a sense of unity that he was promoting and trying to persuade others to accept as a way of life. Carmichael's emotional recount of the violence, the lies, the manipulation, and the constant and consistent rejection of black Americans is reminiscent of the enmity that Aristotle mentioned in his discussion of emotional appeals.

Emotional Appeal of Enmity

Enmity is, as regarded by Aristotle, the "hostile emotions as awakened by the perception that someone belongs to a detested class of individuals. The negative feeling toward the class is a permanent one" (1991, 137). Such is true of the way many white Americans felt about black Americans. Enmity is illustrated in two different discussions in Carmichael's speech.

Early in his speech, Carmichael broached the subject of the name given to black people—"negro." One of the goals of the

Black Power Movement was to instill a sense of identity and pride in black people. At the heart of this matter was the word "negro." This is being discussed within the context of enmity, as it was a word created for a group of people who were detested and looked down upon. Carmichael explains,

> So the white people have been defining us all our lives and we have been forced to react to those definitions. And see, they call you all Negroes. I guess you all came from Negroland. (laughs) But see you have allowed white people to name you. When we were in Puerto Rico a couple of months ago we were speaking in Spanish. I was looking through the dictionary to find the word for Negro in Puerto Rican. There is no such word. The closest word is negro: it means black. In French, there is no word for Negro. In German, there is no word for Negro. In Swahili, there is no word for Negro. You wouldn't want me to leave out Swahili . . . they have defined that and with the word Negro comes people who are stupid, apathetic, love watermelon, and got good rhythm. (Carmichael 1967)

Carmichael's discussion of black Americans' participation in various wars illustrates a pattern of redemption-seeking and "enmitic" behavior between black and white America. The black man wanted to be considered an American so badly that he volunteered to fight in wars on behalf of a country that treated him less than human, but the black man was so detested and hated that he was rejected time and time again:

> The very first man to die for the War of Independence in this country was a black man named Crispus Attucks . . . He died for white folk country while the rest of his black folk were enslaved in this country . . . In the American Revolutionary War, they wouldn't let us fight, because we were black, and stupid, and ignorant. Oh, but we wanted to be Americans, so bad, that we

> got out in our bare feet and trampled up and down the eastern shores of this country training with wooden rifles, begging the white folk to let us fight . . . We wanted to prove to America how good we were to her . . . The Mexican War came . . . We went out there and we begged to fight. There we were again, fighting non-white people. Dying for the white man. The war wasn't even over and we still in slavery. Then came the Civil War. He [Abraham Lincoln] wouldn't even let us fight in the Civil War. He said we weren't fitting to fight next to white men . . . he let us fight, but in segregated units. But we wanted to prove to America how good we were…Then came World War I and they were drafting white people and they wouldn't draft us. And we were ashamed. "Oh, draft us!" we cried. "We are good Americans—let us fight." We didn't have a chance to take our uniforms off after World War I when they hung an entire platoon in Texas with our uniforms on our backs. (Carmichael 1967)

Carmichael goes on to describe how this pattern continued through World War II and how after black men stopped Hitler from "running over the Poles," a Polish man threw a rock at them (Carmichael and others) and told them to get out of his neighborhood. He referenced a book by Langston Hughes in which there is an account of a prison camp in Texas where "black American soldiers who had gone to Europe to fight for this country were bringing home Nazi prisoners and they put them on a train in New York and when they get to Washington, D.C., the white Nazis, who were enemies of this country sat in the front of the train, and the Niggers had to sit in the back" (Carmichael 1967). The last example of this acceptance-seeking rejection behavior involved black Americans' participation in the Korean War:

> Korea, at last, our chance to fight with our white brothers. "Oh, we must stop Communism at any price!" was the cry and it was our blood that paid

> the price. It was our blood that stopped Communism at any price. And our uncles came back to this country with one leg and one arm only to walk into a store and to have some foreigner slam his door in his face and say, "Get out my store, Nigger." We wanted to prove what good Americans we were. (Carmichael, 1967)

These narrations of how black Americans sought to be respected, accepted, or just acknowledged as "American" by white Americans are examples of how enmity fueled the anger felt by black Americans. Ironically, these same narrations are also examples of emotional appeals of shame, as they illustrate how ashamed black Americans were to be overlooked and counted as worthless. The recounting of these narratives also served to show black Americans how they ought to be ashamed for their continued begging to be accepted and risking their lives for a country that detested them.

Emotional Appeal of Shame

Aristotle defines shame as "a sort of pain and agitation concerning the class of evils, whether present or past or future that seems to bring a person into disrespect . . . " (1991, 144). Aristotle elaborates further on the feeling of shame:

> People feel shame when they suffer or have suffered or are going to suffer such things as contribute to dishonor . . . for submission and lack of resistance comes from effeminacy or cowardice. These then, and things like them, are the things of which people are ashamed. (1991, 145)

Carmichael's discussion of black Americans' war participation was a lesson in shame and what shame will provoke some to do–seek acceptance at any cost. Being black was synonymous with being "ashamed." This is why the essential goal of the Black Power Movement was focused on identity and pride—the only thing black America knew for sure was that they were ugly and that they were hated, as this was reiterated daily in many

different ways and from many different people, sometimes even from black people themselves.

People feel even more shame before those who are watching them and have what they are in great need of (Aristotle 1991). This was the situation of black America—they needed to be accepted as Americans, be treated with respect, and be extended the same opportunities to work, earn a living, raise their families in nice neighborhoods—essentially, have a shot at having the American Dream. To not even have a fair chance of having this before the eyes of the very people who had it and flaunted it was to live with a heavy shame daily.

The shame that black people carried with them was fundamentally inculcated, and it was passed on from generation to generation, which again emphasized how important it was for Carmichael to speak with young people in their formative years about how this system of shame had been indoctrinated into the black community. The features and characteristics that make black Americans different from white Americans were targeted to be icons of ridicule and shame—skin, hair, and facial features such as lips and noses.

Carmichael said:

> The most insidious things they could have done to us is to make us believe as a people that we are ugly. The criteria for beauty in this society is set by white folk. In the books you read, in the television programs you see, the movies, the magazines and the newspaper. If she's beautiful she's got a thin nose, thin lips, stringy hair, and white skin—and that's beauty. And they believe in that beauty so much, that our women run around day and night bathing in beauty cream from morning to night (Carmichael, 1967).

This message, a classic enthymeme, never states clearly that black features are ugly, but by focusing on and describing only the features that are thought to be beautiful makes the conclusion clear. This enthymematic message was prevalent throughout all

forms of media—both black and white publications and advertisements. In a 1953 advertisement for Nadinola Bleaching Crème in Ebony magazine, a black woman holds a daisy playing the "loves me, love me not" game. The text below her picture says, "Don't Depend on Daisies! Be *SURE* with a light, clear complexion!" (Walker 2007). The advertisement implies to the reader that dark skin is not attractive or "he" will not love a woman who is dark of skin. This is an example of the shame and self-hatred that was present in the black community. In an attempt to assimilate and be accepted as Americans, black people used a variety of chemical products and unusual methods to alter their physical appearances. Carmichael said:

> They have got us believing that so that all these young men go out and process their hair so they can have straight hair to look beautiful . . . they mesmerized our women's minds so that they process their hair every Friday night. And the rest of them get their fifty dollars and buy wigs. (Carmichael 1967)

The idea of black being shameful was often perpetuated by older people who passed it on to their children and other generations. The perpetuation of shame was often passed down in the form of myths or "old wives tales." Carmichael briefly addressed this perpetuation of shame in this form: "Black parents won't tell us, 'don't drink coffee, because it makes you black.' 'Bite in your lip, 'cause it's too thick'" (Carmichael 1967). He tells of a young man who wore a nose-clip on his nose at night to make his nose smaller, and goes on:

> They messed it up so much that every time we begin to think somebody's beautiful, they pick somebody who is light, bright, and damned near white. And then they are beautiful . . . . That's how much they have messed up our minds. We are ashamed of ourselves and of our color of our skin. (Carmichael 1967)

Not only were black Americans ashamed of their appearance, but they had also been indoctrinated with the belief that they, as a race, were lazy. They believed it, and that, too, was passed along as truth, but Carmichael pointed out the poor logic of such a belief:

> Now the first lie that white America told about us is that we are lazy people . . . You ought to get it in your minds, we not lazy. We are hardworking. White people are lazy . . . They [are] so lazy they came to Africa to steal us to do their work for them. We're not lazy. We are the hardest working people in this country . . . . The trouble is we are the lowest paid and the most oppressed and the most exploited people in this country. We're not lazy people. If you ride up and down the Delta in the South today, you will see black people chopping and picking cotton for $2.00 a day while white folks sit on the porch, drink Scotch, and talk about us. We're not a lazy people. It is our mothers who take care of their own family and then go 'cross town to take care of Miss Ann's family. So you should get that out of your mind: we're not lazy. We are a hard working, industrious people. Always have been—our sweat *built* this country. (Carmichael 1967)

Carmichael also attributed the reasons for violence and crime to shame. He implied that the shame and self-hate in the black community was so strong that black people began to hate each other for being black. He addressed the very emotions that Aristotle outlined as being a means to influence one's judgment. Carmichael not only addressed the emotions that black folks felt, but he stirred that emotion. He understood how they felt and stirred up that emotion as a means to persuade the youth in the audience to see the world differently—as he saw it. He addressed their emotions of shame about their appearance, but then promoted another opposing emotion—pride:

> You are black and beautiful! Stop being ashamed of what you are! We have to as a people gather strength to stand up on our feet and say "Our noses are broad, our lips are thick, our hair is nappy—we are black and beautiful!" Black and beautiful! (Carmichael, 1967)

As previously mentioned, he also explained of what they should be ashamed—the constant betrayal of themselves and their culture in order to be accepted by white America—their willingness to lay down their lives for people who would never accept them.

Conclusion

At the time of Carmichael's address, the black community was experiencing unrest as it was struggling in the fight for civil rights—the right to vote, education equal to that of white Americans, jobs, and life free of racial violence. Because black Americans had tried since their arrival in the country to assimilate (for survival), they had forgotten their heritage, their culture, and who they were. Black men and women were putting themselves down for their appearance and destroying their natural beauty—brown skin, curly hair, and prominent facial features—in order to be accepted by white America. This was the struggle DuBois (1969) spoke of in his discussion of *double consciousness.* Black America had forgotten their first sight—the ability to see themselves through their own eyes—and only saw themselves through the eyes of many white Americans.

Black children were being systematically taught a history that belittled black Americans' contributions in war and the development and growth of the country. Even when black students went to college, they still were passed over for jobs because of the color of their skin. It was an emotional time for black America. They were trying to be heard without violence only to be met with violence. Out of dedication to the non-violent principles of protest,

many black Americans were beaten, brutalized, and murdered by many white Americans who were not charged with the crimes.

It was during this time that the Black Power Movement took a stand for the empowerment of their people. It was this movement that Carmichael represented. He spoke to young people who might have just heard a "half-baked" history lesson prior to filing into the auditorium or gymnasium to hear him. He spoke to young people whose school district didn't want to bus in white students in order to meet the requirements of the desegregation law. He spoke to young people who would be going "out into the world" soon to look for jobs that would be given to someone else for no other reason than skin color.

Carmichael took his message of black empowerment to these young minds and influenced them by stirring up the emotions that he understood all too well. He stirred these emotions by referring to the biased history lessons, the situations of black Americans fighting white America's wars, and the systematic inculcation of shame and self-hatred of the black women and men. He recounted these slights as deplorable offenses against a group of people who believed they were helpless. He used these slights to stir up dormant anger and create a new anger. He delivered an effective speech by sharing these feelings with the audience—by including himself in the shameful passivity with which black Americans whispered about their trials and tribulations.

In his book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, Carmichael wrote, "we blacks must respond in our own way, on our own terms, in a manner which fits our temperaments . . . to know it and tell it like it is and then to act on that knowledge" (p. viii-ix). Carmichael used the ancient tools of persuasion, but he used them in a style that was uniquely his. People who attended the address like Larry Gossett and Aaron Dixon still regard the speech as life-changing. Thirty-five years after the Garfield High School address, Gossett and Dixon refer to April 19, 1967 as the day "negroes in Seattle became blacks" and "the way I looked at myself and America changed" (qtd. in Gunn 2002). Indeed, Stokely Carmichael took the master's tools, adapted

them to his own style and strengths to dismantle the master's house of psychological oppression, inciting change in the consciousnesses of the youth on that day.

This analysis has led me to consider further study along the lines of how other African American activists have used the "master's tools" in order to address and destroy elements and effects of racism. Another line of study would investigate how the contemporary African American community uses the white philosophers' theories to achieve a "new" black consciousness.

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A PROFILE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT HARE AND THE EMERGENCE OF STUDENT ACTIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

Rico Chapman, Ph.D.[1]

ABSTRACT

Fort Hare is one of the oldest and most reputable historically African universities in Africa. Fort Hare has been home to many students from all over southern and central Africa such as Robert Mugabe, current President of Zimbabwe, and Sir Seretse Khama, former President of Botswana. High-profile South African political figures such as African National Congress (ANC) leaders Govan Mbeki, Oliver Tambo, and Nelson Mandela attended Fort Hare, as well as Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) founder Robert Sobukwe and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. In the words of Dennis Brutus, also a Fort Harian and distinguished scholar and poet, "Fort Hare was part of a powerful educational influence which radiated across South Africa . . . and produced some of the major figures in the resistance movement in South Africa." This essay provides a profile of the history of the University of Fort Hare and its significance in the South African freedom struggle.
Keywords: *Fort Hare, South Africa, African universities, African student activism*

Introduction

Before Europeans began to settle in the southern region of Africa in 1652 (today known as South Africa), the land was populated by the Khoi and San peoples, who had settled many centuries earlier. As more and more European settlers came to this land, conflict with the indigenous African population was

[1] Dr. Chapman is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Philosophy at Jackson State University.

inevitable. While African kingdoms were being invaded and eventually conquered in the nineteenth century, missionary education was being introduced, and a westernized African elite began to emerge in the Eastern Cape through the missionary-run Lovedale College and later the South African Native College at Fort Hare.

European Colonization

Before European invasion, the Eastern Cape was occupied by African peoples speaking Nguni languages. These groups of predominantly farming communities spoke dialects of the same language. Their modern-day descendants are the Xhosa.[2] The peoples of the Eastern Cape, referred to as the Xhosa, occupied the territory where the University College of Fort Hare would be established in 1916.

There were numerous wars between Xhosa chiefdoms and European settlers. When the last war ended in 1878, the Xhosa had endured heavy losses of life and lost thousands of cattle. The last Xhosa Paramount Chief, Sandile, was also killed in this war, signifying the collapse of Xhosa authority over the land they had occupied for centuries. According to Ngwane, "to the Xhosa people the surveying for Fort Hare both symbolized land alienation and represented the intransigent disregard of their chiefs' authority by the colonial regime" (Ngwane 42). The Tyhume Valley, once the site of the kraal of Chief Ngqika, father of Xhosa Paramount Chief Sandile, was the land to be surveyed for building a fort. The fort was named after Colonel John Hare who had been a Lieutenant Governor of the Eastern Districts. The fort, as well as the surveying that had preceded it, stood as a symbol of British military triumph over the Xhosa, large numbers of whom were

[2] The term *Nguni* has been debated among academics. For some, it became a generic reference for coastal peoples of southeastern Africa. Later it became associated with the language of apartheid. Les Switzer argues that the term *Nguni* fit in with government-approved notions of ethnicity during an era when African history was being contextualized as tribal history.

either expelled from the Tyhume Valley or confined into locations "under the authority of magistrates" (42). As the period of conflict between African traditional political structures and the new European states drew to a close, the power of the African chiefs was checked and European administrators and courts gradually took over many of their functions (Walshe 584).

Missionary activity among Bantu-speaking peoples in South Africa during the nineteenth century was concentrated most heavily in the Ciskei and in Natal, and the mission experience had profound consequences for African converts in both regions[3] (Switzer 114). They established educational facilities centered on boarding schools designed to upgrade the training of African teachers, preachers, clerks, and law agents. By the 1880s and 1890s, the work of European missionaries was beginning to create a recognizable class of westernized, educated Africans. By the turn of the century, a new African elite had emerged, committed to non-racial ideals imbibed from Christianity and supported by the theory, and to some extent the practice, of Cape politics (Walshe 583).

