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Preface

We are delighted to present this fifth edition of *Oshkosh Scholar*, a collection of undergraduate student research. This publication displays the ingenuity, curiosity, and academic diversity present at UW Oshkosh. It gives students the opportunity to further their research through collaboration with faculty members and allows them to experience the rewarding rigors of publication as they work alongside our team of editors and reviewers to see their work reach its fullest potential. This high-impact instructional practice offers an exciting chance for students to be engaged in their own learning.

For students who want to maximize their education, faculty-mentored research gives them the opportunity to cultivate their ideas in a way that extends far beyond the classroom. These partnerships enrich the individual students and, in turn, the University, developing an environment where active learning is not only encouraged, but celebrated. We are proud to showcase some of the finest examples of this undergraduate research.

I would like to thank all of the student authors, faculty advisers, and faculty reviewers who contributed to this issue. Special thanks are also due to Susan Surendonk, Tracy Slagter, and this issue's student editors, Jacki Thering, Madison Pilarski, and Arielle Smith. Their enthusiasm and dedication is evident on each page.

Linda S. Freed
Director, Office of Grants and Faculty Development

You might not know that the tagline for *Oshkosh Scholar* is "A journal of undergraduate discoveries." The editorial team is lucky to share in these discoveries each year, and we're excited to bring them to you today. Allow me to give you, our readers, a little peek inside this year's amazing volume.

All research begins on a path that has been trod by scholars who came before. Sometimes, however, the path is altered by new findings. Several articles in this volume tackle what we *think* we know and give us new ways of viewing the world. Chris Hathaway and Anthony Kuchera take us on a journey to the constellation Monoceros, the busy birthplace of new stars, to update our knowledge of how stars form. Dayana Sanchez Vinueza challenges what we know about globalization, and finds that increased international trade does very little to reduce poverty. Steven Mischler pits classic philosophers against modern-day philosophers, illustrating that conceptions of love endure and are coherent across time. Audrey Cowling sorts out the results of animal-assisted therapy on individuals with dementia and provides insight into the circumstances under which animal therapy can be most beneficial to this population.

Chelsea Ruff and Amy Gearhart provide insight into the feminine experience in literature and politics. Ruff teases out the unique ways in which complex female characters in two Nalo Hopkinson novels attempt to attain wholeness despite harsh physical realities. Gearhart explores the impact of electoral systems and quotas on female representation in national legislatures in Latin America, showing how electoral rules can make all the difference for female candidates.

Other pieces critically reexamine prominent historical figures, looking at them through uncommon lenses. Jared Stroik examines whether or not Richard I's bloody "Massacre at Acre" was part of a last-ditch military strategy or the work of a heartless brute. James Madison's presidency is put under Derek Daron's microscope, and Daron questions Madison's legacy as one of our "great" American presidents. Hope Schuhart maintains that presidential human rights records are an important piece of any overall evaluation of leadership and analyzes Harry Truman's record in this regard.

I invite you to explore and enjoy these articles, each offering a glimpse into the amazing world of student research at UW Oshkosh. We invite your comments on this volume as well. Send us an e-mail at ugjournal@uwosh.edu to let us know what you think!

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"The cup of objects can visually represent the academic fields that are published in *Oshkosh Scholar*. And although the disciplines vary they are related and have strong commonalities, even if it is as simple as pen, pencil and scissors."— Lora J. Vahlsing

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Contents

Trade and Poverty in the Developing World

Dayana J. Sanchez Vinueza, author
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Dayana J. Sanchez Vinueza graduated from UW Oshkosh in May 2010 with a
B.B.A. in economics with a minor in global business and a B.A. in Spanish. In fall
2008 she became a Ronald McNair Scholar and began her research on trade and
poverty under the supervision of Dr. M. Kevin McGee. Dayana is also the recipient of
the 17th Annual Celebration of Scholarship Clow Award.

Dr. M. Kevin McGee earned his B.A. in mathematics from Ohio Dominican
College and his M.A. and Ph.D. from The Ohio State University. He served on
the Oshkosh Common Council from 1997 to 2001. He regularly teaches economic
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economics.

Abstract
Globalization brings progress to a nation as well as rapid economic growth. It
also helps increase gross domestic product and, most importantly, makes part of the
population more prosperous by increasing living standards and allowing the country to
be self-sustainable. In this study, data from 84 countries were collected from the World
Trade Organization; using Ordinary Least Squares, this data was analyzed to help
determine the effects trade has on absolute and relative poverty as well as inequality.
Findings showed that trade does help reduce absolute poverty but at a very slow
and diminishing rate. In addition, trade creates a small but statistically insignificant
reduction in inequality. The results also showed that greater population growth results
in more poverty.

Introduction
Economic growth brings progress to a nation, and trade has been essential for
most nations since ancient times. In recent decades, the world has experienced rapid
economic growth, mostly because of international trade. Trade is important for a
country's gross domestic product (GDP), and it has an even greater impact on its
population's well-being. Growth and its impact on poverty varies across borders, often
because of uneven income distribution among a country's population. So, in the end,
can trade be considered beneficial for everyone? And, if so, at what cost?

Literature Review
According to Eddy Lee and Marco Vivarelli, "optimists stress the link between
increasing trade and economic growth and, from this premise, conclude that trade is
good for growth and that growth is good for the poor (in terms of both job creation and
poverty alleviation). . . . pessimists, by contrast, show that globalization is quite uneven
in its impact and gives rise to negative counter-effects on previously protected sectors,
entailing also the marginalization of entire regions of the world and possible increases
in income inequality within countries" (2006, 167–68). Poverty only leads to more

poverty, and as poverty grows such aspects as quality of life, health care, education, water, food, shelter, and income, among others, are worsened. In addition, having no access to financial help and limited access to economic opportunities drowns those in need even deeper into poverty.

Poverty is considered a social problem, and it may result from a government's political and social instability. All of these factors have affected and continue to affect various countries, especially in Latin America. Renato G. Flores said that "anyone would be amazed by the serious macroeconomic disequilibria in the domestic and external accounts, the massive institutional changes that profoundly impact the channels linking trade and poverty reduction" (2008, 73). To help offset this, the government should provide economic assistance to the poor so they do not fall behind, especially during the hard times a country may be experiencing.

Good economic governance and trade reform is important for a country's economic growth, and good management of this growth is the key to reducing poverty levels. Even though globalization is helping to reduce poverty, "trade reforms may, for instance, have an impact on absolute poverty, but by favoring other classes as well, relative poverty may remain unaltered or even worsen" (Flores 2008, 68). Pierre-Richard Agenor describes various channels through which trade openness and financial integration may have an adverse effect on poverty; he suggested that "at low levels, globalization appears to hurt the poor; but beyond a certain threshold, it seems to reduce poverty possibly because it brings with it renewed impetus for reform. Thus, globalization may hurt the poor not because it went too far, but rather because it did not go far enough" (2002, 21). Considering this, I can say that the way government approaches globalization has a great impact in helping reduce poverty while growing globally at the same time.

Trade growth is the result of trade liberalization, technological development, and reduction of trade barriers, something that many countries have taken full advantage of while others have not. The World Bank (2002) suggests that the countries that have opened themselves the most to trade by reducing 34% of their import tariffs in the last two decades have, on average, grown the fastest compared to those that saw no growth over the same period by only reducing tariffs by 11%. Lee and Vivarelli also pointed out that "most developing countries have experienced a significant reduction in the proportion of its population living below the poverty line, particularly fast globalizing countries like China, India, and Vietnam. Conversely, many slow globalizers in sub-Saharan Africa have displayed the opposite trend" (2006, 175). In their study on Latin America, Enrique Ganuza, Samuel Morley, Valeria Pinero, Sherman Robinson, and Rob Vos suggest that "almost everywhere, liberalization increased output, reduced poverty, and had positive effects on employment or wages" (2005, 385). On the other hand, Agenor believes that "trade liberalization has led in some countries to reduced demand for unskilled labor and lower real wages in the short run; combined with a low degree of inter-sectoral labor mobility, job losses and income declines have often translated into higher poverty rates" (2002, 24). However, this is in the short run as he indicated previously.

The type of trade specialization a nation has is important in determining the effect of globalization on poverty. A study done by Paolo Figini and Enrico Santarelli (2006) found that "high poverty was associated with specialization in agricultural exports,

while lower poverty was significantly linked with export specialization in oil and other minerals and linked with manufacturing exports; thus, confirming recent results by UNCTAD (2002)" (2006, 140). Managing trade is an important factor that determines poverty.

Another factor that indirectly affects poverty is a country's geography. In various countries transportation infrastructure is insufficient. Infrastructure is a key factor that limits the access for the region's development and growth, which could lead to improving the quality of life and help to reduce poverty levels. Flores mentioned that "the evil combination of a diversified and often inhospitable geography with a decadent or non-existent infrastructure makes distance a key determinant of development, even in a small country like Ecuador, where three clearly distinct zones segment the territory" (2008, 72). A place such as Latin America, where road transportation is a major problem, shows how essential good infrastructure is for trade to have a positive impact.

Model

The purpose of this research paper is to determine the effects of trade on poverty in the less-developed countries. I used an OLS regression model. Poverty was the dependent variable, and trade was one of the independent variables. To control for other factors that may affect poverty, I also used debt, GDP per capita, health expenditure, education expenditure, inflation, population growth, and unemployment as explanatory variables. To allow for nonlinearities, that is, a possibly curving relationship between these variables and poverty, I added Trade squared and GDP per capita squared to my model. To identify any geographic effects, I included dummy variables for Africa, Latin America, landlocked countries, and those countries with World Trade Organization (WTO) membership.

Data and Variables

To examine the relationship between trade and poverty in developing nations, I focused mainly on poverty levels in Third World countries and examined whether trade had a positive or negative impact on society as a whole. The dependent variables measured countries' average poverty levels from 1989 to 2008. I used both absolute and relative poverty measures: the GINI coefficient, the poverty gap at $1.25 a day and $2.00 a day, the income share held by the highest 10% and 20%, and the income share held by the lowest 10% and 20%.

Initially, I collected data on 227 countries worldwide from the World Bank. High-income countries and countries that did not have all the necessary data were eliminated, narrowing my sample to 84 countries. Most of those 84 countries did not have data for all 20 years; hence, I chose to use average values for the 20-year period. The following are the independent variables used:

Average GDP levels per capita (GDPCap) is the measure of a country's total economic production, equally divided among a country's population. Low GDP levels and high population levels are associated with poverty. High GDP levels and high population levels, as is the case with China, do not help reduce poverty because average GDP levels per capita are low compared to the rest of the world.

Health Expenditure per capita (HLTHcap) is per capita government spending on health care and health care expenditure as a percent of GDP. Limited access to health

care leads to a decrease in the well-being of an individual, making him or her more vulnerable to sickness. Illness makes it harder to work, which may lead to an increase in poverty. I would expect the lack of health care to reduce the chances a child will fully develop his or her capabilities, which would in turn lead to poverty because he or she will lack essential skills needed for a job.

Education (EDspnd) is a government's spending on education divided by the total number of students by level, as a percentage of GDP per capita. Education is important for any individual, but in poor countries, education is not a priority. Often child labor increases because of lack of education. Insufficient education leaves children without the basics to go through life and succeed.

Inflation (InflCPI) as measured by the consumer price index reflects the annual percentage change in the cost to the average consumer of acquiring a basket of goods and services. Inflation is a persistent increase in the level of consumer prices or a decline in the purchasing power of the consumer. Poor people spend greater percentages of their incomes on food than others. Inflation affects poor people the most because a greater percentage of their incomes is spent on basic needs, leaving little money or, in most cases, nothing left to be saved. Inflation raises prices, which reduces the power of consumption of this group, submerging them into deeper levels of poverty. This impact will cause poverty levels to rise.

Population growth (POPgrth) is expressed as a percentage of the total population of a nation, including all residents regardless of their legal status or citizenship. High growth levels may affect poverty if the nation does not have enough resources and employment opportunities to sustain the growth.

Average unemployment levels (Unempl) refer to a percentage of the labor force that is involuntarily without a job but is available for and actively seeking work. High unemployment rates should cause poverty levels to rise.

Trade (Trade) is the sum of imports and exports of goods and services measured as a percentage of GDP. It is thought that trade plays an important role in economic growth; therefore, high levels of trade should help reduce poverty and help a nation's economy. Trade is the key variable in this study.

Results
Poverty Gap at $1.25 a Day

Table 1 presents results when the dependent variable is the poverty gap at $1.25 a day. The standard errors have been corrected for heteroskedasticity. The model has an adjusted R^2 of 75.34. In other words, this model explains about 75% of the poverty gap at $1.25 a day. The results show that *POPgrth* has the highest impact, with a positive coefficient, meaning that if a country experiences as little as 1% of population growth, there will be an increase of 4.22% in poverty. According to the CIA's *World Factbook*, the world population estimate is 6.8 billion as of July 2009, and the estimated annual percent increase in the world population is 1.167% (2009). Population growth in low-income countries is higher and so is poverty.

The coefficient of *GDPCap* is -0.019377, which means that initially every time there is an increase of 1% in GDP per capita there will be a decrease of 0.019% of the population living under the $1.25 poverty line. With a positive coefficient, *GDPCap²* indicates that GDP per capita has a diminishing impact; as GDP per capita increases, the poverty gap at $1.25 a day declines at a decreasing rate.

The key variable's coefficient, *Trade*, is -0.28012, which means that every time there is a 1% increase in trade as a percent of GDP, there will be a 0.28% decrease of people living on less than $1.25 per day. The positive *Trade²* coefficient of 0.0014587 points to the same result GDPCap² shows: trade has a diminishing impact on poverty. As previously thought, trade does not have much impact on reducing poverty. Trade declines in effectiveness after a certain level of results is achieved; after that poverty is barely affected.

For the dummy variables, I found that landlocked countries have approximately 12% more of the population living below the $1.25 poverty line, controlling for everything else. Countries with WTO membership tend to have an additional 7% of the population living below the $1.25 poverty line. African countries have 14% more of the population below the $1.25 poverty line, all else equal. The coefficient for Latin American countries is not statistically significant; poverty in Latin America is no different from poverty rates in the rest of the world. I can conclude from this that landlocked countries in Africa with WTO membership have approximately 33% more of the population living below the $1.25 poverty line compared to the rest of the world. Landlocked African countries that do not have WTO membership have approximately 26% more of the population living below the $1.25 poverty line. It is evident that taking part in world trade does affect poverty levels.

In another note, *EDspnd* has a higher impact on poverty at the $1.25 gap than any of the other variables except for population growth. I can observe that if a country were to increase education spending per capita even by 1% of its GDP, then 2.74% of the population will move above the $1.25 poverty line. This is important because the more education an individual receives, the more likely he or she will find a better job and succeed because knowledge is power.

HLTHcap has a positive coefficient of 0.06845: if a country increases health expenditure by 1% of its GDP, 0.068% of the population will move below the $1.25 poverty line. This is important because it shows that health care per capita does not help to reduce poverty but is associated with higher poverty levels. A reason for this could be that with better health care, there is population growth due to lower infant mortality rates or simply because now the population can live longer. Another reason could be that investing in more health care takes money from other more important causes, such as education. Health care reduces GDP per capita and increases population growth, and both have an impact on poverty.

Poverty Gap at $2.00 a Day

I examined the impact of trade on several other poverty measures; I kept all the independent and dummy variables used in the previous table. Results using a poverty gap at $2.00 a day are in table 2.

