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CROSS-PRESSURE AND THE PROPENSITY TO VOTE WITHIN POLITICALLY ACTIVE CHURCHES

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between church attendance and propensity to vote is conditioned by cross-pressure, conceptualized as an individual's exposure to discordant demands. We clarify and analyze the complexities inherent in the relationships among church attendance, church political activity, and voting while controlling for a range of denominations and church/race subgroups. This research demonstrates that frequent church attendance leads to higher voter turnout principally among individuals who attend politically active churches where they are not subject to cross pressure. Cross-pressured individuals who exhibit weekly church attendance as well as those who do not attend politically active churches are less likely to be mobilized to vote. These findings are consistent with Lazarsfeld's cross-pressure thesis and extend recent work by Djupe and Gilbert and others.

INTRODUCTION

Scholars have often measured church influence on voter turnout merely through church attendance without fully controlling for variation in the degree to which this participation has political content across specific congregations or social networks (e.g. Jones-Correa and Leal. 2001). Recently, Djupe and Gilbert (2009) found evidence that the way in which church participation influences political activity is conditional by identification with groups within the church or political networks. For instance, congregants who find themselves in the partisan majority react very differently to political messages received in church than do individuals in the partisan minority. Those in the partisan majority within a partisan

church respond to messaging with heightened political engagement, while those in the partisan minority do not. Although intriguing, the results identified by Djupe and Gilbert are limited to Lutheran and Episcopal churches. Our research, too, examines the degree to which cross-pressure conditions the relationship between church political activity and the propensity of congregants to vote, but this relationship is examined across major groups of denominations.

We build on previous research which suggests that cross-pressure or minority status within an organization may undermine the influence of church membership on political participation (e.g., Mutz 2002, Nilson 2002, Powell 1976, Segal 1969, Johnson 1964, Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudt 1948 and 1944, Allinsmith and Allinsmith 1948). Individuals with church memberships that result in tensions, or ‘cross-pressure,’ between their political beliefs and the political positions associated with typical church messages are likely to withdraw from some types of political engagement. Although individuals often do not appear to self-select away from churches where they experience cross-pressure (Djupe and Gilbert 2009), they do tend to seek ways to insulate themselves from political interaction with those with whom they disagree. Cross-pressured individuals, therefore, are less likely to respond affirmatively to church politics. Simply, cross-pressure is likely to dampen any stimulating effect church political messaging may have on voting mobilization of the individual while those not subjected to cross-pressure are likely to respond with higher turnout when frequently exposed to high levels of church political messaging.

We test our expectations using original survey data from Southeastern Virginia, the most populous region in the state. Southeastern Virginia provides a meaningful location for detailed examination of how (and when) churches influence the propensity to vote. Studies of the religious right have often focused on Virginia (see, e.g., Rozell and Wilcox, 1995, 1997). The state is home to Pat Robertson’s Regent University, the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), the 700 Club, Mike Ferris’ Patrick Henry College, and Jerry Falwell’s Liberty University. The Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition were both founded in the state. White evangelical protestants comprise roughly one quarter of the state’s population, and nearly 40 percent of likely voters accept the Bible as literal (Rozell and Wilcox 2003, 43). At the same time, however, Virginia has seen conscious efforts to counter the influence of the religious right by moderate and liberal religious groups. For example, the

Virginia Interfaith Center for Public Policy, with a membership including Jewish, mainline Protestant, and Catholic religious organizations, promotes a political agenda focused on social welfare issues including food stamps, the minimum wage, religious freedom, and capital punishment (Larson, Madland, and Wilcox 2006). In addition, the large African American population of the region is politically influential, allowing us to study the effects we identify in the subset of churches known to have the highest levels of political activity (e.g. Alex-Assensoh and Assensoh 2001). The region we survey is religiously, economically, and politically diverse, inclusive of solidly Democratic and solidly Republican areas.

CROSS PRESSURE AND THE PROPENSITY TO VOTE

An individual with attachments to several groups that disseminate distinct and competing messages is subject to cross-pressure. The internalization of these discordant messages may result in cognitive dissonance. The desire to satisfy inconsistent demands or to reconcile inconsistent political messages places the individual in an uncomfortable position; an affirmative response to one set of views may imply a symbolic rejection of the other. In *The Peoples Choice*, Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1944, 1948) suggest that individuals subject to cross-pressure from different affiliations or commitments will typically be discouraged from participating in politics. Djupe and Gilbert (2009) present evidence that such individuals also tend to seek ways to insulate themselves from political discussions with members of the partisan majority of their church, but that this effort is never fully effective. Cross-pressure has been widely applied over the past 60 years both within the United States (e.g., Berelson 1954, Campbell *et al.* 1960, Campbell 1987, Mutz 2002) and without (Nilson 2002, Grönlund 1994, Powell 1976, Meisel 1956). Although it has been hypothesized to actually excite an aggressive response in some circumstances (see, e.g., Horan 1971, Powell 1976, Nilson 2002), most authors argue that the inability to satisfy competing allegiances results in an inability – or refusal – to make a decision. That is, the individual will choose not to act upon either message and might abstain from voting.

Our theoretical framework focuses on two kinds of ‘message-belief’ consistency expected to condition response to

church political activity. The first kind of message-belief consistency involves individuals with church memberships that result in cross-pressure between their political beliefs and the political positions associated with typical church messages. Second, church influence on voter participation may be either constrained or enhanced by the theological doctrines of the church and, therefore, we necessarily examine the theological underpinnings of churches on both sides of the fundamentalist/modernist divide (e.g., Djupe et al. 2007 912-13; Djupe and Gilbert 2003, 11; Guth et al. 1997).

In the context of religious organizational memberships, we anticipate that individuals will experience cross-pressure when their ideological perspective on politics is at odds with the political messages received within the context of their church. The extent of cross-pressure induced cognitive dissonance depends on church-individual ideological compatibility and the degree of church political activity. Ideologically conservative individuals attending politically active churches where clergy and congregant-network messages are also conservative are unlikely to experience dissonance between personal ideology and church political messaging. By contrast, conservatives affiliated with liberal-leaning denominations and congregations will experience some level of cross-pressure. The severity of the cross-pressure experienced by individuals attending a church with incompatible ideological positions depends upon the level of political activity of the church as well as the extent to which individuals are exposed to that political activity through frequent attendance. As political activity and attendance increase, so too will exposure to messages inconsistent with personal ideological views. The effects of cross-pressure on political participation should be especially pronounced for ideological liberals regularly attending *politically active* churches that emphasize conservative political messages and for ideological conservatives regularly attending *politically active* left-leaning churches. As individuals seek to insulate themselves from uncomfortable political messages within their church, they will also avoid the political engagement benefits that result for members of the partisan majority. Our main hypothesis that *individual congregants will respond to heightened levels of church political activity by voting more frequently only when the ideological viewpoint of the church is consistent with the ideological position of the individual.*

We also control for church attendance. Because churches perform an important role as socializing agents, increased perceived political activity of the church will enhance the probability that a churchgoer will vote, but only when the churchgoer is exposed to church-delivered political messages through regular attendance. Conservatives who frequently attend liberal churches, and liberals attending conservative churches, will not vote more frequently when they perceive their churches engaged in heightened church political activity because this activity will accentuate cross-pressure that dampens the desire to participate. *Infrequent attendees are unlikely to respond to any church message, since they are unlikely to be exposed to such messages.*

CHURCH POLITICS

Different churches are likely to expose their members to distinct political messages and political activities. Some types of churches are likely to exhibit higher levels of political activity because of historical and theological factors. Hall (1997) differentiates the Christian Left from the Christian Right by examining the relative emphasis placed on changing structures over changing hearts. Those that attribute social ills to the corruption of the individual will likely place emphasis on changing of hearts (Christian Right), while those that attribute social ills to perceived structural deficiencies will likely place an emphasis on changing systems (Christian Left). In this section we examine the political leanings of various religious groups in order to identify expected levels of political activity and expected political messages.

The Christian Center-Left

The modern religious center-left, dominated by mainline liberal and moderate Protestants (including Methodists, Presbyterians, Disciples of Christ, and Episcopalians), has a tradition rooted in a social theory calling for the transformation and improvement of society, often through more vigorous government regulation of business and economics. The Christian Left has been part of the social-political fabric since the late 19th century and is often viewed as a reaction to industrialized society following the Civil War (e.g., Noll 1990). Common subjects found in Christian Left periodicals of the progressive period reflect socialist and redistributive themes such as child labor laws, maximum work day,

public ownership of infrastructure, regulation of food industries, and employer-employee profit sharing. Calls for government-induced reform are often presented as a natural corollary to the social gospel of Jesus (see, e.g., Bedell 1989). The religious left made efforts to bridge the gap between the social teachings of Jesus and the depredations forced upon the working class by a dispassionate free-market society as witnessed by Gladden's early 19th century social gospel expressing harmonization between labor and capital (Willis 2002, 37; Hutchison 1976, 234-244). More recently, these themes have found expression in support for New Deal policies, the anti-poverty programs of the 1960s, and, later, civil rights at home and human rights abroad. The emphasis on this-worldly justice remains a common theme of the political activism of the mainline churches in the modern political era as left evangelicals believe in the improvement of society through policies addressing discrimination, housing, health and the environment (Guth et. al 1997).^{1,2}

The religious center-left argues that the Gospels direct Christians to promote understanding, tolerance, and justice. Modernist denominations are united less by doctrinal consistency than a socially responsible view of this-worldly social conditions (Guth 1997 et al.). As stated by Fox (2004, 97-98), progressive Christianity "is not a set of doctrines distinctive to Christians. It is a conviction shared...by all religious traditions and some secular ones: Humans deserve respect and dignity...[progressive Christianity] sparks action to change a world that arbitrarily punishes some people while rewarding others." The 'this-worldly' orientation of the religious left lends itself to church-based political organizing. The church is viewed as a transformative vehicle for promoting social justice in the world. On the whole we expect that liberal members of politically active center-left churches should find their political views reinforced by the political activities and goals of their church, while conservative members will be subject to more cross pressure.³

The Black Christian Church

Black churches, relative to non-black churches, have performed a more central role in registering voters and calling for collective political action to address race-based civil rights concerns (e.g., Morrison 1987, 173, Dawson 1994, 191), and black churches "function as a resource for black political participation" (Harris

1994, 50). Harris (1994) theorizes that the historical unfolding of the modern civil rights era produced white-black differences in the political role of the church. With Blacks excluded from traditional political organizations, the church filled an organizational void and offered an avenue for the development and mobilization of common political views. “In the absence of other viable institutions, the black church has been assumed to be the principal focal point for political activity” (Calhoun-Brown 1996, 936) and the clergy in this environment have been elevated as spokespersons for their communities (Day 2001).

Much of the black church sees politics as inextricably linked with the church.⁴ The church provides both psychological and organizational resources that lead to increased political action by church members (Alex-Assensoh 2001). As Tate (1994, 77) recognizes, church attendance and political engagement may be closely tied: “Black religious life and political life have historically commingled.”⁵ Perhaps as a result, black congregations are more politically active than any other category examined by Beyerlein and Chaves (2003), a finding reaffirmed in our data. Wald (2003, 154) argues that when a membership – such as the black community – is under threat, a church’s abstention from politics may diminish its stature: “If members of the community perceive religious values as relevant to a political issue or under threat from some external actor, they may lose faith in a church that stands idly by.” Liberal African Americans should find their political views reinforced by participation in a politically active church, while relatively conservative African Americans should experience a degree of cross-pressure.⁶

The Christian Right

More fundamentalist churches (including Southern Baptist, Assembly of God, Church of God in Christ, and Evangelical Covenant), share a distinctive set of theological positions that contrast with the more diffuse theology of liberal Protestant denominations, but also with the active embrace of politics found in the African American church.⁷ These churches tend to emphasize the fundamentals of biblical literalism, the inherent sinful nature of man, salvation alone by way of a personal relationship with Jesus Christ, and dispensationalism.⁸ The central responsibility of the church is the evangelical sharing of the gospel and the redemption of the individual through conversion and a personal relationship

with Christ. The church is not viewed – at least by strict fundamentalists – as a socially transformative vehicle, although it is thought that the totality of individual conversions may solve many social ills. The principal fundamentalist solution to human depravity and man’s sinful nature is salvation and spiritual rebirth.

For many in the Christian Right, the literal interpretation of the New Testament provides the authoritative and unquestioned roadmap in the conduct of personal affairs. Exposure to lifestyles or cultures that are inconsistent with this roadmap will lead to moral corruption. Thus, Biblical literalism directs fundamentalist Protestants towards conformity with orthodox standards and lifestyles, directs members towards homogeneity in world view, encourages adherence to the scriptures as the guide to morality, and directs members away from embracing diversity. Ellison and Musick (1993, 381) identify a “distinctive epistemological position” for fundamentalism that sets it apart from liberal Protestant denominations by suggesting that fundamentalism is associated with intolerance for ‘alternative’ cultural groups and lifestyles (Jelen 1991). In this manner, fundamentalism is in contrast with the relative tolerance exhibited by mainline Protestants.

Although individual salvation is seen as central, the religious right does have a tradition of concern with government and the public sphere. Evangelical Protestants in particular have weighed in on cultural and moral issues surrounding traditional family relationships, regulation of pornography, welfare reform, value-based education, prayer in school, and access to abortion. By the mid 1970s, these concerns coalesced into a “civic gospel” built around a moral reform agenda (Guth et. al 1997). In subsequent decades, political activism was often seen by the religious right as a bulwark against forces eroding America’s traditional culture and morality. The religious right as a political movement reacted to the relatively recent successes of the secular left (e.g., access to abortion, shifting gender distinctions, the demise of prayer in school, and changes in the tax status of religious schools), and was animated by “a whole spectrum of perceived attacks on what they regarded as basic social and religious structures” (Hutcheson 1988, 159; see, also, Hecl 2007, 113). Thus, the language of the Christian Right calls not only for individual introspection to identify one’s sinful nature, but also political activism in the corporate body to defend traditional values (Reed 1996).⁹ Thus, ideological liberals who regularly attend politically active churches on the religious

right will experience substantial cross pressure, but conservatives attending such churches will not experience much cross pressure, except to the degree that they come to view political concerns as a distraction from the main mission of the church.

Roman Catholics

Although the Roman Catholic Church has a long tradition of political activism, Catholic political positions do not neatly align with the American politics conception of liberal or conservative views. On cultural and moral issues such as abortion and gay marriage the church may be characterized as conservative, but on social justice issues such as immigration, workers' rights, and the death penalty the views may be identified as liberal. Thence, whether they are an ideological conservative or liberal, an individual's degree of cross-pressure depends upon which church doctrine is emphasized within the particular parish and, perhaps, even within social networks within the parish. We do note that the Roman Catholic Diocese of Arlington, VA is affiliated with the center-left Virginia Interfaith Center for Public Policy, suggesting that, although there may be much individual-parish variation, conservative Catholics can be expected to experience more cross-pressure while liberal Catholics may experience less cross-pressure.

Contrasting the Left and the Right

In some ways the theology of the religious right is less well adapted for church-based political organizing than that of the religious left. As such, some have posited that pessimism inherent in dispensationalism reinforces the "futility of social and political reform" (Guth 2001, 144). Further, the natural corruption of society cannot be adequately addressed through long-term social reform but, rather, will be dealt with through the prophetic intervention of rapture. If the most important activity is saving souls, then 'this-worldly' political activity may be a distraction from, rather than a route to, salvation.

Recent concerns by leaders of the religious right that they have become too enmeshed with politics reflect these tensions. Ministers who emphasized political activism in the 1990s have been removed from the pulpits in mega churches around the country for overemphasizing politics relative to salvation. For instance, Terry Fox -- "The Jerry Falwell of the Sunflower State" -- was forced out as pastor of Immanuel Baptist Church in Wichita, Kansas because

church leaders told him that, “his activism was getting in the way of the Gospel.” Speaking of his growing doubts about political activism, Rev. Gene Carlson said, “When you mix politics and religion, you get politics.”¹⁰

For churchgoers to be animated, the clergy’s call to action must be viewed as legitimate and must resonate with members’ political and theological views. That is, the message must be couched within Biblical imperatives that are congruent with members’ beliefs and the denomination’s doctrine. For some members of the religious right, the mixture of religion and politics is uncomfortable while left-leaning clergy are clearly more comfortable with a fusion of the two. Among more orthodox theological groups, Guth et al. (1997) report that less than 40 percent of the clergy strongly approve of activism. By contrast, more than 72 percent of the clergy from groups with left-leaning politics and more modernist theologies strongly approve of activism. In addition, Wilcox et al. (1995) find that the most doctrinally conservative members of the Moral Majority are the most uncomfortable with the fusion of politics and religion. Distinctive theological and ideological positions may account for differences in the political activism of churches (Beyerlein and Chaves 2003).

HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1a: *The overall level of perceived political activity does not differ between conservative and non-conservative (liberal and moderate) white Protestant churches.*

Hypothesis 1b: *Black Protestant churches are more politically active relative to other churches.*

Political activity within the African American church will be heightened because of the tradition of legitimate, rightful, and necessary church political activism on behalf of equality. This hypothesis also challenges the notion that liberal-to-moderate Protestant churches exhibit less political activity than conservative Protestant churches among whites. The celebrated coverage of the religious right in the 1980s and 1990s coincided with a marked ‘shift’ in the activism of fundamentalist churches away from a traditional aversion to national politics and towards increased

exposure as evidenced by the leadership of several large-membership churches making high profile forays into the political realm. But prior to, and continuing through this period of conservative ascendancy and retreat, the modernist Protestant churches continued to engage in a range of political activities, girded by a theology that lends itself more directly to political activity addressing a broad range of social justice issues. Thus, we expect that liberal and conservative Protestant churches will exhibit a near equal level of political activity while within the African American church these constraints are greatly tempered by a tradition of legitimate, rightful, and necessary church political activism on behalf of equality.

Hypothesis 2a: *Among those who exhibit frequent church attendance and are not cross-pressured, an increase in the political activity of a church is associated with an increase in members' propensities to vote.*

Hypothesis 2b: *Among those who exhibit frequent church attendance and are cross-pressured, an increase in political activity of a church is not associated with an increase in members' propensities to vote.*

DATA

All of the data analyzed below are collected through a telephone survey of residents of the Hampton Roads region inclusive of 16 major localities. The sample is a stratified random sample of 1,187 households taken in late May 2004. We queried respondents on a number of issues including how frequently they vote, church membership, and perceived church political activity. These data have allowed us to measure these behaviors and perceptions but, as is often the case with survey data, we operate on the assumption that respondents' perceptions are an adequate approximation of reality. In this vein, perceptions of church political activity may be biased by the standpoint and experiences of individual respondents. Such biases are likely to work against our hypothesis concerning cross-pressure, since cross-pressured members are likely to have insulated themselves from church political activity, and will therefore perceive their church to be less politically active. In addition, the authors recognize that

disaggregating the full sample (necessary to perform comparative statistical analyses) has the potential to erode confidence in any findings. Fortunately, though, the *N* within the denominations or the church/race subgroups (found within the *Tables* in the Results section) remains sizable. Nonetheless, as a conservative approach, the authors apply a GLS correction and present robust standard errors.

The *Propensity to Vote* is our main dependent variable. It is measured using an ordered scale on which respondents indicate whether they vote “occasionally or never,” “often,” or “always or almost always.”