Without a university open to them in South Africa, mission-trained Africans began leaving for overseas to gain further academic training in the late nineteenth century. The majority attended black colleges in the United States, notably Lincoln College (Pennsylvania), Wilberforce College (Ohio), Hampton Institute (Virginia), and Tuskegee Institute (Alabama), and were often sponsored by independent African and African American churches. At least a hundred Africans from the Cape Colony alone left to study overseas between 1898 and 1908 (Switzer 178–79). This movement undoubtedly caused some concerns among white missionaries and government authorities. These American-trained "Africans," according to Walshe, "returned with visions of social, economic, and political progress for their people, ideals of racial

[3] Ciskei refers to the Eastern Cape Province region situated between the Fish and Kei rivers along the Indian Ocean and extends inland to an area of low mountains. The term *Ciskei* means "on this side of the Kei River."

toleration, and expectations of gradual but steadily increasing participation by educated tribesmen in a wider, multi-racial South Africa" (Walshe 590).

The fear of black American notions of equality spreading amongst educated Africans led to plans to establish an institution of higher learning for blacks in South Africa (Massey 15). Demands for higher education were being taken seriously by some missionaries and school officials who feared their control over African education would be weakened if a college for Africans was not established on Cape soil (Switzer 179). White officials grew concerned over the number of Africans going to the United States to study (Burchell 2).

Back in the United States, the Civil War had ended, but the Black Codes, strict racial segregation laws, and the lynching of blacks was widespread in the southern United States. John Dube and Pixley ka Izaka Seme were among the South African students studying in the U. S. during that period[4] (61). Upon their return to South Africa, "they called the organizing meeting of the South African Native National Congress in Bloemfontein in 1912 to contest for rights of Africans" (64). There were others influenced by their experiences in the United States. D. D. T. Jabavu, the first African faculty member at Fort Hare, visited Tuskegee Institute in 1913. Alfred Xuma, President of the ANC from 1940 to 1949, also had extensive connections with African Americans and was a student at Tuskegee. Z. K. Matthews, the first Fort Hare graduate and the school's first African principal, won a scholarship to study race and culture contact at Yale University from 1933 to 1934 (Wilson 96). Linkages between South Africans in the United States and African Americans ultimately helped to inform the struggle for South African liberation (Johnson 60).

[4] See also George Fredrickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York: Oxford UP, 1981); John Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1983).

"This awareness of the Negro struggle," according to Walshe, "had first reached South Africa partly through the search for higher learning and partly through the impact of the African Methodist Episcopal Church" (302). Walshe noted that several African leaders acquired their university training in America before comparable facilities were made available at Fort Hare. He further observed that "in 1903 the A.M.E. Church had itself placed twelve students from South Africa, and this trend helped to stimulate the concern for a South African Native College, which later materialized at Fort Hare in 1916" (Walshe 302–04).

Impact

The idea of an institution of higher education in South Africa can be traced back to 1878 when James Stewart presented the idea at a missionary conference in London. The University of Fort Hare grew from the educational and training center based at Lovedale founded in 1841 by Presbyterian missionaries led by Stewart. Lovedale, initially for male students only, soon began to admit European females and eventually became the first boarding school in the Eastern Cape to admit African females in 1868 (Switzer 129). According to Switzer, "the Scots Presbyterians were the trendsetters in boarding school education. They established high standards and maintained them as examples for the other missionary societies." He further affirms that "few, if any European schools in the Cape were superior to Lovedale until the 1880s, when they began to receive relatively massive grants-in-aid from the colonial government" (129).

The impact of mission education on the African was profound. Walshe highlights the fact that "African ideals were revolutionized; and tribal integrity collapsed as Christian communities separated themselves from the remnants of tribal government and from the taboos and customs of their forefathers. Educational institutions such as Lovedale were, even if few in number, directly instrumental in creating the new elite" (590). He further asserts that "it was from this environment that the majority of African political leaders emerged for the whole of South Africa,

giving expression to their people's new political consciousness" (590).

In 1901, a fundraising proposal to establish an African university was put forth by H. Isaiah Bud-Mbelle, a leader of Kimberley's Mfengu community and a member of the South African Native Congress (SANC), a political organization with supporters west and east of the Kei River. The proposal was adopted the following year and became a major project of the SANC in the 1900s. The project was called the Queen Victoria Memorial in honor of the late Queen Victoria, although "it was to be completely independent of white control," and located in the Eastern Cape (Walshe 179). In 1905, the South African Native Affairs Commission also recommended that an African college be established in the South African colonies. A fundraising campaign, called the Inter-State Native College scheme, was then launched and supported by Lovedale missionaries and various Cape officials. John Tengo Jabavu came to be one of its staunchest African supporters along with John Knox Bokwe and others. The SANC was asked to combine their Queen Victoria Memorial scheme with the new Inter-State scheme. However, the SANC members rejected the offer, refusing to abandon their vision of an African university free of white control (180). The Inter-State Native College scheme grew with Jabavu being paid to promote the idea throughout the colonies. Switzer writes that "Jabavu became so closely identified with the Inter-State Native College that in African eyes it was his college" (181). The Queen Victoria Memorial scheme lost momentum due to a leadership squabble; however, the Inter-State Native College scheme was eventually approved by the South African government. On February 8, 1916, the South African Native College at Fort Hare, which later became known as the University of Fort Hare, was officially opened by Prime Minister Louis Botha in the Eastern Cape town of Alice (181).

Fort Hare had two full members of faculty, Alexander Kerr, who traveled from Scotland to take the post as the first principal; and John Tengo Jabavu, the son of D. D. T. Jabavu, who was just

returning from overseas training in Great Britain (Ngwane 111). The institution was centered on Christian missionary values, not surprisingly so since it received much of its support from the Methodist, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches. The constitution of the South African Native College emphasized that "the College shall be a Christian College, and while no special religious tests may be applied, all members of the staff shall be professing Christians and of missionary sympathies" (qtd. in Ngwane 111). Switzer asserts that "the African mission-educated community maintained control over most African political organizations in the Ciskei region during the 1920s and 1930s" (Switzer 251). Many of them, such as the Bantu Union, Ciskei Native Convention and Cape Native Voters' Association, generally resisted protests that promoted racial consciousness or advocated strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience (251).

Student Politics

There was an increasing sense of African nationalism, and the mood of African students began to change in the 1930s and 1940s in part due to the passage of stringent laws that favored the white population. The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 codified the pass laws which greatly restricted the freedom of Africans. Thus, labor laws benefited white workers while restricting the rights of Africans (Massey 5). Between 1924 and 1933, the Hertzog administration passed more legislation in favor of the white population, especially Afrikaners (Thompson 160). Parliament passed the Native Administration Act in 1927 that extended government authority over Africans in every province except the Cape. The Governor-General was made chief over all Africans, with the authority to appoint native commissioners, chiefs, and headmen, "define tribal boundaries, alter the composition of tribes, and move tribes or individuals at will from any place to any other place within the Union" (Davenport 206). The Governor-General also controlled African-owned land and all judicial procedures affecting Africans, both civil and criminal. The 1927 Act

employed the Native Affairs Department as an agency of social control to "repress dissent, promote cultural ethnicity, and distance Africans even further from the rule of law as applied to White South Africa" (Switzer 222).

The changes in policy would help to politicize the new African elite and ultimately give birth to student politics at Fort Hare in the 1930s. The creation of a new, radicalized Fort Hare was not sudden but happened gradually over the decade, as Fort Hare remained a relatively calm campus. Ngwane states that "the very caliber of Fort Hare's student was changing" in the mid-1930s. Students were all very dedicated to their work, and college reports were very positive about student life and discipline (Ngwane 121). Fort Hare was still basically preparing students for the Cape matriculation exams.

D. D. T. Jabavu, who is often considered a liberal in South African histories, was a driving force behind a number of new African political organizations launched inside and outside the Eastern Cape during this time (Switzer 251). He and Abdul Abdurahman of the African People's Organization (APO) organized four Non-European Conferences between 1927 and 1934 that, for the first time, brought together leading members of the African, Coloured, and Indian petty bourgeoisie to discuss the government's segregationist policies (251). Jabavu's family members played prominent roles in government advisory bodies and Jabavu himself represented moderate African nationalism in his day. However, the next generation of militant African nationalist students at Fort Hare would not be as patient. Ralph Bunche, the African American political scientist visiting South Africa in 1937, observed first hand that the students at Fort Hare resented the older African leadership, who they felt were being "duped" (Edgar 134).

Another African American visitor to Fort Hare in the 1930s who became sympathetic to the South African Communist Party (SACP) was Max Yergan. Yergan lived in South Africa from 1922 to 1936, working as Secretary of the Colored Work Department of the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) and as a

missionary. Yergan, along with his family, lived next to the campus where he worked at the Christian Union Hall and secretly began teaching socialism to willing students (Edgar 134–35). He did not come to South Africa with radical ideas, but his experiences in South Africa, and later in Moscow, convinced him that imperialism and capitalism were the root causes of the problems facing Africans the world over (Johnson 46). Massey asserts that Yergan's interest in students grew following a trip to the Soviet Union, whereas before there had been very little contact between Yergan and Fort Hare students (61). David Anthony writes that "[Yergan] was one of the most controversial foreign-born leaders ever associated with Modern South Africa" (1).

The Communist Party member Edward Roux and his wife, Winifred, also played a part in radicalizing student life at Fort Hare. Arriving in Alice in 1933, they began having political discussions with Fort Hare students on communism and organized religion. Eventually, Roux was forbidden to come on the campus, and students were not allowed to attend his lectures (Massey 61).

Govan Mbeki, a student at Fort Hare during those years, credits Roux and Yergan with sparking his interest in history and political science (Massey 68). Yergan lectured on communism and fascism to Mbeki's political science class and also lent Mbeki books such as Lenin's *The State and the Revolution*[5] (67). Mbeki went on to receive his BA from Fort Hare in 1937, having already joined the ANC in 1935 as a student. He went on to become a leading figure in the ANC and later the SACP; and he assisted in drafting the document which was to become the precursor to the Freedom Charter (Shelagh 173–75). Mbeki recalled of his time at Fort Hare that "we were the first group of students who became nationalistic" (68). Students espousing African nationalism at Fort Hare grew in the coming decades. Ross writes that "by the late 1940s, too, black politics had again become militant" (110).

[5] See also David Anthony, "Max Yergan in South Africa: From Evangelical Pan-Africanist to Revolutionary Socialist," *African Studies Review* 34.2 (September 1991): 43.

African Nationalism at Fort Hare

Students at Fort Hare came mostly from religious backgrounds, and not until the 1940s did the college report any serious violation of the rules. Alexander Kerr reports that "in the years 1941 and 1942 there were successive outbreaks of defiance of authority" (242), especially concerning the issue of food. There were frequent strikes over its quality and, according to Hyslop, "food often served as a metaphor for issues of power and authority in the mission schools" (16). When Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo entered Fort Hare in 1939, student complaints about food helped to fuel discussions around broader issues such as social domination. Mandela describes in his autobiography how "students unanimously felt that the diet at Fort Hare was unsatisfactory" (Mandela 51). What also served as an important catalyst in the politicization of the students was the establishment of the ANC Youth League in 1944 (White 1).

The Youth League was formally established in Johannesburg in April 1944. The founders were professionals, clerks, and teachers and included the likes of Anton Lembede, A. P. Mda, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, and Nelson Mandela. By the late 1940s, the Youth League had a presence in many of the major cities and towns in the Eastern Cape such as Port Elizabeth, East London, Cradock, and towns throughout the Ciskei. "The main branch in the region, however, was at Fort Hare," adds Switzer, and "the university that was now furnishing the bulk of the nation's African professional class" (291). He further states that "the Youth League branch at Fort Hare would become an important center of ANC activity in the Ciskei hinterland during the early 1950s" (291). Ngwane writes in his study that

> at a time of the League's formation, however, Nelson Mandela had already left Fort Hare and Oliver Tambo was to follow before the Youth League Branch at Fort Hare in 1948. The people who became involved in League politics at Fort Hare included Robert Sobukwe,

> later President of the breakaway Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Joe Matthews, Ntsu Mokhehle, and Godfrey Pitje (an anthropology lecturer). This was the group that was to carry the weight of radical political action at Fort Hare from the late forties to the fifties. (123)

There was a resurgence in African opposition politics and popular resistance at the national and regional level during the 1940s and 1950s, and the Ciskei was the focal point of popular resistance during the first half of the twentieth century (Switzer 284, 355).

To Africans, Fort Hare was the symbol of their intellectual and social achievements which produced the main body of educated African, Colored, and Indian men and women. In describing the prominence of Fort Hare, Z. K. Matthews writes that "those black Africans who first accepted education formed an elite throughout southern Africa. . . . [T]hey were prepared to make great sacrifices for their children and Fort Hare was the focus of ambition" (19–20). Fort Hare was multiracial before the government takeover in 1960 and stood for the rejection of tribalism or ethnic division. Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, and Sotho speakers all mingled together with Colored and Indian students and made friends with each other (121). Beard asserts that "the university community comprised to a significant degree a racially integrated society within, and largely protected from, the white, racially dominated society surrounding it" (Beard 187). Fort Hare, before the government takeover in 1960, served as a microcosm of a non-racial society in the heart of apartheid South Africa (187).

What came next changed the diverse nature of Fort Hare. The apartheid regime introduced the Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959) that gave birth to four university colleges based on racial and ethnic identity: 1) University College of Zululand (primarily for Zulu and SiSwati speakers); 2) University College of the North (for Sotho, Tsonga, Tswana, and Venda speakers); 3) University College of Durban-Westville (for Indians); and 4) the University College of Western Cape at Bellville (for Coloreds). Simultaneously, the Fort Hare Transfer

Act (No. 64 of 1959) placed Fort Hare under the control of the Department of Bantu Education and designated it for Xhosa speakers. These changes had a profound effect on the academic and social life at Fort Hare. Nkomo writes that

> the post-1948 events, especially the various commissions concerned with the education of Africans, indicate the significance attached to the educational enterprise by the Nationalist Party regime. The planning, introduction, and coordination of Bantu Education at the university level were systematic and ensured the Afrikaner orientation through an entrenched peculiar structural and organization arrangement, and by the profuse appointment of individuals who identified with Afrikaner nationalism. Transformed into state ideological apparatuses, these institutions followed the model of the larger society in their racially determined hierarchical arrangements. (66).

Ngwane agrees that "the extension of Bantu Education to universities in the 1950s radically changed the ethos at Fort Hare; [and] from that point became a project of separate development, producing a bureaucracy for the homeland system" (Ngwane 131). The Minister of Education, Mr. W. A. Maree, reinforced this point in a speech he delivered on June 26, 1959. He stated: "Fort Hare, as it exists at the moment, does not fit in with the plan for the development of the various national groups in South Africa as envisaged in the Extension of University Education Act and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act" (89).

Fort Hare staff was already resisting these developments. On October 16, 1957, the Fort Hare Council and Senate submitted a memorandum to the government stating that "the first necessity for any satisfactory functioning of any institution which claims to be a university is autonomy, the power to work out its own salvation free of political pressures" (Fort Hare Papers). Professor H. R. Burrows was named principal in 1958, and opposition to university apartheid increased during his tenure (Massey 132–33). There was a follow-up memorandum presented on January10, 1958, by

Burrows, Matthews, and Professor de Villiers that called for academic freedom and the university's power to decide its own policies and organize its own affairs (Fort Hare Papers). The government did not change its policies towards Fort Hare and rejected the call to receive a delegation from Fort Hare to discuss the situation (Burrows & Matthews). As a result of the Bantu Education policy, Burrows was not reappointed. Z. K. Matthews, the vice principal at the time, faced with the decision of either resigning from the ANC or continuing to work at Fort Hare. Although he was two years away from retirement from Fort Hare, an institution which he had helped build and to which he had committed 22 years of his life, Matthews resigned in protest. He wrote that "after much reflection I decided to resign in protest against this fundamental alteration in the character of an institution which had earned for itself an honored place among the institutions of higher learning, not only in South Africa but in the African continent as a whole" (Matthews 136). Others who resigned with him included Professor C. L. S. Nyembezi, S. B. Ngcobo, D. G. S. Mtimkulu, A. M. Phahle, and E. A. Mayisela. C. S. Ntloko and six other staff members had already resigned before Matthews and twelve members of the staff were terminated by the Department of Bantu Education without any stated reason. (Burrows & Matthews 44–45).