In the new analysis, I found that the results for the poverty gap at $2.00 a day were about the same as those for the poverty gap at $1.25 a day, but there were a few that experienced slight changes. For instance, the *POPgrth* coefficient increased from 4.22 in table 1 to 5.7275 in table 2. At the $2.00 a day poverty gap, there is an increase in poverty of 5.73% for every 1% in population growth, a difference of approximately 1.5% from the results in table 1. WTO membership had a decrease in its coefficient, falling from 6.8622 to 3.377, a 3.4852 difference, which means that at the $2.00 a day

poverty gap WTO members only have 3.38% more poverty than those who do not have WTO membership. Africa also had a decrease in its coefficient, falling from 14.049 to 10.751, a 3.298 difference. This means that countries in Africa have only 10.75% more of the population below the $2.00 a day poverty line than countries that are not in Africa. Latin America, on the other hand, had a significant decrease in its coefficient; it went from -0.97431 to -4. This means that at the $2.00 a day poverty line, countries in Latin America have 4.03% less poverty than the rest of the world.

Measures of Relative Poverty

In order to further understand the effects of trade and who is benefiting from trade, I also ran regressions on several relative poverty measures while keeping the same explanatory variables used in table 1. Results of these regressions are in table 3; measures of relative poverty used were the GINI coefficient, Income Top 10% and 20%, and Income Low 10% and 20%.

From analyzing the data, I observed that for all five specifications only the coefficients for Africa and Latin America were significant. In all but the GINI coefficient equation, *POPgrth* is also significant. I can expect income for the top 10% and 20% to increase by 1.17% and 1.14%, respectively, for every 1% increase in population growth, while the income for the bottom 10% and 20% falls by 0.14% and 0.34%, respectively. For the GINI coefficient analysis, one additional variable that is significant is *GDPCap*. Here income inequality increased at a diminishing rate, primarily by increasing income of the top 10% and 20% that is approximately 10 times more than the bottom 10% and 20%.

In all the regressions, Africa and Latin America have much more inequality than the rest of the world, especially Latin America. Countries in Africa have nearly 5% more income going to top 10% and 20%, and Latin America has more than 10% additional income going to top 10% and 20% than the rest of the world. The bottom 10% and 20% in Africa has 0.03745% to 0.8744% less income and Latin America has 1.7389% to 3.5859% less income than the rest of the world.

For the most part, none of the other variables had a statistically significant impact on income inequality. In particular, trade creates a small but not statistically significant reduction in inequality, regardless of how it is measured.

Conclusion

The purpose of this project was to determine how trade and other factors affect absolute and relative poverty in developing countries. Absolute poverty is measured as the percent of the population living below the $1.25 and $2.00 a day poverty gap. In my research, a significant result was that population growth is one of the biggest causes of poverty. I found that when population growth increases by as little as 1%, poverty at the $1.25 a day gap increases as much as 5.72% and poverty at the $2.00 a day gap increases by 7.17%. The *World Factbook* estimates an annual percent increase in the world population of 1.17% (CIA, 2009). This is an important result because there is a much bigger population growth in Third World countries than in others. Population growth needs to slow down, not only because it results in higher poverty levels but because with more population, there is also an increase in demands for food, water, and other resources.

In the relative poverty measures results, I found that inequality is more significant in Latin American countries than the rest of the world; Africa follows. Here, population growth suggests more inequality because a 1% increase causes income to the top 10% and 20% to increase approximately 1%, while it decreases income of the bottom 10% and 20% by approximately 0.14% and 0.34%, respectively. On the GINI coefficient analysis, I saw that GDP per capita creates more inequality by increasing income to the top 10% and 20% approximately 10 times more than the bottom 10% and 20%.

Besides population growth, there are other factors that increased poverty in my sample. Trade is a major part of a country's GDP, and GDP itself is important to a country. Even though trade helps to reduce poverty by helping increase overall GDP, it reduces poverty at a slow and diminishing rate in the long run. As previously thought, trade does not have much impact. What it does, however, is help to increase GDP. However, with population growing at the same time, there is really no effect, although without trade helping to increase overall GDP, population growth would be even worse for poverty rates. Also, trade does not reduce inequality in developing nations. Trade creates a small but not statistically significant reduction in inequality. Poverty rates and inequality are not the same because poverty can decrease without changing levels of inequality. Therefore, trade reduces absolute poverty but has no statistically significant impact on relative poverty. This agrees with Flores' (2008) idea that trade reforms do have an impact on absolute poverty but by favoring others, relative poverty remains the same.

One important measure that can help reduce absolute poverty levels is education expenditure. My findings reveal that if education spending per capita increases as little as 1%, approximately 3% of the population will move above the $1.25 poverty gap. This is important because it shows that the more education an individual can get the more likely he or she will find a better job and succeed. In addition, it is best if developing nations implement the right public policies and put more money into their education systems because a more literate population is better able to attract industrial development, helping everyone.

Good economic governance and trade reform are important for a country's economic growth, and good management of this growth is key to reducing poverty levels. Even though trade is helping to reduce absolute poverty at a slow diminishing rate, in the end trade is only helping those who are rich get richer and those who are poor stay poor. Considering this, I can say that the way government approaches globalization has significant impact in helping reduce poverty while growing globally at the same time. As a nation opens its economy to globalization some people will be hurt in the process, and this will cause poverty to increase. However, appropriate government management in implementing new public policies will help offset this negative effect, and a nation will thrive in the process.

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Table 1. Poverty gap at $1.25 a day

	Estimated Coefficient	t-ratio
POPgrth	4.22	9.767
GDPcap	-0.019377	-17.66
GDPcapsq	0.000001717	16.51
Trade	-0.28012	-8.35
Tradesq	0.0014587	8.416
LndLck	11.676	7.512
WTO	6.8622	10.11
Africa	14.049	7.551
LatAm	-0.97431	-1.011
Unempl	-0.24246	-3.424
InflCPI	-0.013737	-7.109
EDspnd	-2.7431	-8.177
HLTHcap	0.068453	15.47
CONSTANT	42.355	16.21
R^2	0.792	
R^2 Adjusted	0.7534	

Table 2. Poverty gap at $2.00 a day

	Estimated Coefficient	t-ratio
POPgrth	5.7275	7.566
GDPcap	-0.025854	-13.17
GDPcapsq	0.0000027183	11.05
trade	-0.30777	-4.127
tradesq	0.0016712	4.401
LndLck	11.548	3.999
WTO	3.377	1.873
Africa	10.751	3.809
LatAm	-4.0319	-2.452
Unempl	-0.17091	-1.387
InflCPI	-0.018665	-3.952
EDspnd	-3.2438	-5.325
HLTHcap	0.044804	6.521
CONSTANT	72.518	14.11
R^2	0.8118	
R^2 Adjusted	0.7769	

Table 3. Measures of relative poverty

	GINI		INCOME TOP 10		INCOME TOP 20		INCOME LOW 10		INCOME LOW 20	
	Estimated Coefficient	t-ratio	Estimated Coefficient	t-ratio	Estimated Coefficient	t-ratio	Estimated Coefficient	t-ratio	Estimated Coefficient	t-ratio
POPgrth	1.0512	1.511	1.1715	2.096	1.1487	1.889	-0.14029	-1.841	-0.34131	-2.001
GDPcap	0.0035842	1.828	0.00249660	1.59	2.14E-03	1.264	0.00019945	1.108	0.00035474	0.8573
GDPcapsq	-0.00000046632	-1.911	-0.00000037825	-1.961	-3.37E-07	-1.629	0.0000000021233	0.1093	0.0000000000511	0.1136
trade	-0.045584	-0.6559	-0.054153	-0.9669	-4.75E-02	-0.8033	0.0055649	1.017	0.0076873	0.5888
tradesq	0.00025134	0.724	0.00028041	1.006	2.49E-04	0.8548	-0.000023249	-0.938	-0.000027461	-0.458
LndLck	1.7869	1.193	1.6422	1.353	1.5035	1.167	-0.24975	-1.901	-0.48987	-1.616
WTO	-0.74621	-0.4544	-0.75531	-0.5695	-0.2886	-0.2013	-0.28615	-1.39	-0.5805	-1.313
Africa	6.3704	3.57	4.8742	3.367	4.8829	3.149	-0.37452	-1.865	-0.8744	-1.997
LatAm	14.159	7.045	10.527	6.548	11.166	6.643	-1.7389	-10.02	-3.5859	-9.228
Unempl	0.073377	0.6991	0.03936	0.4693	5.49E-02	0.6099	-0.016276	-1.744	-0.036919	-1.727
InflCPI	-0.0045811	-0.7649	-0.0033417	-0.7002	-3.28E-03	-0.6367	0.000071726	0.1697	-0.000035643	-0.03482
EDspnd	0.30433	0.638	0.18545	0.4825	0.27753	0.6756	-0.01497	-0.3647	-0.044964	-0.4727
HLTHcap	-0.012491	-1.119	-0.0056307	-0.6242	-4.00E-03	-0.4003	-0.0024622	-2.109	-0.0044928	-1.682
CONSTANT	33.942	8.469	27.746	5.594	41.911	12.21	3.3927	10.03	8.2917	10.51
R^2	0.5566		0.5243		0.5294		0.6418		0.6077	
R^2 Adjusted	0.4742		0.4359		0.4419		0.5753		0.5348	

Healing the Feminine Mind/Body Split through Spiritual Performance

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Abstract

In Nalo Hopkinson's novels *Brown Girl in the Ring* and *Midnight Robber*, the female protagonists, Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan, are forced by the patriarchy to live in uncivilized areas. The danger of living in such areas requires these protagonists to work much harder to satisfy their physical needs, including food, water, and safety. Because these protagonists must spend the majority of their time satisfying their physical needs, their mental halves suffer from neglect, creating a mind/body split. The protagonists in these two novels attempt to heal their mind/body splits with the help of spirit guides. Both Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan take on the identity of their spirit guides through their performances of dances and speeches. This adoption of the spirit guides' identities helps to heal the mind/body split, which then allows characters to rise above the reach of the oppressive patriarchy, a government controlled by men, and subsequently become empowered.

Introduction

"Feminine experience is often one in which mind and body, mind and matter, are joined and, jointly, are ripped off."[1] This quote by Muriel Dimen claims that feminine experiences can result in a split between the mind and body. In *Brown Girl in the Ring* and *Midnight Robber*, this experience of the mind/body split is a strictly feminine one because mind/body splits occur when the female protagonists are forced to reside in unsuitable living conditions created by the patriarchy. In both of Nalo Hopkinson's texts, the oppressive male characters are responsible for the horrendous environments the female protagonists are living in. In *Brown Girl in the Ring*, Rudy, a crime lord, has complete control of the now-decayed city of Toronto and through his actions and the actions of his hired thugs, he continuously pushes the city further and further from its happy past. In *Midnight Robber*, Tan-Tan's father, Anthony, forces Tan-Tan to go into exile with him when Anthony kills a man. The location they are exiled to is very different from the civilized world Tan-Tan is used to, and the home atmosphere created by Anthony when he beats and rapes Tan-Tan makes her environment even more uncivilized. The environments created in the novels by Rudy and Anthony are called literary dystopias, which can also be thought of as anti-utopias, or the opposite of paradise.

Dystopias in novels often function as a way to draw attention to an imbalance in the world—a disunity and an un-wholeness—and it is this un-wholeness that can lead to a mind/body split in the female characters. Individuals living in dystopias often reside in Third World conditions, making the simple acts of finding food and water or ensuring physical safety incredibly difficult. Because individuals living in dystopias have to work hard to satisfy their physiological needs, the harmony between their minds and bodies begins to suffer. When individuals are forced by their situations to choose to accommodate either the needs of their body or the needs of their mind, as Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan are both forced to do in Hopkinson's novels, a disconnect or a split between these two aspects is created because only one need is being satisfied. Deborah Harter argues that in Hopkinson's novels, "this promotion of the part in fantastic narrative would seem also to reflect a quest for unity in a world whose wholeness has been lost to view."[2] In these two novels, Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan are indeed on a "quest for unity," trying to simultaneously meet their physical needs as well as their mental needs in order to reconnect their minds and bodies, which have been disconnected due to the environments created by the patriarchy. They are able to do this with the help of spirit guides with whom they merge through dance and speech.

In *Brown Girl in the Ring* and *Midnight Robber*, religion plays a large role in the reunification of the protagonists' physical and mental halves. Karen McCarthy Brown asserts that African religions, including Haitian Voodoo, work past "'the mind/body splitting' that has characterized Western thought."[3] Brown proposes that it is necessary to remedy the mind/body split, and that using religion is one possible solution. This is exactly the path that Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan choose to follow through their use of spirit guides, who operate as god-like entities for the protagonists.

Through the use of spirit guides, with Esu-Legbara acting as spirit guide for Ti-Jeanne and the Robber Queen acting as spirit guide for Tan-Tan, the female protagonists become empowered. Claude F. Jacobs explains that "spirit guides are . . . symbols of protest and empowerment for the largely low-income and working-class female[s]."[4] In Hopkinson's novels, the Robber Queen and Esu-Legbara follow Jacobs' definition by allowing the female protagonists outlets for protest and opportunities for empowerment. Without the aid of their spirit guides, it would be more difficult for Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan to protest injustices and attain empowerment. Also, Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan can both be classified as low-income and working class, hence their need for empowerment. The path to empowerment for these two protagonists can be found in their performances throughout the novels; the performances directly connect them to their spirit guides and reconnect their minds to their bodies. Ti-Jeanne forms these connections through dancing, while Tan-Tan gives speeches.

Barbara Frey Waxman examines the role of dance in multiple works by African American female writers.[5] While all the authors mentioned in her article use the act of dancing in unique ways, they have many similarities that can be carried over to the works of Hopkinson, who is also an African American female writer. One characteristic of dance that is often referred to in African American women's writing is "dance's ability to heal the mind/body split."[6] The actions of Hopkinson's female protagonists support the healing capacity of dance and music.

I am also carrying over Waxman's assertions about dance to the performance of speeches because "like spoken or written discourse, it [music] can act as a medium

to represent thoughts, transmit ideas, and incite reactions."[7] Given the similarities between the uses of speech and music and the similarities between the purpose of Ti-Jeanne's dances and Tan-Tan's speeches, any point made about dance in Waxman's article can also be applied to speech performances. I will present information that proves there exists a very noticeable mind/body split in the female protagonists of these two novels. I will also show that the female protagonists mend this split through performances that allow them to form a connection with their spirit guides, who function as the protagonists' religious icons.

Brown Girl in the Ring

Hopkinson's *Brown Girl in the Ring* follows the experiences of Ti-Jeanne, a young single mother with great spiritual abilities. Ti-Jeanne lives in the crumbling city of Toronto, which is controlled by a crime lord named Rudy. At first Ti-Jeanne is afraid of her powers, which appear in the form of uninvited visions, because her mother went mad and disappeared after seeing similar visions. This fear helps to further the split between Ti-Jeanne's mind and body. As the novel continues, Ti-Jeanne learns how to better control her powers with the help of her grandmother, Mami, a respected spiritual leader in the community. By the end of the novel, Ti-Jeanne is able to control both her mind and body and use this newly acquired control to harness her spiritual powers and defeat Rudy.

In *Brown Girl in the Ring*, Ti-Jeanne is often unable to control her own mind; she sees visions of people dying, and they frighten her because she does not understand their origins or meanings. Her mind acts as a medium through which the spirits (namely Esu-Legbara) attempt to speak to her, but Ti-Jeanne's lack of understanding of what is being expressed inside her mind creates a disconnect between her mind and body. Only Ti-Jeanne's body is under her control at this point in the novel. Dancing or wordplay on dancing that makes references to dances historically done by the god Esu-Legbara is what leads Ti-Jeanne toward the synchronization of her body and mind.