Following the general framework established by Roof and McKinney (1987), we record the self-reported religious affiliation of the respondents and then typologize these denominations under eight religion families: liberal protestants, moderate protestants (these two are combined and re-titled *liberal and moderate protestant churches* in most analyses), conservative protestants, black protestants, Catholics, Jews, other faiths, and no religious preference.

The variable *Political Activity of the Church* ranges between zero (“not politically active”) and three (“very politically active”). On average, respondents indicate that their church is engaged in relatively modest levels of political activity, with a mean close to the “slightly politically active” response. In the ordered logit models, we dichotomize the measure, with respondents who believed their church was moderately to very politically active coded as 1 and all other respondents coded as zero.

The variable *Church Attendance* measures how often a respondent takes audience in front of the pulpit and is coded 1 for those who attend at least weekly, and zero for those who do not.

The variable *Church Attendance*Political Activity of Church* is an interaction term that captures respondents who attend a politically active church on a weekly basis. We expect that respondents who attend a politically active church on a weekly basis will be more likely to participate in politics, provided cross-pressure does not attenuate this influence.

The variable *Political Ideology* is measured using respondents self reported placement on a four-point scale ranging from “very liberal” and “moderately liberal” through “moderately conservative” and “very conservative.”

The variable *Cross-pressure* indicates that an individual attends a church where political messaging is likely in conflict with personal political ideology. As discussed above, conservatives attending liberal or moderate Protestant, Catholic, and black Protestant churches are coded as cross-pressured. Liberals attending conservative Protestant churches also are coded as cross-pressured.

We also control for several additional variables. Self-reported race is coded dichotomously, with *black* taking the value of one and all *other races* coded zero. *Age* is simply the respondent's self-reported age. Individuals' propensity to vote typically increases with age. The variable *Education* is measured using a five point scale ranging from "not a high school graduate" to "graduate or professional degree." We expect that higher levels of education will be associated with a higher propensity to vote. The variable *Political Efficacy* is assessed using responses to the prompt "My vote in local elections makes a difference." Respondents who affirmed that their vote makes a difference should be more likely to vote.

RESULTS

Denominational Political Activity

Table 1 provides descriptive information useful for testing Hypotheses 1a and 1b by presenting the average level of perceived political activity across the identified church 'families.' As expected, among non-blacks the level of perceived political activity in conservative Protestant churches (fundamentalist Protestant) and liberal-to-moderate Protestant churches is not significantly different ($t=1.57$, $p = 0.12$). In line with the results of Beyerlein and Chaves (2003), we do not find evidence that conservative Protestant churches are more active politically than liberal and moderate Protestant churches. In addition, as expected, black Protestant churches are rated as the most politically active. The difference in perceived political activity of white conservative Protestant and the black Protestant churches is both substantial (1.06 vs. 1.72) on a scale from 0 to 3, and statistically significant ($t=5.27$, $p < 0.001$). This likely reflects the range and scope of political activities engaged in by black Protestant churches (Beyerlein and Chaves 2003).

**Table 1: Respondents' Perceptions of the Level of Political Activity of their Church
(0= not politically active, 3 = very politically active)**

Religion	Mean	Relationship ^Δ	N	Std. Deviation
Conservative Protestant	1.06		152	1.07
Moderate-to-Liberal Protestant (All)	1.30		263	1.03
Moderate-to-Liberal Protestant (Non Black)	.87		127	.99
Black Protestant	1.72		136	1.07
Roman Catholics	.90		108	.98
Jewish	1.00		2	1.41
Unaffiliated	.99		155	1.07
Don't Know	.90		10	.99
Refuse	1.00		14	1.11
Average	1.10		704	1.08

^ΔRelationship: #1 = significant (p<.05), #2 = not significant (p>.05), #3 = significant (p<.05)

The Effect of Church Political Activity on Turnout

Following Hypothesis 2a, we expect that as churches increasingly engage in political activity this will correlate with increasing voter turnout among weekly church attendees since more politically active churches are more likely to impress upon their regular congregants the importance (and perhaps the policy consequences) of voting. Following Hypotheses 2b, we also expect that this effect will be confined to non-cross-pressured individuals. Table 2 presents an ordered logit¹¹ analysis of the reported propensity to vote (dependant variable). In order to address potential concerns about the modest sample sizes of some analyses and the possibility of heteroskedastic errors, all analyses use robust standard errors. Equation 1 includes both individuals who are cross pressured and individuals who are not cross-pressured. Equations 2 and 3 separate non cross-pressured individuals from those who are cross pressured, respectively.

In the equations shown in Table 2, neither *Politically Active Church* nor *Church Attendance* alone predicts individuals' *Propensity to Vote*. However, consistent with Hypothesis 2a, the Table shows that the interaction of weekly church attendance at a politically active church has a statistically significant relationship with *Propensity to Vote* ($p < 0.01$). Respondents attending more politically active churches have a higher propensity to vote, provided they do attend weekly. Table 2 also shows, however, that this relationship is subject to an additional interaction. The effect of church political activity is only observed among those who are not cross-pressured. That is, the interaction term is statistically significant for non-cross-pressured individuals ($p < .01$) but it is statistically indistinguishable from zero among those who are cross-pressured. Thus, the results support Hypothesis 2b which posits that cross pressure either breaks or substantially weakens the relationship between church political activity and voting.

Table 2: Propensity to Vote Among Non-Cross-Pressured and Cross-Pressured Respondents

	<i>Equation 1</i>	<i>Equation 2</i>	<i>Equation 3</i>
	All	Respondents Not Cross Pressured	Respondents Cross Pressured
	Respondents		
Politically Active Church	0.03 (0.21)	-0.45 (0.26)+	0.57 (0.34)+
Church Attendance	-0.03 (0.14)	-0.27 (0.19)	0.36 (0.23)
Church Attendance* Politically Active Church	0.97 (0.31)**	1.66 (0.41)**	0.17 (0.47)
Political Efficacy	0.61 (0.11)**	0.72 (0.13)**	0.43 (0.18)*
Age	0.05 (0.00)**	0.05 (0.01)**	0.05 (0.01)**
Education	0.40 (0.06)**	0.41 (0.07)**	0.39 (0.10)**
Threshold 1	0.62 (0.36)	0.53 (0.42)	0.81 (0.66)
Threshold 2	2.55 (0.36)	2.43 (0.43)	2.82 (0.68)
Pseudo R ²	.12	.14	.10
Number of Observations	1115	679	436

Notes: Ordered Logit Model: Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses. += p<.1, *= p<.05, **=p<.01

Results for control variables are largely in line with expectations. As is typical in studies of voter turnout, increases in age, political efficacy, and education all correspond to an increased propensity to vote.

As demonstrated in Table 3, this pattern of difference between non-cross pressured and cross pressured individuals in their propensity to vote is also evident among conservative Protestant churches, black Protestant churches, and other church members (i.e., liberal and moderate Protestants combined with Catholics).¹¹ In all three instances, the

Table 3: Cross-Pressure, Church Political Activity, and Propensity to Vote by Church/Race Subgroups

	Conservative Protestant Churches		Black Protestant Churches		Other Churches	
	No Cross Pressure <i>Eq-1</i>	Cross Pressure <i>Eq-2</i>	No Cross Pressure <i>Eq-3</i>	Cross Pressure <i>Eq-4</i>	No Cross Pressure <i>Eq-5</i>	Cross Pressure <i>Eq-6</i>
Politically Active Church	-1.09(0.80)	1.05 (0.77)	-0.58 (0.59)	-0.02(0.62)	-0.83 (0.52)	0.10 (0.64)
Church Attendance	-0.41(0.39)	0.72 (0.55)	-1.22 (0.73)+	-0.28(0.69)	-0.13 (0.40)	0.51 (0.36)
CA*PAC Interaction	2.34 (1.00)*	-0.43 (1.13)	2.13 (0.93)*	1.10 (0.95)	2.60 (1.33)+	0.37 (0.79)
Political Efficacy	0.40 (0.37)	0.50 (0.34)	0.98 (0.39)*	-0.02(0.38)	0.71 (0.33)*	0.08 (0.28)
Age	0.07 (0.01)**	0.04 (0.02)+	0.07 (0.03)**	0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.01)**	0.06 (0.01)**
Education	0.55 (0.18)**	0.57 (0.22)**	0.54 (0.22)*	0.01 (0.29)	0.23 (0.18)	0.23 (0.17)
Threshold 1	2.20 (1.06)	1.98 (1.47)	0.55 (1.60)	-1.80 (1.67)	-0.57 (0.98)	1.25 (1.19)
Threshold 2	4.25 (1.10)	3.56 (1.51)	2.59 (1.61)	0.52 (1.74)	1.23 (1.01)	3.51 (1.22)
Pseudo R ²	.16	.13	.20	.03	.10	.12
Number of Observations	143	71	83	79	170	188

Notes: Ordered Logit Model: Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses. += p<.1, *= p<.05, **=p<.01

interaction is statistically significant only for individuals who are not cross-pressured. Among cross-pressured members, frequently attending a church with a high level of perceived political activity was not associated with more frequent voter turnout. Thus cross-pressure breaks the link between frequent attendance of a politically active church and voter turnout. For brevity, we have omitted further discussion of variation in the effect of the control variables across denominations.

CONCLUSIONS

The main message of this study, supported by empirical analyses across racial and religious subgroups, is that the connection between attending a politically active church and the propensity to vote depends upon an interaction between church theology and individual political ideology. Regularly attending a politically active church is only associated with increased voter turnout among individuals who hold personal political ideologies compatible with the political messaging of their church.

Consistent with the literature, we find that blacks attend the most politically active churches, extending those previous results to the politically significant African American population of southeastern Virginia. As for other subgroups analyzed, we find that liberal blacks are mobilized by frequent attendance of politically active churches, but that conservative blacks are not.

We find little evidence that the religious right is better at (or more active in) mobilizing white conservatives than the religious center-left is in mobilizing white liberals; both groups vote more frequently when they perceive heightened political activity in their church, and the effect sizes are quite similar. Liberals attending liberal churches are more likely to vote when they perceive that the church is more politically active; the same is true for conservatives attending conservative churches. One difference between the two sets of churches, however, is that center-left churches have more

diverse memberships, with more individuals subject to cross-pressure.

The discourse addressing churches as agents of voter mobilization and activism in American politics is replete with references to the power of the religious right as a white conservative political force. In the aftermath of the 2004 election, for example, many suggested that the successful mobilization of religious conservatives by the GOP was instrumental in the re-election of President Bush and gains in both houses of Congress. Using original survey data from Southeastern Virginia, we find evidence that the influence of protestant fundamentalist churches on members' political mobilization may be overstated, especially relative the mobilizing impact of modernist, mainline Protestant churches. In addition, the religious left, taken as a whole, is arguably more politically active than the religious right in the geographic area examined in our study, largely because black churches are more active than any other grouping.

ENDNOTES

1. Status inconsistency is the notion that an individual may view his rightful place in society higher than the treatment he receives by others. Those with status inconsistency are more likely to support political parties that advocate for change (Lenski, 1967). Due to a focus on social justice issues, the Protestant left is most aware of status inconsistency and look to government as a central partner in addressing disparities.

2. Policy-oriented environmental activism within liberal protestant churches became more evident beginning in the 1990s (Fowler 1995). Pope Benedict XVI has called upon church members to stir their consciences and heighten their awareness of global climate change (Simpson 2008). Within the Southern Baptist Convention, influential groups, such as the Evangelical Environmental Network, have advanced a more activist approach to addressing the human contribution to global warming. Interestingly, the calls to activism have been couched in scriptural imperatives (Kirkpatrick 2007).

3. Obviously this is not a matter of absolutes but of general tendencies – individual congregations may differ from the more typical patterns of the denomination, with some mainline congregations quite conservative, and others more liberal.
4. The broad construct “Black Protestant Church” encompasses Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal churchgoers within “traditional” black denominations and membership connotes a unity among black believers “forged out of a common experience of oppression and ethnic identity. It is a unity that transcends the divisiveness of doctrine and polity...” (Sawyer 1998, 284).
5. Liberation theologians continue to question the connection between God’s righteousness and the struggle of African Americans fighting for racial justice in a segregated, racist America (see Cone 1999).
6. African Americans in Virginia tend to vote for Democratic Party candidates, but it is fairly common for 20 percent of African Americans to vote for Republican candidates. In our survey, a total of 44.5 percent of African Americans identify themselves as moderately or very conservative. Thus, there is some potential for cross-pressure.
7. A feature of the fundamentalist movement is its “trans-denominational character” encompassing multiple independent churches that grew out of the modernist-fundamentalist rift of the early 20th century (Dodson 1992, 116). Fundamentalism, as used in this article, encompasses a “mosaic of evangelical traditions and tendencies” that hold dispensationalist interpretation of the Bible, including those separatist groups of the 1920s as well as groups that are militant in their anti-modernist message (Marsden 1980, 43; see also Marty 1998, Barr 1978, and Riesebrodt 1990, 10).
8. In response to emerging German high criticism and growing denominational diversity resulting from varying interpretations of the social gospels, conservative Protestantism responded, as was the case with the 1910 General Assembly of Presbyterian church’s endorsement of the five fundamental points (Wills 2002, 38).

9. Some have noted that the increase in protestant-right activism may be partially explained by the objective gain in economic standing of evangelical Protestantism within the past three decades (Wald 2003, 218).

10. Analyses using Logit models with a dependent variable formed by collapsing the ‘never vote’ and ‘vote most of the time’ responses and collapsing the ‘always or almost always vote’ responses with the ‘vote most of the time’ responses produce results substantively similar to those reported here.

11. Combining moderate and liberal protestant denominations with Catholics makes sense in terms of the cross-pressure categories developed above. None the less, we would have preferred separate analyses. Unfortunately it proved difficult to analyze these religious groupings separately because in both cases some subsets of church members had observations that were completely determined, making it impossible to estimate accurate standard errors. By combining the groups, sample sizes increased to the point where more accurate estimation became possible.

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APPENDIX

Table A.1. Political Activity of Church (scale from 0 to 3, with 3 indicating the most active)

Conservative churches are shown in bold face.

What is your religion?	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Methodist	.8857	70	1.08405
Episcopalian	1.2381	21	.88909
Lutheran	.7143	14	.91387
Presbyterian	.9688	32	1.06208
Baptist	1.3953	215	1.10942
Assembly of God	1.2500	4	.95743
Born-Again	.8000	5	.83666
Church of God	1.1818	11	1.07872
Christian Scientist	.8462	26	1.00766
Unitarian	.0000	1	.
Roman-Catholic	.8981	108	.97578
Jewish	1.0000	2	1.41421
Jehovah's Witness	.2857	7	.75593
Bahai	2.0000	1	.
AME-African Methodist Episcopal	1.0000	2	1.41421
UCC Reformed-United Church of Christ	1.5000	2	2.12132

Pentecostal	1.2368	38	1.14925
Independent	1.2500	8	1.28174
Seventh Day Adventist	2.0000	1	.
Mormon	1.0000	3	1.00000
Agnostic	1.5000	2	2.12132
Atheist	.0000	1	.
Other	1.2500	8	1.16496
Protestant	.6500	40	.97534
Non Denominational	.7727	22	1.10978
Christian	1.3611	36	1.04616
Don't Know	.9000	10	.99443
Refuse	1.0000	14	1.10940
Total	1.0952	704	1.08042

Table A.2. Average Political Ideology of Church Members (scale ranges from -2 to 2, with higher values indicating more conservatism)

Conservative churches are shown in bold face.

What is your religion?	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Methodist	-.0009	108	1.23198
Episcopalian	.1021	29	1.29364
Lutheran	.0900	22	1.15268
Presbyterian	.2492	48	1.21323
Baptist	.2228	295	1.32022
Assembly of God	.2475	4	1.50500
Born-Again	.4000	5	1.34164
Fundamentalist	2.0000	1	.
Church of God	.3327	15	1.17656
Christian Scientist	.1050	38	1.29052
Unitarian	-1.0000	1	.
Roman-Catholic	.0114	160	1.25558
Jewish	.2292	13	1.59157
Muslim/Moslem	-.2500	4	1.50000
Jehovah's Witness	-.4040	5	1.82100
Bahai	-1.0000	1	.
AME-African Methodist Episcopal	.0000	2	1.41421

UCC Reformed-United Church of Christ	.3300	3	2.08727
Pentecostal	.2180	41	1.47725
Independent	-.4635	26	1.24283
Seventh Day Adventist	1.0000	1	.
Mormon	.6667	3	1.52753
Agnostic	-1.0044	9	1.22883
Atheist	-.5583	18	1.34141
Other	-.3445	38	1.34417
Protestant	.1579	63	1.27399
Non Denominational	.0550	36	1.24179
Christian	.1190	50	1.36645
Eastern Orthodox	-1.5050	2	.71418
Don't Know	-.0575	53	1.26358
Refuse	.0983	30	1.47286
Total	.0710	1124	1.30698

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DANGER AS ROMANCE: USING "TWILIGHT" AS A TEACHING TOOL

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ABSTRACT

The Twilight Saga by Stephenie Meyer (2005-2008) has sold an estimated 116 million copies since its debut in 2005 ("Little, Brown to Publish Official Twilight Guide," 2010). With a core target audience of teenage girls (McCulloch, 2009) the series is centered on the relationship between a 17 year old girl (Bella) and a vampire (Edward), and has sparked much controversy over healthy relationship modeling for teenagers (Clarke & Osborn, 2010; McCulloch, 2009; Nayar, 2010). The series has been said to be attractive to teenage girls as it portrays a traditional, romantic relationship (Katz, 2006). However, criticism of the series for modeling unhealthy relationships includes depicting characteristics common to violent dating relationships (Collins & Carmody, 2011). This study utilizes content analysis to explore the effectiveness of using sections from the Twilight books to teach students to recognize and comprehend the subtleties of violence in dating relationships. Implications for future research and the use of the Twilight saga as a teaching tool are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Icons of popular culture have often been used in the sociology classroom to illustrate concepts related to gender roles (Damico & Quay, 2006; Jule, 2010; Silver, 2010; Springer & Yelinek, 2011) and violence (Giroux, 1994). The current study examines the use of excerpts from the popular *Twilight* series in a college-level Violence Against Women course, with the purpose of exploring its use as a teaching tool. We are interested in using *Twilight* to teach participants to recognize and comprehend the subtleties of violence

in dating relationships. The target audience for this popular four book series is teen girls (McCulloch, 2009), although it has arguably reached a much wider audience. The series consists of four novels: *Twilight* (2005), *New Moon* (2006), *Eclipse* (2007), and *Breaking Dawn* (2008) (see Table 1 in the appendix for an overview of the novels). *Publisher's Weekly* reported that sales of the *Twilight* series books had reached 116 million copies ("Little, Brown to Publish Official Twilight Guide," 2010). Films based on the books have also been box-office successes; *Twilight's* theatrical release grossed \$350 million (Grossman, 2009). The second movie based on the series reportedly broke box office records by grossing \$72.2 million its opening day (Gray, 2009). The *Twilight* book series has been the focus of content analyses focused on themes of masculinity and the family (Nayar, 2010) as well as violence in dating relationships (Collins & Carmody, 2011). A summary of the four books appears in Table 1.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although many educators have utilized elements of popular culture to illustrate concepts in the classroom, this practice does have challenges. In an undergraduate course designed to examine elements of popular culture related to childhood via a critical lens, Damico and Quay (2006) examined iconic childhood rituals that included Barbie dolls, Nancy Drew, Boy Scouts, and the Prom. In their efforts to examine these symbols of childhood, playing particular attention to the issue of gender and racial equality, they encountered considerable resistance from their students. They noted that students, “angrily accused us of “ruining their childhood” because we were “forcing” them to read “negative” perspectives on toys and activities from their youth that they had adored and recalled fondly (p. 608).” It is interesting to note that they received less student resistance when analyzing a Nancy Drew novel. Because these materials were more dated, the gender and racial inequalities in the story were more easily identified as politically incorrect. Plus, since fewer students had read the Nancy Drew books during childhood, they lacked the emotional connection to the materials and could more easily view the text with a critical eye.