Under the new Department of Bantu Education, the Minister of Bantu Education in the Native Affairs Department was given vast powers over the "bush" colleges. The Minister of Bantu Education had the discretion to appoint and dismiss academic and senior administrative staff. In addition, the Minister controlled the appointment of staff, Senate, Council, and advisory body members. Badat observed that "staff could be dismissed upon infringement of any one of seventeen counts, including criticism of the education department or of separate development" (Badat 71). According to Beale, "immediately after the passage of the Fort Hare Transfer Act the Department of Bantu Education began employing a range of tactics to purge the staff, including direct dismissal, and the introduction of conditions which made

remaining on the staff untenable" (Beale 43). This was one of the main contradictions in Bantu Education policy because "although the logic of the apartheid program and the Bantustan project dictated that black educational institutions should be essentially staffed by blacks, the requirements of ideological and political control necessitated the employment of predominantly Afrikaner nationalists and white conservatives" (71).

Fort Hare students voiced their opinion by passing a resolution in October 1959 stating that

> the government, in its dictatorial action in dismissing our staff members without stating any reasons, had added to the atmosphere of insecurity and uncertainty that has engulfed Fort Hare during the past few years. . . . [B]ut let it be noted, once and for all that our stand as students of Fort Hare and as the future leaders of our country, upholding the principles of education as universally accepted remains unchanged and uncompromising. Our outright condemnation of the university apartheid legislation remains steadfast. (Morrell 137)

The Banning of Liberation Organizations

The government, before it banned the liberation organizations in 1960, was determined to remove the economic and political threat of the African working class through a series of measures. These measures, writes Gwala, "were an attempt to find a permanent solution to the 'problem' of African resistance, and were to evolve into the Bantustan system" (164). He further states that these apartheid measures and the "ethnicization" of the African population were originally formulated in the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and refined through the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959. In terms of the latter Act, eight African ethnic groups were recognized as "national units," which were to be given self-government and ultimately "independence." The concretization of these measures led to the complete political and social restructuring of South African society

along racial and ethnic lines. It was therefore within this context that separate black universities were established in 1960 (164–65).

Discussion of the forthcoming takeover dominated Council, Senate, and SRC meetings as the energies and emotions of the staff and students were concentrated on saving the college. Student voices went ignored by government authorities and university officials. The college that produced many of sub-equatorial Africa's black university graduates and many of its early nationalist leaders would now see three decades of student protests against apartheid in higher education. Throughout the 1960s and the 1970s, protests were sporadic as Fort Hare students were becoming increasingly introduced to politics as a result of the heightening government repression of students. However, this growing political consciousness by Fort Hare students came with brutal assaults by the police. Massey states that "protests in the 1960s were directly related to the government takeover of Fort Hare; and minor grievances such as food took a back seat to the broader issue of government control of student experiences" (Massey 153). Nkosinathi Gwala calls the 1960s a "quiet period in student political activity due to intensified repression in the whole country and the authoritarian measures introduced at Fort Hare" (175).

This hiatus came during the time when the liberation organizations, the PAC and the ANC, were banned and a state of emergency declared in the country in 1960. The Pan-Africanist Congress had just been formed a year earlier after Robert Sobukwe and other Africanists broke away from the ANC. On March 21, 1960, they launched a campaign against the pass laws where large numbers of Africans assembled at police stations without passes. At the police station at Sharpeville, south of Johannesburg, the police opened fire, killing 67 Africans and wounding 186. Many were shot in the back. This incident became known as the "Sharpeville Massacre." Leonard Thompson has described 1960 as "a watershed in modern South African history" (211).

Shortly after the ban, both the ANC and the PAC formed underground military wings to carry out acts of sabotage. The PAC

formed Poqo, meaning "pure" and the ANC formed Umkhonto we Sizwe (also known as MK), meaning "spear of the nation." However, in a short time, many PAC and ANC leaders were arrested or fled the country. Many key MK leaders were captured at a farm in Rivonia, just outside Johannesburg in July 1963. On June 12, 1964, Nelson Mandela and his comrades were convicted in the Rivonia trial and sent to Robben Island to serve life sentences. Robert Sobukwe was also jailed on Robben Island until 1969, but when he was finally released, the government restricted him to Kimberley and forbade him from engaging in any political activity. He was constantly under watch and not allowed to have any visitors of a political nature. He lived, for the most part in isolation, until 1978.

As mentioned before, the 1960s was a period of heightened state-sponsored police terrorism and repression. African students saw their leaders harassed, arrested, and often killed. The decade ended with the noted case commonly called the "trial of the 22." Former ANC activists and sympathizers, seventeen men and five women, were detained in May and June 1969 under the Terrorism Act. Under this act, anyone suspected of having information about subversive activity could be held for interrogation in solitary confinement for an indefinite period without access to anyone. The 22, including Winnie Mandela, were accused of engaging in discussions and correspondence with the ANC, possessing ANC publications, and other mild offenses related to political organizing. Ironically, all the accused were acquitted based on evidence of torture by the jailers (Karis & Gerhart 25–26).

Resurgence of Student Activism

Student activism increased during the 1970s and 1980s. The South African Student Organization (SASO) was established in 1968 after breaking with the mainly white liberal-led The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The break was led by Steve Biko. The SASO felt that their interests as African students were not being articulated through The NUSAS and believed that

African students could best address their needs through a black student organization. The SASO grew rapidly with its Black Consciousness philosophy inspired by the Black Power Movement in the United States. It was not long before the apartheid government began to target the new African leadership. The SASO began as a student organization geared toward initiatives of a local nature, such as sit-ins, marches, and greater powers and autonomy for SRCs. However, in 1972, after the expulsion of a former SRC president, Onkgopotse Tiro, from the University of the North for a graduation speech attacking segregation and white domination, The SASO was instrumental in extending student protests at all black campuses (Badat 118). Although protests continued throughout the 1970s, there were no nationally coordinated protests led by the SASO after 1972. The SASO was eventually banned in 1977, and Biko was killed that same year by the police while in detention.

The 1970s witnessed a number of events that fueled the enthusiasm and support for popular mass resistance. There were boycotts and strikes nearly every year at Fort Hare due to the conditions on campus and in the country as a whole. In June 1976, the police fired on students in Soweto who were protesting against the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Scores of young people died. This incident caused a national outcry and sparked protests throughout the country led mainly by students. The raw terror inflicted upon African students by the apartheid state would further alienate the already angry students and encourage more resistance in the 1980s. Gwala notes that "the student uprising of 1976, the climax of Black Consciousness, ushered in new forces which were to have a significant impact on student politics and ideology in the 1980s" (176).

The Ciskei Bantustan became "independent" at the end of 1981. Throughout the 1980s, Fort Hare students battled with the Ciskei security police amid stay-aways and boycotts. Students protested the intended presence of Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei Bantustan, who led one of the most brutal and corrupt regimes under the Bantustan system. Due to student protests, Sebe was able

to attend a Fort Hare graduation in 1986 only when Fort Hare was transferred to the Ciskei government. Even this appearance at Fort Hare by Sebe was overshadowed by student protests.

A national state of emergency was declared on July 20, 1985. Many student activists and anti-apartheid activists were jailed or killed. The police were given broad powers of arrests leading to detentions and interrogations, banning of meetings, and prohibition of all media coverage of the unrest. By 1988, the government had banned more than thirty organizations. Throughout the late 1980s, there was vigorous resistance to apartheid by workers and students alike throughout the country. African trade unions, primarily under the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), became a central force in the struggle for power in South Africa (Thompson 225).

By 1990, Namibia gained its independence from South Africa under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). This development sent shock waves through communities and campuses throughout South Africa as the momentum toward a South Africa free of white supremacy began to increase. The escalating political violence and instability brought the country to a standstill as international sanctions and disinvestment took their toll. Thompson writes that "it was becoming increasingly evident that the South African government could not maintain white supremacy indefinitely, but it was also apparent that the liberation movement could not overthrow the regime. Neither side could damage the other, neither could win total victory. Furthermore, the longer the conflict continued, the worse the damage would be to all South Africans" (223).

On February 2, 1990, De Klerk announced in Parliament the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress, Pan African Congress, and South African Communist Party; the removal of restrictions on 33 domestic organizations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the COSATU; the freeing of political prisoners who had been incarcerated for non-violent actions; and the suspension of capital punishment (246–47). At Fort Hare, Oliver Tambo, former leader of the ANC in exile and a Fort Hare

graduate, returned to South Africa and took the post of vice-chancellor of Fort Hare. Sibusiso Bengu was appointed its first African principal. The previous Afrikaner administration was all but chased away from Fort Hare amid rising student and staff dissatisfaction and protests.

Two years later, Lennox Sebe was ousted from his position as Prime Minister of the Ciskei in a bloodless coup led by General Oupa Gqozo. This change in regime excited some, but for others it was just another Bantustan puppet government. The latter would prove true as Gqozo, like Sebe, sent Ciskei troops to Fort Hare to "quiet" student protests. Moreover, a protest march from King Williamstown to Bisho resulted in the Ciskei police firing upon several thousand protesters and killing dozens. This clash came to be known as the "March on Bisho."

The early 1990s also saw fierce fighting in KwaZulu Natal and the Johannesburg area between supporters of the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) headed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi. There were also random attacks by far-right white vigilantes known as the Volksfront. Violence and instability gripped the country. In 1993, the National Party, the ANC, and other political parties, in an effort to secure peace, endorsed an interim constitution. However, talks collapsed again, leading to serious challenges to the peace process. These roadblocks to peace and a "New South Africa" were eventually overcome; and an election was held from April 26 to 29, 1994. Eleven days later, on May 10, 1994, Nelson Mandela took the presidential oath after the ANC won 62.65 percent of the votes. Even though there was now an African government in power, traces of apartheid in the higher education system remained and would have to be addressed.

Conclusion

Throughout South Africa's turbulent past, there was resistance to European domination in various forms from various entities. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, students came to play a leading role in the liberation struggle while also revitalizing the

movement. Students at the University of Fort Hare were instrumental in the modern South African freedom movement, as campus activism was alive and well for nearly three decades leading up to independence. Ultimately, apartheid came to an end, but student activism at Fort Hare continued, and students were forced to analyze their role in a "New South Africa."

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THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FOREIGN AID PESSIMISM: EVIDENCE FROM THE GHANAIAN EXPERIENCE (1983-2009)

by
Aliyu Rafindadi Sanusi, Ph.D.[1]

ABSTRACT

This paper critically examines the theoretical and empirical basis of the increasingly popular claim that massive foreign aid increases to the sub-Saharan African countries are hurting, instead of helping, them. This aid-pessimism is based on three distinct, but related, theoretical arguments. First, that increases in foreign aid can cause real appreciation of the exchange rate, thereby hurting the receiving country's export sector—this is the so-called Dutch-disease effect of aid. Second, that domestic spending of foreign aid can cause inflation and therefore hurt recipients. Third, that foreign aid is associated with dependency and breeds corruption, and it is therefore not associated with higher economic growth. This paper uses descriptive statistics to show that this view does not hold true for Ghana. The paper argues that massive aid increases that are conditional on reforms are likely to help its recipients. It therefore calls on donor countries and agencies to increase, rather than reduce, their aid to reforming African countries.

Keywords: *Foreign Aid, Ghana, Aid-for-Africa Pessimism, Dutch Disease, Real Exchange Rate.*

Introduction and Background

The massive increase in foreign aid inflows that the African continent has experienced in the last decade and a half is increasingly being characterized as, first, unproductive and therefore wasteful, and second, harmful to the recipients (see, for example, Kanbur 2000). There are two branches of the foreign aid literature that are generally pessimistic about the effectiveness and consequences of raising aid inflows to Africa. Both branches claim to base such positions on sound theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence. The first strand argues that the rising volume and volatility of foreign aid further complicates macroeconomic policy

[1] Dr. Sanusi serves as Lecturer I in the Department of Economics at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

management thereby hurting instead of helping the recipients[2] (see, for instance, Younger 1992; Bulir & Lane 2002; Adam & Bevan 2003; Nkusu 2004; Berg 2005; IMF 2005; McKinley 2005; Collier 2006; Foster & Killick 2006; and Prati & Tressel 2006). The second strand of this literature argues that aid is neither effective nor associated with growth in Africa and makes its recipients aid-dependent. Therefore, raising foreign aid will exacerbate this aid-dependency without causing any economic growth (see, for instance, White 1992; Carlsson, Somolekae, & Walle 1997; Rodrik 1998; Hansen & Tarp 2000; Kanbur 2000; Osei 2005; Rajan & Subramanian 2005; and Moyo 2009). I call this argument "Aid-for-Africa Pessimism." The conclusion that can be derived from this literature is that Africa does not need increased foreign aid inflows. In fact, some authors have argued that Africa does not need any Official Development Assistance (ODA) except for emergency relief. The proliferation of this strand of scholarly literature was significantly helped by the mass media, especially in the donor countries where the taxpayers are constantly asking to be convinced that their dollar donations are not wasted. The result is that an increasing number of residents of donor countries now perceive foreign aid (their other charitable donations) to Africa as waste (see, for example, *The Daily Telegraph* 2005). This view appears to be quite popular despite the overwhelming evidence which suggests that the *in*effectiveness and adverse consequences of foreign aid on macroeconomic management are contingent on a number of factors. There are several case studies suggesting that aid can be effective and therefore useful to the recipients. For instance, Bevan (2006) shows that although the risk of aid hurting its recipients is real, such risk is often exaggerated in the literature. The risk is neither inevitable nor unmanageable (see also Walters 2006; Martijn 2006; and Sanusi 2009b). This position suggests that scaling up aid can be desirable under certain conditions. The major objective of this paper is to argue this case, using the Ghanaian experience with foreign aid during its economic reforms program between 1983 and 2009. The Ghanaian case suggests that not only

[2] Macroeconomic policy management in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) is substantially more difficult than it is in developed countries for a number of reasons. For instance, as Bevan (2006) argues, the latter have greater volatility to cope with in the real economy as well as in budget. Their economic shocks are of uncertain duration rather than the fairly regular cycles in the industrialized countries. In addition, their policy instruments are less potent.

is ODA needed, but that scaling it up can be desirable in reforming African countries. The paper argues that calling for the reduction of foreign aid inflows to Africa on the basis of a few bad experiences of African countries with foreign aid is illogical. Increases in aid inflows to African countries should therefore be considered on a case-by-case basis.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section two critically reviews the theoretical and empirical basis of the aid-for-Africa pessimism. Section three examines the experience of Ghana with foreign aid inflows and presents the empirical evidence. Section four draws conclusions and outlines the policy implications.

The Theoretical and Empirical Basis for the Aid-for-Africa Pessimism

Because the literature discussing financial aid to Africa is vast, it is not the intention of this section to review it exhaustively. We, however, review only the major issues that form the basis of the aid-for-Africa pessimism. These issues are: (1) Aid does not raise economic growth in Africa; (2) Aid leads to aid-dependency and the attendant effects of corruption and is not necessary to Africa anymore; and (3) Foreign aid causes macroeconomic management difficulties, higher inflation, and has some Dutch-disease effects.

Foreign Aid and Economic Growth

The theoretical basis for aid to Africa is found in the so-called Dual Gap Model, an open economy extension of the Harrod-Dormar model.[3] The model's central proposition is that the development of Africa is constrained by the existence of two "gaps": the gap between savings and investment, and the gap between (foreign exchange from) export earnings and (foreign exchange for) import requirements. These less developed countries lack the savings required for domestic investment and lack sufficient foreign exchange to import the required machinery and

[3] The Harrod-Dormar model shows that the rate of growth of an economy, g, is given by g = sc-d, the rate of growth of output is the difference between the product of the savings rate and marginal product of capital and the depreciation rate. Hence increase in savings and technology or decrease in depreciation rate will raise output growth.

other industrial inputs (see, for example, White 1992). Theoretically, the use of modern technology and capital input, which are typically imported, and domestic source of financing projects are indispensable for economic growth. This makes foreign aid resources potentially good and therefore indispensable to growth in some African countries where such *dual gap* exists. Indeed, the positive effect of aid is theoretically difficult to dispute, and there is no such attempt in the literature.