Hopkinson answered a question about her hobbies in an interview with Gregory Rutledge, saying, "I like dancing for fun."[8] Like Hopkinson, Esu-Legbara, a major character in *Brown Girl in the Ring*, also enjoys dancing. According to Henry Louis Gates, "Esu [-Legbara] is also a highly accomplished dancer."[9] In *Brown Girl in the Ring*, Esu-Legbara acts as Ti-Jeanne's spiritual guide. Once Esu-Legbara's affinity for dancing is understood, readers will notice a variety of wordplays on the word *dance* throughout the novel. This play leads the reader to make multiple connections between Esu-Legbara and the character of Ti-Jeanne. Gates makes the assertion that when Esu-Legbara dances, it is a ritualistic "dance of generation, of creation, [or] of translation."[9] Every play on the word *dance* that Hopkinson uses can be classified as related to the dances of generation, creation, or translation, directly connecting Hopkinson's writing to the legends of Esu-Legbara. When Ti-Jeanne comes to an understanding of the connection between herself and Esu-Legbara, the result is a healing of the mind/body split and a regaining of identity, which ultimately leads to her empowerment. Due to the similarity of the meaning of generation and creation, I will refer to these dances as a single dance, simply referred to as the generation/creation dance.

Hopkinson describes Ti-Jeanne's visions saying "childhood songs . . . replayed in her mind, and dancing to their music were images."[10] Later in the book, Ti-Jeanne

discovers these visions are a gift from the spirit, Esu-Legbara, who operates as a messenger and interpreter of "the gods to man."[11] The "dancing" of the images in her visions is a depiction of the dance of translation done by Esu-Legbara. Through Ti-Jeanne's visions, Esu-Legbara is translating to her the "will of the gods."[11] In this case, the will of the gods is the death(s) of the individuals she sees in her visions. These visions illustrate a mind/body split because Ti-Jeanne does not understand these visions and cannot control them, making her body the only thing she can truly control at the beginning of the novel. This mention of dance—the dancing visions—does not operate as a healing agent of the mind/body split at this point in the novel. It is not until later, when Ti-Jeanne realizes it is better to use her visions than to fear them, and begins to harness her spiritual powers, that her dancing visions can be interpreted as healing agents.

Another example of the dance of translation is found in the mention of Mami's tarot cards, which are decorated with "pictures of men and women dancing in colourful, oversized Carnival costumes."[12] Tarot cards are used to interpret the will of the gods, which means that Mami's dancing cards Ti-Jeanne uses in this scene are another representation of Esu-Legbara's translation dance. This specific mention of dance works to heal the mind/body split. At this point in the novel, Ti-Jeanne has been informed by Mami, her grandmother, that her visions do not mean she's crazy; instead they are "a gift from God Father. Is a good thing, not a evil thing."[13] This knowledge allows Ti-Jeanne to be unafraid of her visions and potential spiritual powers. The tarot cards, a physical representation of her visions, provide a way for Ti-Jeanne to reconnect her mind and body. The working together of her mind and body in a translation dance brings Ti-Jeanne closer to the god Esu-Legbara. This translation dance also results in a reconnection of her mental and physical halves, bringing her closer to her ultimate goal of obtaining power.

Later in the novel, Mami expects "Ti-Jeanne to dance to her tune or find somewhere else to live."[14] Ti-Jeanne does not dance to Mami's tune; instead she creates her own tune. She threatens Mami's control by illustrating that she is willing to leave Mami's home before conceding to her demands. "She [Ti-Jeanne] stood up and marched toward the front door, Baby on her hip, Tony following uncertainly after her."[15] Mami is forced to give up some of her power in order to keep Ti-Jeanne from leaving, which Mami does by asking Ti-Jeanne to stay. Ti-Jeanne also demands that Mami must try to help Tony (Ti-Jeanne's love interest) if she wants Ti-Jeanne to stay: "If I stay, Mami, you have to talk to Tony."[16] Her demand illustrates an attitude of independence in Ti-Jeanne, an attitude that was not present in her prior interactions with Mami. This reference to dance mirrors Esu-Legbara's dance of generation/creation. By dancing to her own tune, Ti-Jeanne is exhibiting independence, which results in the generation of a new relationship between Mami and Ti-Jeanne. "Something had changed between them. They were two women now, no longer an adult and a child."[17] This generation/creation dance illustrates a connection between Ti-Jeanne's mental desires and her physical actions. Throughout the novel, Ti-Jeanne's narrative often suggests that she disagrees with Mami's lifestyle and her religious practices, referring to Mami's beliefs as "that duppy business" and "old-time nonsense."[18] Yet this is the first occasion in which Ti-Jeanne physically stands up to her grandmother rather than silently disagreeing with her. Ti-Jeanne's act of independence

shows a collaboration of her mind and body; the belief of her mind is brought to a physical realization through her show of independence, continuing the healing of her mind/body split.

However, the major turning point in the healing of Ti-Jeanne's mind/body split occurs during Mami's ritualistic ceremony when Ti-Jeanne becomes a vessel for the spirit of Esu-Legbara. "She [Ti-Jeanne] rose smoothly to her feet and began to dance with an eerie, stalking motion that made her legs seem longer than they were."[19] It is only after being physically embodied by the spirit of Esu-Legbara that Ti-Jeanne's spiritual center becomes truly controllable. This specific dance operates as both a translation dance and a generation/creation dance for Ti-Jeanne. It is a translation dance because Esu-Legbara is expressing the will of the gods to Mami through Ti-Jeanne's body; he is telling her exactly what Ti-Jeanne and Tony must do in order to leave town without being seen. It is also a generation/creation dance, because this is the instance that leads to a close spiritual relationship between Esu-Legbara and Ti-Jeanne. Recognition of this spiritual relationship helps Ti-Jeanne understand the specific origin of her visions and leads her to a realization of her spiritual potential. After this possession by Esu-Legbara, Mami explains to Ti-Jeanne the true meaning of her powers: "It mean you could ease people passing, light the way for them. For them to cross over from this world or the next."[20] When Ti-Jeanne realizes that her mental half is not something to be feared but something to be used and channeled, she is able to regain control of her mind, healing her mind/body split.

Evidence of Ti-Jeanne's healed mind/body split can be found at the end of the novel when Ti-Jeanne is able to use her newly controllable mind to defeat Rudy. The power that Ti-Jeanne's wholeness has created is illustrated when she calls to the spirits and to the souls of those that Rudy murdered to help her kill him. The spirits and souls answer her call: "Rudy screamed as the weight of every murder he had done fell on him."[21]

Waxman proposes that the "reintegration of body with mind is central to women's empowerment."[22] Esu-Legbara's possession of Ti-Jeanne during their dance is what leads to the reintegration of Ti-Jeanne's body and mind. This is apparent when the reader realizes that before Esu-Legbara possessed Ti-Jeanne's body and forced her to dance, she had no control over her spiritual powers or her mind. Had she not been forced to dance by Esu-Legbara and as a consequence synchronized her mind and body, she would not have been able to ask eight spirits and countless souls to help her defeat Rudy and his henchmen. Therefore, Ti-Jeanne's defeat of Rudy relied entirely on Esu-Legbara's decision to possess her and dance through her.

The instances that connect Ti-Jeanne to dancing can be interpreted as dances resulting in a translation of the gods' will or dances resulting in the creation/generation of new relationships. These dances progressively bring Ti-Jeanne to a closer relationship with Esu-Legbara, which helps her better understand the mental part of her identity. This understanding enables Ti-Jeanne to regain control of her mind, and once both her mind and body are under her control, Ti-Jeanne is given the opportunity to realize her full spiritual potential. Ti-Jeanne acts upon that potential at the end of the novel when she defeats Rudy and the final result is her empowerment.

I have explained the mind/body split, religious performances, and consequent empowerment of Ti-Jeanne. I will be examining the same aspects in Hopkinson's character Tan-Tan from *Midnight Robber*.

Midnight Robber

    Midnight Robber recounts the experiences of Tan-Tan, a young woman who was exiled with her father at a young age. She is continuously raped and beaten by her father while growing up, but reaches her breaking point on her sixteenth birthday. She finds courage by taking on the identity of the Robber Queen spirit and kills her father in self-defense. After killing her father, Tan-Tan flees her town and lives in the wilderness with a tribe of bird and lizard creatures called douens. As the novel continues, Tan-Tan strengthens her relationship with the Robber Queen identity to allow herself an outlet for expression that would otherwise have been denied because she is wanted by the authorities for the murder of her father. As the novel progresses, Tan-Tan is able to use her newfound courage to heal her mind/body split by defeating the bad Tan-Tan, the mental remnant of her father's abuse.

    Tan-Tan, the female protagonist of *Midnight Robber*, pretends she is the Robber Queen, who has not historically been a religious figure, but rather a source of entertainment. The Robber Queen is a female depiction of the Midnight Robber, a traditional Mardi Gras figure. However, in *Midnight Robber*, the Robber Queen appears as a god-like entity for Tan-Tan. As Hopkinson said in an interview with Diane Glave, "In *Midnight Robber* I haven't given an overt form of religion to the world I created. But I did build in spiritual beliefs."[23] For Tan-Tan, the Robber Queen is the only spiritual entity in whom she strongly believes, and Tan-Tan chooses to form a connection with her in order to make use of the Robber Queen's identity. This supports the assertion made by Gale Jackson, which claims that the tendency of African performances to place emphasis on individuals "becoming gods [themselves]" comes from the Yoruba culture.[24] Becoming a god, like the Robber Queen, is exactly what Tan-Tan does throughout *Midnight Robber*.

    The creation of Tan-Tan's mind/body split occurs on her ninth birthday when her father rapes her for the first time. She is forced to divide her identity to reconcile the perceived division of her father's identity: "Daddy's hands were hurting, even though his mouth smiled at her like the old Daddy, the one from before the shift tower [a form of travel] took them. Daddy was two daddies. She felt her own self split in two to try to understand, to accommodate them both."[25] At this point obtainment of wholeness becomes more difficult because now there are two mental entities vying for the use of Tan-Tan's body rather than just one. This struggle is created because Tan-Tan's strongest relationship is with her father; he is the only connection she has with her past life, the life she led before she and her father were forced into exile. When her father, the person she loves most, begins to hurt her, Tan-Tan just cannot understand: "Why was Daddy doing this to her? Tan-Tan couldn't get away, couldn't understand."[26] To keep her father in the esteemed position he held before he raped her, Tan-Tan divides her father into "old [good] Antonio" and "bad Antonio."[27] In order to keep from feeling that she deserves Antonio's abuse, Tan-Tan divides herself into good Tan-Tan and bad Tan-Tan. It is only the bad Tan-Tan who deserves Antonio's cruelty, which allows Tan-Tan to escape the abuse through good Tan-Tan, or the Robber Queen. Tan-Tan chooses to take on the identity of the Robber Queen in addition to her original identity to deal with the traumatic experience of her incestuous rape: "She wasn't Tan-Tan, the bad Tan-Tan. She was Tan-Tan the Robber Queen . . . and strong men does tremble in their boots when she pass by. Nothing bad does ever happen to Tan-Tan the Robber Queen.

Nothing can't hurt she."[28] This situation creates the identity conflict that Tan-Tan must work to remedy throughout the rest of the novel. As Tan-Tan continues to deal with distressing experiences, she always turns to the persona of the Robber Queen to solve any issues. Tan-Tan does this because she has no reason to believe her own personality is strong enough to solve anything, since her own personality could not keep her father from raping her.

Tan-Tan's choice to identify with the Robber Queen comes from a childhood memory. On one occasion, when Tan-Tan was a young girl, she stood up to her father: "the time when she'd been playing Robber Queen in the julie-mango tree and talking back so breezily to Daddy."[29] In addition to "talking back" to her father, Tan-Tan disobeys her father's order to "stay up there [in the julie-mango tree]."[30] Tan-Tan recognizes that the first time she ever stood up to her father was when she dressed and acted like the Robber Queen. This experience operates as the major factor in Tan-Tan's decision to take on the Robber Queen's identity. By embodying the Robber Queen, Tan-Tan is mentally rejecting her father's actions. When she is being raped, she goes to a place in her mind where she cannot be hurt, a place where she can be the Robber Queen.

As the novel continues, Tan-Tan's Robber Queen embodiment progresses from a mental act to a physical one. At the age of 16, Tan-Tan is beaten and raped again, but this time she takes a more active role as the Robber Queen: "It couldn't have been she. It must have been the Robber Queen who pulled out the knife. Antonio raised up to shove into the person on the bed again. It must have been the Robber Queen, the outlaw woman, who quick like a snake got the knife braced at her breastbone just as Antonio slammed his heavy body right onto the blade."[31] This situation, just like the earlier rape scene, results in the assumption of the Robber Queen identity to be in control once more. The end result of this assumption of identity is a transcendence of her own identity to the identity of the Robber Queen. This transcendence of identity allows Tan-Tan to bring about an end to her father's continuous raping, letting her once more control her own body.

After murdering her father in self-defense, fear of persecution forces Tan-Tan to leave her home. She has no other option but to live with the douens, where the lack of human language and contact begins to affect Tan-Tan. The only outlet that will allow Tan-Tan to once again use human language is the performance of rhetoric under the disguise of the Robber Queen. As Tan-Tan shares her Robber Queen identity with others, the entity she embodies begins to more closely reflect the traditional figure of the Midnight Robber. The traditional Midnight Robber "functions as a social and political critic, humorist, and educator in the manner of the calypsonians [musicians of the Afro-Caribbean style of music, calypso]" through the art of oratory performances or speeches.[32] Tan-Tan's increasing embodiment of the Robber Queen is apparent in her actions, but more specifically within her oratory performances.

The first time Tan-Tan performs as the Robber Queen in front of an audience, she criticizes flawed relationships between humans. Tan-Tan finds inspiration for her speech when she sees a mother beating her grown son. The reason this evoked such strong feelings is because of her own experiences of being beaten by her father. In traditional Mardi Gras songs, similar to Tan-Tan's speeches, "strong feelings rise spontaneously into improvised lyrics."[33] Kathryn VanSpanckeren proposes that

improvised lyrics, which have historically been a part of Mardi Gras performances, allow individuals to freely express themselves. For example, Tan-Tan expresses herself by saying "I shamed to be of your kind. . . . You treat he worse than dog, yet he loves you like hog love mud. . . . Me tell you, don't hurt your son no more. Me will know. Me, Tan-Tan, the Robber Queen."[34]

Tan-Tan uses her Robber Queen identity as a means of moral expression because it provides her with a sense of anonymity. When an audience sees Tan-Tan as the Robber Queen, no one sees her past. When Tan-Tan is the Robber Queen, she feels no guilt and no shame. She does not hear the bad Tan-Tan inside her head, constantly criticizing her, saying things like "[you] only good for dead" or "you is a wicked crosses for people to bear."[35] The Robber Queen identity silences the bad Tan-Tan, leaving Tan-Tan as the Robber Queen free to fight injustice. When Tan-Tan again confronts humans about the wrongs they are committing, she physically assaults a bar owner who has been giving his customers watered-down drinks while charging them for strong drinks. Here, the "strong feelings" that give way to Tan-Tan's improvised lyrics come from her experiences of being exploited by her father and her desire to stop exploitation wherever she can. She forces the bar owner to drink multiple buckets of water as punishment and warns him "When them ask you who bring about your ruination this day, tell them Tan-Tan the Robber Queen . . . if you start watering your drinks again, you won't see me, but I go know."[36]

In both of these situations, Tan-Tan, as the Robber Queen, acts as an advocate for social change, informing and warning individuals of the wrongs they are committing. Performing as the Robber Queen reconnects Tan-Tan's mental and physical parts: "She [Tan-Tan] realised what she had to do to quiet the inner voice that never ceased. Bad Tan-Tan had given her peace for a while when she intervened on the behalf of the abused son.[37] Tan-Tan comes to the understanding that only aiding others can silence her ever-critical mental half, the bad Tan-Tan. Therefore, in order to reconnect her mind and body, Tan-Tan must continue to use her body to express the identity of the Robber Queen, or the good Tan-Tan. This is the only course of action that can keep her two halves acting in harmony without any interference from the bad Tan-Tan.