Julie (2010) effectively utilized an episode of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* to familiarize students with issues related to the Second Wave of Feminism. By focusing on the use of language and

power in the workplace, students were able to clearly identify and critically examine core issues in the episode. Aired in the 1970's, *The Mary Tyler Moore Shows* was unfamiliar to the students in the class, and the central character's likable optimism encouraged the students to identify with her. Because the students had not grown up watching the program, they could more easily view the program critically without the resistance associated with having an emotional connection to it.

By asking participants to critically examine excerpts from the *Twilight* series through the lens of gender inequality and relationship violence, we knew we would likely receive an emotional reaction from the participants. The fact that nearly all of the participants in the class were familiar with the series reveals its relevance. In addition, several participants expressed an emotional connection to the story and its emphasis on romantic love. In developing this assignment in previous classes, many of the female participants expressed resistance to the possibility that the relationships in the *Twilight* books could be unhealthy, and often expressed disappointment if they did identify any abusive behaviors during the completion of the assignment. Interestingly, male participants were often verbally resistant to reading any material associated with the *Twilight* series, often expressing that the series was directed at a female audience and therefore something they did not want to associate themselves with. It was found to be helpful to not identify the reading as *Twilight*, especially as it related to male participants, the majority of whom had not read the books or seen the movies, until after the assignment was complete. Male participants were therefore less likely to express emotional attachment to the characters in the readings, and were often surprised that the excerpts were from *Twilight* during class discussions of the assignment.

RELEVANT THEMES IN THE TWILIGHT SAGA

Researchers have examined the *Twilight* books, with special emphasis on the portrayal of romantic relationships in the series. The storylines from each book are set out in Table 1. In this section, we review the literature related to five themes that were most relevant to our Violence Against Women course; stalking, emotional power and control, Bella as childlike, vulnerable, and dependant, masculinity and chivalry, and sexual violence.

Stalking

Many would argue that Edward is a frightening boyfriend. He breaks into Bella’s house and watches her sleep, he uses intimidation and physical force to control her actions, disables her truck so she cannot leave without his knowledge, and he controls their sexual relationship (Wilson, 2011). Over and over, the roles of Edward and Bella are framed as predator and prey. As Edward repeatedly stalks Bella throughout the series, the reader is encouraged to view this relationship as romantic and nonthreatening. Edward states that he is “the world’s best predator” (Meyer, 2005, p.264). And in the typical romance novel pattern, Bella is depicted as passive and “incredibly breakable” (Meyer, 2005, p.310). Collins and Carmody (2011) note that stalking behaviors are both minimized and romanticized throughout the series.

Emotional Power and Control

Bella exhibits many characteristics similar to an abused woman. She repeatedly justifies Edward’s actions and has difficulty maintaining focus and drive. She suffers from low self-esteem, as evidenced by her repeatedly referring to herself as being “nothing special” (Meyers 2006, p.315), and wonders why a “perfect” man like Edward is interested in her. As the series progresses, Bella becomes more emotionally dependent upon Edward. In fact, she experiences a disabling depressive episode when Edward leaves in *Eclipse*, the third book in the series. Bella does not want to live without Edward. Bella is also filled with self-doubt, feels unworthy of love, and ignores or justifies the negative aspects of her relationship with Edward (Steiber, 2008). While Edward is repeatedly described as perfect, powerful, and beautiful, Bella is often presented as his opposite: clumsy, prone to accidents and fainting spells, easily manipulated, and frequently needing to be rescued (Meyers, 2005; Ursu, 2008; Collins & Carmody, 2011).

Bella as Childlike, Vulnerable, Dependent

Bella is repeatedly described in childlike terms. Edward sings her to sleep with a lullaby and picks her up, “gripping the tops of my arms like I was a toddler” (Meyer, 2005, p. 297). Within their relationship, Edward acts as Bella’s disciplinarian, in a somewhat fatherly role (Silver, 2010). He refers to her as “an insignificant little girl” (*Twilight* 271), a “little coward” (*Twilight*

279), and “silly Bella” (*Twilight* 281)” (Silver, 2010, p.125). In spite of this, the reader is encouraged to see Edward as the “perfect boyfriend” – described by Wilson (2011) as strong, protective and a caring father figure.

Masculinity and Chivalry

The masculine ideology of *Twilight* supports hegemonic white masculinity and reinforces race and class privilege (Nayar, 2010; Wilson, 2011). “While white, heterosexual middle class masculinity has lost its secure place in the hierarchy of social positions due to the achievements of the civil rights movement, feminism, and gay rights, in the world of “*Twilight*”, it seems as if these movements never happened” (Wilson, 2011, p.86). Edward and the other vampires are not simply white, they are so white they glow and sparkle in the sunlight. In addition, Edward is wealthy, has superhuman strength, and never ages. The aggressive “tough guy” image is the hallmark of traditional masculinity. While toughness is valued in boys, niceness is valued in girls (Simmons, 2002). “Given the pervasiveness of the “tough guy” ideal in our culture, is it any wonder that so many female readers fall in love with a saga that romanticizes tough, violent masculinity?” (Wilson, 2011, p.89). It is also interesting to note that in *Twilight* only certain types of controlling, violent behavior is desirable (i.e. Edward), while the violence of nonwhite males is framed as more threatening (i.e. Jacob, Sam).

Backstein (2009) notes, that *Twilight* has much in common with traditional romance novels, but has a paranormal twist. In a traditional romance novel, what appears to be dangerous, even predatory male behavior is often transformed by the “right” woman. Wilson notes that the violence in the books sends a repeated message similar to the “Beauty and the Beast” – the “Beauty” can turn the “Beast” into a prince if only she loves him enough (Wilson, 2011). Even when male characters are extremely violent and constantly belittle the heroine, many traditional romance novels still imply that traditional masculinity is good for women (McCafferty, 2008; Wilson, 2011).

Finally, *Twilight* supports what Katz (2006) calls the “chivalry trap”, a paradigm that frames women as always in need of male protection (Katz, 2006). Bella refers to Edward as her “perpetual savior” (Meyer, 2005, p. 166). And throughout the series, Edward repeatedly saves clumsy Bella (Nayar, 2010).

Sexual Violence

Backstein (2009) argues that the threat of sexual violence is an undercurrent in the *Twilight* books. In one memorable scene, Edward saves Bella from a group of men intent on attacking her in a deserted area. Edward’s vampire “sister” Rosalie is a rape survivor – she was attacked by her fiancé before she became a vampire. When Bella and Edward consummate their marriage on the honeymoon, Bella ends up covered in bruises. In addition, Edward and Jacob repeatedly subject Bella to “crushing kisses and bruising hugs”. Backstein (2009) suggests that *Twilight* sends troubling messages to young women. Specifically, it tells the reader that men cannot control themselves and a strong connection is made between sex and violence in the series.

Thus far, a detailed review of the literature on the Twilight Saga has been presented, specifically focusing on the five themes that were particularly relevant to our Violence Against Women course. A subsequent content analysis of participants written responses to an assignment requiring they examine violence in dating relationships, will be used to determine the effectiveness of using sections from the *Twilight* books as a teaching tool.

METHOD

Participants

Data was collected from students attending a University in the Northeastern region of the United States. At the time of data collection, participants were enrolled in a class titled Violence Against Women. Participation in this study was voluntary. Participants were told about the study and its purpose. There were 24 participants enrolled in the Violence Against Women class and 18 (n=18) participated in the study. Of the 18 participants, ten were female, and eight were male.

Procedure

The aim of the Violence Against Women class was to provide a thorough understanding of different forms of violence perpetrated against women, including domestic violence, dating violence, rape, sexual assault, and stalking. After these topics had been covered in class, participants were asked to read three excerpts from the Twilight Saga. These excerpts were selected based on findings from a study by Collins and Carmody (2011) that identified

them as containing representations of behaviors indicative of dating violence and stalking¹. Participants were asked to identify and provide a count of as many of the following behaviors displayed by the characters in the book extracts: physical violence, physical power and control, sexual violence, emotional power and control (such as emotional blackmail), self-deprecation, stalking, male privilege, traditional gender roles, jealousy, threats of violence, belittling or name calling, and chivalry. All of these characteristics had been previously defined and discussed during the class. Participants were therefore required to identify as many of the different types of behavior listed in the assignment as possible. The participants were then asked to provide a written response to the question “Would you characterize the relationship as healthy? Justify your answer.” Participants willing to participate were asked to email an extra copy of their assignment to the researcher/s, without any identifiers to ensure anonymity. The researcher receiving the emailed essays was not responsible for any grading in the course. Participants were asked to indicate their gender by writing male or female at the top of their assignment.

The articles were read and analyzed for the behaviors included in the assignment as indicated above, as well as for patterns and themes that emerged through the coding process. All behaviors identified by the participants in their assignment responses were included in the analysis. A count of the behaviors identified by each participant was kept, with each new behavior being assigned a count of 1. As the purpose of this study was to determine the effectiveness of using the *Twilight Saga* to identify instances of dating violence, it was felt that identifying more than one example of each behavior did not necessarily demonstrate a greater understanding of the behaviors, than a participant that only provided one example. Therefore, if a participant included multiple examples of one type of behavior, such as stalking for example, then this only counted as one (n=1). To ensure inter-rater reliability, both researchers examined the assignments, coded them and then compared the results. Disagreements, of which there were few, were discussed and coding was subsequently agreed on.

¹ All the excerpts were from the first book in the series *Twilight*. Pages 84-109, 152-195, and 260-307 (Meyer, 2005).

RESULTS

Stalking

Results are presented in Table 2, appearing in the appendix. Participants most frequently identified the behavior of stalking in the excerpts from the *Twilight* series, with 17 of the 18 participants identifying and classifying behaviors in this manner. The specific behaviors most commonly identified as stalking included Edward following Bella to another city, and Edward entering Bella's house at night without her consent, for the purposes of watching her sleep. For example, one participant commented that, "Edward would sit outside Bella's house and window almost every night and watch her sleep. Any normal person would consider that stalking and extremely creepy," Another participant stated "Edward unabashedly admits to following and watching Bella, without her consent or knowledge."

Participants also noted that the books' presented these stalking behaviors in a positive light; one participant stated, "in the book they introduce this behavior as if it is romantic, but in real life, this can be considered stalking." Similarly, the seriousness of these behaviors was noted by the participants, with one participant surmising "this is undoubtedly an incident that, if his romance and mystique were removed from, any rational person would find terrifying and indeed illegal." Bella's reaction when she learns of Edward's stalking behaviors was also mentioned by the participants. Some participants (n = 9) focused on Bella's lack of reaction to his revelation, specifically the characterization of her reaction as "flattery." Participants were concerned that Bella was not fearful of Edward or alarmed by his behavior, as indicated by one participant making reference stalking behaviors, "Bella never takes time to consider the repercussions if she were to fall out of love with Edward".

Emotional Power and Control

Fourteen participants (n = 14) identified and classified behaviors in the excerpts as being indicative of emotional power and control. The specific behaviors identified included Edward telling Bella he would not be a good friend to her, Edward confusing Bella during their conversations, seducing her, frightening her, and commanding her to do certain things. Despite this variation, these behaviors were characterized as being ways in

which Edward manipulated Bella both emotionally and physically. It is interesting to note that some participants were more detailed in their analysis, recognizing that emotional power and control was not only established through Edward behaving in certain ways, but also by “by his gestures, [and] words.” Attention was drawn to Edward “barking orders and lecturing Bella” as ways of manipulating Bella into compliance.

Participants did express concern that Bella was becoming more passive in the relationship. Bella was characterized as having “no voice,” as “los[ing] her sense of self,” and being “no longer in charge of her life” as “she never really gets to speak for herself; she just does what Edward tells her to do.” By drawing attention to Bella’s passivity, these participants then commented on Bella’s subordination to Edward in their relationship and her dependence on him throughout the readings. As one participant surmised, “Bella is not a tragic hero, she is a tragedy in the fact that she needs Edward to feel safe.”

Chivalry

A majority of the participants also identified portrayals of chivalry in Edward and Bella’s relationship (n=14). It is interesting to note that some participants indicated that Edward’s chivalrous behavior was positive as “he is a gentleman,” “courteous”, saving Bella’s life as her “knight in shining armor always there to the rescue.” In contrast, other participants argued that chivalry was in fact negative; it was used to manipulate Bella’s feelings and behaviors as part of a pattern of controlling behavior. Additionally, it was argued that chivalry was often coupled with other more abusive behaviors to “place a hold on Bella, keeping her in his bind until he felt it was necessary to ease his grip.” Therefore, from this perspective, chivalry was considered to be part of pattern of power and control, characteristics indicative of many abusive relationships. As one participant argued,

it seems to be the way Edward peppers his cold, rude, and forceful moments with romantic and chivalrous gestures like opening car doors, alluring looks, and impossibly sweet words that seem to draw Bella in once again, no matter how bad[ly] she was previously hurt by him.

Threats of Violence

Connected to establishing a pattern of power and control are the presence of threats of violence. There were 14 participants that identified and characterized behaviors as threatening violence. Examples of these behaviors included Bella being fearful of Edward, and Edward threatening to use physical violence if Bella did not comply with his wishes. The most frequently mentioned incident involves Edward insisting that Bella get into his car, and because Bella resists, Edward threatens to “just drag [her] back” (Meyer 2006:104). Additionally, many participants focus on the potential danger that Edward poses to Bella; he is initially drawn to her because he wants to drink her blood. Edward does not hide this fact, as one participant argues, “he reminds her [Bella] that she was in imminent danger, not from the car accident but from Edward.” This potential for violence was identified by the participants as part of pattern of violence that Edward uses to exercise emotional and physical power and control over Bella.

Jealousy and Traditional Gender Roles

Twelve of the participants participating in the study identified behaviors that were characterized as jealousy. Jealousy was predominantly identified as being an emotion that Edward experienced. The motivation behind this behavior was identified as control. For example, Edward “shows how much he needs to be in control of her [Bella] life by showing his jealousy and outright rage when other boys try to occupy her attention.” Many of the participants identified this as a negative behavior, but also questioned how this behavior was portrayed throughout the excerpts, arguing that it was “almost portrayed as compassionate and loving which is [a] dangerous idea to be feeding readers, especially younger ones.” This was especially alarming to many participants as they also contended that Edward and Bella’s relationship was proprietorial, with Edward treating Bella as if she “belongs to him” or as a “possession.” Participants linked this behavior to unhealthy relationships and traditional gender roles.

Behaviors categorized by participants as being indicative of traditional gender roles included Bella’s reliance on Edward for protection, with Bella being depicted as being unable to handle situations without the “protection of a man.” Bella’s dependence on Edward is reinforced by Bella being depicted as fragile and vulnerable, as one participant argues “Edward thinks that Bella is so

fragile and he believes that he must protect Bella at all times.” Bella’s dependence on Edward is argued by one participant to be a form of subservience as “instead of Bella ordering from the waitress she checks her meal and drink selection with Edward first.” Many participants argued that the relationships between Edward and Bella reinforced traditional stereotypes that “a man should be primal and a woman should surrender.”

Physical Power and Control and Physical Violence

There were nine participants that identified behaviors that they considered to be suggestive of physical power and control. For example, the threat of violence is assumed as Edward’s behaviors “show a pattern of controlling behavior that only continues as the relationship develops patterns in which violence is inherently assumed if not out rightly stated due to his abilities granted by his vampire status.” Participants were also able to identify that although Edward often considered Bella’s feelings and wishes, he would still manipulate her to conform to his wishes. The power differential between Bella and Edward was also identified and characterized by participants as being indicative of Edward having physical power and control over Bella. Participants noted Edward’s ability to easily lift and physically maneuver Bella. One participant provides an example of this when describing Edward insistence on driving Bella home when she was sick, “when they got to the parking lot and she began walking toward her truck he grabbed her jacket and yanked her back to him, becoming loud and indignant.” Participants also classified this same incident as being a form of physical violence. Edward’s behaviors of “grabbing,” “yanking,” “pushing” and “dragging” Bella were identified by nine of the 18 participants as being forms of physical violence. This behavior was deemed abusive by many of the participants however, some (n=3) of the participants provided justifications and minimizations for his behavior. For example, one participant suggested that although Edward hurt Bella, he never did so intentionally, and another participant suggested that Edward’s “heart was in the right place, but there was no reason for him to put his hands on her.” This is interesting. The same participants that classified the relationship between Edward and Bella as unhealthy seemed to look more to Edward’s overall motivations for behaving in an abusive manner, neutralizing the impact of his behaviors on Bella.

Similarly, some participants held Bella partly accountable for the unhealthy nature of the couple’s relationship. Bella was blamed for her own victimization because of her attraction to Edward, as “theirs is [a] relationship based on mutual attraction and, in Bella’s case, an attraction to danger and intrigue.” Participants, therefore, were still susceptible to the portrayals of Edward’s behaviors as being protective, flattering, loving, and romantic. This suggests that when abusive characteristics were not overt, participants were more likely to offer justifications for the behaviors they simultaneously called “dangerous.”

Belittling and Name Calling

Fewer participants (n=8) identified belittling and name calling behaviors in the excerpts. This may be because these behaviors are more subtle forms of abuse, and much harder to detect. Participants that did identify these behaviors focused on how Edward teases and belittles Bella. Participants identified different behaviors that they characterized as being belittling, such as Edward “snickering” or “laughing” at Bella, as well as calling her names such as “freak,” “coward” and “klutz.” Participants also picked up on Edward’s tone of voice, specifically his use of sarcasm when interacting with Bella. This was defined as a way that Edward exerted power and control over Bella as she often refrained from pursuing a particular topic of conversation with Edward when she did not want to upset or appear “stupid to Edward.”

Additionally, the act of self-deprecation was identified by a few of the participants (n = 6), often in connection with belittling and name calling behaviors. These participants asserted that Bella often blamed herself for Edward’s changes in mood, or for his damaged feelings. One participant, in arguing that this is a form of emotional abuse, asserts that this enables “Edward to continue putting blame on her in the future.” Self-deprecating behaviors were also identified in the portrayal of Edward as “an impossibly beautiful demigod who has nearly no known weaknesses.” The participants that did speak to this behavior focused on Edward’s ability to “mesmerize” Bella, and his significant physical attractiveness that led to Bella’s comments that she was not worthy of him, or not as equally attractive. When Bella compares herself to other female characters, she puts herself down. For example, one participant draws attention to Bella’s feelings about Rosalie, another female character she perceives as being more physically attractive

than herself. The participant argues that Bella's "comments alone offer Edward emotional power over her because she [has] prove[n] to him that his opinion on her physical appearance means a lot [to her]." This self-deprecation also conveys to the reader that Bella views herself as lesser than Edward, as well as a dependent on a man for both validation and assurance of self-worth.