The empirical evidence of the effect of foreign aid on growth in Africa is, at best, mixed. But the consensus seems to be that the positive effect of aid on growth is contingent on a number of factors. The most frequently cited evidence is the work of Burnside and Dollar (2000) who find that the effect of foreign aid is positive in "good" policy environments. Other studies that have found negative effects of aid on growth in Africa, though contested, often rely on "bad policy" and "bad governance" to explain the mechanism through which aid negatively affects growth. These studies seem to make headline news despite the numerous empirical studies that have established the theoretically predicted positive effects of foreign aid on economic growth in Africa. These include Clemens, Radelet, and Bhavnani (2004), and Hansen and Tarp (2001). Clemens, Radelet, and Bhavnani (2004) found that economic aid has significantly and substantially raised growth in Africa. They argue that Africa's growth performance in the last three decades would have been worse without aid. Hansen and Tarp (2001) found that, in contrast to the Burnside and Dollar's (2000) argument, foreign aid and good policy have independent, and positive, effects on African economic growth (see also the review of aid effectiveness literature by Doucouliagos and Paldam [2005]). In summary, it is flawed reasoning to generalize that aid to Africa is not growth-enhancing, and therefore wasted, on the basis of inconclusive evidence.

The argument that follows from this aid pessimism is that Africa does not need aid, but rather fair trade, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and partnership (of equals) in its development process. We consider the question of whether aid is indeed necessary for Africa from both theoretical and ideological perspectives in the next section.

Aid, FDI, Trade, and Aid-Dependency

Trade, FDI, and external long-term loans are theoretical alternatives to foreign aid in Africa and can be used to fill the "dual gap." The aid-for-Africa pessimists argue that with trade and FDI, even if the dual gap still exists, Africa does not need aid. I will argue that this argument is flawed for at least two reasons. First, modern trade cannot be "fair" to Africa and therefore does not form a realistic alternative to aid. The prices of primary products, Africa's predominant exports, are determined outside Africa. In fact, except the price of crude oil, all the prices of the primary products are secularly declining. Even the oil exporting countries face exports earning volatility as a result of speculations in London and Chicago. In addition, the global trade rules are negotiated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) between nations that have unequal power of persuasion or negotiation skills. Most of the trade rules are therefore in favor of, or are ignored by, the West and are detrimental to Africa's trade. The most obvious example of this unequal partnership is the rules on agricultural subsidies and issue of cotton (see, for example, Mutume 2003).[4] Second, with the prevailing adverse political, economic, and business environment in Africa, private capital in the form of FDI is more likely to go to Asia, where business environment is more conducive. An exception could be the countries with the extractive industry, which is empirically found to have less effect on growth than aid (see, for instance, Collier 2006). Africa, therefore, still needs foreign aid, in addition to fair trade.

It is also argued that because foreign aid breeds corruption and aid-dependency, Africa does not need more aid since it will be an addition to its problems (see Kanbur 2000, for instance). The literature on aid-dependency suggests that African countries spend a lot of resources building institutions for aid administration and a lot of time negotiating with donors on conditionality. It is suggested that, in a number of cases, aid accounts for a large proportion of government's budget. These aid receipts, it is argued, may be associated with reduced tax efforts, that is, the availability of "free lunch" allows the recipients to sit on their hands in tax collection. Absence of taxation, in turn, causes poor representation and breeds corruption and rent-seeking activities (see Bevan 2006).

[4] The subsidies of cotton and other agricultural products in the developed countries have helped destroy Africa's cotton production since farmers in the former have artificially low prices in the world market. The same applies to a number of other agricultural products.

While some of these arguments may be true to a certain extent, generalization still remains unwarranted. For instance, countries with foreign aid constituting a large chunk of budget are often post-conflict states trying to rebuild (tax) institutions (Uganda in the 1990s is often cited as an example). In addition, where conditionality is involved, as is often the case, foreign aid may even raise tax revenue (see also Collier 1999 for a critique of this literature). In Ghana, for instance, Osei, Morrissey, and Lloyd (2003) found foreign aid to be associated with increased, instead of reduced, tax efforts contrary to the aid dependency literature.

Another line of the critique of the more-aid-to-Africa argument is related to aid conditionality. This is captured aptly in the study by Oya and Pons-Vignon (2010) who argue that aid conditionality has led to loss in policy space in Africa. They argue that foreign aid has failed to positively raise growth in Africa because it became intrusive into policy decisions and processes and therefore weakened the fairly weak states. This argument relates to the heavily unpopular issue of aid conditionality, including those detailed policy prescriptions in reforming countries. While it may be true, to some extent, that aid conditionality involves the loss of policy space, especially in those African countries that accept to undertake reforms, the relevant question is whether such conditionality is useful or not. A number of theoretical and empirical studies have shown that such conditionality, actually, helped some of the aid-receiving countries to achieve the objectives of their economic reforms (see, for example, Sanusi 2009a). The loss of policy space is therefore only temporary. In addition, there are studies that dispute this claim of loss of policy space. Kanbur (2000), for instance, argues that the aid-receiving countries, perceived to be weak, are indeed strong since they disregard the conditionality, fail to meet agreed targets, and still get the next aid disbursements. He noted that because of time inconsistency, "conditionality can be introduced on paper with much pomp and circumstance, but when push comes to shove, all of the pressures, mostly coming from the donor side, are to look the other way when conditionality is violated" (Kanbur 2000, 6). The next issue to be considered is the so-called Dutch-disease effect of aid, which, the aid-for-Africa critics argue, makes macroeconomic management difficult in the aid-receiving countries.

Foreign Aid and the Dutch Disease

The most recent line of attack on foreign aid inflows to Africa is the idea that such inflows, especially when substantial and volatile, can have the Dutch-disease effect on the economy. Theoretically, when aid flows into an economy and is used to finance domestic expenditures, the additional demand that this generates raises the prices of non-tradable goods relative to those of tradables (i.e., the real exchange rate appreciates).[5] This higher price of non-tradables makes their production relatively more attractive; hence, resources are shifted toward their production to the detriment of the exportables and tradables. The export sector therefore shrinks, with adverse effects on the economy's long-term growth prospects.[6] The literature on the Dutch-disease effects of aid is growing and gaining popularity among aid-for-Africa critics (for example, see Younger 1992; Tsikata 1998; Adam & Bevan 2003; Nkusu 2004; Bevan 2005; Doucouliagos & Paldam 2005; McKinley 2005; Prati & Tressel 2007; Moyo 2009). In fact, a branch of this literature argues that because of this possible Dutch-disease effect, the proposed scaling up of aid to Africa should not be considered (see, for example, Buffie, Adam, O'Connell, & Pattillo 2004; Berg 2005; Bevan 2005; IMF 2005; McKinley 2005; Foster & Killick 2006; Prati & Tressel 2006; Adam, O'Connell, Buffie, & Pattillo 2007; and Department for International Development 2002). Some authors call for the scaling down of aid because Africa does not have the absorptive capacity for the "big push" that Sachs (2005) proposes as a solution to Africa's poverty.[7] This is despite the massive evidence that foreign aid did not produce the real appreciation or Dutch-disease effects in Africa. For instance, Nyoni (1998) found that instead of appreciation, the real exchange rate, actually, depreciated in the face of rising foreign aid inflows in Tanzania. Adam and Bevan (2003) found that where aid has short-run Dutch-disease effects, the long-run supply response of output could be large enough to

[5] This is because the prices of tradables and exportables are determined in the international market. So, any domestic demand pressure on non-tradables only raises their prices. Domestic inflation will also rise because, and to the extent that, the non-tradables constitute part of the domestic consumption basket.

[6] This relative price shift is most likely to occur through inflation and appreciation of the (real) exchange rate as a result of increased supplies of foreign exchange (Foster & Killick 2006).

[7] Sachs (2005) argues that Africa needs a massive injection of aid resources to provide the big push required for massive poverty reduction.

offset the short-run adverse effects. Therefore, the empirical evidence of the Dutch-disease effects of foreign aid is, at best, mixed. A generalized conclusion that aid is harmful to Africa is unwarranted.

In the next section, we present a case study of the Ghanaian experience with large aid inflows during its reform period to demonstrate that aid can enhance economic growth, and the potential Dutch-disease effects can be avoided. We will argue that the massive aid inflow in Ghana has helped in reducing inflation and has made the general macroeconomic management easier during the reform years.

The Ghanaian Experience with Foreign Aid

This section examines the experience of Ghana with massive foreign aid inflows during its economic reform period. Ghana presents a suitable case for at least three reasons. First, it has received a substantial amount of aid within a relatively short period (1983-2004). Indeed, aid to Ghana has more than doubled as a percentage of its GDP during this period (Table 1). This allows us to observe what the possible effect of "doubling" or "scaling up" of aid could be in African countries that have economic characteristics similar to Ghana. Second, Ghana was undergoing the IMF and the World Bank supported economic reforms, and the aid inflow was made conditional on meeting specific policy and program targets, the so-called conditionality. The Ghanaian case, therefore, allows us to observe if aid conditionality is harmful to recipients. Third, Ghanaian reform was generally judged successful because at the end of the reform its real GDP growth appeared to have risen significantly. Moreover, the inflation rate has been drastically reduced, and the exchange rate has stabilized and is now operating a flexible exchange rate regime (see for instance Sanusi 2010, 2009a).[8] The next section provides an overview of the pattern and magnitude of aid inflows during the period under review.

The Pattern of Aid Inflows

[8] Informal evidence of this success is the formal adoption of inflation targeting as the framework for monetary policy in 2007. When inflation is not subdued and exchange rate not floated, inflation targeting becomes a risky monetary policy strategy.

To clarify the concepts and, hence, make measurements straightforward, we define *Gross Aid Inflow* as the sum of all disbursements of loans made on concessional terms, grants, and aid inflows from official donors and agencies and multilateral institutions, including both program and project financing (Official Development Assistance and Official Aid). *Net Aid Inflow* is therefore the gross aid inflows net of total debt service actually paid during the period. While the gross aid inflow is certainly important, given the county's initial conditions, to the aid-to-Africa pessimists, it is the net inflow that is important. This is because the net inflow captures the actual additional resources flowing into the country and therefore is a better indicator of the scale of macroeconomic challenges facing the authorities (see IMF 2005).

To analyze the pattern of aid inflows during the reform period, the sample period is divided into five, and averages of the various measures of aid inflows are computed for the sub-periods (see Table 1). We choose these periods (of different lengths) based on phases of the economic reforms. In each of these phases, the domestic demand for foreign exchange as well as the rate of foreign aid absorption differs. The higher the rate at which foreign aid is absorbed, the less will be its adverse consequences for macroeconomic policy management. The first period, 1983 through 1986, marks the beginning of the reforms. The exchange rate was still fixed but with frequent devaluations. The overriding aim of macroeconomic policy during this period was the realignment of the real exchange rate via nominal depreciation, disinflation via fiscal reforms, and the liberalization of trade. The second period, 1987 through 1993, was when the liberalization of the foreign exchange market and trade was fully achieved. There was a substantial rise in the demand for foreign exchange, as imports were liberalized and more transactions were granted access to the foreign exchange auction in which the central bank was the supplier. In the third period, 1994 through 1999, there was serious fiscal slippage due to massive election spending in 1996 and the increase in public sector wages. In fact, it was in this period that the IMF and the World Bank suspended disbursements of aid because of the recipient's failure to observe most of the program's targets. The fourth period (2000-2004) marks one in which reforms were brought back on track. We therefore expect not only the pattern of aid inflows to vary between these periods but also the

various policy responses to the aid inflows and their consequences on macroeconomic management.

In terms of magnitude, aid inflows to Ghana, as shown in Table 1 and Figure 1, have risen since the inception of the Economic Recovery Program (ERP) in 1983. As a percent of GDP, gross aid has significantly increased from an annual average of 6.8 percent in the pre-reform period (1980-1982) to about 17.6 percent in the reform period, 1987 through 1993, before declining to 15.3 percent in the 1994 through 1999 period and increasing again to 17.5 percent in the 2000 through 2004 period. The net aid inflows exhibit a similar trend, rising from an annual average of about 3.7 percent in the pre-reform period to about 12.5 percent in the period of 2000 through 2004. This decline in both gross and net (as well as budgetary) aid inflows reflects the period when the IMF and the World Bank suspended aid disbursements due to the derailment from the reform path by the Ghanaian authorities and their failure to meet the performance criteria in the second half of the 1990s.[9]

Budgetary grants comprise all aid inflows from other governments and international institutions that are for the purpose of budgetary support. It is a non-sector allocable assistance which is provided without an explicit link to any project; hence, the government is free to use it in its general budget. It therefore excludes, from the total aid, all sector-specific aid, balance of payments support, debt forgiveness, and all aid directed to the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other Quasi-Autonomous Non-Governmental Organizations (QUANGOs) for projects, including capital projects, outside the general government budget.[10] This non-budgetary aid has been largely relative to the

[9] Kanbur (2000) cited the rising pressure on the donor agencies to resume disbursement despite the violation of the conditionality as a sign of the strength, rather than weakness, of the receiving states. If this is true, then the claim of complete loss of policy space in the receiving states due to conditionality, as Oya and Pons-Vignon (2010) state, is a contradiction.

[10] Note that part of the non-budgetary aid is channeled directly to the NGOs, and the associated foreign exchange does not necessarily go to the BoG, but may be held in foreign exchange accounts with commercial banks or sold in the foreign exchange market. Some part of the non-budgetary aid such as sector-specific and project specific aid accrue to the government or its *parastatals*, in which case any associated foreign exchange would be held by the BoG. In any case, whether the foreign exchange goes to the BoG directly or to the foreign exchange market is immaterial to our measure of absorption. Sector-specific aid accounted for a significant proportion of non-budgetary aid, especially in the first decade of the reforms. For instance, balance of payments support averaged

net aid (ranging from 64 percent to 92 percent of the net aid). It is noteworthy that although budgetary aid has been relatively small compared to non-budgetary, its share in the total had significantly risen, especially in the later years (see Table 1). This rise reflects increasing confidence that the international donors have in the Ghanaian authorities as the latter continued to demonstrate commitment to reforms and fiscal prudence. The period of 1994 through 1999 is, again, a partial exception to this trend.

Table 1: Pattern of Aid Inflows to Ghana: 1980–2004 (Annual Averages)

	1980-82	1983-86	1987-93	1994-99	2000-04
Gross Aid (as % of GDP)	6.76	8.05	17.60	15.31	17.45
Net Aid (as % of GDP)	3.71	4.52	10.80	8.99	12.52
Budgetary Grants (% of GDP)	0.29	0.54	1.32	0.92	4.63
Non-budgetary aid (% of GDP)	3.43	3.98	9.48	8.07	7.95
Budgetary Grants (% of Govt. Expenditure)	0.38	3.21	8.73	4.07	18.32
Non-budgetary aid (% of Net Aid Inflows)	91.67	88.69	87.76	89.66	63.87
Budgetary aid (% of Net Aid Inflows)	8.33	11.31	12.24	10.34	36.13

Source: Computed from International Financial Statistics (IFS), Global Development Finance (GDF), and World Development Indicators (WDI) Online Database.

The pattern of budgetary grants is similar to that of gross and net aid inflows: they both rise in the first two periods and then fall in the third before rising again. This is true both as a percent of GDP and as a percent of government expenditure (see Table 1). The large increase in both net aid and budgetary grants in the 2000-2004 period is also noteworthy. The rise in budgetary grants as a percent of government expenditure is even more pronounced, rising from about 4 percent in the 1994-1999 period to more than 18 percent in the period of 2000 through 2004. This partly reflects the increase in the confidence of the donors in the sustained reform

more than 50 percent of the total aid between 1986 and 1989. In the first two years of the reform, non-budgetary aid was mainly to finance imports. Aid to transport, agriculture, and community and social services has also been increasing since the 1990s (see Tsikata 1998; Sowa 2001).

efforts by the Ghanaian authorities as well as the gains arising from the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) initiatives. Under these initiatives, donors have become generally more willing to channel aid through the recipient countries' general budget. In Ghana's case, this shift in donors' behavior is even clearer from the trend in budgetary grants as a proportion of net aid, which rose from an annual average of about 8 percent in the pre-reform period to about 36 percent in the period of 2000-2004.