Conclusion

In conclusion, both Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan undergo significant transformations throughout Hopkinson's novels. These transformations occur because these two female protagonists are attempting to heal mind/body splits that occur as a result of residing in environments created by the patriarchy. Living in such conditions can be incredibly harmful but, fortunately, both Ti-Jeanne and Tan-Tan are able to heal the discord between their minds and bodies. Ti-Jeanne heals her mind/body split through dancing, which acts as a way to form a spiritual relationship with Esu-Legbara. Similarly, Tan-Tan heals her mind/body split by giving speeches under the identity of the Robber Queen. In both of these characters, the healing of their mind/body splits occurs with the help of their spiritual guides through ritualistic performances, which ultimately leads to a realization of empowerment.

Notes

1. Dimen, "Power, Sexuality, and Intimacy," 37.
2. Harter, quoted in McGregory, "Nalo Hopkinson's Approach," 6.
3. Brown, quoted in Cartwright, "Voodoo Hermeneutics," 163.
4. Jacobs, "Spirit Guides," 45.
5. Waxman, "Dancing Out of Form," 91–106.
6. Ibid., 91.
7. Garrison, "Echoes of Influence," 321.
8. Rutledge, "Speaking in Tongues," 598.
9. Gates, *The Signifying Monkey*, 20.
10. Hopkinson, *Brown Girl*, 9.
11. Gates, *The Signifying Monkey*, 6.
12. Hopkinson, *Brown Girl*, 50.
13. Ibid., 47.
14. Ibid., 57.
15. Ibid., 57.
16. Ibid., 58.
17. Ibid., 62.
18. Ibid., 36–37.
19. Ibid., 94.
20. Ibid., 103.
21. Ibid., 226.
22. Waxman, "Dancing Out of Form," 92.
23. Glave, "An Interview with Nalo Hopkinson," 155.
24. Jackson, "The Way We Do," 20.
25. Hopkinson, *Midnight Robber*, 140.
26. Ibid., 140.
27. Ibid., 140.
28. Ibid, 140.
29. Ibid., 31.
30. Ibid., 14.
31. Ibid., 168.
32. Honore, "The Midnight Robber," par. 22.
33. VanSpanekeren, "The Mardi Gras Indian Song Cycle," 43.
34. Hopkinson, *Midnight Robber*, 244–45.
35. Ibid., 193, 214.
36. Ibid., 254.
37. Ibid., 248.

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The Massacre at Acre—Mark of a Blood-thirsty King?

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Abstract

The Crusades began in 1095 as an effort to resist the spread of Muslim forces into Asia Minor, present-day Turkey, and to prevent Muslims from moving into Christian Europe. The Third Crusade, during the end of the twelfth century, was also known as the Kings' Crusade because the Christian forces were led by some of the most important and powerful kings of the time. One of these was Richard I, King of England. In 1191, Christian forces successfully took the city of Acre, in present-day northern Israel, after a long siege. Following the siege, however, many unarmed Muslim prisoners were killed. Some modern scholars contend that the massacre of these prisoners was ordered by Richard I as a blood-thirsty and ruthless act. This study draws on primary sources and the analysis of modern scholars to determine the validity of these claims against Richard I. Through a synthesis of primary sources, I argue that the massacre, although unfortunate, was not the act of a blood-thirsty killer, but rather a strategic last resort.

The Christian forces in the Holy Land during the mid- to late-1100s had, for many years, requested assistance to maintain their dwindling and increasingly challenged control in the Holy Land, but no help came.[1] The tenuous rule of Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, in the mid-1180s, led to further internal conflict. The lack of military support, however, would soon change. The Third Crusade was called in 1187 by Pope Gregory VIII after the disaster of Hattin earlier that year. At Hattin, Saladin, the now-famous Muslim leader and military commander, lured the Christian forces led by King Guy out through the desert and to battle in the area known as the Horns of Hattin. There Saladin surrounded and attacked the Christians and essentially destroyed the Christians' military forces. According to Thomas Madden, "the Horns of Hattin marked the greatest defeat in crusading history."[2] Subsequent victories by Saladin led to an almost total reclamation of the Holy Land by the Muslims, including the city of Jerusalem. The news of the defeat was so powerful that Pope Urban II, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church, died of grief on October 20, 1187.[3] His successor, Gregory VIII, issued *Audita tremendi*, a papal bull that created a seven-year-long truce throughout Europe so that the Christians of Europe could focus on contributing to

the crusades.[4] The Third Crusade, which was intended to re-conquer the Holy Land from Saladin, was the height of the Crusading Movement. Many important figures took the cross, the donning of a cloth cross on one's clothing or some other method of signifying that one intended to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. A few notable individuals included King William II of Sicily, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, King Henry II of England, and King Philip II of France. William II, Frederick, and Henry II died, however, before making the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After Henry II's death, his son Richard I became king of England.[5]

Richard I of England is one of the most recognizable characters in medieval history. Even today, his life is marked by legend and prestige. Richard I's reputation as a gallant knight and effective military commander often precedes him, and his exploits in the Holy Land against the great Saladin have essentially solidified his legendary status. During his time in the Holy Land, Richard I's campaigns against Saladin made the Third Crusade one of the more successful forays by Christians in the Levant, the region around the Holy Land. There is, however, a great cloud that hangs over this legacy. While on crusade, Richard I was accused of a blood-thirsty and heinous act, namely, the massacre of Muslim prisoners after the siege of Acre in 1191. This massacre has been viewed as a malicious act by the generally praiseworthy king.

For modern historians, however, the massacre at Acre does not seem to have had a definitive impact on Richard I's reputation. Little consideration of the Third Crusade has been made to this point, and no single work exists that is written in study of the Third Crusade. Subsequently, little, if any, consideration of Richard I's actions at Acre outside a few passing paragraphs or pages has been made. Steven Runciman, in his three-volume *A History of the Crusades*, asserts that it was a cold-blooded act against the roughly 2,700 prisoners that took place after an attempted ransom payment in exchange for the prisoners on August 11, 1191. The number of prisoners is confirmed in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, an anonymous account of Richard I's deeds on crusade.[6] Runciman further explains that the attempted exchange on August 11 did not meet the standards expected by Richard I, and the negotiations soon fell apart. On August 20, Richard I determined that Saladin had not met the terms of the bargain and subsequently ordered the prisoners to be executed.[7]

In contrast, Jonathan Riley-Smith believes that "the negotiations with Saladin broke down when the first installment of the ransom became due,"[8] implying that Saladin had made no payment. Christopher Tyerman contends that this was indeed an atrocious act but that it was "not uncommon in war."[9] He does allow that this action could have been in response to Saladin's massacre of the Templars and Hospitallers after Hattin in 1187, but he eventually concludes that Richard I's actions were "a deliberate act of policy,"[10] i.e. that Richard I's goal was never to take prisoners.

Finally, John Gillingham, arguably the leading scholar on Richard I, states that the massacre at Acre "has been called both barbarous and stupid and has been cited to show that there were no depths to which he could not sink in order to relieve his frustrations."[11] Gillingham places the events at Acre in context with those four years prior at Hattin and ultimately wonders what other recourse Richard I could have taken.[12] There are two questions that surround Richard I's actions at Acre: Did Richard I have justification as a military commander to kill these prisoners? And, depending on the answer to that question, how should the events after the siege of Acre

be incorporated and integrated into Richard I's history and legacy? To answer these questions, a comparison of the sources is necessary.

This examination of the massacre at Acre will draw on five important accounts of the events in the summer of 1191 beginning with the chronicle by Richard of Devizes. Little is known about Richard of Devizes outside the information provided in his chronicle of Richard I. Early in life he was a monk at St. Swithin's Priory in Winchester and later became a Carthusian of Witham.[13] Next I will examine the chronicle by Geoffrey de Vinsauf, who is believed to be an Englishman of Norman descent living during the time of Richard I and the Third Crusade. He wrote an important eyewitness chronicle "of those furious assaults which the army of Saladin made upon the Christians, and of the firmness with which the lion-hearted Richard I withstood and repulsed them."[14] "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1184–97" is my third source. As Peter Edbury explains in his introduction to *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, William of Tyre's account ended in 1184, and in the early thirteenth century Tyre's work was "translated into French, and many of the manuscripts of the French translation have continuations tacked on to the end,"[15] of which "The Continuation" is one. The fourth source is a letter from Richard I to Garnier of Rochefort, who was then Abbot of Clairvaux. Lastly is the account of Baha ad-Din, a Muslim eyewitness to the Third Crusade. He entered the service of Saladin in 1188 and is best known for his biography of the great Muslim leader.

Before determining why the Muslims were killed or if the killings were justified, a timeline of events must be established. From all the accounts it is clear that the siege of Acre ended through a negotiated surrender. The terms of this surrender were that the Muslim defenders of Acre would be set free if a ransom was paid and the True Cross relic, a piece of what was believed to be the cross upon which Jesus was crucified, returned to the Christians. The sources are unclear as to the extent of Saladin's involvement in the negotiations. Geoffrey de Vinsauf's account claims that the negotiations began on the advisement of Saladin,[16] whereas "The Continuation of William of Tyre," Baha ad-Din, Richard I's letter, and Richard of Devizes say that the negotiations were made in Saladin's name but that he was unaware of the terms until afterward. "The Continuation," Richard of Devizes, and Richard I agree that Saladin eventually approved the terms. Conversely, Baha ad-Din tells of Saladin's unwillingness to agree to the conditions and of his attempt to write to the leaders of the city to disapprove of them, but by that time the Christians had already taken the city's walls.[17] After the peace terms were made, the sources reveal that a date was set for Saladin to pay the ransom and turn over the True Cross. The sources also show that, once the date came, the ransom was not paid. It is that twist of events which best explains why the prisoners were executed.

Although it is clear that the exchange of prisoners for the ransom was not made, the immediate circumstances are unknown. Richard I's account merely says that "the time-limit expired, and . . . the pact which he had agreed was entirely made void."[18] "The Continuation" says that "on the day that he [Saladin] had promised he did not come. He sent word requesting another day, saying that he had a good reason why he had been unable to come on the date he had promised. The kings had a great desire to recover the Holy Cross. They took counsel and agreed another day."[19] After the

additional day, the Christians came out in great anticipation of regaining the True Cross but were once again disappointed when "[Saladin] withdrew and reneged on the agreement and the promise that he had made."[20] According to Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Saladin not only failed to provide the True Cross, he "sent constant presents and messengers to King Richard I to gain delay by artful and deceptive words."[21] Richard of Devizes states that "the heathen could by no entreaty be moved to restore the Holy Cross."[22] The most important account, however, with regard to the payment of the ransom and fulfillment of the terms of surrender, is that of Baha ad-Din.

In his account, Baha ad-Din explains how, after the Christians moved into the city, Saladin ordered maneuvers to draw the Christians out to attack him with the hope of gaining a more favorable position.[23] It is crucial to note that these movements came after the terms of the treaty had been negotiated, and, according to Baha ad-Din, it was these delays that caused Richard I to "[break] his word to the Muslim prisoners."[24] From the sources, several details are clear. First, there was a treaty made for the exchange of Muslim prisoners for ransom to be paid to the Christians. Second, the deadline established for payment was not met due to Saladin's delays. The sources agree that the missed deadline was the justification used for the execution of prisoners.

The next factor in the sequence of events sheds light on the overall character of Richard I—how soon after the deadline was missed were the prisoners executed? Unfortunately, the sources present great ambiguity. Richard of Devizes, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, "The Continuation," and the letter of Richard I are all unclear in their presentation of when it was determined that Saladin was not going to pay and when the execution occurred. According to Baha ad-Din, the date of the execution was August 20. The only date given prior to this is July 14, after Saladin's delaying maneuvers.[25] If it is correct that these delays were the ones that caused the execution of the Muslims, the gap of time is roughly a month. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* reconfirms the month-long gap of time and states that "as the time limit had expired long before, King Richard was certain that Saladin had hardened his heart and had no concern about ransoming the hostages."[26] Overall, it is not clear how quickly the decision to execute the prisoners was made after it was determined that the terms of the ransom would not be met. Frankly, once it became evident to the Christians that the terms would not be met, the time between became irrelevant.

This irrelevancy came from a general standpoint of military strategy. Once it was clear that the payment was not to be received, the Christian leaders, including Richard I, needed to determine how to proceed in order to continue on their campaign. According to J. O. Prestwich, Richard I, although often reckless, was highly adept at medieval military strategy. Because he was such a military expert, Richard I would, without a doubt, have known that staying indefinitely at Acre to wait for the True Cross and ransom would be wasteful. This sentiment is even offered by Baha ad-Din, who says that, "many reasons were given to explain the slaughter. One was that they [the Christians] had killed them [the prisoners] as a reprisal for their own prisoners killed before then by the Muslims. Another was that the King of England had decided to march on Ascalon and take it, and he did not want to leave behind him in the city a large number (of enemy soldiers). God knows best."[27] Although it may have been a terrible experience to see comrades killed, Baha ad-Din understands that sound military strategy would not have left thousands of enemies at Acre. Overall, Richard I would

have had, at best, four other options: (1) leave the prisoners at Acre and men to guard them; (2) wait for Saladin to pay the ransom; (3) take the prisoners with him on the march south; or (4) sell the prisoners into slavery. The first scenario could be ruled out because leaving men behind to guard prisoners would put the army at a disadvantage on an offensive campaign. The second, it soon became clear, would not happen. The third would also put the army at a disadvantage having to feed several thousand more people. The fourth option would have been possible, and probably acceptable, but in all likelihood would have taken more time than the Christian forces were willing to spare. Ultimately, when it became clear that the True Cross and ransoms were not forthcoming, Richard I was forced to make a military decision.

One important, final point must be made. Two of the sources raise the question of whether or not Richard I was in fact the one who ordered the execution. In his letter to the Abbot of Clairvaux, Richard I states that "as the pact which he [Saladin] had agreed was entirely made void, we quite properly had the Saracens that we had in custody . . . put to death."[28] Arguably, this "we" could merely be the proverbial "royal we." Interestingly enough the account of Geoffrey de Vinsauf, which is, as previously noted, an eyewitness account of the actions of Richard I, states that Richard I "called together a council of the chiefs of the people, by whom it was resolved that the hostages should all be hanged, except a few nobles of the higher classes."[29] Although the other accounts do not mention this council, it must be taken into consideration that none of the other accounts were written by eyewitnesses. The only exception is the account of Baha ad-Din, and he would clearly not have been present at a council on the execution of Muslim prisoners.

Overall, the two accounts that stand out as the most accurate portrayals of Richard I's actions after Acre are those of Geoffrey de Vinsauf and Baha ad-Din. Geoffrey de Vinsauf's appeal comes not only from being an eyewitness account, but most of the events portrayed match those written by Baha ad-Din, the other eye-witness. Baha ad-Din's appeal lies in his ability to understand the enemy's view, no matter how much he disliked it. Additionally, be it intentional or not, Baha ad-Din's account of Saladin's delay places blame onto Saladin for the execution of prisoners, which an acutely biased author would have avoided. Conversely, "The Continuation" cannot be seen as an entirely reliable source because it was not written during the time the events were occurring but many years later. Additionally, Richard I's mention of the massacre at Acre cannot be trusted outright either because, although it may be the most intimate window into the thoughts of the king, it is also the easiest way for Richard I to have included any biases he may have had, or to present himself in a better light. Ultimately, the fact that the two eyewitness accounts have various similarities and that one of the accounts is from an enemy's chronicle suggest that Baha ad-Din's and Geoffrey de Vinsauf's accounts are most trustworthy and accurate.

In regard to Richard I's reputation, it cannot be said that this was a blood-thirsty act or that this was a deliberate act of policy. It is very likely that, had Saladin paid the ransom and returned the True Cross, the prisoners would have been exchanged. The sources make clear that the Christian forces eagerly anticipated the ransom—and especially the return of the True Cross—and allowed Saladin to delay several times before taking action. Although there was likely an emotional motivation behind the massacre, it cannot be said that the decision to execute the prisoners was any more than a last resort and strategic decision.