Male Privilege

Edward's physical appearance is also connected to behaviors that participants identified as male privilege. There were six participants that identified and characterized behaviors in the *Twilight* readings as being demonstrations of male privilege. They noted Edward's aggressiveness, lack of control over his anger, and his reckless driving, as well as the assumption that he has a right to behave and feel certain ways. For example, one participant asserts that Edward has no right to feel angry or jealous of other males that interact with Bella. This behavior however was more difficult for participants to identify in the excerpts.

Sexual Violence

None of the participants in the study identified any form of sexual violence. This is particularly interesting as the selected readings contained an incident involving Bella and four men that threatens sexual violence (Meyer, 2005). We were surprised that this scene was not mentioned by the participants. Although the instructions for the assignment did not specify the characters that should be examined, it seems clear that the participants were primarily focused on the relationship between Edward and Bella and ignored other potentially dangerous relationship dynamics included in the excerpts.

It is interesting to note that participant responses did not vary widely by gender (see Table 2 in appendix). Male and female respondents identified and characterized similar behaviors as symptomatic of an unhealthy relationship. When differences did occur, they were related to identifying less overt behaviors as being abusive, such as self-deprecation, jealousy, chivalry, and threats of violence. Female participants were five times as likely to identify behaviors in the readings as being characteristic of threats of violence. Females were also more likely to identify chivalry (sometimes in a positive way), jealousy and self-deprecation than

male participants. This suggests that female participants may be more sensitive to more subtle forms of abuse than male participants.

CONCLUSION

All of the participants identified the relationship between Edward and Bella as being unhealthy or controlling. Despite this, many participants still insisted that the relationship was not completely bad or abusive. Many participants still described some of the behaviors in the relationship as being loving, protective, and flattering (n = ?). For example, one participant suggested of the characters, that “their overwhelming attraction made them over look the cycle of abuse they had begun or the impact it could have.” The lack of overt physical violence in the assigned excerpts may have contributed to this dual characterization of the relationship as being both unhealthy and romantic. Many participants speculated as to what may happen to Bella if she stayed in the relationship. For example, one participant suggested that “the jealousy would probably move to rage....one day Edward might just snap, hold Bella against her will and tell her “if I cannot have you then no one will.””

In general, participant response to the *Twilight* assignment was positive, with several students noting that they now viewed the books in a new way. In class discussions of the assignment, some students who had previously enjoyed the book joked that the assignment had “forever ruined *Twilight!*” Specifically, they noted that prior to the assignment, they considered the relationship between Bella and Edward to be simply romantic. Following the assignment, they noted that many of the controlling and abusive behaviors led them to question their earlier views of the relationship. We were pleased that the participants were able to easily identify and discuss different types of abusive behaviors, and many commented on the larger social impact the book series may have on young readers. Other participant commentaries were directed at the messages that the *Twilight* readings provide to the young girls who comprise the books’ target audience. For example, one participant asserts that “we see the infatuation and romance building between protagonists Edward Cullen and Bella whose relationship consists of many red flags of violence and abuse,” and “*Twilight* is clearly sending a message that many media outlets are sending these days; women should desire a man to be obsessive

about their relationship.” Many participants were upset by the portrayal of women in this book, with one participant going so far as to say that Meyer has “successfully torn down the work of the feminist perspective and brought people back to the dark ages”. Another argued that this book should not be termed the “ultimate teen romance.”

Overall, our use of *Twilight* as a teaching tool for dating and intimate partner violence was successful. Many students noted that they enjoyed the assignment as it made them think about popular media more critically. This was surmised by one student that commented “I also believe it to be disturbing that this type of relationship has, and continues to be, glamorized as the ultimate teen love story.” Other students agreed that it was a good choice for an assignment as it was current, and most people are aware of the series. For example, one student wrote that “*Twilight* was a very interesting selection [for the purposes of] discover[ing] more about how women are truly depicted in today’s popular media.” Based on these comments, we would definitely use *Twilight* again to teach students about the dynamics of a healthy/unhealthy relationship.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Plot Overview of the Books in the *Twilight* Series

Book Title	Plot Overview
Twilight (2005)	Bella, a 17 year old, moves to Forks Washington to live with her Father. Bella meets and falls in love with Edward, a vampire. Edward is initially attracted to Bella because her blood smells especially good to him, and he desires to kill her and drink her blood. However, with significant restraint, he resists this impulse and pursues a romantic relationship with Bella. Bella finds out that Edward is a vampire and instead of fearing him she embraces him as he is. Because of her association with Edward and his family, Bella is exposed to other vampires, one of who tracks and attacks Bella in order to upset Edward. Edward saves Bella and kills the

	<p>attacking vampire James, but not before she is bitten by the other vampire. Edward is forced to either let Bella become a vampire herself or suck the venom from the bite, which involves sucking her blood. Edward chooses the latter course of action preventing Bella from becoming a vampire.</p>
<p>New Moon (2006)</p>	<p>On Bella's 18th birthday she receives a paper cut when opening her birthday presents. Edward's brother, Jasper attacks Bella, but Edward intervenes saving her. Resultantly Edward and his family leave the area. Bella sinks into a depression that lasts months. Bella's depression is made bearable by her relationship with Jacob. Bella also finds that when she acts recklessly, subjecting herself to significant risk of harm, she suffers delusions that allow her to see Edward. Consequently her behavior becomes more reckless. When Jacob distances himself from Bella, she discovers he is a werewolf. Jacob reveals that another vampire is in the vicinity and he has been protecting the area. It is revealed that the vampire is Victoria, James' disgruntled mate who is there to kill Bella. Following an extremely reckless stunt where Bella jumps off a cliff, Edward believes Bella to be dead and plans to kill himself by inciting anger from the vampires governing body; the Volturi. Alice, Edward's sister takes Bella to Italy to prevent him from taking such action. They are successful in preventing Edward from ending his life, but the Volturi only agree to let them go if Edward promises to turn Bella into a vampire.</p>
<p>Eclipse (2007)</p>	<p>Edward returns to Forks with Bella and promises never to leave again. Edward does not want Bella to spend time with her friend Jacob, as he believes it is too dangerous for her. Victoria is still attempting to kill Bella, and begins to create an army of new vampires for the purpose of killing her. Jacob and the wolf pack join forces with Edward and his vampire family to save Bella from Victoria and her newborn vampires. Jacob learns that Bella has agreed to marry Edward. The book commences with a fight and Edward kills Victoria, and her newborns are defeated. Jacob suffers substantial injuries that require medical attention and significant</p>

	respite.
Breaking Dawn (2008)	<p>Bella and Edward get married and on their honeymoon they have sexual intercourse. As a result Bella becomes pregnant. The pregnancy is accelerated because the fetus is not human. Edward wants to terminate the pregnancy because of the harm the baby can and does cause to Bella's body. Bella wants to carry the baby to term. Bella recruits Rosalie to ensure that no one attempts to take her baby from her. The baby causes Bella significant harm including broken ribs. Jacob learns of the pregnancy and protects Bella from the wolf pack as they wish to destroy her child. The pack splits into two with those who support the protection of Bella siding with Jacob. The baby becomes so strong it almost kills Bella. Edward has to cut the baby out of her and inject her with his venom to save her. Bella becomes a vampire, but the Volturi hear of Edward and Bella's child and come to Forks to kill the Cullen's. The Cullen's ask other vampires for help and create a small defensive force. Alice and Jasper disappear. The Volturi come and seek to find an excuse to exterminate the Cullen family. Alice and Jasper return with evidence that Edward and Bella's child is not a threat to vampire discovery and save the day. The Volturi return to Italy.</p>

Table 2: Counts of behaviors identified by participants

Behavior Identified in Excerpt	Males	Females	Total
Physical violence	4	5	9
Physical power and control	4	5	9
Sexual violence	0	0	0
Emotional power and control	6	8	14
Self-deprecation	2	4	6
Stalking	7	10	17
Male privilege	3	3	6
Traditional gender roles	5	5	10
Jealousy	4	8	12
Threats of violence	2	10	12
Belittling/Name calling	3	5	8
Chivalry	4	10	14
Unhealthy relationship	8	10	18

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EXPLORING ACCOUNTABILITY: ACCOUNTABLE TO WHOM?

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ABSTRACT

Restorative justice is an operating philosophy that, while used in other countries for many years, began being implemented in the United States in the early and mid 1990s. This paper takes a look at one part of the restorative justice philosophy, attempts to instill conceptual clarity, and examines one state's process of holding juvenile offenders accountable and the effects that state has seen.

INTRODUCTION

The juvenile court movement in the United States officially began when lawmakers in Cook County, Illinois, enacted the Juvenile Court Act of 1899. Although other states had been experimenting with new ways of handling young offenders, the Illinois legislation was the first to establish a truly separate court with original and exclusive jurisdiction over crimes committed by young people. It was to treat wayward youth as children first and criminals second (Shepherd, 1999). The juvenile court established a tradition of paying less attention to the criminal act itself, instead looking at general circumstances behind the offenders' conduct. This concept proved to be very popular and by 1925 all but two states had established separate juvenile courts (Shepherd, 1999).

Before the juvenile court was created, there were people who tried to change the way juvenile delinquents were treated in America. According to Howell (1997) there have been four reform movements, the fourth (and most current) of which is based on Utilitarian philosophy and the Classical School of Criminology.

According to Classical Criminology, humans are rational beings who are guided by their own free will in the pursuit of gaining pleasure and avoiding pain. Therefore, criminal behavior results from choice. Based on this underlying belief, Cesare Beccaria (1764/1986) proposed a rational system of justice in his essay *On Crimes and Punishments*. Beccaria stressed that the purpose of punishment should be based on the principles of certainty, severity, and celerity (swiftness).

Over 200 years later these three principles of punishment continue to guide juvenile and criminal justice policy today. Politicians appear to be even more narrowly focused, placing their support squarely behind those policies that promise the harshest punishment (Wilson, 1995); including mandatory minimum sentencing, three strikes and you're out laws, expanded use of the death penalty, and stricter law enforcement (DiIulio, Smith & Saiger, 1995).

The rationale behind these decisions is grounded in deterrence theory which, although it is over 200 years old, has only been tested during the past few decades (Myers, 2001). Researchers have distinguished between specific and general deterrence, which dates back to Beccaria who wrote, "The purpose of punishment, then, is nothing other than to dissuade the criminal from doing harm...and to keep other people from doing the same" (1764/1986, p. 23). Specific deterrence suggests that individuals who commit crime and are apprehended and punished will stop committing crime as a result of the punishment. In contrast, general deterrence refers to potential offenders in the community who see, or know of, a criminal who has been caught and punished. Specific deterrence is supposed to impact offenders who have been caught and punished, while general deterrence has been applied to those in the general public who have not yet committed any crimes.

The research on deterrence theory suggests that it is not effective in lowering crime rates; studies have indicated (Mears, 2003; Redding, 2003) that severe treatment of juvenile offenders in the criminal justice system does not necessarily ensure greater community protection (i.e., no deterrent effect). And, at best, there has been inconsistent support that the deterrence model actually fulfills its promise to guarantee greater punishment (Myers, 2001; Redding, 2010; Verrecchia, 2003).

However, politicians rarely (if ever) base their decisions on research; rather, they are guided by public sentiment. In a 1992

survey conducted in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, two-thirds to three quarters of respondents said that punishment and deterrence were important goals of the criminal justice system (Jacobs, 1993). In 1995, Pennsylvania lawmakers responded to this sentiment with the passage of legislation whose purpose it was to redefine juvenile justice in Pennsylvania. Ironically, while this legislation drastically changed Pennsylvania's juvenile law to better reflect the get tough zeitgeist of the Commonwealth, it also contained in it language that could actually alleviate the plight of juvenile offenders in the Commonwealth.

BALANCED AND RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AS LAW

In 1995, the legislature in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania passed Act 33. This was a largely punitive piece of legislation enacted in response to increases in, and citizen's fear of, juvenile crime. A number of changes to Pennsylvania's juvenile law included (but were not limited to): (a) an increased use of statutory exclusion (a measure designed to exclude violent and chronic juvenile offenders from the jurisdiction of juvenile court and move them directly to criminal court), (b) the fingerprinting of juveniles, (c) public access to delinquency hearings, (d) parental responsibility for truancy, and (e) the creation of a DNA database (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 1995).

In addition, Act 33 introduced a new purpose clause for Pennsylvania's juvenile justice system. The guiding philosophy prior to 1995 stated that the juvenile justice system should act "in the best interest of the juvenile" using the "least restrictive method" of punishment (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 1994, p.3). Along with the more punitive changes introduced to the Juvenile Act of Pennsylvania, the passage of Act 33 introduced a new mission statement for the juvenile justice system. Pennsylvania's juvenile justice system is guided by the following purpose:

Consistent with the protection of the public interest, to provide for children committing delinquent acts programs of supervision, care and rehabilitation which provide balanced attention to the protection of the community, the imposition of accountability for offenses committed and the development of competencies to enable children to become responsible and productive members of the community

(Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 1995, p. 3).

This “balanced approach” is based on the philosophy of restorative justice (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 1997a) and borrows from *The Balanced Approach* written by Maloney, Romig, and Armstrong (1988). Maloney and his colleagues sought to reconcile the seemingly incompatible values of community protection, accountability, and competency development so that decision makers would consider the possible relevance of each of these core values in shaping system responses. Restorative Justice gives priority to repairing harm to crime victims and communities and defines offender accountability in terms of taking responsibility and taking action to repair harm.

Pennsylvania was not alone as almost every state in the United States changed their laws to reflect a punitive orientation towards juvenile delinquents. This reflected a national zeitgeist for getting tough on crime through more official punishment and inflicting pain through longer prison sentences, mandatory minimum sentences, and (in some jurisdictions), executing more prisoners (Hannem & Petrunik, 2007; Wilson, Huculak & McWhinnie, 2002). However, as many jurisdictions moved towards retributive measures as a means to address public fear of crime, restorative justice “emerged as a counter-movement” for those “disillusioned with the criminal justice system’s failure to meet the needs of victims, offenders and communities” (Hannem & Petrunik, 2007, p. 156-157). At the same time, many academics and criminal justice practitioners began developing an approach to justice that attempts to heal those injured by crime (Sullivan & Tiffit, 2005), even though the aforementioned retributive responses to crime (and a few others) have garnered favorable attention in the media and community at large (Wilson et al., 2002).

With this new purpose and move towards Restorative Justice came some conceptual confusion. In the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania the juvenile justice system is county based, and there are 67 counties. This means that while the Commonwealth can suggest certain innovations to the juvenile justice system (i.e., being guided by Restorative Justice), it cannot order that counties comply. This leads to different jurisdictions interpreting the new purpose different ways (for example, what exactly does accountability mean?). The purpose of this paper is to explore “accountability for

offenses committed,” specifically, what accountability means and accountable to whom.

This becomes more difficult when one considers that Restorative Justice itself has been defined many ways (Bazemore & Walgrave, 1990; Messmer & Otto, 1992; Roach, 2000; Sullivan & Tiftt, 2005; Umbreit, 1995; Van Ness, Morris, & Maxwell, 2001; Zehr, 1990). While some believe that Restorative Justice has not yet been precisely defined (Roche, 2003), the generally accepted definition includes a healing approach (Bazemore & Erbe, 2006; Polizzi, 2008), that views crime as a violation of individuals and communities primarily and a violation of the state secondarily (Bazemore & Umbreit, 1995; Umbreit, 1995; Zehr, 1990). A better understanding of Restorative Justice is achieved through Zehr’s comparison of the questions that guide retributive and restorative justice:

Retributive Justice

What laws have been broken?

Who broke them?

What do they deserve?

Restorative Justice

Who has been harmed?

What are the losses?

Whose obligations are they?

DEFINING ACCOUNTABILITY

Conceptual clarity is always important when laws and policies are changed, particularly in a juvenile justice system like the one in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania has a county based system, which means that while the state can mandate certain initiatives and tie grant funding to them, they cannot order that these initiatives be followed. A county based system means that juvenile probation offices are answerable to their President Judge, not the Commonwealth. Pennsylvania has 67 counties, which means that there is the potential for 67 different definitions (or interpretations, at least) of the term “accountability for offenses committed.”

In 1998, the author was talking with a chief juvenile probation officer in a south-western Pennsylvania county. The chief stated that the number of juveniles that his county placed out of their homes in 1997 (right after one full year of implementation of Act 33 and Balanced and Restorative Justice) had increased dramatically over the number of juveniles placed in residential treatment facilities in 1996. When asked why this was the case, the chief responded, “Because that’s what the law says. We’re supposed

to be holding these kids accountable so that's what we're doing, holding them accountable." The author wanted to point out that Act 33 did not define "accountability for offenses committed" as "placing juveniles in residential treatment facilities" but did not because of the realization that "accountability for offenses committed" was not defined at all. As such, this administrator not only defined accountability as placing children in facilities, but implied that by doing so juvenile delinquents are accountable to the juvenile justice system (or his office, at least).

This is not to say that juvenile offenders should never be placed in residential treatment facilities. Restorative justice recognizes that some juvenile offenders need to be placed in residential treatment facilities (or even in adult jails and prisons) in order to keep the community safe. Nonetheless, those sanctions should be reserved for the most violent, serious offenders who pose the highest risk to the community (Maloney et al., 1988; Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 1997b). "It has long been the policy of juvenile courts in Pennsylvania to make every effort to keep youthful offenders in their communities" (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 1997b, p. 8). Indeed, Table 1 would seem to support this assertion.

Table 1. Delinquency Dispositions and Placements in Pennsylvania, 1992-2006

Year	Delinquency Dispositions	Placements	% of Dispositions
1992	31,039	3,504	11.05
1993	32,212	3,533	10.99
1994	35,531	4,055	11.4
1995	36,997	4,215	11.4
1996	35,648	4,272	11.9
1997	36,593	3,964	10.8
1998	39,769	4,147	10.4
1999	40,824	4,487	10.9
2000	41,898	6,110	14.6
2001	42,486	6,030	14.2
2002	39,333	5,971	15.2

2003	41,036	7,408	18.1
2004	43,533	7,012	16.1
2005	45,504	7,044	15.4
2006	43,939	7,421	16.0
2007	45,573	3,454	7.6
2008	43,754	3,320	7.6
2009	41,561	2,372	6.6

Source: Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission *Disposition Report*, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2006-2009.

These numbers bear some explaining. In 2000 the Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission decided to include disposition reviews (either in court or by paper) in with the number of placements, which inflated the numbers¹. Also, this new reporting procedure apparently skews the number of placements, reflected in the fact that while the number of dispositions in Pennsylvania increased 29% from 1999-2006, the number of placements increased 52%. Before the new reporting procedure, the number of dispositions in Pennsylvania from 1992-1999 increased 24%, while the number of placements increased by 22%. Regardless, these numbers indicate that 85% of juvenile delinquents in Pennsylvania are being worked with in the community. This is important because in addition to being less disruptive to the juvenile and their family, victims benefit because the juvenile has the opportunity to repair the harm their actions have caused.