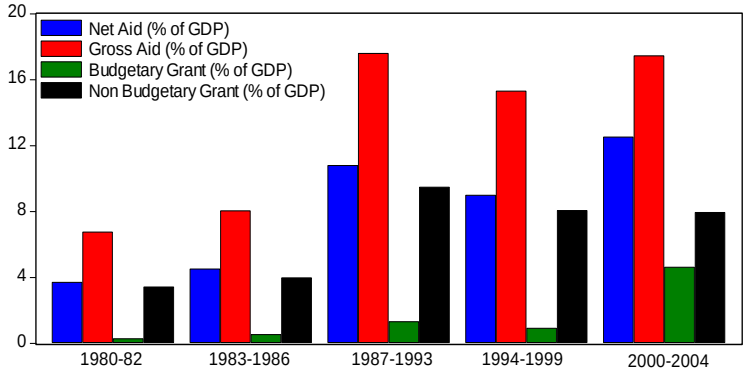

Figure 1: Pattern of Aid Inflows to Ghana: 1980-2004 (Period Averages)
Source: Computed from International Financial Statistics (IFS), Global Development Finance (GDF), and World Development Indicators (WDI) Online Database.

Table 1 above allows us to identify, for the purpose of analysis, periods of aid increases. If we define a period of aid surge as one in which there is an increase in aid inflows over the previous period, then there are three periods of aid surge since the reforms began. These are, as shown in Table 1, 1983-1986; 1987-1993 and 2000-2004. The increase in aid inflows is therefore the additional aid flow over the previous period.

The period averages in both Table 1 and Figure 1 hide the year-to-year fluctuations of aid receipts, which is an important feature of the pattern of aid inflows to Ghana. Figure 2 shows the year-to-year gross and net figures as a percent of GDP, and it is clear that these (by both measures) have been volatile, notably, in the early and late 1990s. Also, an observable feature of the trend in aid is the general rise from the beginning of the reform reaching a peak around 1989 and then the decline to its minimum in 1997 before picking up again. This volatility has important implications

for the aid management strategy as well as for exchange rate management.[11] Like other capital inflow shocks, aid volatility implies that effective management should entail some sort of inter-temporal smoothing: saving the excess in the form of reserve accumulation during a positive shock and falling back on the accumulated reserves during a negative shock.

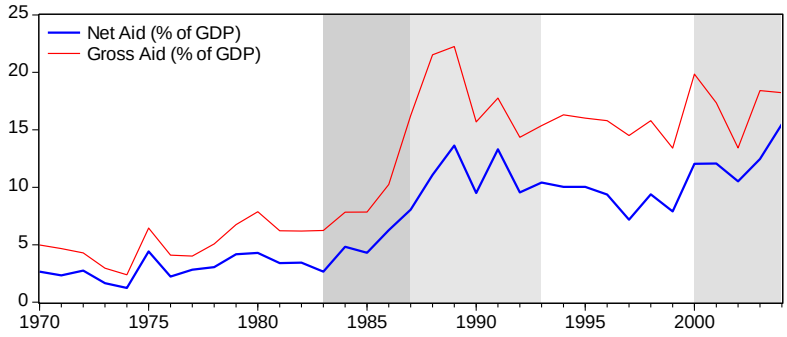

Figure 2: Pattern of Aid Inflows to Ghana (Annual, 1984-2004)
Source: From IFS, GDF, and WDI.

In summary, it is observed that a foreign aid inflow to Ghana has been quite as stereotypical as described in the aid-for-Africa literature. In terms of magnitude, aid inflows were significant during the reform period. It was also volatile and unpredictable, with no evidence of expenditure smoothing. In terms of composition, an increasing proportion of the aid during the period was budgetary aid. These features of foreign aid in Ghana, according to the aid-critic literature, should lead to real appreciation of the exchange rate, lower exports, and higher rates of inflation. The next section examines whether the statistical evidence support this claim for Ghana.

The Empirical Evidence

The central argument of the criticism of aid for Africa is that foreign aid inflows can cause real appreciation of the exchange

[11] The critics of aid increase to Africa claim that the adverse effects of aid are founded in its volatile nature. For instance, Barder (2006) argues that if aid inflow is sustained and predictable, its positive benefits on investment and consumption, hence on growth, can offset its adverse effects. It is therefore the volatility of aid that is costly.

rate, reduce the real growth rate of exports, reduce the rate of economic growth, and raise inflation. This section presents statistical evidence suggesting that these claims did not hold true for the large inflows of foreign aid to Ghana during its ERP period, from 1983 through 2006.

The first empirical question to address is whether the massive foreign aid inflows were associated with real appreciation of the exchange rate and adversely affected the export performance. In other words, is there any evidence of the Dutch-disease effects of the massive aid inflows to Ghana? A careful observation of Tables 2 and 3 suggests otherwise.

Table 2 and Figure 3 summarize the medium-term and short-term movements in the real and nominal effective exchange rates respectively, as well as the bilateral cedi to dollar. On a periodic basis, Dutch-disease effects are apparently absent because, as Table 2 shows, the real exchange rate has *depreciated* in all the periods of aid surge. *The real exchange rate, in fact, appreciated, on average, only in the period 1994 through 199,9, when there was a decline in aid inflows.* This situation is in stark contrast with the claim of the aid-for-Africa critics. It implies that *increases* in aid inflows did not result in relative price shift, at least, in favor of the non-tradables. The question here is why the real exchange rate appreciated when aid, actually, declined. Table 2 shows that the real appreciation was due to relatively higher inflation, when the rate of depreciation remained roughly the same during the period of 1994 through 1999. The relatively higher inflation during this period can be attributed to a higher deficit which was domestically financed as aid inflows declined.[12]

This observation brings us to the issue of whether aid inflows are associated with inflation. As the tables show, the general trend in inflation is downward since the beginning of the reform period. In fact, if anything, the evidence in Table 2 seems to suggest that the increase in aid is associated with lower inflation, and decreases are associated with higher inflation.

[12] Although the fiscal deficit before aid had widened because of "fiscal slippage" running up to democratic elections and increased public sector wages, the decline in aid receipts contributed to further fiscal difficulties and inflationary financing of the deficits. Increased external support during this period may have helped lower the inflation and hence prevented real appreciation.

Table 1: Average Changes in Exchange Rates and Exports

	1980-82	1983-86	1987-93	1994-99	2000-04	2005-09
Changes in NEER (%)	10.17	-52.63	-17.14	-17.85	-22.03	-10.06
Changes in REER (%)	73.86	-40.93	-7.86	3.16	-6.72	0.74
Changes in $/¢ (%)	0.00	-45.21	-25.96	-21.03	-14.74	-8.98
Inflation (annual %)	62.96	49.35	26.67	30.97	22.44	13.50
Exports Growth (%)	5.04	-0.62	9.02	11.20	1.07	-
Exports (% of GDP)	23.01	10.21	17.99	30.07	42.30	-
Real GDP growth (%)	-3.32	3.59	4.69	4.22	4.60	6.15

Source: From IFS, GDF, and WDI.

Note: NEER and REER are the real and nominal effective exchange rate indices obtained from the IMF's IFS (lines 652..RECZF... and 652..NECZF...); figures shown in the first three rows are the average annual rate of depreciation over the indicated periods (- = depreciation, and + = appreciation on the cedi). The bilateral exchange rate is the nominal US$ per cedi rate (IMF IFS line 652..DG.ZF).

The export sector, too, does not appear to have been adversely affected by the aid inflows and associated real exchange rate changes. As Table 2 shows, export performance was generally strong during the aid surge periods. Except in the period of 1983 through 1986, when exports declined slightly (by about 0.6% on the average), the export sector has recorded positive growth rates.[13] In fact, there was a steady increase in the export share in GDP following the 1983 through 1986 period, possibly reflecting the incentives supplied by the real depreciation of the exchange rate.

Finally, the growth rate of real GDP in Ghana, as shown in Table 2, seems to be in conflict with the claims of the aid-for-Africa pessimism. The rate of growth of real GDP has risen in all the periods that aid has increased, and declined only in the period that aid inflows declined (1994-1999). This can be regarded as

[13] In fact, even the real appreciation of about 3 percent from 1994 through 1999 did not stop the export growth as it grew by an annual average of 11.2 percent relative to the previous period, and its share of the GDP increased by an average of about 12 percent. The decline in the growth of exports during the period of 1983 through 1987 could not be directly attributed to aid since the real exchange rate (its channel of influence) shows depreciation.

evidence that foreign aid is positively associated with growth in Ghana.

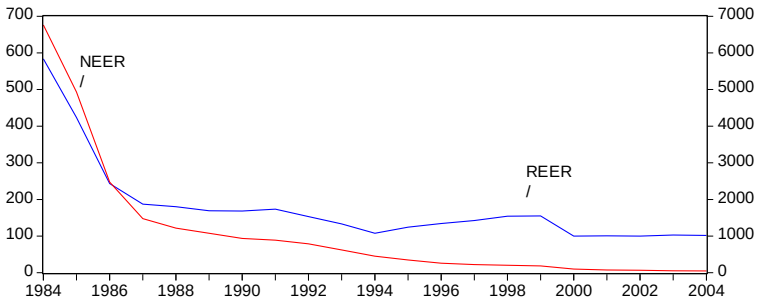

Figure 3: Real and Nominal Effective Exchange Rates

Table 3 presents the year-to-year pattern of aid inflows, real exchange rate changes, and export growth. It generally supports the conclusion derived from the periodic averages in Table 2 that Dutch-disease effects were difficult to discern in Ghana during the aid surge periods. Consistent with Table 2 above, the real (effective) exchange rate depreciated throughout, except between 1995 and 1999, and in 1991, 2001, and 2003. Although real appreciation occurred in 8 out of the 22 years in the sample period, it is only in 1991, 1998, 2001, and 2003 that real appreciation *coincided* with the surge in aid inflows. These appreciations notwithstanding, real export growth has been positive in all these years. This implies that, although real appreciation occurred in a few years in which aid also increased, there was no apparent shift of resources away from the export sector. We might conclude that *during the period reviewed, therefore, there is no evidence of Dutch-disease effects as a result of aid inflows*. This finding is consistent with a growing strand of aid-effectiveness literature which maintains that increased aid inflows need not cause

Table 2: Aid Surges and Changes in Real Exchange Rates (Dutch-disease Effects?)

	Changes in Net Aid (% of GDP)	NEER Changes (%)	REER Changes (%)	Changes in Bilateral Exchange Rate (%)	Exports Growth Rate (Annual %)
1982	0.02	13.27	25.02	0.00	15.24
1983	-0.77	-58.33	-32.54	-90.83	-45.78
1984	2.16	-75.37	-61.23	-39.99	9.65
1985	-0.52	-27.04	-27.40	-16.65	21.96
1986	1.95	-49.79	-42.53	-33.35	11.70
1987	1.79	-40.41	-23.01	-48.87	10.09
1988	3.02	-17.49	-3.88	-23.42	5.42
1989	2.55	-11.52	-6.14	-24.14	12.38
1990	-4.12	-12.86	-0.47	-12.12	6.21
1991	**3.80**	-5.33	3.10*****	-11.72	**9.27**
1992	-3.76	-11.11	-11.66	-25.00	2.71
1993	0.87	-21.28	-12.92	-36.46	17.07
1994	-0.38	-26.87	-19.14	-22.13	5.38
1995	0.00	-23.50	15.37	-27.37	**1.26**
1996	-0.66	-24.57	8.08	-17.39	**38.18**
1997	-2.21	-15.02	5.98	-22.81	**0.24**
1998	**2.22**	-7.83	8.16*****	-2.27	**9.53**
1999	-1.49	-9.32	0.49	-34.22	**12.62**
2000	4.14	-46.34	-35.51	-49.84	0.85
2001	**0.02**	-24.01	0.65*****	-3.75	**0.03**
2002	-1.55	-11.72	-0.64	-13.24	-1.68
2003	1.93	-17.70	3.03*****	-4.67	**2.67**
2004	3.04	-10.39	-1.12	-2.23	3.50

Source: From IFS, GDF, and WDI.

Notes: Column 2 shows changes in net aid as percent of GDP relative to the previous year. Positive figures indicate increase in net aid over the previous year. In column 3, * indicates years in which real appreciation coincided with increase in aid. In the last column, bold-faced figures indicate the annual rate of growth of exports when the real exchange rate appreciated.

Dutch-disease effects provided that the increased aid is managed (see, for instance, McKinley 2005; IMF 2005; Nkusu 2004).

Although evidence points to the absence of Dutch-disease effects in Ghana during the reform period, it does not in any way suggest that Dutch disease was *not a concern*. More probably, aid

inflows were associated with policy reforms intended to end pre-existing *over*valuation and with policies that liberalized the import regime. Foreign aid, in this situation, will allow the import liberalization, without currency crisis that could result without sufficient foreign exchange, to support the rising demand. Foreign aid can help the reforming countries to gradually depreciate the hitherto overvalued currency without a crash, as Ghana was able to do.

Conclusion and Policy Implications

This paper examines the general implications of one strand of the aid literature that is pessimistic about the effects of foreign aid in Africa, which we term "aid-for-Africa pessimism." This literature uses theoretical arguments and a few empirical studies to argue that Africa does not need additional aid, or even any at all, that is not for emergency relief, because it hurts rather than helps its recipients. The empirical findings that are predominantly used as evidence against providing aid for Africa include those that found some Dutch-disease effects of aid, despite their inconclusiveness. In response to the call for increase in aid to Africa, the so-called "big push," another strand of literature argues that Africa does not have the capacity to absorb such large increases. Scaling up aid to such magnitude as doubling the current level could cause some macroeconomic management difficulties, again, hurting rather than helping them. Others use political economy's theoretical argument that the conditionality attached to aid leads to a loss of policy space and weakens the already weak states. In addition, because such conditionality, they argue, is at variance with the interest of the recipients, aid conditionality hurts rather than helps Africa. The overall conclusion from this aid-for-Africa pessimism is that aid to Africa, if anything, should be reduced. The central argument in this paper is that this conclusion is unfounded and inconsistent with the existing evidence. The paper examines the basis of this argument in the context of the Ghanaian experience with massive aid inflows during its economic recovery program period. The statistical evidence suggests that, despite the significant increase, foreign aid in Ghana was not associated with real appreciation of the exchange rate, lower level of exports, higher inflation, or lower output growth. We argue that this may, indeed, be because of the reforms in place and the

conditionality attached to the aid disbursement. This allows us to draw the conclusion that aid inflows are potentially helpful to reforming African countries. As the Ghanaian experience shows, the potentially harmful effects of aid could be avoided when foreign aid is made conditional on reforms. The policy implication of this finding is that, since the conditions in the African counties differ, scaling up aid has the potential of reducing poverty, and the "big push" idea can be considered for some countries on a case-by-case basis.

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DEVELOPING SLAVIC-LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT TOOLS FOR BALKAN WAR TRAUMA VICTIMS

by

Laurence Armand French[1] and Lidija Nikolic-Novakovic[2]

ABSTRACT

The 2009 NATO Parliamentary Assembly's 70th Rose-Roth Seminar held in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina raised serious concerns about increased sectarianism in both Bosnia and Serbia due to unresolved issues regarding untreated post-traumatic stress among those traumatized by the Balkan Wars of 1991-2001. Caught in the worldwide recession and the need for the costly rebuilding of the basic infrastructure of their society, the new states created from the former Yugoslavia have allocated few resources to untreated mental health issues, notably PTSD. Hence, the latent factor of a generation of untreated adults has impacted on secondary PTSD among children and youth. The authors collaborated with local treatment centers in both countries toward the development of viable diagnostic and treatment protocols resulting in the development of Slavic-language measurements for both adults and children and youth.

Keywords: *untreated post-traumatic stress, Balkan Wars, former Yugoslavia, untreated mental health, secondary PTSD, PTSD among children and youth, diagnostic and treatment protocols*

Introduction

The Balkan Wars had their roots in the upheaval associated with the dissolution of the Communist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1990 which was part of the process begun by the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. Economic turmoil quickly fueled sectarianism with the emergence of ultra nationalist parties vying for control of the breakaway states. This process began with Slovenia, the most prosperous state, declaring its

[1] Dr. French is Professor Emeritus of Psychology, Western New Mexico University, and Senior Research Associate, Justiceworks Institute, University of New Hampshire.