Notes

1. Thomas Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 79.
2. Ibid., 76.
3. Ibid., 79.
4. Ibid., 79.
5. Ibid., 79–85.
6. "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi," in *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. Helen J. Nicholson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1997), 231.
7. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 53.
8. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 144.
9. Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 456.
10. Ibid., 456–57.
11. John Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (New York: Times Books, 1978), 182.
12. Ibid., 184.
13. Henry G. Bohn, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (New York: AMS Press, 1969), iii.
14. Ibid., iii–iv.
15. Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 3.
16. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, "Chronicle of Richard the First's Crusade," in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. Henry G. Bohn (New York: AMS Press, 1969), 214.
17. Baha ad-Din, "The Enemy Takes Possession of Acre," in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1993), 222.
18. Richard I, "Correspondence to the Abbot of Clairvaux," in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 180.
19. "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre, 1184–97," in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 107.
20. Ibid., 107.
21. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, "Chronicle," 221.
22. Richard of Devizes, "Concerning the Deeds of King Richard the First, King of England," in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. Henry G. Bohn (New York: AMS Press, 1969), 42.
23. Baha ad-Din, "Enemy Takes Possession of Acre," 223.
24. Baha ad-Din, "Massacre of the Muslim Prisoners," in *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, ed. Francesco Gabrieli (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1993), 223.
25. Ibid., 223–24.
26. "Itinerarium Peregrinorum," 218–31.
27. Baha ad-Din, "Massacre of the Muslim Prisoners," 224.
28. Richard I, "Correspondence to the Abbot of Clairvaux," 180.
29. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, "Chronicle," 222.

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Plato, the Other, and the Freedom to Love

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Abstract

Plato's *Symposium* is divided into several speeches; two, by Aristophanes and Socrates, are considered here. These classic views on love extend into the modern era by way of philosophers such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell. This essay examines their views and argues that modern ideas about love are similar to classic ideas on the topic. The main topics discussed relate to the identity struggle lovers engage in and the way in which love can inspire the intellect.

Love is a gateway to knowledge. This, I believe, is one of the central ideas of Plato's *Symposium*. Influential philosophers of the twentieth century have reached similar conclusions. For instance, Bertrand Russell holds that love is something that can lead to surges in creativity and works to enhance one's knowledge. Similarly, Jean-Paul Sartre describes how, in love, the self must cope with the identity of other beings and how these beings can give us insights and knowledge about ourselves. The aim of this essay is to analyze each philosopher's conception of love and to see how they cohere with one another, showing that ideas about love are reoccurring throughout history.

In Plato's dialogue, seven prominent citizens of ancient Athens gather together for an evening of festivities. As the night progresses the group decides to eulogize the Greek god of passionate love, Eros. Aristophanes presents a poetically driven speech that employs mythology to articulate his particular view of love. He focuses on an idea of wholeness—that those who are in love sense a longing for their partner (which is also described as a desire to join or merge with their partner). Although Socrates expresses his ideas about love less poetically than Aristophanes, they both agree that love is more than bodily lust. Rather, love expands the possibilities of being human; a lover is capable of doing things that those who are not in love cannot hope to do. I argue below that Russell's view of love is remarkably similar to Socrates', and that Sartre's is also similar to Aristophanes'. In fact, all four treatments of love work together to form a cohesive view.

Aristophanes begins by saying that in order to understand his view, the others in attendance "must first understand human nature and its afflictions."[1] Love, he explains,

began when three types of human beings existed: a female type, a male type, and a type that contained the essence of both the male and female forms. No matter the gender of these prehistoric humans, their forms were different from the form of the modern human being. These creatures had two of every appendage a contemporary human has—four legs, four arms, two heads, two sets of genitalia, etc. To move they would curl up into a spherical form and roll. This version of the human was considerably powerful and, at one point, attempted to defeat the gods. This, of course, was something the gods would not allow, and Zeus ordered that every human was to be cleaved in half, giving humans their current form.[2]

In this split form people had feelings of incompleteness. What was once a wholly complete union was merely half that; humans felt a desire to be whole. Aristophanes suggests that eros (the drive) is ''inborn'' within humans, and that Eros (the god) is the ''bringer-together of their [human's] ancient nature, who tries to make one out of two.''[3] Aristophanes also explains that because humans originally had three forms (male, female, and the combination of the two), complete wholeness presented itself in the same forms: male-male, female-female, and male-female.

The notion of incompleteness and a desire to be whole are relatable to Sartre's view of *the Other* (Sartre's term for other people) and of love. In *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre theorizes about what it means to be a human being, what it means to exist in the presence of other human beings, and what it means to interact with the Other via love. According to Sartre, the self is both a conscious entity and a physical body. Theoretically, the self can exist without ever coming in contact with any other object (be it a person or some other thing). But, in order to adequately conceptualize one's existence, a being must come in contact with other things. The Other, therefore, is needed to form a conceptualization of what it means to be an individual human, which Sartre expresses by saying, "I need the Other in order to realize fully all the structures of my being."[4] Without the Other we are incomplete, just as Aristophanes suggests we are if we cannot find our other half.

Admittedly, there is a slight difference in the ways in which Aristophanes and Sartre address the idea of human incompleteness. Aristophanes (and by extension, Plato) had no conception of the way Sartre would come to define the self, as a product of the beings interacting with it. And, Sartre's notion of incompleteness is broader than what the quest for love might suggest by itself. But the similarities become more apparent as Sartre begins to focus on what love means for a being.

The being-in-love's ultimate goal is to completely merge with their lover. The reason for this has to do with the quest for self-identity. As Sartre puts it, "the Other holds a secret—the secret of what I am." [5] Lovers hold each other's essences; the secrets of both of their existences are within each other. Recall here that the Other provides a self with the means to conceptualize a human identity. The project of the lover is to possess the lover, to consume the Other into their own being, becoming complete.[6] Thus, when a being loves, it wishes to break the mental and physical barriers between the self and the Other, becoming a singular entity.

This notion is very similar to Aristophanes'. Two humans long for completeness; unfortunately both views conclude that such a unity is impossible. Aristophanes suggests that, given the choice to merge with our true beloved, there is not a person who would refuse; it is our true nature.[7] What keeps us from doing this is our standing

with the gods, who fear our wholeness. Aristophanes suggests that if we were ever to reconcile with the gods it may be possible for us to obtain a sense of completeness.[8] He leaves us with the sense that we have the potential to alter the minds of the gods. By contrast, Sartre argues that we could never actually unite with the Other. If such a process were possible and we were able to merge with the one we loved, we would destroy the individual that resides in each of our bodies. A unity with the Other would result in "the disappearance of otherness in the Other."[9] If the Other as such cannot exist, then the self has no way in which it can define its own existence. Thus, a negative progression would occur, wherein united lovers (becoming one entity) would hope to define themselves by incorporating more Others into their being until every person had become absorbed. Such a complete merger would leave no Other to provide any sort of meaning for this being's identity.

Another problem with love, according to Sartre, is that the individual willingly gives up his own freedom for the Other. When people enter into love relationships, they objectify themselves. Those seeking love work to make themselves desirable in the eyes of their beloveds—that is, to turn themselves into whatever their beloveds want them to be. Thus, Sartre's view of love asserts that there is a delicate, perhaps impossible balance to love. On some level, lovers relinquish portions of their freedom as they objectify themselves for their beloveds. However, mere objects cannot provide lovers with what they need from each other; freedom is the essence of being human. So the matter of love boils down to choice, freedom, and responsibility, as it often does for Sartre and his existentialist cohort. To engage in a meaningful relationship, lovers and beloveds must work together to ensure that they maintain their freedom.

Aristophanes suggests that there are three kinds of love one might partake in, all of which are based on gender. As mentioned above, the prehistoric humans that challenged the gods had existed in three distinct genders: male, female, and androgynous. A perfect union for the now-separated humans would imply that one would pair up with a person who came from a similar gendered pre-human (and specifically, the one from which they were cut). In his own treatment of these genders, Aristophanes, interestingly, seems to use the mythological tale as a means to critique his culture. Of the three kinds of love, the type in which males have been split from an entirely male entity are clearly Aristophanes' preference. Aristophanes criticizes the androgynous (male + female) or common type of relationship because it produces many adulterers and adulteresses. However, he describes the behavior of two males loving one another as manly; the males engaged in this kind of love are the manliest. The relationship he is envisioning at this point is between a man and a boy.[10] In a defensive tone, he claims that the manliness of such a relationship is evident given the sort of things the man and the boy become involved in (politics, for example). Aristophanes goes on to say, "When they are fully grown men, they are pederasts and naturally pay no attention to marriage and procreation, but are compelled to do so by the law; whereas they would be content to live unmarried with one another."[11] On this account, the best possible love is pederasty (a love shared between a young boy and an older man) seemingly because this type of love goes beyond the lust of the body. Aristophanes claims that the soul has a different agenda than the physical body; souls want something different from sexual intercourse, but Aristophanes is unsure of what, exactly, that entails.

It is important to note that part of Aristophanes' agenda is to promote pederasty as an acceptable practice. Aristophanes envisions the best loving relationship as a mentorship, where a mentor (an older man) engages a student (a young boy) both intellectually and physically. This practice may seem strange or even offensive to the modern reader, most likely due to issues of consent. How can a young boy freely and responsibly consent to being in a loving relationship with an older man? To understand Aristophanes' view as charitably as possible, we need to stress that at the core of the relationship is intellectual companionship. Two people who are each other's previously missing halves cultivate their friendship and pursue intellectual growth. If Aristophanes is not entirely clear about this, the possible relationships between love, sex, and intellectual growth are further developed by Socrates and his twentieth century partner, Russell.

Socrates presents his view of love by recollecting various conversations he had with Diotima, a woman of Mantinea, focusing on the nature of Eros, the personification of love. In all of the speeches prior to Socrates', Eros is considered to be a god and the speakers treat him as such. Socrates rejects his godly status, and this becomes a key part of his view.

According to Socrates, Eros is a being caught between the immortal nature of the gods and the mortal nature of humans. Eros, and by extension, love, is defined as a desire for the good and beautiful. Because Eros desires things that are good and beautiful he cannot be them or have them; gods possess these things, so it is impossible for Eros to be a god if he desires the things that the gods inherently possess.[12] And, because of his parents, Poros (the personification of resourcefulness) and Penia (the personification of poverty), Eros is always in flux between poverty and resourcefulness, between godliness and mortality. According to Diotima and Socrates, the philosopher is also between being completely wise and completely unknowing.[13] In fact, Eros is precisely a philosopher. He desires the beautiful and good; one of the most beautiful things is knowledge, thus Eros desires it. Eros does not have complete knowledge, only a love of knowledge, which is exactly what philosophy is.

The second portion of the speech develops the foundation of this doctrine of the in-between. Humans are lovers insomuch as they desire what is good.[14] The gods possess what is good; additionally they are immortal. Diotima makes the connection between the good, the immortal, and the mortal by saying that "the mortal nature seeks as far as possible to be forever immortal."[15] What Diotima implies as she continues is that because humans desire what is good, they have an inevitable connection with the immortal; it is what they desire because the immortal possess what is all good. Humans are naturally driven to sexually reproduce because it is beautiful and everlasting in the sense that birth keeps human beings immortal; by creating generations and generations of humans, humans are seemingly immortal.[16] Birth is the means by which humans get a small taste of the good the gods possess.

However, sexual reproduction is not the only way in which mortal humans may reproduce; it is possible for the soul to become pregnant. According to Diotima, "prudence and the rest of virtue" are the appropriate things to conceive and bear. The overall doctrine Diotima preaches at this point is that young men, who harbor undeveloped ideas, should engage in relationships with older men, who are more acquainted with wisdom. This is the "correct practice of pederasty."[17] This type of

relationship fosters a respect for wisdom, which is beautiful. The soul is searching for what is truly good and beautiful; wisdom fits these criteria. Thus, it is appropriate and correct for men to engage in a mentor-style relationship with young boys. With this relationship, better understanding will be achieved through a sort of cognitive intercourse.

Both Socrates (with Diotima) and Aristophanes assert that the sexual relationship—and the act of reproduction that only men and women can partake in—is less valuable than the kind of love a man and a boy can experience. Both conclude that the desires of the soul outweigh the biological urges of the body. Both also make an appeal to the intellect; Aristophanes suggests that pederasts are successful in politics, and Socrates asserts that only these men are capable of attaining wisdom. It is also within this realm of thought that Russell's ideas about the social practice of love should come to the forefront of the discussion.

Russell begins by asserting that society places too many limits on sexual behavior. He argues that conventional morality has made sexual freedom a taboo and that several social institutions have perpetuated this taboo so that those who dare to advocate sexual freedom are publicly chastised. He suggests that "fierce morality is generally a reaction against lustful emotions, and the man who gives expression to it is generally filled with indecent thoughts—thoughts which are rendered indecent, not by the mere fact that they have sexual content, but by the fact that morality has incapacitated the thinker from thinking cleanly and wholesomely on this topic."[18]

Those who wish to speak on the topic are generally thought of as perverted. Russell finds that it is humanity's strict morality that is to blame for this view. Morality is also at fault for those who become corrupted by excessive sexual thought. He holds that the Church's way of handling sex, attempting to ban the topic by making it a point of shame, has been a mistake because it makes people wish to avoid sex in all forms. That wish is ill-founded because sex is a natural impulse, which he compares to eating.[19] The person who hoards food experiences symptoms similar to a person who harbors or hoards sexual thoughts; in either case, that person is being denied their natural impulses. To this Russell suggests that "healthy, outward looking men and women are not to be produced by the thwarting of natural impulse, but by the equal and balanced development of all the impulses essential to a happy life."[20] In other words, Russell prescribes sexual freedom with some limitations. A balance must be achieved so that people are neither denying themselves sexual freedom because of social constraints nor abusing that freedom so that sexual activities and thoughts consume them.

Another point Russell makes is that the underlying idea of sexual freedom is the ability to freely choose a lover. He suggests that free love has benefits for society as a whole; his most concrete example is the artist. Art, for Russell, is a field that is inexorably connected with the freedom to love. He suggests that "societies that have been conventionally virtuous have not produced great art" and suggests that contemporary America is such a place; Americans are among the most religious or conventionally virtuous of the industrialized nations and, at least during Russell's lifetime, were importing much of their art.[21] What Russell suggests is that creativity goes hand in hand with being able to love who one chooses. Other fields seem to benefit from it as well, though most not as directly as art. In any case, the main idea is

that being able to love frees the mind from perversion and allows it to function better, which coheres well with Socrates' notion that the intellect functions best in the context of a close mentoring relationship between a man and a boy.

As with Sartre, balance is an issue that concerns Russell. But whereas Sartre is concerned with lovers finding a balance between freedom and objectification, Russell is concerned with lovers finding a balance between freedom and sexual obsession. Too much interference from society will disrupt lovers, but a total disregard for social convention will have a similarly damaging effect. The problem is that an unchecked focus on love, especially of sexual nature, has the potential to similarly crush the intellect. Repression and unchecked obsession are two sides of the same coin. Thus, a lover must neither give in to the kinds of repression society has offered nor let love (or sex) become be all consuming.

Russell, along with Socrates and Aristophanes, stress the intellectual benefits of loving relationships. Russell's view of sexual freedom suggests that those who love freely would be, undoubtedly, more creative. This, he argues, would be the case if society rethought its moral positions in relation to sex and love. Restriction breeds obsession, and this is detrimental to other modes of thinking. In the absence of a repressive morality, lovers can set out to use their intellect in more meaningful ways. And, just as we see in Aristophanes' and Socrates' speeches, liberation of the intellect, rather than physical pleasures, are at the core of Russell's message. Aristophanes argues that societal conventions like marriage and procreation are ignored by the best of lovers. For Aristophanes, companionship and intellectual growth are the essential traits of a loving relationship, not sexual pleasures. It is much the same in Socrates' view. Lovers are focused on that which the soul is seeking—wisdom and beauty. These things are not found in sexual desire, but rather through intellectual channels. The combined efforts of lovers to seek that which is good and beautiful defines what love is for Socrates. In all three accounts, lust takes the backseat to the intellect and is a core concept of love that has stretched through the ages.