Declan Roche (2003) describes two types of accountability. In the first, the reasons for a decision are made available to the public and for review by an independent agent. This would be important so the criminal justice system (especially the courts) could (in fact should) undertake enforcement should the offender fail to follow through on an agreed upon plan, say, in a victim offender mediation or circle sentencing session. The other type of accountability Roche calls deliberative accountability which is an ongoing process whereby the participants in the Restorative Justice process (victim, offender, community) are accountable to each

¹ For example, in 2000 the number of placements before the change including disposition reviews was 4,384.

other. These are both interesting ideas, but they do not help in narrowing down a definition of accountability.

Typically, for the juvenile justice system, accountability means that the delinquent pays restitutions and fines and performs community service. In addition, juvenile justice professionals ensure that crime victims receive information about their cases, adequate notification of hearings, and accompaniment to hearings. “With respect to juvenile offender accountability, the juvenile justice system has a twofold responsibility: to ensure that juvenile offenders meet their obligations and to honor and protect crime victims’ rights” (Bender, King & Torbet, 2006, p. 2).

MOVEMENT TOWARDS VICTIM RESTORATION

Three events “reshaped Pennsylvania’s juvenile justice system and provided the impetus for expanding the circle of people it serves to include victims and communities” (Bender et al., 2006, p. 1). The first was the aforementioned Act 33 legislation. The second was the establishment of an advisory group (the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Committee) in 1997 who formulated a mission statement for Pennsylvania’s juvenile justice system which introduced the concept of “victim restoration” (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges’ Commission, 1997a, p. 6). And the third was the amendment of Pennsylvania’s Crime Victims Act in 2000 to include provisions relating to victims of juvenile crime in the Basic Bill of Rights for Victims (18 P.S. § 11.201).

In 2003 the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Committee reaffirmed the guiding principles it enumerated in 1997 (Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Committee, 2004). It emphasized that the mission of victim restoration is to repair victim harm to the greatest extent possible. To this end, the juvenile justice system should inform crime victims of their rights, provide them with a wide range of support services, and ensure that juvenile offenders understand the consequences of their crime. Clearly, the emphasis is on the delinquent being accountable to the victim.

Victim restoration is deeply rooted in restorative justice philosophy. It emphasizes that a juvenile who commits a crime “harms the victim of the crime...and incurs an obligation to repair that harm” (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges’ Commission, 1997a, p. 6). This means that the juvenile justice system must respond to delinquent behavior so that the offender understands the

impact of that crime and take steps toward repairing that harm. Activities toward this end include payments to a victim's compensation fund, attending impact of crime classes, and oral or written apologies to the victim. Note that the emphasis is on the juvenile actively making amends for the harm they have caused.

However, this does not assume that the juvenile justice system or juvenile offenders have the power to fully restore victims to their pre-crime state² (Bender et al., 2006). Nonetheless, crime victims should be treated in a professional and caring manner by juvenile justice professionals and substantially benefit from their interaction (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 2003). In addition, crime victims are provided the opportunity to be active participants in the juvenile justice system process and have their voices heard through Victim Impact Statements, notification of hearings, and input in the resolution of their cases.

A Developmental Perspective on Accountability

Adolescent development literature links cognitive, social, and emotional development to age. Juvenile justice professionals and restorative justice practitioners should take into account developmental differences when a juvenile offender will be held accountable for offenses committed. For instance, a developmental perspective is likely to lead to an adjustment on expectations regarding a 12 year old's ability to understand and repair the harm their actions caused compared to a 17 year old. The developmental perspective on understanding wrongful actions is closely tied to moral reasoning (Verrecchia & Hutzell, 2008). This distinction is imperative if juvenile offenders are to understand the financial, physical, spiritual, social and emotional impact of their delinquent acts on victims and victimized communities.

An admission of responsibility for committing the delinquent act is imperative if a practice is to be truly restorative. This means giving the offender a voice as well as the victim. Understanding and acknowledging the "wrongfulness of the behavior and the impact on the crime victim and community...reflects the integral components of accountability" (Bender et al., 2006, p. 6). Activities that work towards this end include victim impact statements, taking a victim awareness class, and completing community service that must consider the juvenile's age and cognitive abilities. The ultimate goal of juvenile justice

² See Polizzi (2008) for a discussion of whether this is even possible.

intervention is juvenile offenders living crime free lives and being responsible, respectful members of the community. This process starts with being held accountable for your actions. As such, activities that are considered to be accountability focused tend to fall under two categories: activities that increase awareness and understanding of your actions and activities designed to repair the harm caused by your actions.

Increasing Awareness and Understanding

Delinquents can increase their understanding and awareness of the harm their actions have caused and what needs to be done to repair that harm by listening to a victim read a victim impact statement. Victim impact statements “personalize the effects of crime and highlight information that may not be obvious to juvenile offenders” (Bender et al., 2006, p. 14). Moreover, lessons learned from listening to a victim impact statement can be reinforced by the professionals working with the young offender.

It is important for juvenile offenders to increase their understanding of the impact of their actions on the victim and community through victim offender conferencing, restorative group conferencing, and circle sentencing. All of these activities include the victim and offenders, while some also involve family members and friends (of both) to express how the delinquent act has affected their lives (restorative group conferencing), and others include non-related community members (circles). Other recommendations to increase awareness and understanding include attending an impact of crime class.

Activities that Repair Harm

Delinquents should repair the harm by writing a letter of apology to their victim. Some recommend that an apology letter be written only after the juvenile has attended a victim awareness class so they can have time to process and understand the impact of their actions (Bender et al., 2006). It is always the right of the victim to determine whether they want to see a letter of apology. As such, the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency issued standards on victim sensitive apologies which include: (a) a declaration of personal responsibility for the offense, (b) understanding the harm done to the victim and community, (c) a commitment not to repeat the offending behavior (Bureau of Victim’s Services, 2001).

Juvenile offenders can take action to repair harm through restitution, that is financial restoration of the victim. It is intended to pay victims for out of pocket losses resulting from the delinquent act, and it is a visible sign of the juvenile justice system's responsive to the needs of crime victims. Restitution also vindicates the victim by acknowledging that the offender, not the victim, is responsible for the losses (Bender et al., 2006).

Table 2. Pennsylvania Statewide Outcome Measures (2004-2009)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
	N	N	N	N	N	N
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Community service hours	11,256	11,816	12,023	12,123	11,660	11,859
ordered	10,573	11,128	11,316	11,243	10,610	10,862
completed	93.9	94.2	94.1	92.7	91.0	91.6
Restitution ³	4,661	4,729	4,508	4,725	4,332	4,402
ordered	4,017	4,032	3,824	3,984	3,730	3,733
paid (in full)	86.2	85.3	84.8	84.3	86.1	84.8
VA ⁴ training hours	5,100	5,706	5,681	5,851	6,104	6,257
ordered	28.8	31.6	32.3	33.1	36.4	35.3
completed	4,784	5,468	5,449	5,637	5,885	5,995
	93.8	95.8	95.9	96.3	96.4	95.8

Source: Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission (2010).

Community service is another way juvenile offenders take action to repair the harm caused by their actions. Meaningful community service should include the crime victim (for example, suggesting where the community service should be performed), and can benefit juvenile offenders by increasing positive relationships between them and the community. Community service should never be ordered in lieu of restitution to a victim, and it is recommended that jurisdictions in Pennsylvania provide programs for youth to earn money to pay restitution (National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, 2005). This paid community service offers

³ From 2004-2009 \$14,735,928.49 in restitution was collected by Pennsylvania's juvenile justice system.

⁴ Victim Awareness

juvenile offenders a way to make money to repair the harm to their victim while contributing to their community.

In 2009, over two-thirds of juvenile offenders in Pennsylvania were ordered to perform community service and 97.2% completed their obligation. Roughly one-quarter (26%) incurred a restitution obligation and 84.8% paid the full amount. Over one-third of juvenile offenders with cases closed in 2009 were ordered to participate in a victim awareness class and almost 96 percent successfully completed the class (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 2010).

CONCLUSION

“Accountability is not the passive acceptance of sanctions but rather an active participation in repairing the harm” (Pennsylvania Juvenile Court Judges' Commission, 1997a, p. 10). It is the active nature of accountability that makes it so important to not only repairing victim harm but also in helping the juvenile justice system achieve its goal of making juvenile delinquents productive members of society. Fundamental to the notion of being accountable is for juvenile offenders to actively repair the harm they have caused (Bazemore & Erbe, 2006). While treatment is still a part of any juvenile court intervention, the connotation of treatment is a passive role played by the young offender while the professional (therapist, juvenile probation officer) gives the answers, skills and tools they need to rehabilitate⁵. This is not in keeping with the active nature of Restorative Justice. The accountability measures discussed here (restitution, victim awareness training, meaningful community service) were designed to contribute directly to victim restoration.

To answer the question “accountable to whom” the answer very well could be to the victim. “Victims are the real barometers for achievement of the” Restorative Justice mission (Bender et al., 2006, p.20) and that is why victims should have an active role (should they choose) in the case of the offender who violated them. There are “limits on the role of government in the response to crime and trouble” (Bazemore & Erbe, 2006, p. 35), which is why juveniles being held accountable to the system or juvenile justice professionals are antithetical to Restorative Justice. Measurements of accountability practices should be developed and validated to

⁵ For discussion Braithwaite, 2001.

determine whether youth who successfully complete these practices have better outcomes than those who do not. This is one of the reasons that tracking restitution ordered and paid, community service ordered and completed, and victim awareness classes ordered and completed is important.

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INSTITUTIONALIZED MODERNITY AND THE GLOBAL-LOCAL INTERPLAY: THE CULTURAL HOMOGENIZATION THESIS REVISITED

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ABSTRACT

This paper problematizes the crude thesis that the unified logic of global capitalism sweeping across the globe has standardized local cultures. While the glocalization of global capitalism is concomitant with the assimilation of indigenous cultures into the universal capitalist consumerist ideology heightened in the process of cultural globalization, the institutionalized structure of modernity embedded in the existential-cultural experience does not preclude the resurgence of locality-defined cultural identities and the resistance of local agents in their interaction with the mundane flows of global cultures. The cultural consumption in the globalization epoch cannot simply be reduced to the homogenization of the unitary Western - or American - consumerism. Globalization is not - and cannot be - the harbinger of the destruction of indigenous cultures.

Within the scholarship of cultural and sociopolitical thoughts and representations, one of the most engaging thematic issues intriguing both academia interest and policy concerns is the interaction of global flows of cultures and local cultures. On Nederveen Pieterse's account, "Globalization and culture is a live-wire theme in constant flux" (2009, p. vii). In the domain of cultural globalization, prevalent scholarship in the debate that hinges on the relationship between local cultures and the flows of global cultures can be roughly categorized into three categories, namely, "cultural differentialism, hybridization and convergence" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 244). The theoretical strand of cultural differentialism asserts that the homogenization of indigenous cultures is problematic, since distinct cultures "are only

superficially affected by global flows” (Ritzer, 2010, p. 244). In light of the intensity of globalization that is penetrating almost every part of the Earth, local cultures are doomed to be impacted by the onslaught of overwhelming global cultural flows, albeit to various degrees and in divergent forms. In the current era, indigenous cultures are inextricably intermingled with global cultural flows, which are imbued with capitalist consumerism heightened in contemporary globalization. As such, in the cultural realm, more attention seems to be focused on the contestation between the arguments of cultural hybridization and cultural convergence. For the adherents of the cultural hybridization thesis, the global flows of commodities, capital, information, technology and ideology have fed on the displacement and differentiation of territorial space and cultural artifacts, thereby “giving rise to hybrid entities that are not reducible to either the global or the local” (Ritzer, 2010, p. 274). In contrast, considering the dislodging of local cultures from their anchoring in particular geographic localities, the cultural convergence approach emphasizes the “global assimilation” in the direction of dominant cultures, which leads to the cultural “sameness throughout the world” (Ritzer, 2010, p. 274). A corollary of this claim is that cultural globalization is the juggernaut threatening to eradicate the differences of locals and subjugate ethnic identities to one singular orbit of modernity. Given that globalization is an uneven process, the extent of the loss of cultural diversity and the erosion of cultural distinctiveness varies across different countries. The asymmetrical encounter between global and local cultures is evinced on a global scale by the fact that the dominant cultural forms disseminated and amplified in cultural globalization is disproportionately felt by those countries in the West, specifically the United States, whose cultures are exported worldwide and those developing countries in the third world that are presumably more vulnerable to the external cultural bombardment. Along this line, the tendency of cultural divergence, which is perceived to be sewn into the entanglements of cultural globalization, has elicited the growing apprehension about those non-Western cultural heritages and practices that are deemed to be increasingly leveled by the ongoing process of globalization. The progenitors of cultural homogenization thesis have become the prominent constituency of anti-capitalist movement, which alarms the impending danger it poses upon non-Western cultural identities

that are at the risk of being extinct, or at best greatly diluted, in the mainstream flows of global cultures.

With regard to the tension between cultural hybridization and convergence, Arjun Appadurai, an eminent pundit of cultural study, is unequivocally an optimist toward cultural globalization. In *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, a collection of sole-authored essays, Appadurai presents his understanding of cultural globalization with his focus on global flows. Given that the disjunctures among these flows have produced cultural hybrids across the world, Appadurai claims, globalization should be conceived of as a “deeply historical and uneven process” (1996, p. 17). Further, insofar as modernity at large is fragmented, differentiated and uncontainable by definitive boundaries, globalization is also a “localizing process” (1996, p. 17). As a prominent advocate both for a new post-national discourse and the anthropology perceived to be able to capture the qualities of translocal culture, Appadurai contends that culture is a pervasive dimension of human discourse that exploits differences to generate diverse conceptions of group identity, and that cultural globalization has thus resulted in the reification of ethnic identities. According to this logic, globalization is not a story of cultural homogenization.

Appadurai’s interpretation of cultural globalization as a process of fragmentation or differentiation of modernity is echoed by the assertion of Nederveen Pieterse, who illustrates the process of cultural hybridization as a “global *mélange*” that constitutes “the framework for amplification and diversification of ‘sources of the self’” (2001, pp. 45, 52). To some extent, the proposition of cultural hybridization encapsulates the multicultural configuration of modern nation-states and the transnational popular culture rampant in the globalization era (Nederveen Pieterse, 2001; Werbner & Tariq, 1997). Most notably, such thesis is empirically evidenced in the cultural landscapes of some post-colonial localities such as China, where the transportation of exotic cultural artifacts and the ubiquity of translocal cultural images and variegated cultural representations are vividly demonstrated as a result of the opening up of its social space to the process of globalization.

Since the onset of its economic reform, China has gradually become “a fully capitalized society” that has been transformed by “the global capitalist mode and relations of production” (H. Wang, 1998, p. 26). In its active engagement with globalization, China has

witnessed the displacement from its traditional ethnoscaples, technoscaples, financescaples, mediascaples and ideoscaples, to borrow Appadurai's neologism, while undergoing the socioeconomic transformation. As the political and cultural imaginary of the socialist state is more exposed to global capitalism than ever before, Western capitalist consumerist culture is inexorably penetrating the world's largest market. Telling examples of cultural hybridization abound in Chinese society. To name a few, the menu of McDonald's and KFC scattered around Chinese globalized cities includes spicy chicken and red bean porridge, among other local dishes. Chinese customers can taste Peking Duck in Pizza Hut, while not so authentic as those served in *Quanjude* -- the original Peking Duck restaurant. Another striking example of cultural hybridization that readily springs to mind is the Starbucks coffee shop located within the 600-year-old walls of the Forbidden City (the Palace Museum) in Beijing. While this displaced consumerist locality is a most ironic and incongruous sight that could only be made possible in the current globalized age, it is not a rare case in today's China. Tourists from all over the world can enjoy Western-recipe soft drinks, which may be served in Chinese manner, in places of historical interest in China, while purchasing traditional Chinese artifacts. Whist China is increasingly integrated to the global economy, the marketized public media and the unprecedented development of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) have facilitated and accelerated the proliferation and dissemination of a dizzy array of consumerist representations, which have found their way into modern Chinese lives. Such translations and local modifications buttress John Penie Short's insight: "while the same images and commodities are found around the world, they are interpreted, consumed and used in different ways" (Short, 2001, p. 11). To some extent, the displacement of Western cultural artifacts rampant in the Chinese cultural consumerism can be viewed as the annotation of the cultural hybridization that has featured the cultural landscape of the non-Western society.

Significant as the trend is, however, overemphasis on the continual hybridization may risk glossing over the universal logic underpinning cultural heterogeneity. It is worth mentioning that hybridity does not exclude certain overarching structures and systems that have coalesced over time to shape the interaction of global and local cultures. Examining through the optic of

globalizing China, some scholars probing Chinese cultural landscape argue that underneath the displacement and differentiation in the process of cultural hybridization is the proliferation of the sameness - “the consumerist cultural-ideology” prevailing in the dissemination of global capitalism (F. Wang & Xie, 2006). Inasmuch as the process of displacement and differentiation inherent in globalization simultaneously engenders the convergence of economic and cultural logic embedded in global capitalism, China’s full merging into the transnational space of global capitalism catalyzes both hybridization and homogenization. It is apparent that the strategy of differentiation is mainly aimed at creating market opportunities and getting access to specific local markets. Yet, in the process of glocalization,¹ more often than not does the adaptation to diverse local conditions go hand in hand with the assimilation on part of the local cultures into a universal consumerist ideology via the global system of capitalist production. It goes beyond doubt that globalization unmistakably breeds cultural hybridization, but the incongruities and incompatibilities originating from divergent cultural spaces are reconciled and rationalized by some unified tenets - commodification and consumerism - that typically distinguish the globalization of capitalist production. This is precisely what George Ritzer’s oft-cited McDonaldization thesis implies. As analyzed by Ritzer, even though the products sold by the fast-food businesses like McDonald are “quite local in nature,” “McDonaldization is *not* about end-products (e.g. Big Macs), but rather about the system of its principles” lying behind the localized consumerist commodities (2010, pp. 264, 266). In this sense, global difference in the postmodern age, as Fredric Jameson (1994) remarks in *The Seeds of Time*, has arguably become standardized, given that the differences are constantly reproduced in a uniform manner. It is the same logic of global capitalism - the desire for profit in the context of hedonistic consumption - that has been driving the displacement, differentiation and fragmentation in postmodern globalization.

In today’s China, the radical changes in the realm of consumerist culture are pronouncedly registered in the urban space. Over the past two decades, the unprecedented urban real-estate developments have relentlessly inundated traditional Chinese neighborhoods and public spaces that are of great antiquity. In Beijing, traditional compounds, alleys and teahouses, the typical representation of Chinese culture, have given their way to a plethora

of uniform postmodern spaces. Whereas many office buildings in the urban areas are stereotypically capped with traditional-styled domes, their interior furnishing and decorations as well as the functions are largely westernized. In addition to borrowing Western architecture codes, the reproduction of Western urban space in the modernized China is also evidenced in the spatial rubrics that are used to name the real-estate developments: Manhattan Garden, San Diego Villa, Baroque Village, to name a few. Gleaning from the lived experiences of globalizing China, one can argue that the integration of such a transforming state into globalization inevitably involves the universalization of capitalist consumerism. Drawing on the “world culture theory,” a variant thesis of cultural convergence proposed by John Meyer and his colleagues (Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997), the dispersion of capitalist consumerist culture to non-Western localities can be construed as a stimulant of a high degree of structural similarity, or “isomorphism,” in the consumerist modes of consumption and representation across the globe. By inducing a passionate attachment to the apparatuses of consumerist culture, and hence to the consumer fetishism, capitalist consumerism has shaped the modern consumer behavior and individual desires that are increasingly subordinated to the principles of global capitalism. Within this process, as implied by Michael Ryan’s conceptualization of globalization - combined by “growth” and “globalization” - as a companion of glocalization (2007, pp. 2022-2023), the widespread of global capitalism to various geographic areas has contributed to the growth of its power, influence and profits.