[2] Ms. Novakovic holds the B. A. (Honors) from the University of Pristina, Serbia and is a graduate student of Interdisciplinary Studies, Faculty of Law, University of Novi Pazar, Pancevo Campus, Serbia.

independence in 1991 and eventually led to the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia over the next fifteen years. All six of the constituent states had broken away by 2006, resulting in two major battle fronts–the Croatian-Bosnian/Herzegovina-Serbian conflict from 1991 until the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords in December 1995 and the Kosovo War (1996-2002) that led to the NATO bombings of Serbia in 1999, eventually resulting in Kosovo (a province of Serbia) declaring its independence in 2008.

Overall, it is estimated that more than 100,000 people died, both combatants and civilians, in these conflicts, with another one million displaced from their traditional homes, many placed in concentration camps or prisons where tens of thousands, both men and women, were subjected to sexual assaults, starved, or beaten. Over 30,000 mine fields remain active today, many located around Sarajevo, causing continued deaths and injuries inflicted mostly against children and youth (Ceranic 2000). The trauma associated with these conflicts transcends ethnicity or sectarianism–affecting all those involved: Muslims/Bosniaks; Orthodox/Serbs and Bosnians; Catholic Croats/Bosnians and Roma. The dire economic situation in these struggling, emerging states leaves many of these victims and their families untreated, leading to increased social ills including suicides (Definis-Gojanovic et. al. 1997; French 1982, 1997). While recent efforts have been made by the leaders of Croatia and Serbia to reduce the intensity of sectarianism by publicly apologizing for their country's role in the Balkan Wars, inter-group hostilities continue to be fueled by the indictments and trials conducted or supervised by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). While these are obviously socio-political issues, mental health treatment needs are the same regardless of one's national, religious, or ethnic identification. Toward this end, we worked with two high-risk populations–the Bosnians in the Sarajevo area and the Serbs in the Vojvodina province, notably those in Pancevo.

Review of Literature

The Balkan Wars of 1991-2002 were the most destructive conflicts in Europe since the Second World War. Studies on traumatic stress up to this time focused on the Viet Nam and Gulf War conflicts (French 2008). Moreover, this focus was and still is mainly on North American, British, Australian, and European

military personnel and not on Asian or Arab populations caught up in these conflicts. Hence, studies on the nature and extent of war trauma associated with the Balkan Wars exist mainly in Slavic-language professional journals and cover both military and civilian victims. A review of these articles was the first step in determining assessment and treatment strategies for dealing with victims who have survived the conflict but continue to suffer from unresolved and untreated symptoms.

The Slavic-language articles dealt with traumatic stress among both veterans and civilians, notably those involved in the forty-four-month-long siege of Sarajevo (April 1992-February 1996) and the NATO bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (now the states of Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo) from March to June 1999, as well as the tens of thousands of refugees displaced, many still not back in their homeland, during the entire Balkan conflict (1991-1999) (Donev et. al. 2002; Lazic & Bojanin 1995). It is important to note that people on all sides of the Balkan conflict, veterans and civilians alike, were subjected to war-related trauma, either directly or indirectly, and that these social-clinical features pertain to anyone, regardless of ethnic or sectarian origin. Consequently, these articles address clinical research on victims from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, and Kosovo, as well as those working in refugee camps located in Macedonia and throughout Europe (Cavic 2001, 2008). We present a sampling of these articles especially as they pertain to combat veterans and civilian victims, including women, children, and youth.

Many articles focused on the effects of the war on children and youth. A sampling of these studies portrays the complexity of this problem within the Balkans. Milosavljevic and his associates noted that while war is the most significant human stressor, children are the most vulnerable to its effects. They studied the effect of war psychic trauma syndrome (WPTS) among youth aged ten to sixteen residing in Banja Luka, Republika Srpska in November and December 1995. Milosavljevic's team found that the effects of WPTS (psychophysiological, emotional, and cognitive impairments) were more frequent among females than males and that these effects were more intense and frequent among those youth who lost somebody close to them in the conflict (Milosavljevic et al. 1996). Many researchers found that the prolonged nature of the conflict, in conjunction with the

unpredictability of their situation, contributed to the intensity of post-traumatic crisis (Basoglu 2005; Hasanovic et. al. 2005, 2006: Herceg et al. 1996; Klaric et al. 2007, 2008; Terzic et al. 2001).

Petrovic (2004), in her study of 1,934 primary school children in Vojvodina, Serbia, compared war-related traumatization (NATO bombings) with that of single-event non-war childhood trauma, finding that repeated (chronic) stress leads to a higher level of traumatization coupled with serious personality changes. Another study of children and youth in Vojvodina, conducted fourteen months following the end of the NATO bombing attacks, found that nearly 60 percent of the children showed signs of trauma which impacted on their everyday coping skills (Zotovic 2005; Gavriolvic-Jankovic et al. 1998; Selakovic-Bursic et al. 2000, 2001). And a study conducted by the University of Novi Sad found that children (aged seven at the time of the NATO bombings) from towns that were directly hit by the air campaign showed more marked signs of personal distress five years later, in comparison to those children not directly impacted by these attacks. This phenomenon was more common in male subjects than in females (Nikoloski-Koncar et al. 2006).

A study of traumatized children in Prishtina in 2000 found similarities between this population and a sample from Sarajevo (Barath 2002). The Kosovo sample differed from the besieged Sarajevo study in that the Prishtina children involved refugees relocated to camps in Macedonia, hence having the additional feature of socio-cultural anomie–a common factor among all groups of refugee children regardless of ethnic, sectarian, or national origin. The study reported three major groups of stressor: 1) a lack of cultural and social security resources they once enjoyed in their native homeland; 2) poor mental and physical health conditions; and 3) school-related stressors. The study, conducted by the Canadian International Children's Institute (ICI), warned that environmental, educational, and social-cultural circumstances need to be taken into account when addressing traumatized children, especially those who were refugees (Barath 2002; Donev et. al. 2002). Similar conclusions were noted by Ajdukovic in her study of children in Croatia. She stated that 969 children were wounded during the war in Croatia (254 killed), while another 4273 children lost one parent and 54 lost both parents. Consequently, many children witnessed violence and death with many displaced from their home environment. A study

done by UNICEF indicated that childhood trauma was most intense among those children who were displaced due to the war, especially those who also experienced or witnessed violence (Ajdukovic 1995). A similar study, comparing refugee children from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina with their counterparts who remained at home, indicated that refugee victims tended to be plagued by both the death of a family member and forced expulsion in addition to intrusive memories of the bombardments, while the non-refugee children were plagued mainly by the bombardments themselves (Herceg et al. 1996). Intrusive traumatic experiences are true for those youth who are victims of landmines, a problem that continues to plague many communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Ceranic 2003).

The focus on unmet social-cultural and psychological needs of traumatized children and youth is important because not meeting these needs could be costly to the society in terms of later disorganization by this group as they mature. Substance abuse, dysfunctional families, and poor educational and employment records are likely to increase among this untreated population. A study of psychological problems in children of war veterans with PTSD in Bosnia-Herzegovina showed more developmental problems with their children, indicating problematic long-term effects of the father's PTSD on the family matrix (Klaric et al. 2008). Collectively, psychological crisis among children and youth serves to impede any reconciliation efforts within the various ethnic and sectarian groups caught up in the Balkan conflicts. Studies on ethnic stereotypes in Bosnia-Herzegovina measured the nature of continued out-group negative images harbored by Bosniak and Serbian youth. One study between youths in Sarajevo (Bosniaks) and Banja Luka (Serbs) showed significant inter-group negative stereotypes between the two groups–a clear reflection of their respective socialization within a polarized society (Turjacanin 2004). Another study on the ethnic distance of citizens of Repbulika Srpska (RS) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH) indicated a broader spectrum of ethnic dislikes among adults within these two entities. The FBiH sample disliked Romas the most, followed in descending order by Albanians, Macedonians, Serbs, and Montenegrians. Slovenians and Croats were the least rejected by the citizens of FBiH. The Croats were more adamant about their ethnic rejections than their more populous Bosniaks within the greater FBiH sample. The RS

sample rejected the Bosniaks the most, followed by, in descending order, Romas, Croats, Slovenians, and Macedonians. They rejected Montenegrians the least. The RS sample was more adamantly against inter-ethnic or inter-sectarian marriages as well (Puhalo 2003).

Research clearly indicates that children and youth are influenced by their interactions with traumatized parents and close family members. Impulsive violence and substance abuse are common attributes among untreated and frustrated veterans (fathers, sons, husbands). Obviously, these behaviors impact greatly on both the immediate and extended family (Jovanociv et al. 2009; Ilic 1998; Gavrilovic-Jankovic et al. 2005; Kuljic et al. 2004; Opalic 2008: Varsek 1999). Family and personal disruptions also afflict women (mothers, daughters, wives), especially those taken away from their families and subjected to rape, torture, and confinement during the conflicts. One study clearly showed that civilian women who experienced long-term exposure to war stressors, coupled with continued postwar stressors (broken families or displaced family members, unemployment, problems with their spouse and/or children), suffered serious psychological problems, including PTSD (Klaric 2007). Even more devastating are studies on the psychological consequences of rape on women during the 1991-1995 war. A substantial number of captive women were raped repeatedly as well as being subjected to torture (Loncar 2006). It is an understatement to say that war-time rapes left deep psychological scars among this population. Research showed that, of veterans, former prisoners, rape victims, and refugees, rape victims and former prisoners have the most severe PTSD symptoms (Drezgic-Vulkic et al. 1996; Gregurek et al. 1996; Henigsberg et al. 2001). Clearly, violated war victims represent a difficult class of traumatized people to treat effectively–suicide often being the final solution to their suffering. Clearly, the burden of finding and treating war trauma victims falls mainly on private NGOs funded by international groups, given the continued political and sectarian unrest in all the new states carved out of the old Yugoslavia. Few accurate data are available regarding specific clinical diagnoses. Only gross indicators are available, such as chronic unemployment or poverty, substance abuse, family disorganization, problem youth, health problems, and suicides.

Training Protocols in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia

At an international conference (International Police Executive Symposium) in Macedonia in June, sponsored by the Minister of the Interior, it became clear that there was a shortage of Slavic-language clinical assessment tools, and that those that did exist were insufficient for the task of addressing the clinical needs of the multitude of untreated victims of the Balkan Wars. Toward this end, we set about translating and norming assessment tools that could be used in addressing these unmet needs in those states with the greatest needs–Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Serbia. Consultations with psychologists in both Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (most of them trained in Belgrade) led to the conclusion that testing protocols would be most beneficial in the areas of: 1) assessing mental health issues associated with traumatic stress; 2) determining the needs of troubled youth; and 3) measuring the quality of adult family relations.

The Slavic-Language Personality Inventory-360

For the purpose of diagnosing mental health issues such as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and its associated co-morbid clinical features (depression, panic disorders, and disassociation) (APA 2000), we developed the Slavic-Language Personality Inventory-360 (SLPI-360) based on the first 360 items in the original MMPI (Minnesota Multi-Phasic Personality Inventory) along with an "Interpretation Manual." The first 360 items of the MMPI are known as the *short form*, which adequately measures the three validity scales and the ten clinical scales. The only advantage of administering the entire 566 items is for the three add-on supplementary scales which are not clinical in nature. The short form best lends itself to people suffering from traumatic stress and its related syndromes because of concentration issues associated with the longer version (Graham 2000; Green 2000).

Although a Slavic-language model of the MMPI exists–the MMPI-201 & 202–the psychologists we collaborated with on this project felt that these instruments were weak in that they did not correspond with the original MMPI and therefore lacked the rich predictive material that makes the MMPI a viable and strong assessment tool. The MMPI-201 and 202 profiles do not correspond to the original MMPI sequence of questions, therefore not lending themselves to the rich resource of "factorial analysis"

associated with the original MMPI or the "critical items" or forensic analysis. The MMPI-201 also lacks two critical scales: #5, Masculine-Feminine Interest Scale, and #10 Introversion-Extroversion Scale. The MMPI 202 does include this latter scale but still does not address scale #5. Moreover, the Slavic-language MMPI 201 and 202 interpretation and diagnostic manuals lack the reliability, validity, and predictability of the original MMPI (Biro 2001; Graham 2000; Green 2000).

The Slavic-Language Personality Inventory-360 upgraded archaic terminology while at the same time demonstrating cultural sensitivity to major ethnic populations within the former Yugoslavia–Catholics, Muslims, and Orthodox Christians. Test-retest and alternate test validity were conducted with students who understood English at the Faculties of Criminology and Political Sciences at the University of Sarajevo in the spring semester 2010 where the same cohort of students took the first 360 items of the original English version of MMPI, followed later with the SLPI-360. The aggregate profiles were similar for both sets of tests.

By following the format of the original MMPI, more than 60 years of profiling and predictability are available associated with both the validity and clinical scales. The inclusion of religious and sex items makes it a stronger measure than its replacement, the MMPI-2, which cleanses the MMPI of these items in a response to the politically correct movement. Clearly, hyper-religiosity and hyper-sexuality are strong indicators of the mental classifications associated with impulse-control dysregulation. Thus, the SLPI-360 allows the clinical practitioner to assess General Profile Characteristics based on a combination of validity and clinical scales and as well uses the two-point code types and the critical items (Graham 2000; Green 2000). There is also considerable interest in the SLPI-360 by law enforcement agencies in the former Yugoslavia due to the serious problems of police corruption and abuses of authority. The original MMPI is the strongest instrument for sorting out mental illnesses and personality disorders among police personnel (French 2003).

The Problem-Oriented Screening Instrument for Teenagers (POSIT)

Children and youth represent a vulnerable population both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Serbia, notably in the areas subjected to NATO bombings (Pancevo region within the province

of Vojvodina). In addition to living with parents who have suffered from untreated PTSD, children and youth around Sarajevo are subjected to the constant threat of injuries or death, from encountering unexploded armaments in the numerous mine fields surrounding the city. Also segregated sectarian education adds to the ethnic divide and inter-group prejudices further, not only complicating their lives, but also presenting challenges to clinicians attempting to treat them.

The problem in the province of Vojvodina, in addition to the trauma of constant NATO bombings in 1999, are the ground, atmospheric, and water contamination due to the destruction of the area's petrochemical plants and oil refineries resulting in the initial release of 2,000 tons of noxious chemicals and contamination of the Danube River above Belgrade. Among the long-lasting toxins released due to the bombings are vinyl chloride monomer (VCM) and 1,2-dichloroethane (EDC), along with the depleted uranium (DU) used in the NATO bombs. All this in the bread basket of Serbia, contaminating both the soil and groundwater of this agricultural region (IEER 1999; Poolos 2002). Clearly, parental fears associated with these environmental issues affect their children's psychological well-being in addition to their worries associated with the potential for health problems.

It is under these circumstances that the Slavic-language Problem Oriented Screening Instrument for Teenagers (POSIT) was developed. The POSIT was developed in 1991 by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), a component of the United States National Institute of Health. It is a 139-item, forced-choice ("yes-no") screening questionnaire assessment that measures ten domains: Substance use or abuse; Physical health; Mental health; Family relations; Peer relations; Educational status (learning disabilities or disorders); Vocational status; Leisure and recreation; and Aggressive behavior or delinquency. It is designed for use among teens aged 12 to 19. It is important to note that the POSIT is not copyrighted and is free of charge, readily lending itself to its translation and norming for the Slavic-language population of the former Yugoslavia.

In the mid-1990s, French adapted the POSIT for aggregate use among school-aged populations, providing a class profile that could assist schools in getting a better feel for their student's needs. Here, French devised the minimum mean score (MMS) based on the cutting scores associated with the original POSIT.

Now students could be assessed along these ten domains according to age, gender, and ethnicity. The POSIT could also be used to measure the effectiveness of a class-wide clinical intervention by administering it as an aggregate pre-test prior to the intervention and later as a post-test once the program ended. It could also be used as an indicator of mass trauma following a school-wide crisis like a school shooting or suicide (French & Picthall-French 1996, 1998). Psychologists in both Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Serbia (Pancevo/Belgrade region) are being trained on the administration and interpretation of the Slavic-language POSIT and are working with the schools in both states.