All of these philosophers make clear that love is not simply lust and reproduction—it is something greater. Certainly, the drive to procreate must be considered and Plato accounts for it, but he quickly places it below the intellectual aspect of love, as does Russell. And just as Aristophanes views love as a drive to reunite with one's severed half, Sartre views love as a desire for completion and stable self-identity. If this desire is not futile, the key is for lovers to properly balance freedom and objectification. So the central theme common to all of the philosophers discussed above, is that love can be a beautiful thing if practiced in the best way. It can lead to a life of balance where one's identity is intact and reinforced through great friendships; with a lover, one can enhance the functionality of the intellect and improve the human condition.

Notes
1. Plato, *Symposium, 189 D.*
2. Ibid., 190 A–E.
3. Ibid., 191 D.
4. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, 303.
5. Ibid., 475.
6. Ibid., 475–76.
7. Plato, *Symposium,* 192 E.
8. Ibid., 193 B.
9. Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, 477
10. Plato, *Symposium*, 192 A.
11. Ibid., 192 A–B.
12. Ibid., 202 D.
13. Socrates is famous for asserting that one can only know that they know nothing. That is, the certainty of our knowledge is highly questionable, despite our readiness to claim certainty. Philosophers, according to Socrates, realize that certainty is hard to attain, thus they are caught between the certain (completely wise) and the uncertain (completely unknowing).
14. Plato, *Symposium*, 205 E.
15. Ibid., 207 D.
16. Ibid., 206 C–E.
17. Ibid., 211 B.
18. Russell, "The Place of Sex Among Human Values," 327.
19. Ibid., 327–28.
20. Ibid., 329.
21. Ibid., 330.

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Studying Complex Star-Forming Fields: Rosette Nebula and Monoceros Loop

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Abstract

An investigation that presents a new analysis of the structure of the Northern Monoceros field was recently completed at the Department of Physics and Astronomy at UW Oshkosh. Northern Monoceros is arguably the most complex star-forming region in the Perseus section of the Milky Way. The area harbors a huge collection of recently born massive stars. It also contains some of the most spectacular features of interstellar matter known to date.

The method of investigation chosen for this study is called uvbyβ photometry. This is a sophisticated astronomical technique that enables the derivation of stellar physical parameters with high precision. The photometry-derived quantities were used to obtain reliable homogeneous distances to groups and layers of stars located toward Monoceros. Our study provides an updated working model of the central part of the field up to a distance of 6500 light years and also gives us a better understanding of its overall properties. This survey has laid the basis to further investigate the connection between the young stellar population in Monoceros and its associated interstellar material in order to cast light on some aspects of star formation.

Significance of the Monoceros Star-forming Field

One of the major, most extensively studied star-forming fields in our Galaxy is found toward the constellation Monoceros. It is located in the Northern sky, lies toward the outer parts of the Galaxy, and is thought to be part of the Perseus spiral arm of the Milky Way. It is one of the least obscured by interstellar dust regions in the Galactic plane, thus offering excellent observational opportunities to study star formation at a large distance.

Monoceros is rich in massive, recently born stars, found both in compact stellar clusters and loose, gravitationally unbound stellar associations. Based on previous investigations, it seems that it has a complex structure with several groups and layers projected along the line of sight. The area is dominated by the Rosette Nebula—a large low-density cloud of glowing ionized hydrogen in which star formation has recently taken place. The young massive stars recently formed within Rosette emit vast amounts of ultraviolet light, ionizing and heating the gas surrounding them. The Rosette Nebula is located near one end of a giant molecular cloud (Rosette Molecular Cloud)—a place of ongoing star formation. The Monoceros Loop (a circular optical nebulosity in the vicinity of the Rosette Nebula) is thought to be a supernova remnant (the final product of the evolution of a very massive star).

Rosette Nebula and the Monoceros Loop are thought to be spatially connected to the stars of the large Mon OB2 association (Ruprecht 1966)—an extended loose group of massive, recently born stars. About 5º north of Rosette, the young open cluster NGC 2264 and the more compact Mon OB1 association seem to be spatially connected to the diffuse Cone Nebula (Herbst 1980). The positional coincidence of stars of the Mon OB2 association with the Monoceros Loop suggests that the star formation in this region was induced or sped up by the passage of a supernova shock wave through the clumpy interstellar medium (Singh and Naranan 1979). Such triggering of star formation is a key idea in the contemporary star-formation theory leading astronomers to constantly look for observational evidence. Star formation appears to be clumped into a hierarchy of structures, from small stellar clusters to giant star-forming complexes. The interplay between gravity and supersonic turbulence is a critical factor in this process. The formation of stars is closely linked to the properties of their parental clouds of interstellar matter. The spatial distribution of the members of an embedded cluster or association may hold important clues about the formation mechanism and initial conditions in the parental molecular cloud. On the other hand, once formed, the young massive stars (known as OB stars) may play a constructive or a destructive role in the process of star formation. Even a single OB star has a profound influence on the surrounding interstellar matter. Its radiation and energetic wind could evaporate nearby clouds and terminate the star-forming processes. Alternatively, the radiation pressure from an OB star may also prompt the collapse of the molecular cloud which otherwise may not contract spontaneously. Such a triggering process may act over a very large distance, implying possible self-sustaining formation of stars.

In light of the growing importance of Northern Monoceros in the study of star formation, precise distances to the apparent structures of young stars in the field are important for a variety of reasons. Reliable distances allow us to pinpoint the precise location of the clusters and associations, thereby allowing us to better understand the star-forming history of the region. Precise distances also allow us to better understand

their connection and influence on the surrounding interstellar gas and dust, thus shedding light on the process of triggered formation of new stars for this particular field.

Method

Studying the Galactic star-forming fields is a complex experiment. These fields are the building blocks of the Milky Way's spiral arms. Because the Sun is positioned deep inside the Milky Way, the Galactic spiral arms look strung out to us along the line of sight, leading to superposition and mixing of star-forming fields in the sky. To uncover the structure of the star-forming fields, the distances to the OB stars have to be determined and the locations mapped. The OB stars are short-lived (20 million years) objects of a highly peculiar nature and are thus difficult to study. However, the structure and overall characteristics of the Galactic star-forming fields are entirely based on distance determinations of such stars.

Stellar distance is the most important parameter in astronomy. It is also the most difficult one to obtain. The direct method to find stellar distances is the method of stellar parallax, based on the revolution of the Earth around the Sun. Unfortunately, from the surface of the Earth, parallaxes of stars located even in the nearest star-forming fields cannot be obtained—the stars are too far away and parallaxes cannot be measured. Other approaches are the indirect photometric and spectroscopic methods, where the stellar light is measured and used to obtain physical stellar parameters (such as temperature, total energy emitted, etc.) that can yield stellar distance. The most widely used photometries are the UBV and uvbyβ systems. The uvbyβ photometry provides precise distances, but observations are needed in six intermediate-band filters. This makes the task more difficult to achieve. The UBV photometry is easier to obtain, but the precision in the distances it yields is not always sufficient. In both systems, calibrations need to be established based on stars with direct (parallax) distances. Recently, using data from space (ESA 1997), it was possible to test these calibrations and establish which of them are reliable (Kaltcheva and Knude 1998; Wegner 2007; Kaltcheva and Makarov 2007).

Our Study

Here we present a thorough photometric investigation of Northern Monoceros utilizing uvbyβ data. The field we studied (12° by 12°) is centered on the Rosette Nebula. We used all recently born stars with uvbyβ photometric data presently available through astronomical databases (Hauck and Mermilliod 1998; Kaltcheva, Olsen, and Clausen 1999). Our sample was at least 90% complete for stars brighter than 9.2 magnitudes and allowed us to delineate the structure of the central part of the field up to a distance of 6500 light years (2000 pc). The parsec, or pc, was our chosen unit of distance throughout this study and is equivalent to how far light travels in 3.26 years.

Results

In the overall photometric investigation of star-forming fields, several consecutive steps were performed. First, data were collated for as many OB stars as possible. Then, based on this data, the influence of the interstellar dust on the light from the

stars was estimated and corrected to obtain the true stellar colors. From this point the field could be studied via photometric diagrams, which cast light on the stellar content of the field in general. The true stellar colors brought information about stellar physics and provides (via calibrations, based on well-studied samples of nearby stars) stellar temperature, chemical composition, age, and, most importantly, intrinsic stellar brightness. A comparison of the intrinsic stellar brightness to apparent brightness allowed us to obtain the stellar distance. Having the distance, together with the stellar coordinates, allowed the structure of the field under investigation to be mapped in two and three dimensions.

From the uvbyβ photometric data we calculated precise distances and estimations of the extinction of stellar light due to the interstellar dust for the stars included in our sample. These parameters made it possible to reveal various groups of stars within the field of study.

The Monoceros OB2 Association

The stars in our sample are dominated by the Mon OB2 association. This association has been extensively studied by a number of authors and is considered to cover a large area of the sky toward the Rosette Nebula and Monoceros Loop. This area also contains a large number of young open clusters. The extensive investigation by Turner (1976) concluded that three groups of stars of differing ages are present in this association. The stars of the open cluster NGC 2244, as well as most stars in the Rosette Nebula, make up the youngest group, while the oldest stars are found mostly at the periphery of the association. Turner listed 48 stars as members of the Mon OB2 association and, based on spectroscopic calibrations and UBV photometry, derived the distance of 1590 pc, which is the currently accepted distance to this association. Most of the stars previously assigned to Mon OB2 were included in our sample. Based on the precise photometric distances for the individual stars we derived, we found that these stars are spread out between 1 and 3 kpc (1 kpc = 1000 pc). We suggest that they do not belong to a single OB association, which is expected to be more compact in terms of distances to individual stars.

We investigated how stars of different intrinsic brightness are distributed across the field. The intrinsic brightness is a measure of the total amount of energy produced by a star per unit time. We found that the intrinsically bright stars are restricted between a Galactic latitude of -3° and 1°. We conclude that two groups of massive stars were present in our sample: a compact group of 12 stars at a distance of 1.26 kpc located toward the Monoceros Loop and a layer spread out between 1.5 and 3 kpc. When projected in the sky, the massive stars of the layer are spread all over the field, indicating a large apparent depth of this star-forming region.

OB associations can also be detected kinematically as their internal velocity dispersion is usually small. To further confirm our findings, we searched the astronomical databases for radial velocity measurements. We found that most of the stars at 1.26 kpc had radial velocity measurements with a mean value of 26.3 km/s and a standard deviation of 9.8 km/s—just slightly larger than the radial velocity dispersion limit for an OB association (Mathieu 1986). Thus, the available radial velocities support the existence of a compact group of young stars at 1.26 kpc spatially correlated with the Monoceros Loop and Rosette Nebula.

The Open Clusters NGC 2264 and NGC 2244

Open clusters are compact groups of stars that often form within the boundaries of the OB associations. NGC 2244 and NGC 2264 are the most prominent clusters spatially connected to Mon OB2 and Mon OB1, respectively. Due to a high number of peculiar and binary stars and an additional complication of high, non-uniform extinction in Northern Monoceros, the study of these clusters has been difficult and the distances existing in the literature for NGC 2264 and NGC 2244 have varied substantially (Peréz, Thé, and Westerlund 1987).

Our sample included the brightest stars in both clusters, and we presented the first distance estimations for them based on photometric uvbyβ data. We found indications that, within the errors of the survey, the range in the derived photometric distances was larger than the expected range for compact groups. Thus, subgroups were separated within the clusters. Additional inspection of the photometric diagrams related to stellar physical parameters indicated that the stellar content of the possible subgroups is similar. At the same time, the photometric diagrams related to stellar distance further supported the notion of subgroups at different distances. This finding of subgroups within the clusters, however, requires further confirmation. The photometric distances can be strongly affected by a variety of factors: unresolved binaries, peculiar interstellar extinction, stellar emission, and inhomogeneous photometric data. Because of this, we also provided distance estimates to NGC 2264 and NGC 2244, treating them as groups of stars at the same distance. Our estimates of 833 ± 38 pc and 1585 ± 323 pc, respectively, agree very well with the median value of the distances to these clusters existing in the literature to this point.

Conclusions

Precise uvbyβ stellar distances and reddening have been obtained for a sample of 209 recently born stars in a 12° x 12° field in Northern Monoceros. The photometry-derived parameters allowed us to obtain homogeneous distances to groups and layers of stars in this field out to a distance of 2 kpc. We presented new distance estimates for the young open clusters NGC 2244 and NGC 2264 and suggested a presence of possible subgroups in both of them. Our work did not reveal the classical Mon OB2 at 1.6 kpc. We suggested that a relatively compact group of massive stars at 1.26 kpc can be distinguished close to NGC 2244 and spatially correlated with the Monoceros Loop and Rosette Nebula. This finding is supported by radial velocity measurements found in the literature. A layer of massive stars between 1.5 and 3 kpc can also be detected, averaging a distance of approximately 2.15 kpc. Our results provide the basis to further investigate the connection between the prominent stellar groupings and the structures of interstellar matter for this important star-forming region.

This research was recently published (Kaltcheva, Kuchera, and Hathaway 2010) in the refereed international journal *Astronomische Nachrichten* (Wiley InterScience). Some preliminary results were published in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin Space Conference* (Kuchera, Kaltcheva, and Hathaway 2007).

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James Madison: A Tale of Two Presidencies

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Abstract
James Madison was one of the most influential figures in American politics and is known for his role in the ratification of the Constitution, but he is relatively unknown for his role as president. This essay reevaluates Madison's performance as president by closely examining the actions he took, his rationale for taking those actions, and the consequences that resulted. I conclude that, despite his above-average ratings in presidential studies, the decisions Madison made were flawed and almost resulted in disastrous outcomes for the nation.

Introduction
James Madison (1751–1836), one of the nation's founders, is well known for his role in helping to draft the Constitution of the United States. He served as a member of the first four Congresses from 1789 to 1797 and as secretary of state to Thomas Jefferson from 1801 until 1809. From 1809 to 1817 he served two terms as the fourth president of the United States following Jefferson, and he led the United States against Britain in the War of 1812 (Padover 1953; Wills 2002).

Despite his prominence in the founding of the nation, Madison's presidency is relatively unknown. A recent Siena Research Institute (SRI) poll ranked Madison as the sixth greatest president in the history of the nation based on 20 categories including intelligence, leadership ability, and relationship with Congress (Kelly and Lonnstrom 2010). In addition, the best-known polls of presidential performance, which were started in 1948 by Arthur Schlesinger Sr., have mostly ranked him as "near-great" (Schlesinger 1997). Although he was given very favorable ratings in these studies, Madison was a president who made many problematic decisions in various aspects of the office.

The purpose of this essay is to re-examine the Madison presidency by assessing his performance in office and long-term influence on American politics, as well as to contrast my findings with polls of presidential performance such as those by the SRI and Schlesinger. I argue that Madison's first six years as president were nothing short of a failure due to his misguided policies and strict adherence to a problematic political theory. The American people, however, overcame those flawed policies and claimed an unlikely victory in the War of 1812, which made Madison's final two years very successful. First, I establish criteria for determining what makes for good presidential

performance by adopting the works of presidential scholars. Next, I evaluate Madison's presidency in the first six years of his administration and then in the final two years as it relates to each of those criteria. Finally, I discuss the greatness of the Madison presidency.