In the debate in the globalization discourse, both hybridization and homogenization theses can gain currency from the empirical evidence. After navigating between these contending positions, let us first focus on the proposition of cultural homogenization. Given that the polemical discourses of the anti-globalization movement is more relevant to the assumption that globalization is essentially a process of the universalization of capitalism, this paper narrows down the exploration of cultural homogenization to the basic question as whether locality-defined cultures are usurped in the process of globalization and whether the indigenous cultures are likely to be inundated by the global cultural force of Western, or American, consumerism.

To begin with, we need to sketch the implicit reasoning underlying the proposition conceiving of globalization as a homogenizing drive in global capitalism. Viewed in the context of modernity, globalization is an irreversible process of institutional transformation wherein myriad features of modernity regulate our cultural practices. One of the most salient features of institutionalized modernity in the transformation epoch is the socially constituted world-space – or, to be more specific - the “deterritorialization” process inherent in contemporary globality (See, e.g., Garcia Canclini, 1995; Scholte, 2005; Tomlinson, 1999b). The emergence of postmodern globality, as demonstrated in the increasingly transnational movements of technology, information, people and investment, marks the ongoing shift in social geography from territorialism to supraterritorialism. To the extent that the supraterritorial global relations are relatively delinked from, and decreasingly confined to, particular territorial spatiality and the local established practices, social interactions are not mapped on a territorial grid, but characterized as transplanetary connections. In what Thomas Friedman (2007) articulates as the “flat” world, “global sphere is constitutive of networks of supraterritorial flows” rather than a patchwork of territorial states” (Scholte, 1996, p. 572). Such a fundamental transformation of social conditions has produced a rupture in the originally prevailing structure of cultural identity that has attenuated the territorial basis of macro social identification.

As mentioned above, social relations in the globalization era have become relatively placeless and borderless. Such extrapolation is justified by James Rosenau’s argument that the global-local interaction in the contemporary area can be viewed “as an endless series of distant proximities” (2003, p. 4), a paradoxical term depicting the phenomena of globality that are both remote and close at hand, at once near and distant. In the contemporary era, familiarity with our cultural life is not necessarily confined to local ties. Given the “deterritorialization” process of globalization, such intimacy is no longer a pure presentation of the particularities intrinsic to distinct localities. The diminishing significance of locality is described in Anthony Giddens’s institutional analysis of modernity as “time-space distancing.” On Giddens’s (1991, p. 18) account,

In pre-modern societies, space and place largely coincide, since the spatial dimensions of social life are, for most of

the population, and in most respects, dominated by “presence” - by localized activities. The advent of modernity increasingly tears spaces away from place by fostering relations between “absent” others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction.

Given that present-day human interactions as the bedrock of modernity can transpire in the supraterritorial realm, the “stretched” social relations in the postmodern era can be “disembedded” from their original local anchoring, and “[restructured] across indefinite spans of time-space” (Giddens, 1991, pp. 64, 21). Along this line of reasoning, cultural experiences can be “lifted out” from the “ethnic-based” locality and “relocalize” itself to a new social territorial space. A case in point in this regard is the popularity of Chinese operas in a variety of dialects that are frequently performed in the Chinatowns in New York, Los Angeles, Toronto, or in the global city-state of Singapore, among others. Chinatowns, where the traditional Chinese cultural constructs are converged and consumed by Chinese diaspora and the indigenous community, are what Giddens dubs the “phantasmagoric” locales that are “penetrated by and shaped in terms of quite social influences quite distant from them” (Giddens, 1991, p. 19; Tomlinson, 1999b, p. 52). In a similar vein, nowadays, besides the traditional Spring Festival, Christmas and other Western festivals are also enthusiastically observed in Chinese global cities as grand consumer seasons. As exemplified by these instances, the dynamism and complexity of globalization implies that the stability of traditional locality-defined cultures is no longer indefinitely guaranteed. Under such sociocultural conditions, individuals are often forced to search for enclaves of familiarity and intimacy, as they often find themselves unable to be enduringly committed to one and the same cultural identity. This may partly account for various “cultural fevers” unfolded in Chinese cultural landscape. Thanks to the global media and ICT, diverse “deterritorialized” cultural constructs—derived from distinct forms of popular culture without the community-psychic attachment to the territorial nation of “China”—have managed to make a strong presence in Chinese globalized cities at the forefront of its internationalization. Considering the institutionalized modernity context of “time-space distancing,” contemporary cultural consumption is less determined by locality in its traditional sense. In this sense, globalization may have unsettled the territorial construction of local cultures, or even obliterated what Rosenau

(1997, p. 364) terms as the “hierarchy of loyalties” of cultural attachments. However, one should keep it in mind that the “deterritorialization” process does not signify the homogenizing forces that are destructing local cultures. Rather than a fundamental force flooding indigenous cultures, globalization is, at most, a catalyst endangering the institutionalization of modernity, which may challenge the entrenchment of locality-defined cultural construction. Even though the local cultures are deterritorialized in our postmodern social life, one still cannot safely conclude that globalization spells the imminent collapse of local cultures.

Another assumption underpinning cultural homogenization formulation is the “decline-of-nation-state” supposition. In view of the transplanetary connectivity heightened in the globalization era, proponents of cultural homogenization underestimate the scope of state authority. Even if globalization is viewed as the homogenizing force of capitalist consumerist culture, the dissemination of the global capitalism is critically dependent upon the regulatory function of the nation state, which provides the institutional arrangement to ensure the capital accumulation of transnational capital. As Panitch (1996, pp. 85-86) cogently argues,

There is the problem of tending to ignore the extent to which today's globalization is authored by state is primarily about reorganizing rather than bypassing them ... Capitalist globalization also takes place in, through, and under the aegis of states; it is encoded by them and in important respects even authored by them; and it involves a shift in power relations within states that often means the centralization and concentration of state powers as the necessary conditions of and accompaniment to global market discipline.

To the extent that nation states are not as shackled by globalization, contemporary globality does not posit a smooth borderless world with an integrated global order. Going beyond Appadurai's argument that globalization is a process of fragmentation of modernity, Rosenau's (2003) proposes the notion of “fragnegration” - a grating verbal construct used to convey the dual process of integration and fragmentation. The incisive conceptualization indicates that globalization cannot be discerned as simple patterns or linear trends in a single equilibrium. In comparison with the ephemeral global cultural flows, indigenous cultural artifacts have more substantial roots - particularly in some non-Western societies -

that are embedded in the collective historical memory of the national cultures. Thus, parallel with the human need fostering large-scale orders of global flows is the “psychic comfort” of the local communities stemming from the “sense of ‘us’” (Rosenau, 1997, p. 362). With the parochial need, the incursion of global cultural forces may be seen as noxious. Under such circumstances, by means of the institutions such as education system and public media, nation-state can well socialize the consumers’ cognition and their behavior to enhance the national allegiance to national cultures. The cultural nationalism sponsored by the nation-states may not always in the extremist forms; rather, it can be demonstrated in the everyday representations of the nation, which build a solidarity sense of nationhood and cultural belonging amongst the populace. Such “banal nationalism,” as Billig (1995) names it, will constitute the structured opposition that the cultural flows of global capitalism always struggle to undermine. In the case of China, despite the embrace of westernized consumer cultures by the young generation, the growing integration of the burgeoning consumer economy with global consumerism and the simultaneous emergence of domestic consumerism have given rise to the dichotomy of, and thus the conflict between, Americanization and nationalization. In light of the collective memory of material derivation in “the century of shame and humiliation” indicating the modern China victimized by Western imperialism, the marked feature of China’s response to the Westernized cultural consumerism is based “on nationalistic and ethnic/cultural grounds” associated with “the possibility of renewed economic demonization,” or economic colonization, by Western powers (Hooper, 2000, pp. 449, 451). Although local consumer movements are relatively undeveloped in China, the influx of foreign investments and global consumer products since the 1990s has provoked rhetoric and practical resistance as well as the counterpoised strategies adopted by the government, business and media. By the same token, resistance against—or at least discomfort with—the advent of Westernized cultural consumerism is also palpable in the Newly-industrialized Countries (NICs) in East and Southeast Asia. For instance, in Singapore, given that Western mass consumerism has dispersed selfish individualism and rampant materialism into local ideology, the government fears that such symbolic icons will permeate the indigenous cultural sphere, eroding both “‘traditional’ values and ‘local social cohesion’” (See, e.g., Chua, 1998). With similar concerns, East and Southeast Asian

countries, in their embrace of westernized consumerism, tend to maintain their cultural distinctiveness and strive to reserve a sense of national identity. In view of the significance of nation-state and the challenges encountered by the Western consumerism, the simplistic thesis that the cultural consumption in non-Western locations is homogenized by cultural globalization needs to be reconsidered.

Furthermore, cultural homogenization thesis does not pay heed to dialectic relationship between dominant flows of global cultures and locality-defined cultures. In tandem with the homogenization thesis, those hyperglobalists positing the hegemony of global cultural flows tend to assume that local cultures are fragile entities ready to wilt at the overwhelming pressure of the “commodification” of Western consumerist culture. However, the mundane flow of global cultures—often seen as originating from mass communist culture in the developed countries—is not “a monolithic force of globalization with one-dimensional causal effects” on indigenous cultures (Chong, 2003, p. 457). If cultural globalization were a purely homogenizing process, how could the “clash of civilization” argument (Huntington, 1997) thrive? Indeed, “[the] global is not in and of itself counterpoised to the local,” equipped with the qualities or properties transcending all localities (Robertson, 1995, p. 35). The diffusion of Western capitalist consumerist culture invariably involves the resistance from, and the agency of, receiving nations and communities. Inasmuch as global cultures will be bluntly rejected and resisted, homogenization is not a sweeping process. As with the case of the Starbucks coffee shop operating in Beijing’s Forbidden City mentioned above, the displaced cultural locality exemplifying the universality of capitalist consumerist culture has generated enormous counterforce of cultural assertion and civilizational consciousness and, as expected, finally retreated from the archetypical location of traditional Chinese imperialist culture as a result of huge protest. In regard of glocalization, it is essentially a process of indigenization of Western consumerist cultures. In order to contextualize themselves in the non-Western cultural landscape, Western consumerist images, commodities and mode of consumption need to be “cut” from their original culture, “pasted” into the cultural imaginary of their target market, and “edited” as localized modern consumerist representations. As such, the universal - the underlying logic of global capitalism - is be particularized in various localities before the local is globalized

(Robertson, 1992, p. 100). The other part of the dialectic process of global-local encounter - namely the “the universalization of particularism” (Hopper, 2007, p. 98)—is often registered in the agency of local cultures which empower themselves and play an active role in shaping cultural globalization. While particularizing the Western consumerist culture, indigenous culture can deploy effective strategies by tapping the material resources provided by modernity and consumerist culture. For instance, some indigenous Chinese operas, such as Shanghai Opera and Cantonese Opera, have shifted from the theatre art to the modern genres of Music Television (MTV) and opera movie. In light of the popularity such modernized traditional local cultures have received both domestically and abroad, it may not be far-fetched to suggest that the traditional Chinese operas, which have subtly appropriated the capitalist marketing strategies and consumerist production mode, will garner a larger than usual audience in globalized Chinese market as well as the “deterritorialized” diaspora markets in Western countries. Whereas traditional cultures do face the challenge of striking a dynamic balance between the authenticity of literary classics and the artificiality that is often required to woo the would-be consumers among the younger generation, the strategy of coopting with modern capitalist consumerism deployed by the traditional local cultures for their self-revival and renewal proves effective in withstanding the erosive power of global cultural flows. The tactic ingeniously caters to the “fetishism of the consumer” - a notion fleshed out by Appadurai (1996, p. 41) whereby the fashion of global economy becomes the mediating link between production and consumption. While local particularities are repositioned in the negotiation between the vernacular and the modern, by no means do the distinctive indigenous cultures become the easy prey of globalization. As indicated in the process of universalization, locality-defined cultures are not necessarily antithetical to the global cultural forms. With reference to cultural extinction, modern technology, the primary material impetus of contemporary globalization, has on various occasions been exploited to preserve otherwise declining local cultural artifacts, or facilitate the resurgence of ethnic identities. As such, cultural homogenization argument, associated with the corollary thesis of cultural imperialism (See, e.g., Lull, 2000; Thompson, 1995; Tomlinson, 1999a), needs to be dealt with considerable skepticism. While highlighting the universal logic of global capitalism underpinning

the cultural hybridization, these premature propositions pay scant attention to the reciprocal relationship between the global cultural flows and the receiving nations. In globalization discourse, since cultural globalization is not a one-way process, the exploration of global cultural flows—or more specifically—the Westernization/Americanization dynamic, should take on a “both-and” approach. In the ongoing interaction that the global and the local are engaged in, the universalization of cultural consumerism is invariably in tension with local assertion and resistance.

Another conventional assumption implicit in the homogenization argument, as well as in the general discourse of globalization, is the identification of globalization with global capitalism. Accordingly, the complicated dissemination of global cultures is conceptualized as the enforced dispersion of the particular Western capitalist consumerism. This ethnocentric assumption naturally corroborates the Western-biased constellation like “irresistible” American “Market Empire,”² American hegemony, or simply Americanization, all of which imply the impacts of globalization can only emanate from the West (Nederveen Pieterse, 1995, p. 53). As argued above, American cultural consumerism cannot be simply reduced to a unitary force of global culture. Despite the inertia hegemony of American consumerism in the highly interdependent and multicultural world and the ubiquity of American consumer goods and consumerist representations, the predominance of capitalist logic disseminated in the process of cultural globalization does not obscure the increasing counterpoised challenges against the American “Market Empire.” Given that the receiving nations of Americanization “are not passive and may play an active role in shaping Americanization,”³ its impact “is moderated, altered, if not lost completely, in the emergence of unique (g)local realities” (Ritzer, 2010, pp. 90, 100). Along this line of reasoning, the universalization of global capitalist logic does not herald the “triumph of cultural homogenization forces” all over the globe (Robertson, 1995, p. 25). American cultural consumerism is at best one node of a complex transnational construction of what Appadurai (1996, p. 31) terms as “imaginary landscapes.” Some non-Western “local” culture is more than likely to become “global” in the postmodern era. A compelling example is the emergence of a new Confucian global culture. With the emergence of an “Asian renaissance,” along with the recovery of the so-called “Asian tigers” from Asian Financial Crisis and China’s

phenomenal economic prowess, Confucianism is identified as one of the sources of East Asia's economic success (See, e.g., Jiang, 1995). Compared with the "less desirable value traits of American society," neo-Confucian cultures have been singled out as "heroes of development" (Hill, 2000, p. 10). The prospective "orientalization" of Confucianism lends support to some scholars' bold prediction made in the late 1970s that Confucianism was better suited to industrialization than Western cultural values (Kahn, 1979; Vogel, 1979). The present-day academic, media, and political attention and enthusiasm on Confucianism has also reinforced the prophecy of a new and distinctive global culture originating from East Asia, whose impact is disseminating to disseminate to the west. As evidenced in the resurgence of Confucianism on the global stage, the bidirectional cultural syncretism is not necessarily American. This bears testimony to Hopper's argument that globalization needs to be interpreted "as a plural rather than unitary phenomenon" (2007, p. 35).

Insofar as cultural globalization does not dissolve the significance local cultures in our social life institutionalized by modernity, the perspective of cultural hybridization has more explanatory power than does the cultural homogenization thesis. In the hybridization process, the production and consumption of cultural products, often attributed to the institutionalized modernity, has contributed to the understanding of, and even empathy with, diverse cultures, local or exotic, that are disembedded from the particular locality. Behind the *mélange* of spectacles is the cosmopolitan worldviews that are manifested in our social lives. In a post-communist country such as China where the populace could only experience the monoculture orchestrated by the authoritarian state, cosmopolitanism can be looked upon as the visceral needs, triggered by the opening up of its socioeconomic landscape to the dynamic flows of global cultures, for greater autonomy and freedom in the cultural lives. Along with the pluralization of "sources of the self" (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009, p. vii), populist consumption of cultural products is routinely attached to "the fulfillment of some deep-seated desire, the amorphous, primordial desire for the new, modern, the exotic, the access to some kind of social and symbolic capital" (F. Wang & Xie, 2006). This can well explain why Chinese consumers are fond of consuming Western commodities with trendy brand names - Polo, Adidas, Nike, Reebok, for instance - even though such commodities are mostly "pirate versions" of

their Western origins, and why the affluent Chinese youngsters are accustomed to drinking coffee with friends and colleagues in Starbucks and other Western bars and restaurants that are mushrooming in Chinese globalized cities. Apart from the Western commodities and consumerism, the wealthy or educated Chinese today also chase the traditional dress code of *Qipao* (cheongsam). Even the performance of some folk custom has been institutionalized as the “high art” and purged out of its “street” essence. In today’s Chinese sociocultural practices, the cultural products that are voraciously consumed are diversified, which reflects the cosmopolitan characteristic of the cultural landscape. The “sign value” derived from the consumption has created the hybridized cultural identities and greater individuation, which are institutionalized in the social life of modernity and thus contribute to the postmodern cosmopolitanism.⁴ However, even though the identification of the local and global cultures can be somewhat illusory in the context of modernity, the awareness of the world as a whole is the manifestation of “reflexive modernization” involving “self-constitution and self-identity” (Hopper, 2007, p. 166). Whereas one’s cognitive model is plugged into the reference framework that is beyond his/her immediate surroundings, local conditions are invariably incorporated into personal rumination upon the modernity life. Such “glocalized cosmopolitanism,” as displayed by Urry (2003, p. 137), entails the mediation of global and the local as the two sides are mutually constitutive.

To be sure, the complexity of “reflective modernization” and “glocalized cosmopolitanism” mainly stems from the fact that the global and local encounter is unfolded in different contexts. As such, only by focusing upon the response of local communities to the prevalent global cultural forms can the complex dynamic of global-local nexus be thoroughly understood. Due to the variation across different countries and national cultures, it is plausible that the global cultural flows have more significant impact upon some countries but fare less in others. Even different demographic groups or geographical areas in the same nation, may be receptive to globalization in varying ways. Therefore, it is imperative to probe the divergent responses to—and the negotiation of local actors with—global cultures in distinct localities. For instance, in Europe, where modern values prevail, the reactions to the Americanization of cultural consumerism are less extreme and are more correlated with the divergence of consumerist regimes.⁵ However, in many

East Asian countries, where entrenched traditional cultural values and identity predominate, the symbolic icons of selfish individualism and rampant materialism projected by American mass consumerism are in diametrical conflict with the fundamental Confucian ethics. The dramatic conflicts between eastern and western consumer cultures constitute formidable obstacles hindering the Americanization of cultural consumerism, which is perceived as a notorious threat to the cultural distinctiveness and national identity in developing countries. In light of the intractable differences in the character and magnitude of local response to global cultures, intellectual inquiry of the globalization needs to tease out the nuanced structural and localized meanings of cultural globalization in different societies. As the emerging consumer powers, such as China and Asian NICs, become prominent global players, the dynamics of Americanization may well change. In the integration and fusion between global and local, indigenous economic, social and political conditions underneath the dominant trend of globalization are significant considerations in globalization studies, in which the “differentiating and contextualizing approach” advocated by Hopper (2007, p. 2) is sorely needed. As cultural globalization is an interactive situation rather than a process of top-down dominance, to fully understand the complexity and dynamism of global-local dynamic, it is imperative to examine how the global cultural flows are received and experienced in diverse cultural contexts and geographical locations.