Partner/Relationship Inventory (PRI)

The third related area that requires assessment was at the parental level. The Marital Satisfaction Inventory (MSI) was our choice for this task in that it was revised in 1997 (MSI-R) allowing for the original instrument to be translated and normed to the cultures comprising the former Yugoslavia (Snyder 1979; 1997; Snyder et al. 1981). The strength of this instrument is that its eleven (11) scales are plotted on a single profile sheet where both participants' profiles can be superimposed and, hence, compared based on a T-score format like that of the SLPI-360 profiles where the Mean is 50 and the Standard Deviation, 10. And like the SLPI-360 this is a forced-choice inventory where the participant marks each of the 280 items either "T" (true) or "F" (false). In general the eleven scales measure truthfulness in partner disclosures and effective communication, the strength of the relationship, common interests, perceptions regarding finances, sex, and domestic role satisfaction, perceptions about having children, and agreement or conflict over childrearing. We decided to name this the Partner/Relationship Inventory due to the more informal partnership arrangement within the former Yugoslavia, notably in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, where couples often declare their *marriage* without actually having the relation formally sanctioned by either civil or religious authorities.

Summary Conclusion

Together the POSIT and Partner/Relationship Inventory (PRI) provide the clinician with a better idea of the overall dynamics of their client's family. Moreover, the training for these

two instruments is easier than that for the SLPI-360. Essentially, administration of the POSIT and the PRI provide first-stage assessments from which referrals can be made to doctoral-level psychologists trained in the SLPI-360 for developing a more refined diagnostic and treatment protocol. It should be noted that these training sessions were sponsored by the U. S. Embassy in Sarajevo through the Office of Public Affairs (OPA/U. S. State Department). OPA provided the certificates for each of the clinical training sessions. The POSIT and PRI are currently being used by an international NGO (non-governmental organization), Wings of Hope. This is the NGO in Sarajevo where most of the training was administered. Wings of Hope is the primary facility dealing with children and youth suffering from both primary (victims of land mines) and secondary (children whose parents' PTSD is untreated). Efforts are currently underway to administer the SLPI-360 to police candidates at the major police college/academy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, located adjacent to the University of Banja Luka in the Republic of Srpska. Hopefully, these demonstration projects can then be utilized in other states with a high incidence of untreated war victims, including the Province of Vojvodina and the greater Belgrade area in Serbia, and among the Muslim and Roma populations in Macedonia and Kosovo.

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TRENDS IN MILITARY ENLISTED OCCUPATIONAL GENDER SEGREGATION, 1975 TO 2008

by

Thomas Kersen, Ph.D.[1]

ABSTRACT

There are few studies on occupational sex segregation in the armed forces of the United States and those done tend to analyze data from one year only. Using data from Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC), this study expands prior research by describing changes in the overall distributions of enlisted men and women from nearly the beginning of the active duty all-volunteer force (AVF) to 2008. Dissimilarity scores were computed for occupational segregation by branch and then for specific occupations within the Army from 1975 to 2008. In the Army, the occupations that had the greatest segregation were infantry and electronic repair. The implications this has on military personnel policies is also explored.

Keywords: *occupational gender segregation, U.S. Army, occupation segregation, females in the infantry, females in the military.*

Introduction

With changes in personnel requirements, especially since the advent of the all-volunteer force (AVF) in the early 1970s, the necessity for larger numbers of volunteers who are smart and technologically savvy became apparent to military leaders. Moreover, these changes have put a greater focus on women's participation in the military and have been a source of much debate and research. The purpose of this study is to describe the trends in

[1] Dr. Kersen is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Jackson State University.

active duty enlisted women's representation in the various branches of the armed forces of the United States. The military has increased its reliance on women to such an extent that formerly gender-segregated occupations are witnessing higher levels of female participation. This is especially pertinent given all the conflicts and interventions around the world in which the United States has been involved since the early 1970s.

Literature Review

In the nineteenth century, the United States military occupational structure was not very specialized, but consisted of categories like cavalry, engineer, infantry, and artillery. Today, there are hundreds of jobs ranging from infantryman to linguists. One long-term trend is the convergence between characteristics of many military and civilian occupations (Moskos 1976, 1977, 1988; Segal & Segal 1983). Particularly relevant to this study is the increased participation of women within the civilian labor market and in the military. The civilian and military labor markets have increased female participation. However, Firestone (1992) found that even though the military is primarily a male enterprise, the distribution of women within occupations other than direct combat was more equitable than in similar occupations in the civilian sector. This is not to suggest that gender segregation in the military should be minimized. For instance, Grube-Farrell (2002) did an in-depth review of the social work implications of occupational segregation of the women in the armed forces and other uniformed services. Moreover, the ambiguity of modern warfare, where there is often no clear battle front, coupled with greater numbers of women, places service women at increased risk of exposure to toxic materials while deployed to war zones (Smith et al. 2007).

Brief History of Women in the Military

For much of the nation's history, women have served in the military and sometimes in combat. Harriet Stryker-Rodda (1979) described how wives and their children would follow their husbands from one battle site to another out of necessity during the

Revolutionary War. Women who participated in combat did so, however, only in extreme emergencies. Generally, women were consigned to cooking, nursing, washing, mending of uniforms, and other needed ancillary services.

During the Civil War, a few women participated in combat by dressing up as men. In the Union forces, women were allowed to serve as enlisted nurses in the Medical Corps. At the turn of the twentieth century, women were utilized as nurses by the military but only under a civilian contract (Dienstfrey 1988). Prior to World War I, Congress created a nurse corps for the Army and Navy, which was quasi-military in nature. During World War I, force-level needs were such that the presence of women serving in the military increased to about 10,000 army nurses serving overseas. At various times General Pershing requested the utilization of women in other support roles, but his requests were not fulfilled by the War Department leaders because they believed there was no justification for the expansion of female participation (Marsden 1986a).

In 1943, women were authorized to serve as members of the military (but without many of its privileges) in the Women's Army Corps (WAC). One of the primary goals for recruiting women in World War II was to "release men to fight," or, in other words, men were to be released to combat occupations as soon as women could replace them in occupations that were deemed suitable for women (Armor 1996; Treadwell 1954). However, the military's need for nurses was so great that if the war had not ended when it did, civilian nurses would have been conscripted (Morden 1990; Segal 1993).

When General Dwight Eisenhower was called to testify in support of upcoming legislation that would authorize females to be integrated into the armed forces he was very supportive of women in the military but only in traditionally female roles. The act awarded permanent military status to women in the United States military and provided a contingent of trained women to meet future clerical, support, and medical needs. The Women's Integration Act of 1948, a product of this legislation, did allow greater integration

of women into military roles. However, it explicitly denied females access to combat positions in the Air Force and the Navy but allowed the Army to make its own policy in these matters (DeCew 1995).

From 1967, the maximal level of women in the Army was raised from a two-percent ceiling of total service membership prior to 1967 to approximately fifteen percent today. The draft was abolished in 1972, and the level of women in the military increased to meet the military's need for more people in the AVF. Complementing this expansion, the Department of Defense leaders accepted the idea that equal opportunity and diversity enhanced military readiness. The WAC and their sister corps in the other branches were dissolved in 1978 (Schumm & Bell 1994; Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute 1999). Also during this period, President Carter unsuccessfully attempted to require women to register for the draft (Rustad 1982; Treadwell 1954; Marsden 1986b).

Military leaders began to seriously consider increasing the number of women and the occupations they would fill in the armed forces because of the changing nature of military service. Discussing the changing demographic nature of the military, Stanley and Segal (1988, 560–61) wrote:

> The necessity for maintaining large standing forces, along with the demographic trends of declining numbers of military entry-age males in the Western countries (due to lower birth rates in the 1970s), and the greater technical expertise required by increasingly sophisticated weapons systems have combined to create manpower shortages. [One] response is to place increased reliance on women. This is a trend developing in several NATO nations, and it may well soon occur in others. Women's utilization in the military is an active area of policy debate in the NATO nations today.

The Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) data from 1975 to 2008 shows that the percentage of women has generally increased since the early years of the AVF (see figure 1).

Specifically, this meant an increase from approximately five percent for all the branches to the high representation in the Air Force of 20 percent, the Navy of fifteen percent, the Army of fourteen percent, and the Marine Corps of six percent.

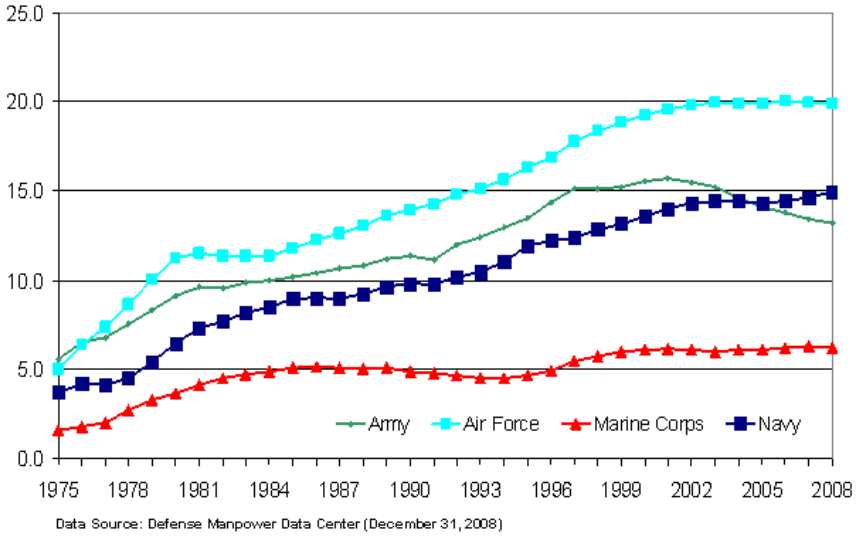


Figure 1. Percentage of Women by Service, 1975 to 2008

The reasons for the increased representation of women in the Armed Forces are many. Labor market conditions play a significant role. Thus, weak labor market conditions force some men and women to consider military service. Some women, like their male counterparts, decide to enlist because of a family history of military service or patriotism. Also, military recruiting, retention, and personnel policies, influenced by legislative and administrative efforts, offer more opportunities to women and have contributed to increasing numbers of women in the armed forces (Hosek & Petterson 1990).

Occupations and Positions

It is important to note that occupations and positions are not synonymous. A number of recent studies focusing on gender integration in the military have looked at positions rather than occupations because most military occupations are open to women unlike positions where placement for women is contingent on the risk of being in combat.

The propinquity of women to areas of direct combat has been of interest to policy makers since women have been in the military. In 1991, Public Law 102–190 was passed that established the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces. In 1992, the commission submitted a report to the president entitled *Women in Combat* recommending that women "should be excluded from direct land combat units and positions" (24). Furthermore, the commission urged that the Department of Defense's Risk Rule continue to be used in making personnel decisions when considering women. Thus, occupations are coded according to their risk to women directly participating in combat. Women are excluded from those occupations or positions that are coded "high-risk."

The military definitions for occupation and position need further elaboration. In the military, an occupation refers to a military occupational specialty (MOS) such as a combat engineer. To possess an MOS, a soldier must successfully complete a formal course of instruction. On the other hand, a position is what one's actual job within a unit is (e.g. a company or a battalion) and may or may not involve formal training. A situation of a clerk in battalion headquarters is an example of how an occupation may differ from a position.. This soldier may be formally trained as an infantry soldier but possesses clerical skills, which allow him to be placed in the clerical position in the unit.

The Air Force has ninety-nine percent of its positions open to women, followed by the Navy with ninety-one percent, the Army with sixty-seven percent, and the Marine Corps with sixty-two percent (Harrell & Miller 1997). Although a number of previously off-limit occupations were opened up to women in the 1990s, little

movement toward greater female representation in those occupations occurred (Harrell et al. 2002). In this study, however, the focus will be on occupational distributions.

Data and Methods

Data were obtained from the DMDC, which is tasked to maintain administrative records and data on all service members. The data included aggregated information about 10 occupational categories for active duty enlisted males and females for the Army, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Navy. Furthermore, more detailed information about occupational categories for Army enlisted males and females was used in this study. These data span the period from the beginning of the AVF in 1975 to 2008.

It should be emphasized that the classification schemes of the various branches of the armed forces are unique to the military and are branch specific.[22] Although the four services maintain different occupational job structures, the Department of Defense categorizes all the services' occupations into ten broad categories. These occupational categories are coded so that 0 equaled infantry, gun crews, and seamanship; 1 equaled electronics; 2 equaled communications; 3 equaled medical; 4 equaled other technical; 5 equaled administrators; 6 equaled electrical; 7 equaled craftsman; 8 equaled supply; and 9 equaled non-occupational. Service members such as patients, prisoners, and officer candidates make up the non-occupational category.

Originally, DMDC added those service members whose sex was unknown into the "0" category of infantry, gun crews, and seaman. Later, DMDC put these service members into a separate category. For this study, the author removed the unknown sex category for each year where there were unknowns (4,184 out of 51,272,030 cases).

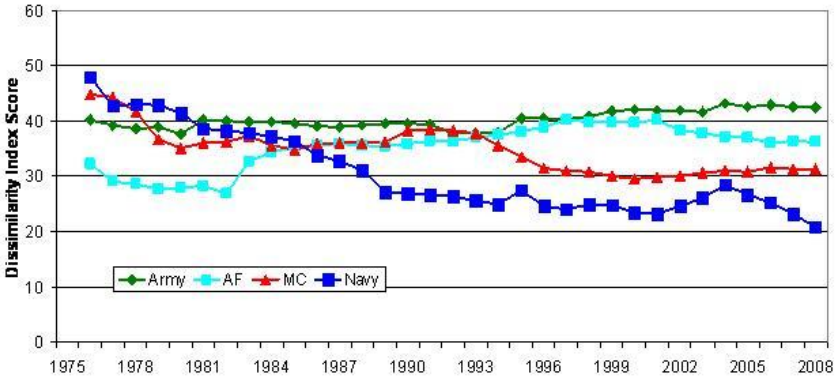
Dissimilarity indices for both sets of data were computed using the formula $D=\Sigma|M_i-F_i|/2$, where M_i equals the proportion of all

[22] Many military occupations do have an equivalent occupation in the civilian sector.

males in occupation i and F_i equals the proportion of all females in occupation i. D scores range from zero percent (perfect balance) to 100 percent (perfect segregation). For instance, the D score for the Army in 1976 was 40. That would mean 40 percent of men would have to move to female-dominated occupations or the same percentage of women would have to move to male-dominated occupations to affect perfect occupational balance in the Army in 1976. See Figure 2 for D scores for individual years by branch.

Results

In 2008, the highest level of occupational gender segregation for enlisted personnel is in the Army, followed by the Air Force, the Marine Corps, and the Navy. The trend, especially from the mid-1990s, indicates that occupational segregation in the Air Force, Marine Corps, and Navy shows a downward trend. These trends in all of the branches except the Army roughly correspond

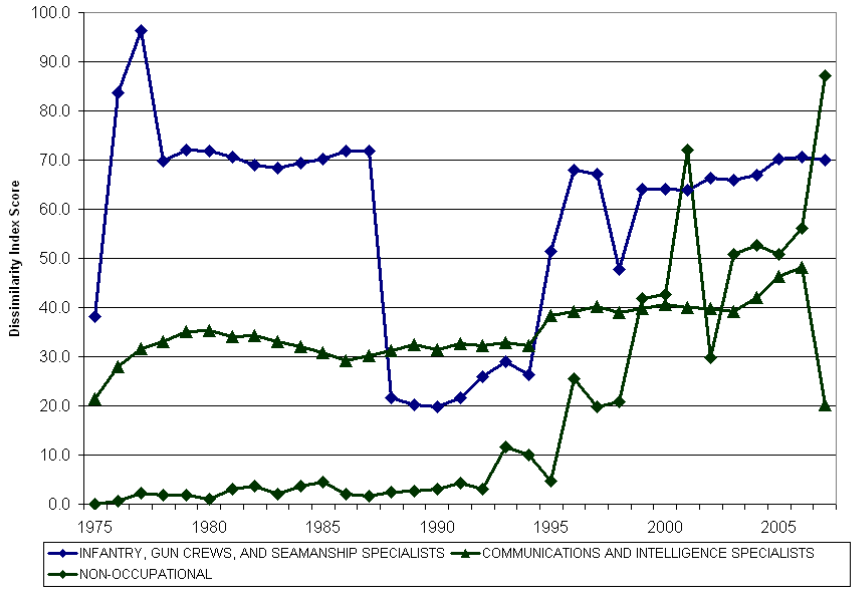


Data Source: Defense Management Data Center, December 2008

Figure 2. Occupational Differences (D), by Branch, 1975 to 2008

to the declining occupational gender segregation exhibited in the United States labor market overall during the 1970s (Bianchi & Rytina 1986), in the 1980s (Jacobs 1989; Wells 1999), and in the 1990s (Wells 1999). On the other hand, the Army has experienced a steady increase in gender occupational segregation (see Figure 2).