Identifying Greatness

In judging an office as unique as the presidency, it is difficult to define greatness. Even the worst presidents were able to establish some measure of political success simply by being elected because it established legitimacy for the president as the leader of his political party. From that point, however, there are many differences in the leadership styles of each president. For example, some presidents such as Madison and Jefferson were legislative supremacists who believed that the real power of the government rested with Congress, not the president. In contrast, presidents like Andrew Jackson and Franklin Roosevelt established active roles for the executive office to use Congress as a political ally with which to gain power and influence policy (Landy and Milkis 2000).

Despite the immense differences in the way presidents have approached the office, any great president must be successful at influencing legislation and creating policy precedent. This can be done through a combination of constitutional powers such as the presidential veto or the State of the Union address, listed in Article II of the Constitution. Although the presidential veto was originally only used on bills the president deemed unconstitutional, "veto bargaining" has become an important tool for the president in the legislative process (Cameron 2000). While using influence in legislation as a criterion for greatness puts presidents like Madison with legislative-centric ideologies at a disadvantage, there are other ways to set policy precedent such as issuing executive orders, making proclamations, or persuading the people to influence their representatives in Congress (Neustadt 1955).

Another criterion for presidential greatness is the state of the nation before and after a president's term. A great president must be able to manage both big and small issues on a daily basis in order to ensure that the business of the nation runs smoothly. For many presidents, luck is a factor. George W. Bush gained a great amount of favor with the American public for his handling of the attacks on September 11, 2001, an event which was both unexpected and out of his control. While many issues may arise daily, a great president must manage those issues so that the nation is more prosperous socially, economically, and politically than the one that was inherited at the start of the term.

Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis propose that a great president is one who successfully leads his political party and undertakes a "conservative revolution" in which the Constitution or Declaration of Independence are reinterpreted to encompass a new liberal meaning (2000, 198). While I do not believe that a great president has to necessarily undertake a revolutionary reinterpretation of the Constitution, this theory is indicative of another quality of a great president: the power to appeal to "the better angels of our nature" (Nicolay and Hay 1905, 7). On this topic, Landy and Milkis say that "the president's task is not only to arouse public opinion but also to lead it toward the type of reform most compatible with fundamental constitutional principles" (2000, 234). In other words, a great president will be someone of great moral and

constitutional principle who is able to educate and persuade the American public toward those principles. For example, Abraham Lincoln's conservative revolution, which ended slavery and was epitomized by the Emancipation Proclamation, gave a new meaning to the most famous words of the Declaration, in which "all Men are created equal."

According to Samuel Kernell (1997), the aforementioned power to persuade the people assists presidents during periods of divided government. Because presidents operate outside of Congress, they frequently feel more able to influence public opinion than congressional opinion. No matter the audience, a great president must be able to achieve responsible policy goals that are often unpopular by using his reputation and powers of persuasion.

A final criterion for presidential greatness which is of particular importance to Madison is the ability of a president to solve his biggest issue (Renshon 1998). It is naïve to expect that every great president was always a strong leader who always had the right policy and was all-around perfect. A great president will not necessarily get everything right, but he should at least be able to manage the small issues that come up during the course of his presidency, and conquer the biggest issue outright. Madison's biggest issue was the conflict with Britain and France and the War of 1812.

In sum, the five qualities I have selected for determining presidential greatness include the ability to obtain the office and establish legitimacy among the political party, the ability to influence legislative policy, the power to persuade Congress and the people to engage in responsible and morally sound policy-making, the ability to successfully navigate everyday issues so that the nation will have improved over the length of the term, and, finally, the ability to conquer the biggest problem the president faced.

Madison Evaluated: 1809–1815
The Election of 1808 and Madison's Presidential Legitimacy

As the "father" of the Constitution, the secretary of state to President Jefferson, and the co-founder of the Republican Party, Madison had to do little to establish his claim to the presidency. In fact, Madison's biggest potential challenger in the election of 1808, Aaron Burr, had been politically destroyed by his own ambition eight years earlier when he ran against Jefferson. When the results of that election showed a tie between Burr and Jefferson, Burr broke his earlier promise to stand aside in the event of a tie, and continued to fight for the office. The result was a bitter battle between Jefferson and Burr, in which Jefferson's eventual victory led to Burr's loss of status within the Republican Party (Rutland 1990). The defeat of Burr, his subsequent removal from the vice presidency after four years, and the tradition of the secretary of state rising to the presidency meant that Madison was the most obvious choice for the Republican nomination. Congressional Republicans who were disgruntled with Jefferson tried to keep Madison from getting the nomination, but their choice of James Monroe mustered almost no strength. The resulting election between Madison and Federalist Charles Pinckney was more of a slaughter than a battle, as a strongly Republican electorate handed Madison the presidency (Rutland 1990).

As president, however, Madison's easy ride to the presidency created problems within the Republican Party in Congress. A group of anti-Jefferson Republicans in

the Senate, known as the Invincibles, was never satisfied with Madison's election and feared that he would be a vessel for a presidency run by Jefferson. The first conflict between Madison and the Invincibles set the stage for the next six years. This conflict was the appointment of Madison's most trusted adviser, Albert Gallatin, to the Cabinet as secretary of state. The Invincibles disliked Gallatin, "who was far too clever (and foreign-born to boot) to admire their schemes for patronage and power" (Rutland 1990, 16). Everyone in Washington at that time knew that if Gallatin became secretary of state he would hold an enormous amount of power in the party and would be in line for the presidency. However, rather than standing as the figurehead of the Republican Party and battling the Senate over the nomination, Madison gave in to the Invincibles, placing Gallatin in the position of secretary of the treasury. In the end, Madison was forced "to pay a high price so that he might begin his presidency in calm waters" (Rutland 1990, 17). This decision would come back to haunt him, as his attempt at moderation resulted in a Cabinet filled with incompetence.

In addition to the creation of a weak Cabinet, the Invincibles held the swing votes on many of Madison's initiatives during his first six years as president. The Invincibles and their anti-Jefferson allies in Congress would defeat measures such as additional appropriations for the army and navy just before the War of 1812, the foundation of a national bank which would have been used to pay for the same war, and crucial foreign policy legislation (Siemers 2009). While hindsight in policy is 20/20, perhaps if Madison had better established his legitimacy in Congress and in his party, his rate of success in the war and in his presidency would have been higher. Surely Madison is not completely to blame for the opposing factions within the Republican Party; after all, the Invincibles were anti-Jefferson and had written off Madison before he took the oath of office. He did not, however, strengthen his legitimacy as the head of the Republican Party in his first few years as president. His desire to come into office with a clean slate by pandering to the interests of a minority in his party resulted in a weak Cabinet and an opposing faction that was made more powerful by Madison's willingness to acquiesce.

Influencing Legislative Policy

While Madison's Cabinet and his control over his party were weak, his ability to influence legislation was perhaps worse. At the root of this problem was Madison's ideal that Congress was the predominant branch in lawmaking and that the president was simply there to carry out the orders of the legislative branch. Madison's devotion to those principles meant that he would often have to carry out foreign policy legislation that he did not support based on Article I, Section VIII, which gave Congress the power to "regulate Commerce with foreign Nations." Of course, the Federalists and rival Republicans had no misgivings about forcing Madison into such a foreign policy conundrum. Before the War of 1812, the Federalists and the Invincibles formed a ragtag coalition to defeat Macon's Bill No. 1, a piece of legislation aimed at reigniting trade with Britain by making transactions using American ships only. This bill would have countered British attacks on American vessels by essentially forcing Britain to choose between impressment and trade. Instead, the coalition created and passed Macon's Bill No. 2, which allowed *either* France or Britain the chance to trade with the United States again, so long as they stopped harassing American trade vessels

on the Atlantic. Napoleon jumped on the opportunity to draw the United States into conflict with Britain by promising to release the American vessels he had captured, thereby forcing the United States to cease trade with Britain (Rutland 1990; Siemers 2009). Madison was forced by his own convictions to uphold Macon's Bill No. 2, and he issued a presidential proclamation stating that France had "ceased . . . to violate the neutral commerce of the United States" and that "all restrictions imposed by [Macon's Bill No. 2] shall cease and be discontinued in relation to France" (Madison 1810, 1).

This legislation had some negative effects on the United States. First, it raised tensions between Britain and the United States to a whole new level. Britain had clearly been the intended beneficiary of Macon's Bill No. 2, but Napoleon's clever maneuvering left the United States and France in a trade alliance that neither of them particularly wanted. Second, the act effectually did nothing to ease the economic strain on American exporters because any ships coming to and from France would be stopped by the Royal Navy, the undisputed power of the seas (Siemers 2009). Finally, to add injury to insult, Napoleon went back on his word to Madison and began to sell the seized American ships docked in French ports, "with the proceeds (estimated at $6 million) marked for Napoleon's treasury" (Rutland 1990, 65). In the end, Madison was left with a useless treaty with the French and a foreign crisis on the brink of war with the British.

Could Madison have prevented the end result? Perhaps. His political ideal to remain out of the legislative process during Macon's Bill No. 1 surely cost the bill votes that were vital to its passage, and his refusal to speak against Macon's Bill No. 2 surely made its passage inevitable. Aside from his self-imposed limitations, Madison's idea that only unconstitutional laws should fall under presidential veto meant that he would not even consider vetoing the second bill because above all things, he was a defender of the Constitution (Siemers 2009). Because Congress had the sole power to regulate foreign commerce, Madison continued the precedent and would not interfere with a bill that did not clearly violate the Constitution.

In sum, Madison almost completely removed himself from the legislative process because of both his legislative-centric and Constitutional ideals. He was a failure at influencing legislative policy in his first six years, though not for lack of desire to do so. Restricting his input on both Macon bills was the most noticeable instance of his hands-off approach to lawmaking, and it resulted in a failed policy for which he took much of the blame. His inaction allowed that failed policy to further hurt British-U.S. relations, even though he knew that it was seriously flawed (Siemers 2009).

Power to Persuade
Instead of being able to persuade the people of the United States or their representatives in Congress, Madison gave in to the demands of his constituents at large and to the members of Congress. The main instance in which Madison was unable to persuade the public came during the war. After Madison stood by idly while Congress went to war, he was unable to unite the nation against Britain. The result was a fracture so large that at one point during the war, Britain actually offered the New England states a deal if they would secede from the union. While this fracture was caused more by Federalist dissention than by the president's actions, Madison was rendered almost helpless in persuading New England to help in the war effort (Rutland

1990). Troop support from those states would have been vital to the attack on Canada and may have led to a quicker and less costly end to the war.

Madison was also unable to persuade the Southern and Western states to stand down on the foreign policy which had led to the war in the first place. As the demand for war increased, Madison was faced with a choice between either sticking to his largely unsuccessful embargo policy or going against his Republican Party ideals and declaring war to protect the sovereignty of the nation. With public pressure mounting, Madison and Congress gave in to hawks from the Western and Southern states just as businesses in Britain were beginning to feel the pinch of the embargo (Rutland 1990). While Madison surely could not have known what was happening across the Atlantic, hindsight indicates that if Madison had been able to convince the public to refrain from war, the embargo policy might have eventually succeeded and war might have been avoided altogether.

Overall, Madison found himself unable to alter public or Congressional opinion. Despite having the masses behind his war effort, his lack of personal control in the face of British insult, coupled with his inability to calm Southern and Western tempers, led to a devastating war that looked bleak in the opening weeks of 1815.

Improving the Well-being of the Union

There is little argument that the United States was in peril during the winter of 1814–1815. The government buildings of the capital had been burned to the ground the previous August, a full British blockade had devastated the economic prosperity of 1807, and a foreign army had not only stopped the American attack on Canada but had also crossed into the borders of the nation with little resistance (Rutland 1990). As commander and chief, was it Madison's fault?

To say that Madison was not a military leader is an understatement. He was surely at least a little familiar with the practices of the American Revolution, but he held the conventional view that war was a gentleman's game (Rutland 1990; Siemers 2009). He had no experience in leading strategic movements or planning attacks, and he deferred those duties to generals who turned out to be fairly incompetent. As a result, Madison's constitutional duty as commander in chief was executed poorly and with horrible consequences. As a new nation embarking on its first real war, the United States found out midway through that it lacked the leadership necessary to plan and coordinate a battle. Madison's generals launched expeditions against British-controlled Canada only to have them fall apart with little or no fighting. The best example is that of General William Hull, who led a force to Fort Detroit in an attempt to defend it against a force of British and Native American soldiers but instead surrendered without any bloodshed (Rutland 1990).

The economic situation of the United States was also much worse in the winter of 1814–1815. "Mr. Madison's War" had frozen all legal Atlantic trade and had caused a build-up of exports in New England ports that had no potential buyers. The growing American economy, which had reached its peak in 1807 under Jefferson, had become stagnant with no foreign consumers. Furthermore, the political party that Jefferson and Madison had created had become a highly factionalized entity that gave the president repeated nightmares (Landy and Milkis 2000). His Cabinet had been filled with incompetent men coming and going, and even his trusted adviser Gallatin was in Ghent

in 1814–1815 trying to negotiate a peace with Britain that seemed destined to fail. And, of course, there was the possible secession of the New England states, which Britain had been trying to coerce since the start of the blockade (Rutland 1990). Overall, Madison's nation at the beginning of 1815 was far worse than the one he inherited in March 1809.

Conquering the Major Issue: The War of 1812

The War of 1812 had taken its toll on the United States by the end of 1814. The most humiliating event of the war, the burning of Washington, D.C., had just taken place, and the militia that Madison had hoped would defend the nation ended up running in the opposite direction at the first sign of the Redcoats. Peace talks with Britain returned somewhat insulting and less-than-ideal results. As a whole, the nation and its fourth president had been completely unprepared for war, and, with the fall of Napoleon, it looked as though it might cost America dearly when Britain turned its full attention across the Atlantic. The bare-bones government that Madison and Jefferson had created resulted in a nation that was economically strong but militarily incapable of securing those economic gains. In two phases of the war, the events leading up to it and the fighting of the war itself, Madison had failed at both foreseeing and coping with the problems of a new nation. Robert Allen Rutland (1990) sums up the overall failure of the first six years of the Madison administration well: "Madison's ignorance of military strategy, his total dependence on generals who had not heard a shot fired in anger for over a generation, and his willingness to go along with public opinion rather than shape it all suggest that Madison had no firm policy that made the war inevitable. Instead, Madison fell into a trap shaped by British inflexibility, pressures from public opinion, and his own gullibility" (110).

Madison Evaluated: 1815–1817

Despite the darkness that had overtaken the nation in late 1814, the road ahead was paved with gold. A few strategic American victories in Baltimore and the surrounding areas in early 1815 seemed to convince the British that a war against the United States was going to be both difficult and non-beneficial. Furthermore, British business owners had finally convinced the Parliament that American goods were needed and that trade should be resumed (Rutland 1990). As the pieces fell apart for the British, they began to fall into place for Madison. The taste of victory near Baltimore and the fall of the British navy on the Great Lakes seemed to leave Americans with a hunger to win the war. Was Madison hiding a secret knack for foreign affairs?

It is hard to find evidence that Madison had any successful policy regarding the end of the war. His plan to starve British businesses by withholding American goods had been a dismal failure in 1807 and 1809. Once the British blockade began, Madison's Embargo Policy became redundant because the blockade ended any possibility of trade between the two nations. It was at that point that British business owners begged Parliament to end the war and re-establish trade with the United States, and all over Britain the anti-war sentiment grew (Rutland 1990). In essence, the success of the British navy was the cause of Britain's defeat in 1815, not Madison.

The arrogance of British negotiators at the bargaining tables in Ghent also hurt their own cause. Rather than offering the United States a fair peace, Britain approached

the negotiations as a conquering nation making demands of the conquered (Rutland 1990). After the United States had persevered for more than two years, American negotiators would have been foolish to accept such ridiculous terms. Once the tide of the war began to turn, the British were unwilling to continue without American goods, and they were forced to give in to many demands at the negotiating table. Once again, the British hurt their own cause more than the Americans did.