ENDNOTES

1. According to Robertson’s definition, the marketing strategy of “glocalization,” which has become a business buzzword in contemporary globalization, signifies “the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to increasingly differentiated local and particular markets.” See (Robertson, 1995, p. 28). Also see (Robertson, 1992).
2. For the notion of “irresistible empire,” see (De Grazia, 2005, p. 93)
3. In the typology of Americanization, Ritzer (Ritzer, 2010) proposes the notion of “indigenous Americanization,” a distinctive

type of Americanization that has been indigenized to local culture, and more importantly, can be used to take an anti-American stance.

4. For the concept “sign value,” see (Baudrillard, 1973) . The cultural products associated with such “sign value” and status image can be termed as “position goods,” a notion developed by Hirsch (1976) and Douglas and Isherwood (1979).

5. According to de Grazia (2005, p. 10), European consumerist culture is characterized by an “old bourgeois regime of consumption” regulating consumer taste and class norms, while “modern mass consumer culture” features its American counterpart.

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**REINTEGRATING THE AMERICAN PAST:
REVISITING THE WEST, FREDERICK JACKSON
TURNER, AND THE EARLY REPUBLIC**

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ABSTRACT

One of the great arguments about the contours of U.S. history emerged in 1893 with Frederick Jackson Turner's paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Building upon Turner, the present brief essay reintegrates the patterns in and relations among three great regions in pre-Civil War nineteenth-century America—the Northeast, South, and West—at the same time that it suggests how to reintegrate the experiences of the three great "races" in the American past, calibrating costs to each as well as benefits. Emphasized is the role that western lands, expropriated from Indian peoples, played in subsidizing the development of white Americans' transportation infrastructure and educational opportunities, in the earlier years at the state level and later through federal initiatives.

Well over a hundred years after Frederick Jackson Turner read his path-breaking essay on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" at a historians' conference in Chicago in July 1893, he continues to cast a long shadow over the study of U.S. history. As one historian, Richard White, has noted, "Most historians admit that the frontier certainly had *something* to do with the way in which American society and the American economy developed. And in figuring out what that something might be, Turner's thought remains the departure point."¹ That thought emphasized Americans' movement west and the greater opportunity for social mobility, economic well-being, and political democracy that, according to Turner, such movement fostered.

The frontier that Turner wrote of was very real. His own forebears personified the phenomenon. Ancestors of his mother and

his father alike arrived in New England in the first half of the seventeenth century and moved into New York by the end of the eighteenth century. In the 1850s, his father and mother moved to Wisconsin, where he was born in 1861. Such a migration experience—from one northern community to another, west from the eastern seaboard states to the Upper Midwest—supplied Turner's dominant sense of what the frontier had meant to Americans.² An examination of the Lower South, however, rather than the Upper North, can offer an alternative sense of what the frontier meant to many Americans.

The work of subsequent writers can offer guidance for an effort to pour new wine in the old bottle of Turner's moral and conceptual approach. In the century and more since Turner articulated his frontier thesis, his ideas have been updated, refined, reshaped, and rebutted, as his vision of the American past persists in demanding responses. Among the respondents, Walter Prescott Webb and William H. McNeill have each published a book titled *The Great Frontier*.³ Each offers a beginning point for yet another encounter with Turner's insights. Employing a wide-angled lens, each places the North American frontier of Turner's focus in a global context encompassing South America, Australia, and various other parts of the planet. Each speaks of a period four centuries long that followed Columbus's first voyage to the Caribbean—the four hundredth anniversary of which was the occasion for Turner's address in the 1890s.

Among McNeill's more striking insights, as he looks at Europe's encounters with frontier areas throughout the world—not just in Wisconsin—is one about the effects of the frontier on social equality. He concedes that the “free, egalitarian . . . style of frontier life, so dear to Turner and his followers,” existed “wherever export trade failed during the early stages of colonization.” Looking at places like the Caribbean, however—“the more favored and accessible regions, where European skills proved capable of producing marketable wealth on a relatively large scale”—he observes: “Frontier conditions ordinarily provoked not freedom but a social hierarchy steeper than anything familiar in Europe itself.” The South in general—whether Virginia or Georgia, South Carolina or Mississippi—fulfilled the conditions from which arose, for hundreds of thousands of settlers, slavery and not freedom.

As McNeill observes, “We are accustomed to thinking of the egalitarian alternative as the norm for frontier life. Both Turner

and Webb . . . skip over the role of slavery in the frontier history of the United States.” McNeill suggests that, while Turner resonated to his childhood in Wisconsin, and Webb to his in West Texas, a wider view of the impact of European expansion in the years of colonial and early national America would force the conclusion that “compulsion and legally reinforced forms of social hierarchy were more generally characteristic of frontier society than were equality and freedom.”⁵

Webb, for his part, introduced to the discourse on the frontier the concept of “windfall”—“primary” and “secondary.” “The windfalls of the frontier” were those of which “one or more items of the ordinary cost of production” were “partially or completely eliminated.” A low labor cost was crucial to a windfall. “Leaving aside the land—the greatest of all the windfalls”—Webb specifies several. Primary windfalls in the Americas involved little labor or other investment and little time before harvesting. These included fish off Newfoundland; furs (courtesy of Indian labor); gold and silver (whether through piracy or Indian labor); timber and other forest products; and adult slaves from Africa. Secondary windfalls took more time and expense. Webb’s best example is the plantation, which involved “free land *and* slave labor.” Another is the “open range cattle business.”⁶

Webb notes that the North American colonies, for the most part at least, missed out on the primary windfalls; “they lay north of the gold and south of the furs.” Unhappily for the English, they “had hit upon a land that barred their passage to India, that yielded no gold, was deficient in furs, and lacked a supply of cheap labor.” And yet, whether with family labor in the North or servants and slaves in the South, development went ahead.⁷ The secondary windfall of the plantation, whether it grew tobacco or rice, cotton or sugar, permitted some transplanted Americans and their descendants to benefit from the cheap labor of other transplanted Americans and their progeny. Here Webb and McNeill intersect.

By bringing back to the study of North American history the insights and approaches that Webb and McNeill supply—different as they were from each other as well as from Turner—we can take another look at Frederick Jackson Turner and the West in the Early American Republic. While Turner’s biological parents supplied the experiential basis for much of his life’s work, his academic progeny have furthered that work while qualifying it. This essay pays particular attention to two events. In one, Georgia ceded

its western lands—most of what became Alabama and Mississippi—in 1802. In the other, an action on which the Missouri Compromise was based, Maine and Massachusetts reached an agreement over the public domain in the Maine District.

McNeill has called attention to the enormous downside to westward expansion in the quest for new lands. Whether in North America in particular or in all the European empires in general, he writes of “the destruction of all those non-European cultures and societies that got in the way,” “the persistent double-edgedness of change—destroying *and* preserving, denying *and* affirming established values of human life.” Thus, about the movement west and the abundance of land, he insists: “The ‘free land’ that white men appropriated was land once used by others. The expansion of one society occurred only at the cost of another’s destruction.”⁸ The Georgia Cession Agreement offers a compelling example.

In 1802, the governments of Georgia and the United States reached an agreement on the future of the territory between the Mississippi River and the stretch of land where white Georgians had then settled, along the Atlantic Coast and up the Savannah River. Giving up its western land claims, Georgia became the last of the original states with such claims to surrender them. In return, the agreement called for the United States government to pay Georgia \$1,250,000, an amount to be realized as the lands were sold. In addition, the federal government undertook the responsibility of extinguishing Indian title to all the land that remained inside Georgia’s new boundaries.⁹

The Louisiana Purchase the next year provided the United States with an ever-larger territory, west of the Mississippi River. Writing Georgia’s Governor John Milledge in November 1802, President Thomas Jefferson declared that “the acquisition of Louisiana will, it is agreed must, put in our power the means of inducing all the Indians on this side to transplant themselves to the other side of the Mississippi before many years get about.”¹⁰ Between then and the late 1830s, the United States forced the exchange of Indians’ eastern lands—that is, in western Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi—for portions of those trans-Mississippi lands, while it granted annuities, derived from the sale of the eastern lands, in return for improvements that Indians had to leave behind when they emigrated to Indian Territory.

After the Georgia Cession and the Louisiana Purchase, Indian removal from the South began almost immediately.

Insatiable land hunger led to unremitting pressure on Indians and on federal officials to force new treaties on Indians. Each treaty meant Indian removal. Georgia and federal authorities differed, at times heatedly, over the urgency of Indian removal, as Georgians called on the national government to redeem its promise of removal, and federal agents felt themselves restrained by the promises to Indians and a condition in the agreement that called for peaceful extinction of Indian claims. As Indian spokesmen pointed out repeatedly, but in the end fruitlessly, the promise to extinguish Indian titles violated previous treaties in which the United States had guaranteed the Creeks and Cherokees perpetual possession of all their remaining lands in Georgia.¹¹ Surely the Cherokees' "Trail of Tears" constituted a migration to the West that fails to fit the image that Turner projected.

The transfer of lands from Indians to the state of Georgia led to the state's most significant function of the first third of the nineteenth century—distribution of that land to white Georgians who entered lotteries to obtain two-hundred acre lots.¹² Successive waves of settlers followed successive Indian land cessions and public land lotteries. Fresh lands meant landownership for thousands of white families, those that had been landless and those that sought richer or more abundant land.

A human stream of migrants flowed southwest along the Atlantic Seaboard and then west along the Gulf of Mexico. White southerners, when they migrated, acted much like free Americans elsewhere; they moved from one farm to another, whether in the next county or the next state, in a generally westerly direction. Of whites who had migrated to Georgia and still lived there in 1850, most had been born in the Carolinas or Virginia. Similarly, among whites born in Georgia who had moved away by mid-century, most had moved to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, or Texas.¹³

A stream of black migrants merged with that stream of whites. In 1790, a majority of all slaves in the new nation lived in the Chesapeake states, Virginia and Maryland. Between 1790 and 1860, the percentage of American slaves living in those two states dropped from 57 to 15. Virginia dropped from 42 percent to 12, while Georgia climbed from 4 percent to 12, and faraway Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri combined for nearly as many more. The percentage of American slaves living in Georgia and its offshoots—Alabama and Mississippi—rose from 4 to 34. Alabama in 1860 had

a majority of whites, Mississippi a majority of slaves; together they were half slave and half free.¹⁴ Thus did white Americans enhance their own liberty and property by denying blacks their freedom and Indians their land, by employing labor expropriated from blacks for use on lands expropriated from Indians.

And what did Georgia do with the public revenue that came from the sale of its land? One example dates from the late 1810s, when Georgia collected a final \$756,000 from the federal government for the ceded lands. Governor William Rabun advised the legislature that the state could not expect “a more favorable opportunity to commence internal improvements on an extensive scale.” Legislators responded by appropriating large sums for river improvements—and by creating a permanent internal improvements fund as well as an education fund, each with \$250,000, invested in bank stock. They soon increased both funds.¹⁵

An alternative windfall appeared when gold was discovered in North Georgia's Indian country in the late 1820s—eastern Americans finally discovered gold during the Age of Jackson. Governor George R. Gilmer advocated that the state government operate the gold mines—that the state rather than private citizens reap the benefit of the windfall. Public revenue that resulted, he advised, might “relieve the people from taxation, improve the public roads, render the rivers navigable, and extend the advantages of education to every class of [white] society.”¹⁶

Governor Gilmer's three objectives—greater spending on schools as well as transportation, together with lower taxes—remained central themes in American state finance from the War of 1812 to the Civil War, reaching a high point in the 1820s and 1830s. Rather than rely on gold mines to finance these activities, however, Georgia, like other states, relied on land revenue and on investments of land revenue in banking. Indians' lands provided tax breaks. Public revenue from those lands helped finance transportation improvements that made still more land attractive. The frontier funded development. And it paid the costs of pushing the frontier back.

We return to Webb's windfalls. For one, white farmers and planters obtained cheap land in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. For another, the state government obtained a windfall of capital. It could invest that capital all at once in transportation improvements and educational opportunities. Or it could invest it in banking and thus make capital available to private enterprise and at the same

time create an endowment that would continue to supply funds for social and economic development. If we adopt Webb's distinction, we can term "primary" the windfall, immediately available for expenditure or investment, that brought capital to the state from the sale of land. And we can call "secondary" the windfalls that came over time, as the endowment produced dividends available to be spent on education and transportation.

Webb himself gives a compelling example of how the program worked in Texas. Focusing on education, he shows how land could subsidize schools, making them available "without taxes, without collecting money from anyone or appropriating money to any educational institution." During the period of Texan independence, President Mirabeau B. Lamar brought to the attention of the Congress of Texas the opportunity to commit the public domain to establishing "a liberal system of education." Texas legislators embraced the idea. In the decades that followed, the public land provided the financial base on which was built public schools and a state university alike. They comprised, Webb wrote, "a windfall from the frontier, available only once, which has made both systems much of what they are today." Thus Webb points toward "the magnitude of the frontier gift to education."¹⁷

Exemplifying the impact of windfalls in public treasuries, the agreement in Massachusetts that permitted Maine to become a separate state points up the importance of such considerations to Americans—North and South, East and West—in the Early American Republic. For Maine to be available to play its role in the Missouri Compromise—coming into the Union as a free state to offset Missouri's admission as a slave state—Maine and Massachusetts had first to have achieved their own compromise. The key issue that postponed Maine's separation from Massachusetts related to public revenue that might subsequently be realized from lands still to be distributed in the Maine District. Resolution, when it came, entailed a simple division of such land revenue between the two jurisdictions.¹⁸ The issue's significance to both states can be seen in developments of the three or four decades that followed Maine's gaining statehood.

Statements from governors of each state suggest ways in which the implications of public land for public finance were perceived in the Age of Jackson. Maine's Governor Jonathan G. Hunton brought "the subject of the Public Lands" to legislators' attention in 1830 as "the most important [that would] come under

[their] consideration.” As he concluded: “In the public lands, the present generation is entrusted with a fund of great value, and care must be taken that we do not leave to posterity little else but lawsuits to settle the boundaries of their farms, instead of those accumulated benefits that might be reasonably expected from so rich a patrimony.”¹⁹ Hunton’s counterpart in Massachusetts, Levi Lincoln, told the legislature in 1829, “It has often been proposed, and it cannot but deserve the most serious consideration, that the sales of the public lands should be made to contribute a permanent fund for the support of schools . . . or for general purposes of public improvement.”²⁰

Neither state was quick to convert half the state of Maine into public funds for social welfare and economic growth. Land might be sold, but often only if roads were first built to make it more accessible, and always in competition with land for sale further west. Timber might be sold off, but interlopers took for free—converted the windfall to their own use—what state officials hoped to sell.²¹ Through the 1820s, then, neither state gained much of the potential revenue. In the 1830s, by contrast, the land came to play a vital role in state fiscal policy. In Maine, revenue from land never exceeded 3 percent of total state revenue until 1827, when it reached 13 percent. In the peak year, 1835, land provided 53 percent and so caused a doubling of total revenue.²²

The states could use their respective shares to cut taxes or to invest in schools or railroads. When land sales began to produce large sums of revenue, Maine suspended its general taxes, beginning in 1837. Having already managed to suspend general taxes, Massachusetts allocated half the proceeds beginning in 1835 to a school fund—whence the money that Horace Mann put to use—and used the other half to help finance a railroad to connect Boston with Albany. In 1853 Maine bought out the remainder of the Bay State’s share, and Massachusetts added half the proceeds to its school fund and half to the sinking fund that covered its investment in the Western Railroad.²³

In the 1830s the federal government—like Maine and Massachusetts—received unusually large sums from land sales, while revenue from the tariff continued to suffice for federal expenditures. Particularly in view of strenuous arguments against federal spending on internal improvements, therefore, Congress devised a means whereby the federal government might constitutionally allocate substantial funds to the states for

transportation and education. Apportioned to the states according to Congressional representation, the federal treasury surplus would be deposited (technically loaned, not granted outright) in the treasuries of the states.²⁴

In this manner, all states received large sums from land in the West—land that Americans employed the machinery of national government to obtain by purchase or conquest, to pacify and depopulate, to redistribute from Indians to whites, and, along the way, to turn into a public revenue bonanza. In response to this windfall, states typically acted, in one combination or another, to reduce taxes, invest their shares of the surplus in state banks, create school funds the interest from which would support education, and/or inaugurate public works programs that would provide canals or railroads.

The state of Georgia supplies the most fully realized program of letting the frontier finance development and of investing the boon from primary windfalls so as to generate secondary windfalls. The distribution of the federal treasury surplus in the late 1830s permitted Georgia to launch major new efforts in both education and transportation, even while suspending the state property tax. In 1837, Georgia inaugurated a system of public schools. And it began construction of the Western and Atlantic Railroad, designed to cross the mountains of North Georgia and connect the private railroads meeting at Atlanta with the Tennessee River and, beyond it, the Mississippi. Modeled after New York's Erie Canal as a giant exercise in public enterprise, it also resembled other such state projects, like the Western Railroad in Massachusetts.²⁵

Such public enterprise was intended not only to pay its costs but to earn revenue for the state treasury. Concerning the Western Railroad in Massachusetts, for example, Governor Levi Lincoln forecast that, "at no remote period," its earnings "might be applied as a permanent revenue, to the supply of the wants of the State."²⁶ Indeed, though Georgians had to be patient—had in fact to face a resumption of and even an increase in state taxes—the Western and Atlantic Railroad began in the 1850s to fulfill the fiscal promises. Earnings from the state railroad permitted Georgia, while cutting tax rates back to their previous normal levels, to establish a new, much larger fund in 1858 for public schools; to inaugurate investment in another major railroad, the Atlantic and Gulf; and to appropriate ever larger amounts for the state mental institution and

the schools for deaf and blind children. In the 1850s, in sum, the secondary windfall brought huge benefits to the white residents of Georgia.²⁷

The political economy of the American states in the Early Republic reveals a significant though little-noted facet of “the significance of the frontier in American history.” The frontier that Frederick Jackson Turner wrote about fostered the economic and social welfare of many more Americans than solely those who migrated west. Those who remained east and in older settlements also benefited from the frontier. Various scenes from America in the years before the Civil War—a shipper or passenger on a publicly-financed railroad, a student or teacher in an elementary school—reflected benefits that white Americans derived from the abundance of land that they found on the frontier.²⁸

To Turner’s mind, the great crisis of American society came in the 1890s, with the end of the frontier and of the boundless opportunity that the frontier had signified. To many Americans’ minds, the great crisis of American society erupted a generation earlier, when, as in the Missouri Crisis, the North and the South clashed over which section would secure the West. Each side sought to preempt the other, to secure the frontier for itself, to bring the frontier to an early end for the other. When the Kansas-Nebraska Act abrogated the Missouri Compromise’s slavery restriction in the West, it spawned the Republican Party. From that time through Abraham Lincoln’s election to the presidency in 1860, the party’s leading policy position demanded the containment of slavery, an end to its expansion. Then came war.