In Figure 3 below, the focus is on two traditionally male occupational clusters: infantry, gun crews, seamanship specialist, and electronic equipment repair specialist. The trends for both clusters remain relatively stable and high in terms of D scores. However, the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s show a large decline in gender segregation in infantry, gun crews, and seamanship specialists. As for the non-occupational category, gender segregation is on the increase.

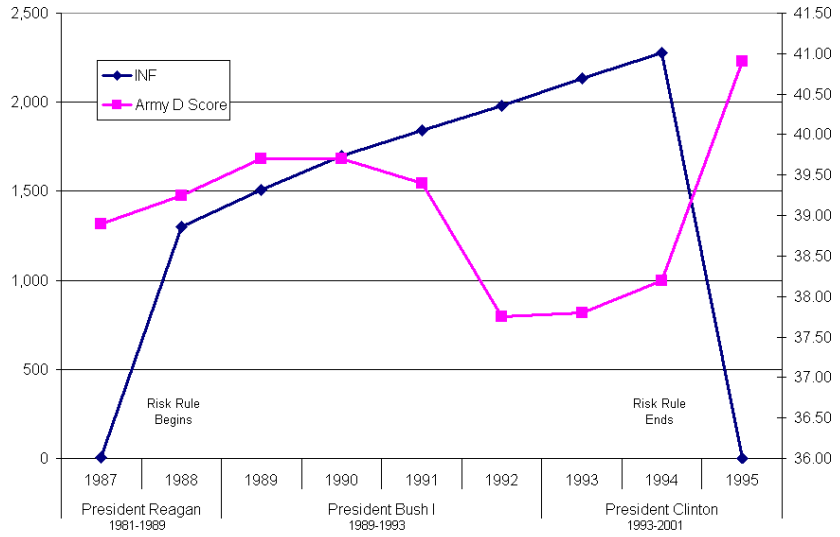


Data Source: Defense Management Data Center, December 2008

Figure 3. Three Predominantly Male Army Occupational Clusters, 1975–2008

The declining gender segregation in infantry, one of the most gender-segregated sets of occupations, and in related occupational clusters occurred during the later years of the George H. W. Bush administration and through the early years of the Clinton administration. The major force of change during this period was the Department of Defense policy known as the Risk Rule. This policy, which was adopted in 1988, called for the branches to evaluate positions and units in which there might be any potential or "risk" for women to encounter combat. If such a probability was assessed, units and positions were closed to women (General

Accounting Office 1998). This policy explains the increase in D scores for infantry during those years. Once the policy was rescinded in 1994, D scores declined. At the same time as all this was occurring, the services were encouraged to increase more opportunities for women to serve—albeit in non-risk positions (General Accounting Office 1998).



Data Source: Defense Management Data Center, December 2008

Figure 4. Active Duty Enlisted Women in Army Combat Occupations, 1987–1995

Summary and Conclusions

It is important to reiterate the point made earlier by Firestone (1992) that, outside of infantry and similar occupations, the military offers more equitable opportunities for women than does the civilian sector. However, occupational gender segregation has steadily increased, mainly in the Army, from 1975 to 2008. This suggests that, contrary to the idea that greater personnel needs were caused by the multitude of wars and interventions conducted during that same period, the Army is slow to open combat-related occupations for women. This pattern in the Army differs from what has been seen for the other branches of service.

The increase in occupational gender segregation in the Army, as measured by dissimilarity index scores, has been influenced by a number of factors beyond the scope of this research. Future studies should focus in on the consequences of legislative and regulatory (structural) policies such as the Army's risk rule in early 1980s. One finding highlighted in this study was that governmental policies have a direct impact on personnel.

Internal structures and processes within the various branches are other factors that need further study. How promotion and assignments are handled by the various branches involves a myriad of regulations and other factors that contribute to what jobs or positions service members hold. For example, promotion within the military appears straightforward: it is based on seniority and various achievement criteria. However, are women not as well-positioned as men to receive those opportunities? Perhaps, all of these factors contribute to the reason that some women leave the military early (a retention issue) at a higher rate than men do (Moore 2002).

Other sociodemographic characteristics of individuals such as race, age, and mental and physical aptitude warrant additional scrutiny. Finally, personal preferences are an important factor to consider. Perhaps, because of social conventions, individual service members tend to prefer certain occupations in the military based on their gender-socialized expectations.

This study described the segregation trends in the active duty branches of the Armed Forces. The special case of the Army, where occupational gender segregation is on the rise, was also noted. The author suggested possible policies that may be associated with some of the findings. However, understanding why these trends are occurring should be the focus of future research.

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questions about the data. The views expressed here are of the author only and not necessarily those of Jackson State University or the Department of Defense.

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BOOK REVIEW ESSAY

by

Steven J. Overman, Ph.D.[*]

Pearlman, Jeff. *Sweetness: The Enigmatic Life of Walter Payton*. New York: Gotham Books. 2011. 480 pp.

> *It's inconvenient when someone's real life gets in the way of our hero worship. We'll do almost anything we can to block it out.*
>
> --Richard Ben Cramer

Walter Payton and I arrived at Jackson State College the same year, 1971. He, to begin his remarkable college football career; I, to commence my 30-year tenure on the faculty. Walter was not one of my students, but I got to know him when we served as co-chairs of a student-faculty committee. I recall him as being personable, if somewhat out of his element in that role. And, of course, I remember Walter running the football at Memorial Stadium, very much in his element. My most engaging memory was when he dropped by the gym one day at the end of my badminton class, and I taught him how to play the game. He impressed me as one of those gifted athletes who could excel at any sport.

Given my acquaintance with Walter and our mutual connection with Jackson State, the announcement of Jeff Pearlman's definitive biography *Sweetness* caught my attention. I've recently published books on the lives of athletes, both men and women. To research these two projects, I waded through several dozen sports autobiographies to find that the genre is a mixed bag of premature biographies of teenagers, autobiographies

[*] Dr. Overman retired from Jackson State University as a Professor of Physical Education and now serves as an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Central Oklahoma.

penned by ghost writers, and "puff pieces" published by sports promoters. There are also a few enduring classics.

The publication of Jeff Pearlman's candid biography of Payton has created something of a firestorm among sportswriters and football fans in Chicago where the running back pursued his thirteen-year career with the Bears and is remembered as a local hero. Much of the criticism appears misguided. Pearlman falls in the tradition of the New Journalism which strips away the façade that once protected public figures. This approach carries back to the 1960s when journalist George Plimpton (a former Ivy League quarterback) published his insider's view of Detroit's NFL team in *Paper Lion*. Following that, major league pitcher Jim Bouton broke the gentlemen's agreement among athletes in his tell-all book, *Ball Four* (1970). Richard Ben Cramer's unsympathetic biography of the distant, often surly Joe DiMaggio was written in this tradition. *Washington Post* book reviewer Jonathan Yardley (2000, 1-2) offered this perspective on Cramer's subject, "[T]he ballplayer is all that really ever mattered about Joe DiMaggio [but] we keep mythologizing him into something he was not." For many sports fans, the ballplayer is sufficient; they resent literary intrusions into their heroes' lives.

There are numerous sports biographies that focus almost exclusively on exploits in the arena of competition. However, such narratives soon become tiresome. They recount play after play interspersed with performance statistics, but little else of substance. Typical is Bill Gutman's biography of Bo Jackson (1991), written for the juvenile market. Turn to almost any page in the book and you find the equivalent of "Bo sprinted off tackle for a first down," and "Jackson gained 121 yards on 19 carries." For his part, Pearlman doesn't discount this aspect of Payton's story. Notably, he's writing about the athlete who broke the NFL all-time rushing record. At the other extreme are biographies like Nick Tosches' *The Devil and Sonny Liston* (2000), which slights the boxer in favor of the sociopath. Tosches cites pages of police reports and court records but rarely provides the reader a view of Sonny in the

ring. Pearlman's book avoids these extremes. Payton is presented both in his cleats and in his street shoes.

The reviewer is less concerned whether a biography is sympathetic or unsympathetic than accurate and thorough. Pearlman devoted several years to researching and writing his book, and interviewed more than 600 people who knew Walter Payton. The length of the book, including 30 pages of end notes, is a testament to its thoroughness and attempt at accuracy. I would rate Pearlman's book among the more substantive sport biographies along with Cramer's *Joe DiMaggio: The Hero's Life* (2000), Arnold Rampersand's *Jackie Robinson: A Biography* (1997), and Susan Cayleff's *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias* (1996).

Pearlman divides his biography into five parts (28 chapters): Columbia, Jackson, Chicago, Retirement, and Final. Some 60 pages are devoted to Payton's youth in Columbia, Mississippi. Walter was the son of a nurturing mother and alcoholic father, both of whom worked in a local factory to support the family. He grew up in the shadow of his older brother Eddie, a talented football star on the local school team. The young Walter, a drummer in the school marching band, was a late bloomer on the athletic fields. He was in the class that integrated Columbia's public high school. Walter had a knack for soothing racial tensions on the athletic fields and in the school hallways. Pearlman's depiction of racially segregated Columbia in the '50s and '60s, based on numerous interviews, comes across as authentic. Walter was able to escape small-town Mississippi due to his superb athletic ability that caught the attention of college football coaches.

Walter Payton was recruited by Kansas State University but choose to play football at historically black Jackson State, where his brother Eddie was a star on the Tigers' football team. The 1970s was a decade when white schools in the South refused to recruit black athletes. Consequently, historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) like Jackson State College and Grambling served as spawning grounds for professional football

players. I once counted sixteen of my former students, including Eddie Payton, on NFL rosters.

This was the era of Woody Hayes and Bear Bryant, before athletes began to assert their rights. College football players often were targets of verbal and physical abuse. Black coaches in the South were known to employ a particularly raw and brutal approach to coaching football. Jackson State's coach Bob Hill, touted by some as the "black Bear Bryant," was no exception. Those of us on the faculty at the time heard the gossip about Hill's inhumane treatment of his players; Pearlman's sources confirm what we were hearing. Football also took precedence over education. I recall Bob Hill sticking his head in my classroom door one afternoon and ordering two of his players to get out to the practice field without delay. Hill excused Walter from the worst abuse, and it was he who introduced Walter to his future wife, Connie. The resourceful football coach finagled her a scholarship to Jackson State to keep his star running back content.

Playing at an NCAA Division II school kept Payton out of serious contention for the Heisman Trophy (he placed fourteenth in the rankings), but having rushed for more than a thousand yards and scoring 19 touchdowns his senior year caught the attention of National Football League scouts. Walter was selected in the first round of the NFL draft by the lowly Chicago Bears. Given the team's recent record and the city's reputation for brutal winters, it wasn't his first preference.

That being said, one is at a loss to explain the bizarre ruse perpetrated by Walter and his agent, white Hattiesburg lawyer Bud Holmes, on their initial visit to Chicago to meet with Bears' management and negotiate a contract. Walter had a reputation as a practical joker and Holmes may have relished his "good ol' boy" persona, but their concocted charade representing themselves as two ignorant rubes from Mississippi (e.g., reading *poisson* on a restaurant menu and ordering possum) would require a William Styron to deconstruct. Despite the strained negotiations that followed, the wily Holmes–playing the role of small-town bumpkin–persuaded the notoriously frugal Bears to offer Walter

more money than fellow Mississippian Archie Manning had received four years earlier from the New Orleans Saints.

Walter's outlandish behavior persisted during his challenging first season with the hapless Bears, and beyond. His attention-getting stunts (walking on his hands the length of the football field) and the incessant practical jokes (throwing an M-80 firecracker into a crowded locker room; locking out his teammates during a thunderstorm) became more than a little off-putting. Psychologists suggest that such pranks are a veiled form of aggression or possibly a way to deal with insecurity, but Pearlman doesn't psychoanalyze his subject. He merely relates the impressions of Payton's teammates and coaches to paint a picture of the often baffling running back.

Pearlman's biography doesn't shy away from the unflattering aspects of his subject's life outside the arena. Accounts of the married Payton's womanizing may upset his fans, but he is not that different from or worse than the lot of professional athletes. A standing joke in the National Basketball Association has it that the hardest thing about going on the road is wiping the smile off your face before you kiss your wife goodbye. The athlete-chasing women can be equally aggressive, as Pearlman makes clear.

Sportswriter Leonard Koppett (1994, 239-40) expounded on pro athletes, "who live high-intensity lives in brief and hazardous careers, for great rewards, in businesses that require constant traveling and considerable loneliness and disorientation." He noted that such a lifestyle will produce its proportion of individuals who "have a higher rate of sexual promiscuity, divorce, . . . and gossip-column mentions than a similar number of middle-class office workers who . . . tune in to Monday Night Football." As if to confirm Koppett's thesis, Deion Sanders, a two-sport pro athlete, titled his confessional autobiography *Power, Money, & Sex: How Success Almost Ruined My Life*.

None of the less-than-flattering depictions of Payton in the book comes across as surprising to dedicated readers of sports biographies: the neglect of family, the self-medication and drug

abuse (in Payton's case, Darvon), the immature and reckless behavior, the ill-advised financial investments, the reluctance to retire and struggle to adjust to life after sport. These behaviors appear to be the norm for too many professional athletes who ride a physical and emotional roller coaster racing toward the ultimate descent. It's not unexpected that the typical sports hero falls short of their fans' idealized standards.

Law professor Jeffrey Standen (2009, 53-54) questions our expectations of athletes as role models. He points out that when we apply this label, we discount the word "role." In short, athletes are role models as athletes. They display athletic virtues such as perseverance, sportsmanship, and grace under pressure. And that should be enough. Yet, the public wants athletes to be models in personal and public virtues, as well. Standen asks why we should expect athletes to exhibit non-athletic virtues to any greater degree than we ourselves or others model such qualities.

In Pearlman's book, Walter Payton comes across as human and surprisingly complex. The adjective "enigmatic" in the subtitle seems well-chosen. The Bears' running back is portrayed as a jumble of contrasting moods and behaviors. Payton is, at times, gregarious then brooding, supportive of teammates then envious, a cheerleader then a complainer, a team player then a self-centered pursuer of individual records, generous then selfish. His public image as a family man is belied by his private behavior. Yet he displays consistent human qualities that are admirable: an unsurpassed work ethic, charitableness and civic consciousness, empathy for those who are suffering, and a generosity toward young fans. His nickname, "Sweetness," bestowed on the football field, characterized Walter at his best–though some of his teammates suggested modifying it to "Sweet and Sour."

How do we interpret the contradictions in Payton's demeanor? Stuart Walker (1980, 4-5), a physician and yachtsman, has written extensively on the psychology of competition. He comments on the paradoxical makeup of passionate competitors. Walker sees these individuals as the sum of myriad desires and goals. The highly competitive athlete wants to be daring and he

wants to be careful. He wants to expose himself and he wants to hide. He delights in risk and hedges against the possibility of loss. He wants to charge into battle and he wants to flee. In short, he wants to have his cake and eat it too! These contrary motives are confusing to the competitor himself. It's not surprising that the observer has difficulty understanding this breed. In the final reckoning, Walter Payton remains a human enigma.

Walter died in 1999, in his mid-forties, from a rare liver ailment that progressed to bile duct cancer. It was an incongruous demise for an athlete of consummate physicality who missed only one game in thirteen seasons with the Bears, a discrepant final chapter in the life of such a vibrant personality. By coincidence Jeff Pearlman, then a cub reporter for *Sports Illustrated*, was assigned to interview the unrecognizable specter that was Walter Payton some ten months before his death. He never forgot the encounter. A decade later, Pearlman would offer his controversial memorial in words to the sports icon. In writing his book, he spurned the Latinized Spartan maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* (Speak nothing but good of the dead). Better this than a cardboard hero.

A. E. Housman, in his poem "To an Athlete Dying Young," writes of "Runners whom renown outran / And the name died before the man." Walter Payton died young, but his memory lives on. One still sees jerseys emblazoned with the number "34" in the stands of Soldier Field.

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