Patterns that were vital in the 1830s, even in the 1850s, were obliterated in the 1860s. In the major social consequence of the war, slavery came to an end. The slope of inequality in North America became much less steep. The clash of frontiers, one northern and free-labor, the other southern and slave-labor, led to the destruction of the primary windfall from the southern variant, the profits of plantation slavery.

In fiscal terms at the state level, the Civil War brought an end to the tax-free system of public expenditures. To finance the war, Massachusetts and Georgia alike went deeply into debt and hiked their taxes to new highs. After the war, North and South shared the post-windfall problem of adjusting to an end to abundant tax-free public revenue. By the time Turner wrote his essay in the 1890s, states had to rely much more than they had a half century

earlier on tax revenue to pay for schools and other public services.

Yet at the same time, major dimensions of the old system took on new forms. During the Civil War, Congress enacted a number of breakthrough measures, bills to create new programs that had been stymied in the years before so many southern states seceded and the war began. The Homestead Act embodied one windfall—the transfer of Indians’ former lands from public domain to white farmers. Two other bills, also enacted in 1862—the Morrill Act and the Union Pacific Railroad Act—represented windfalls of tax-free federal aid to land-grant colleges and transcontinental transportation.²⁹ Thus the federal government undertook major new initiatives in education and transportation. Like the Jacksonian-era system, the new programs employed Indian lands to promote white Americans’ social welfare and economic growth. The frontier had moved on. The windfalls continued. Displacement of Indians, and destruction of their cultures, continued.

Turner and his successors—Webb and McNeill—permit a reconsideration of the role of the frontier—of the public domain, of the West—in the Early American Republic. And their related perspectives permit, even require, an integration of the history of the regions—North with South, East with West—as well as the history of the three races—red, white, and black. Indeed, in ways that go far beyond Turner’s pregnant formulation, and ways that often fundamentally contradict it, “the significance of the frontier” has proved enormous in shaping the contours of American society and history.

ENDNOTES

1. Richard White, “Frederick Jackson Turner,” in *Historians of the American Frontier: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, ed. John R. Wunder (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 660–81, quotation at 672.

2. Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 3–17.

3. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952); William H. McNeill, *The Great Frontier: Freedom and Hierarchy in Modern Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). On Webb, see Gregory M. Tobin, “Walter Prescott

Webb,” in Wunder, *Historians of the American Frontier*, 713–28.

4. McNeill, *The Great Frontier*, 20.

5. *Ibid.*, 25–26.

6. Webb, *The Great Frontier*, 180–202, quotations at 181, 188, 190.

7. *Ibid.*, 185, 188.

8. McNeill, *The Great Frontier*, 9. For an alternative hemispheric view, see Charles C. Mann, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas before Columbus* (New York: Knopf, 2005), and also his *1493: Uncovering the New World Columbus Created* (New York: Knopf, 2011).

9. Clarence Edwin Carter and John Porter Bloom, comps., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (28 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934–75), 5: 142–46; Peter Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South: Public Policy in Nineteenth-Century Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 7, 9.

10. Jefferson to Milledge, Nov. 22, 1802, in *Correspondence of John Milledge, Governor of Georgia, 1802–1806*, ed. Harriet Milledge Salley (Columbia, S.C.: State Commercial Printing Company, 1949), 82 (commas added).

11. Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South*, 9–10.

12. *Ibid.*, 10.

13. U.S. Census Bureau, *Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, D.C.: Beverly Tucker, 1854), 114–17.

14. U.S. Census Bureau, *Negro Population, 1790–1915* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 57; *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 598–99; Peter Wallenstein, “Cartograms and the Mapping of Virginia History, 1790–1990,” *Virginia Social Science Journal* 28 (1993): 90–110, at 91–94.

15. Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South*, 26–28. In a similar case, in 1819 North Carolina established an internal improvements fund consisting of public revenue from two nontax sources—dividends from state-owned bank stock and proceeds from the sale of lands recently acquired from Cherokee Indians. Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819–1848*

(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948), 80–82.

16. Fletcher M. Green, “Georgia's Forgotten Industry: Gold Mining,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 19 (June 1935): 93–111, quotation at 106; David Williams, *The Georgia Gold Rush: Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fever* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

17. Webb, *The Great Frontier*, 393–405, quotations at 395, 399, 402, 405.

18. Edward Stanwood, “The Separation of Maine from Massachusetts,” *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Third Series, 1 (June 1907), 125–64; Fred Eugene Jewett, *A Financial History of Maine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 185; Articles of Separation, 1819, in Ronald F. Banks, *Maine Becomes a State: The Movement to Separate Maine from Massachusetts, 1785-1820* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), 270–79.

19. *Message of the Governor of Maine*, Feb. 10, 1830 (Portland, 1830), 10–11.

20. Levi Lincoln, “Message,” Jan. 29, 1829, in *Massachusetts Legislative Documents*, 1828–1829, 21.

21. David C. Smith, “Maine and Its Public Domain: Land Disposal on the Northeastern Frontier,” in *The Frontier in American Development: Essays in Honor of Paul Wallace Gates*, ed. David M. Ellis (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), 113–37.

22. Jewett, *Financial History of Maine*, 21.

23. In 1857 Maine determined to add to its school fund 20 percent of all revenue subsequently to be derived from the sale of land. *Ibid.*, 30–42, 185–87, 210; Charles J. Bullock, *Historical Sketch of the Finances and Financial Policy of Massachusetts, from 1780 to 1905*, in *American Economic Association Publications* 8 (May 1907): 34–40; Stephen Salsbury, *The State, the Investor, and the Railroad: The Boston & Albany, 1825–1867* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 142–46.

24. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States, 1830–1850: The Nation and Its Sections* (1935; reprint New York: Norton, 1965), 435–37; Edward G. Bourne, *The History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885). For a full account of

nineteenth-century federal transfer payments to the states, see Daniel J. Elazar, *The American Partnership: Intergovernmental Cooperation in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). For a conceptual rebuttal, see Harry N. Scheiber, *The Condition of American Federalism: An Historian's View* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

25. Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South*, 23–31.

26. Committee Report, Massachusetts *Legislative Documents, 1828–1829*, no. 24, pp. 339–40. For a similar story from Indiana—though not one in which favorable forecasts proved true—see John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War* (8 vols., New York: D. Appleton, 1891–1910), 6: 347–48.

27. Wallenstein, *From Slave South to New South*, 35–38, 59–85.

28. *Ibid.*, 85.

29. Leonard P. Curry, *Blueprint for Modern America: Nonmilitary Legislation of the First Civil War Congress* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), 101–48; Roger L. Williams, *The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education: George W. Atherton and the Land-Grant College Movement* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991); Williamjames Hull Hoffer, *To Enlarge the Machinery of Government: Congressional Debates and the Growth of the American State, 1858–1891* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 14–62; Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: Norton, 2011).

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**REMARKS FROM THE 2011
VSSA SCHOLAR AWARD RECIPIENT**

SAVED BY A DRUM: MARCHING TO THE RHYTHMS OF CHOICE, COMPETENCE, AND COMMUNITY¹

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Last Spring 2011, I received two very special and memorable awards for which I am very grateful: the Annual Scholar Award from the Virginia Social Science Association (VSSA), and an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from my alma mater -- the College of Wooster. Each of these was accompanied by an acceptance speech, and on both occasions I used a snare drum to illustrate key principles of self-motivation. On seeing a drum on the stage, the President of the College of Wooster, Dr. Grant H. Cornwell, remarked, "The drum is just a prop, right? You aren't planning to play it here, are you?" Coyly, I replied "What a great idea!" As shown in Figure 1, I did play that snare drum.

Unlike most commencement addresses, I stepped out from behind the lectern and to the front of the stage. Without a written script, I shared with the audience how my early experiences with a snare drum illustrate the basics of self-motivation. I gave a similar address at the 2011 VSSA Convention held at Old Dominion University.

I began these talks with three autobiographical facts: I repeated second grade; my 6th-grade teacher told me I didn't have "what it takes" to pursue a college education; and my SAT scores were well below average. Fortunately, the College of Wooster paid more attention to applicants' grade-point averages and extra-curricular activities than a score on a single, timed exam. I revealed I was a shy but studious college student, and a "late bloomer."

Then, I walked to my snare drum and demonstrated research-based lessons about self-motivation, reflecting on early drum lessons and related life exposures. Almost 60 years ago, at age

¹ The author thanks Joanne Dean Geller for suggesting this connection between my drumming experiences and self-motivation, and Chris Dula, Cory Furrow, Doug Hole, Steve Matuszak, and Steve Roberts for offering thoughtful feedback on an earlier draft of this paper.



Figure 1: After hooded with an honorary doctorate, I demonstrated self-motivation lessons with my drum.

10, my Dad, a medical doctor, and Mom, a registered nurse, asked me if I'd like to take drum lessons. I remember my emphatic "yes" response and my immediate vision of playing a drum set like that used by Gene Krupa, Buddy Rich, and Cozy Cole – well-known and extremely talented drummers at the time.

Much later, as a pre-med student majoring in psychology, I learned the motivational advantages of defining and imagining an ultimate beneficial consequence before initiating a complex and protracted challenge. Of course, eventual success requires the regular identification and completion of prerequisite process goals relevant to achieving the long-term desired outcome. Such goal setting happened naturally with my drum lessons because my drum teacher, who gave me weekly one-on-one lessons in my home, designated weekly objectives for me to accomplish.

Was I self-motivated to achieve these routine process goals? Absolutely, and psychological research conducted since then reveals why (e.g., Deci, 1975; Deci & Ryan, 1995; Ryan & Deci, 2000). Let's consider three primary determinants of self-motivation, as I illustrated with my drum demonstration and explicated with numerous other real-world examples in my most recent book (Geller & Veazie, 2011).

Starting with a simple definition, self-motivation is a personal perception that one's ongoing behavior is controlled more by internal self-direction than by external, other-directed factors. When people are self-motivated, they work diligently at a task without an explicit accountability system managed by another

person (e.g., a parent, teacher, or supervisor). When does this happen? This motivational state occurs as a function of three C-words: choice, competence, and community.

Choice

My parents never monitored my drum practicing, nor did they remind me to practice. In this case, I monitored my own behavior. However, they did use an “if-then” achievement-focused contingency for motivation. Specifically, at the start of my lessons, they bought me a used snare drum, but promised they’d buy me a new drum of my choice if my teacher assured them I was progressing well as his student. Plus, I could build toward a complete set of drums with bass drum, tom-toms, and cymbals if I demonstrated successive improvement as a drummer.

While this incentive/reward contingency can be viewed as extrinsic accountability, it was stated and understood as only positive reinforcement. I perceived this stipulation and my related motivational state as success seeking and not failure avoiding (Atkinson, 1957, 1964; Wiegand & Geller, 2005). In other words, I saw myself practicing to gain proficiency and a new snare drum, and eventually a complete set of drums. Furthermore, I never saw this if-then proposition in negative reinforcement terms, as in “I am practicing to avoid losing my evolving drumming skills, or to avoid parental scorn for not trying hard enough, or to avoid losing the opportunity of obtaining a new snare drum.” Thus, my behavior was motivated by positive over negative reinforcement and this enhanced my perception of choice (Skinner, 1971), and hence my self-motivation.

My perception of choice was also augmented and sustained by continuous intrinsic reinforcement. More specifically, much behavior is influenced by natural and immediate consequences, either pleasant or aversive. When the consequences of my practice behavior resulted in improvement, I was reinforced intrinsically and this led to a perception of enhanced competence. The immediate, certain, and natural feedback from my drumming practice enabled me to evaluate my skill on the spot and thereby adjust my behavior immediately to increase my self-efficacy or perceived competence. And by doing so, I also had the motivating experience of meeting my weekly goals and gaining the approval of my teacher.

Competence

“People are not successful because they are motivated; they are motivated because they are successful” (Chance, 2008, p.107). This quotation by the author of a most successful textbook on the psychology of learning (Chance, 2009) says it all. Over weeks, months, and years I was able to feel more and more proficient at drumming, not only from my own direct observations of my behavior but also from interpersonal and public recognition from those who watched me perform. This led to more self-motivation to practice and excel, and the progressive self-motivating cycle continued.

I played drums in orchestras, dance bands, and marching bands throughout all four years of high school. During my junior and senior years, I played in the Pennsylvania State Orchestra, which was comprised of two or fewer musicians from high schools across the entire state. The perception of competence enabled by these accomplishments further fueled my self-motivation to dedicate many hours of practice every week, both alone and with other band members.

However, my most rewarding, self-motivating, and fulfilling drumming experiences have been those I’ve had playing with various dance bands. At age 17, I organized a dance band of ten high-school students that played at local church and school events. From then on, involvement with musicians interested in entertaining at social gatherings became a priority for me, and has remained so throughout my entire life.

After high school, rock-and-roll groups became my focus, and I was able to cover all of my living expenses during four years of college and five years of graduate school with earnings from rock-and-roll “gigs.” The photo in Figure 2 is me at age 20, one of a four-piece rock-and-roll group that played regularly at the “Peppermint Lounge” in Cleveland, Ohio from 1962-63.

The cycle of competence feeding self-motivation, leading to even greater perceptions of competence and self-motivation, was supported not only by the monetary rewards, but also by the synergistic creation of satisfying sounds with other talented musicians. For me, the most powerful dynamic of this upward spiraling cycle of perceived competence and self-motivation was the intrinsic (natural) positive reinforcers of social interaction and interpersonal connections that accompanied the private practice and

public performances of a musical group, whether a large marching band or a three-member rock combo.

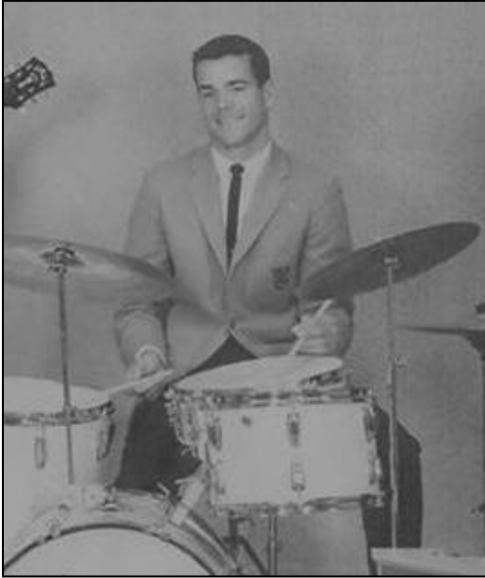


Figure 2: Rock-and-roll drummer for The Counts in 1962

Community

The terms relatedness, connectedness, and belongingness have been used to signify “the need to love and be loved, to care and be cared for... to feel included, to feel related” (Deci & Flaste, 1995, p. 9). In fact, if I hadn’t received compassionate support from parents who believed in my abilities, I might have lost my self-motivation. Not only might I not have continued to fulfill my aspirations to play drums, but I might also have lost my vision to attend college and medical school after the pessimistic remarks of a 6th-grade teacher and other indicators that suggested less-than-stellar aptitude, especially my low SAT scores. I’m sure every reader has similar stories of personal success enabled by social support. And, it’s likely most have experienced a marked loss of self-motivation after losing a sense of relatedness, connectedness, or belongingness with significant others.

In our recent book on self-motivation, Bob Veazie and I (2011) use the term “community” to reflect this state, because the concept of community is more encompassing than relatedness and belongingness. As highlighted by Block (2008) and Peck (1979),

“community” reflects systems-thinking and interdependency beyond the confines of family, social groups, or work teams. It represents an actively-caring mindset for humankind in general – an interconnectedness that transcends differences and prejudices, and profoundly respects and appreciates diversity.

The social interactions enabled by extensive experiences with groups of talented musicians reinforced my drumming skills and maintained my self-motivation to continue practicing and improving my skills. Today, I realize how these group events, from practice to “show time,” taught me invaluable lessons of interconnectedness, interdependency, and synergy. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts when the parts (e.g., musicians) are diverse and contribute interdependently with a win/win collectivistic attitude.

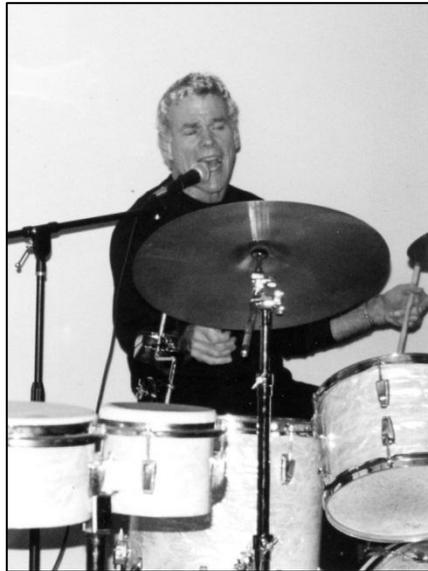


Figure 3: Rock-and-roll drummer for Magic Moments in 2010.

The photo in Figure 3, taken 48 years after the photo in Figure 2, shows I still reap the rewards of participating interdependently with groups of musicians who get a kick out of entertaining audiences at various events. I have chosen to display competence in this way because these experiences have rewarded me so often with pleasing self-motivating perceptions of choice, competence, and community. And, they continue to do so.

In Conclusion

This deviation from the standard commentary accompanying the VSSA Scholar Award was designed to teach three evidence-based determinants of self-motivation, with examples from my own life. I'm convinced the concept of self-motivation is relevant and crucial for every reader, and the factors that influence this desirable motivational state are controllable in numerous situations. In other words, we can influence the degree of choice, competence, and community we and others perceive throughout the various circumstances of our own and other's lives.

Common sense tells us perceptions of low choice, competence, and community are undesirable, regardless of their link to self-motivation. Thus, it is wise to consider ways of increasing these three states in ourselves and others. In addition, our common sense, as well as psychological science, tells us it's not difficult to influence these states in beneficial directions. For example, we can increase the perception of personal choice by thinking deliberately about the many choices we have each day-- from selecting the foods to eat at breakfast to deciding when to turn off the lights at night (Langer, 1989).

We can increase our sense of personal competence by recognizing our daily successes of meaningful work with positive self-talk. And, a personal belief in community is increased when we step back and look at our lives through a wider lens, thereby acknowledging complex interdependent systems that make so many of life's joys possible.

Much more could be said about interpersonal interventions that benefit perceptions of choice, competence, and community. Actually, this has been the focus of the behavioral science research and scholarship accomplished in Virginia Tech's Center for Applied Behavior Systems, which I've directed since 1987. This is also the focus of the effective safety-training and consulting company I co-founded in 1995 – Safety Performance Solutions (www.safetyperformance.com).

As a faculty member at Virginia Tech for 42 years, I am still not ready to retire. Why? Because this enviable profession of teaching, research, and scholarship provides me with ultimate levels of choice, competence, and community every day, thus sustaining my self-motivation to keep on keeping on. Moreover, the honor of receiving this esteemed scholar award from the Virginia Social Science Association implies that an elite community of social-

science scholars considers me competent at doing worthwhile work. Nothing does more to magnify my self-motivation. Drum roll, please!

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