As the war ended, the political tides within the United States made a sudden shift in Madison's favor. The news of the positive terms of the peace treaty at Ghent, along with General Andrew Jackson's historic victory over the British at New Orleans two weeks later, had the dual effect of making Madison look like a genius and the New England Federalists look like traitors. Once again, Madison's opponents had dug their own graves. The result was the end of the Federalists and the ushering in of the Era of Good Feelings, an eight-year span in which the Republican Party was the only political party with power in the nation. Jefferson's party had ended all parties, at least for the time being.

Madison's biggest issue had been conquered, though little of it had to do with his actions. In essence, Madison had ridden a wave of faulty policy, poor governmental ideals, and divisive party organization and came out with a lucky victory. Once the war was over, the rest of Madison's legacy fell into place. The political suicide of the Federalist Party gave him instant legitimacy and influence in Congress, public opinion was behind whatever decision he made, and the day-to-day domestic governing could finally begin, free of the threat of European powers. Most importantly, Madison's unlikely victory over the greatest navy in the world gave the United States worldwide legitimacy overnight. America was no longer known as a former British colony, but rather as a truly sovereign state that had defeated the most powerful nation in the world. The final christening of the United States as a world power came in Madison's penultimate State of the Union address, in which he reported that the United States had defeated Algiers, or "someone their own size" (Rutland 1990, 192).

In the last two years of his presidency, Madison built a legacy that survives today. He continued the expansionist tendencies that he had supported in Federalist No. 10 and added to his earlier acquisition of the Louisiana Territory by finally annexing West Florida from Spanish rule and encouraging settlement of the Indiana territory, gained via the Battle of Tippecanoe. He also proposed a project to improve the roads and canals to the West, opening up more land to U.S. citizens (Madison 1815; Rutland 1990). His final State of the Union message addressed the need for a uniform currency, a national bank, an improved judicial system, a reduced army in times of peace, and a strong navy to protect American shipping interests abroad (Madison 1816).

Perhaps the most important contribution Madison made to the foreign policy legacy of the United States was the lesson that he learned during the War of 1812. His experience reminded future presidents about the benefits of being separated from European conflict by the Atlantic Ocean, a benefit first acknowledged by George Washington. In short, so long as American ships could protect their interests at sea, there was no need to get involved in European conflicts. This isolationist ideology kept the United States out of major European wars for almost an entire century.

Conclusion: Ranking the Madison Presidency

Madison's tenure as president was unique because few presidents had so much initial failure followed by so much success. If we base his success off of snapshots of the nation in 1809 and again in 1817, the Madison presidency was without question one of the most important. However, if we examine his entire presidency closely and base his greatness on the five criteria listed earlier, it is difficult to consider him better than average. His only true success was in his biggest issue, the War of 1812, and even that success came as a result of the perseverance of the American people and not as a result of Madison's presidential expertise. From this unlikely victory, Madison was handed legitimacy and power within his party, allowing him to better persuade and influence Congress. With the power of Congress behind him, he was able to present a united regime to the people and run the day-to-day functions of government. In the end, Madison satisfied all the requirements for greatness, but in many ways it was in spite of his decisions, not because of them.

I believe that this study has contrasted so greatly with the SRI and Schlesinger polls because it is difficult to give presidents a fair and consistent rating. Although the office of president is the most well-known position in the nation, there are no uniform criteria for judging presidential performance. While some may judge Madison's presidency as near-great for all that it accomplished, others who closely examine the rationale and background behind each decision, as I have done here, may hesitate to give him such favorable ratings.

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Gender Quotas: The Right Idea for Argentina, a Good Idea for Latin America

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Abstract
The recent election cycles of Latin American parliaments have seen increased women's representation in some states and a stalemate or even reduction in others. Argentina consistently has among the highest legislative representation for women in the world. Under what conditions do women achieve high rates of legislative representation? I will approach this question by assessing the leading theories, using comparative regional data, and analyzing the successful implementation of the Ley de Cupos in Argentina. I argue that the closed-list proportional representation system in which the Argentine enforced quota structure exists is the most effective condition for women to obtain a high percentage of legislative positions.

Introduction
Laura Chinchilla's recent victory in the Costa Rican presidential election marks the fifth woman elected to executive office in Latin American history. This caught the world's attention as an assertion of the great strides women have made in a region where some women did not obtain suffrage until 1967 (IPU 2005). Although some states are doing well in increasing female representation in government, others have done and continue to do poorly. Under what conditions do women attain high levels of legislative representation? Finding the answer to this question can help create domestic policies with the goal of creating substantial improvement in women's legislative representation.

Female participation in government tripled in Latin America between the years of 1990 and 2007, despite the drastic underrepresentation of women in some states (Htun 2005, 113). Argentina is the leader among Latin American states for female representation and will serve as the case study in this paper to identify positive factors and conditions for progress. I assert that an enforced quota system within a closed-list proportional representation electoral structure is the best condition to foster female participation.

It is important to note here that this is not an evaluation of substantive representation; I am looking purely at descriptive representation of the number of women in legislative positions. Substantive representation may be defined as "advocating the interest and issues of a group; for women, ensure that politicians speak for and act to support women's issues" (Paxton and Hughes 2007, 375). Previous research, particularly the work by Arturo Vega and Juanita M. Firestone (1995), has concluded, however, that when women are in legislatures, they tend to introduce more women-related legislation. This would include bills with a health, youth, and reproductive rights focus.

The literature has predominantly focused on the type of electoral system and the use of quotas without addressing the importance of enforcement mechanisms. The intellectual contribution of this paper is the focus on sub-quota level changes, particularly enforcement mechanisms that make quotas effective. I will review competing theories, analyze comparative data, present a case study of Argentina, and conclude by discussing some of the lessons learned.

Literature Review

The three leading approaches that identify conditions for women's representation rates are political, socioeconomic, and cultural factors. Wilma Rule has characterized these theories collectively as "narrow gender roles, restrictive religious doctrines, unequal laws and education, discriminatory socioeconomic conditions, male-biased party leaders or other political elites and some voters, and 'women-unfriendly' election systems. [Such barriers are] typically interrelated and mutually reinforcing" (1994, 26). Here, I will unpack these political, socioeconomic, and cultural factors and analyze quota systems to identify the specific conditions created by each that hamper or promote female representation in legislatures.

Political Conditions: Democracy

The political culture of a state can have a significant impact on female participation in legislatures, while political ideology has been offered as one determinate factor for the likelihood that a woman would be listed on a party's electoral ticket. Pippa Norris (1993) has argued that in terms of "candidate recruitment social democrat and green parties are far more likely to believe intervention in the recruitment process is necessary and appropriate" and that women's participation will increase as a result of that intervention (320). It is important to note, as Miki Caul has, that the "left/right ideological continuum may be too simple to capture how ideology affects women's representation" (2010, 160). States with strong green and center-left parties do not necessarily have more women elected, as seen in Bolivia's case. Although one of the most politically left of the Latin American states, it has lower female representation than Mexico, which is considered more politically centrist (IPU 2010). However, "it is not sufficient to have a democratic system, or even a democratic tradition, to guarantee better opportunities for women" because there are many examples of states that have democratic systems with underrepresentation of women (Preschard 2002, 5).

Political Conditions: Electoral Systems

Political institutions, specifically electoral systems, may also hold significant influence. Electoral systems are the rules by which votes are cast and translated

into seats in the legislature. The main types of electoral systems are proportional representation (PR), single member district plurality (SMD), and mixed systems. Andrew Reynolds (1999) notes that "electoral systems have most often been cited as the key determining factor in the number of women elected to legislative office" (554). In PR systems, multimember districts are utilized, voters cast their ballots for parties rather than candidates, and seats in the legislature are distributed according to the percentage of the vote each party receives. The use of PR and multimember districts is "better for women because they can get on a party's ballot without displacing a male" (Paxton and Hughes 2007, 139). In an SMD system, like that used in the United States, when women have to compete against men to become candidates, women are often disadvantaged because "parties are more reluctant to field a woman as their only candidate for a particular seat" (Tinker 2007, 1). Reynolds concludes that list-proportional representation is the most "women-friendly" electoral system. In PR systems, the party's candidate list can be open to voters or closed. Closed-list is a type of PR in which parties create lists of candidates and voters have no influence on the order in which candidates on the party's ballot are elected. Open party lists give the constituency at least some influence on the order of candidates elected (Paxton and Hughes 2007, 141). In a closed-list system, the order of candidates on the list is determined internally by the party. In this way, if the party places female candidates in high positions on the list, those women will have a greater likelihood of gaining a seat. In an open-list system, voters rank the candidate list, which is often less favorable to women (Preschard 2002). Therefore, a closed-list PR system in which a political party supports gender diversity would have a positive impact on electing women to office.

Socioeconomic Conditions

Another theory suggests that states with low socioeconomic development particularly harm a woman's chances of being voted into office. As Reynolds (1999) notes, "most politicians, male and female, come from a pool of citizens who are highly educated, have professional jobs, and have access to the resources of public life" (550). Therefore, if the gender disparity between literacy and college graduation rates is high, women will be at a disadvantage in their pursuit for office. It follows that the more developed a state is, the more likely female candidates will emerge. Reynolds (1999) concludes that "when the dominant social culture precludes young women from enjoying a full education and socializes them from birth into roles that are removed from the world of public decision making, then the pool of likely women politicians is substantially reduced" (550). This, however, does not suggest that women will be elected, just that there would be more potential female candidates.

Cultural Conditions

Cultural factors—related to socioeconomic factors—often limit a woman's ability to run for and win office. Among these factors, patriarchal societies and narrow gender roles, religious inclinations of the state, and the presence of female activists are specifically associated with considerations for a woman's successful bid for office. Patriarchy, the dominance of men in a family or society, is "imbued with some degree of cultural negativity toward the presence of women in high political office" (Reynolds 1999, 550). In general, cultures that have unfriendly gender norms for women tend

not to elect many women to office (Baldez 1997). As stated by Jacqueline Preschard, "societies more open to gender equity in the social, cultural and educational realms are better positioned for women to be able to compete effectively to accede to public office, in both the legislative and executive branches" (2002, 5). States with dominant religious institutions that promote patriarchy tend to translate that gender norm into low rates of legislative representation for women. Therefore, "in the countries with a tradition of separation between church and state, such as Mexico, Costa Rica, and Cuba, there is greater recognition of women's right to participation on an equal footing" (Preschard 2002, 5).

The presence of female activists is a positive factor for female representation. As noted by Caul, "women's participation inside the party as party activists at the local level, as organizers of the intraparty women's groups, and as internal officeholders should buoy women's power in the party. This power should increase women's opportunities and resources to lobby for further support of women as candidates for parliament" (2010, 160). Having women rallying together can create a strong base of support for candidates and bring attention to political parties and the government about the underrepresentation of women. In the United States, women's groups such as Emerge and EMILY's List actively seek out and promote women candidates while working with specific political parties.

Legislative Quotas

Quota systems are an affirmative action program that establishes place regulations in order for women to have a better chance of obtaining office. Legislative quotas require political parties to include a specific percentage of female candidates on ballots in order for ballots to be recognized for elections (Tinker 2007, 4). Pamela Paxton and Melanie Hughes (2007) note that "several governments and parties have adopted what can be termed double quotas, which combine a traditional quota with rules about the order of male and female candidates on electoral lists, called placement mandates" (160). Placement mandates are an attempt to address parties that put women on the ballot primarily in races they are not likely to win or in alternative and vice-presidential positions that will not result in many women elected, if any. Drude Dahlerup and Lenita Freidenvall argue that "quota provisions, properly implemented, do obstruct and overcome some of the most crucial barriers for women's equal political representation" (2003, 13). Quota systems, properly enforced by the state, create the best condition for women to gain representation in legislatures. Sanctions for noncompliance with quotas and placement mandates can vary. Paxton and Hughes contend that "the most effective sanctions require that the electoral commission reject electoral lists that fail to comply with quota regulations whereas monetary sanctions are often less successful at motivating compliance" (2007, 163). Therefore, I argue that this condition, above all others, is the most determining factor for women's participation rates in Latin America. Districts that have quotas with strong enforcement have often seen female representation more than double (Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2005).

Next, an introduction of comparative representation rates and quota systems of Latin American states will demonstrate this claim. A case study of Argentina, a state in which women have excelled in leadership roles in a relatively short amount of time because of the implementation of quota laws, follows.

Comparative Data: Latin America

Stark differences exist in female legislative representation rates among the states of Latin America (IPU 2010). States such as Argentina, Ecuador, and Costa Rica have all substantially increased female participation in the past 10 years while Paraguay and Brazil have not.

Table 1. The results of quotas in Latin America

Country	Legislative Body	% Women (Before Law)	% Women (After Law)	Change (%)
Argentina	Chamber	6	34	+28
	Senate	3	33	+30
Bolivia	Chamber	11	19	+8
	Senate	4	15	+9
Brazil	Chamber	7	9	+2
Costa Rica	Unicameral	14	35	+21
Dominican Republic	Chamber	12	17	+5
Ecuador	Unicameral	4	16	+12
Mexico	Chamber	17	23	+6
	Senate	15	16	+1
Panama	Unicameral	8	17	+9
Paraguay	Chamber	3	10	+7
	Senate	11	9	- 2
Peru	Unicameral	11	18	+7
Average		9	19	+10

Source: Htun (2005)

Although most states have quota systems in place, the legitimacy of these quotas depends on the government's ability and willingness to enforce them. As evidenced by table 1, although the average increase in quota representation was 10 percent, some states did poorly in comparison to others. Paraguay even lost women's seats in the Senate.

In Brazil, although an electoral quota is mandated by law, women still make up less than 10 percent of those elected to the legislative chamber. The law states that parties must reserve 30 percent of candidate slots for women but does not require that parties actually fill these slots (Araújo 2003, 9). Mala N. Htun explains that "since parties may postulate 50 percent more candidates than seats being contested in a district, a party may, in practice, field a full slate without including any women" (2005, 118).

Another state that has not had significant returns on quota implementation is the Dominican Republic. In the late 1990s the Dominican Republic first implemented quota systems and continued to edit the law until 2004. Although an initial jump in representation was achieved, a change to the law in 2004 hampered its effectiveness because "electoral law changes at that time both reduced the magnitude of larger electoral districts and changed elections from closed list to open list proportional representation" (Kelly 2006, 9).

As evident in both the cases of Brazil and the Dominican Republic, the specifics of the law greatly determine its overall effectiveness. Quotas work best in closed-list PR

systems where the law contains an enforced placement mandate for female candidates. The Argentinean Ley de Cupos, or quota law, has institutionalized change for women and made Argentina a pioneer in gender parity among Latin American states.

Case Study

Argentina's female representation rate in the 1980s was dismal. With less than five percent of the legislature occupied by women, the national government recognized the need for action. A move for "parity democracy" by feminists helped push a 30 percent quota system, which was passed in 1991, resulting in Argentina becoming the first Latin American state to adopt an electoral quota law known as the Ley de Cupos (Carrió 2005). As explained by Mark P. Jones, "the use of a gender quota law is found to have had a significant positive impact on the percentage of women elected to the Argentine legislature" (1998, 19). As of April 2010, women currently occupy 39 percent of the combined Argentinean legislature, nearly one-third more than is mandated by the quota system (IPU 2010). The success that Argentina has achieved was not immediate.

Table 2. Number of women in legislators in both chambers, 1983–2003

| Year	1983			1993			1995			2003		
Chamber	Women	Total	%	Women	Total	%	Women	Total	%	Women	Total	%
Deputies	12	255	4.71	36	257	14.0	71	257	27.6	77	253	29.84
Senators	3	46	6.52	*	*	*	*	*	*	26	72	36.11

Source: Lubertino (2003)
*In terms of the Senate, the rules on the women's quota were not applied until 2001, when the provisions of the constitutional amendment that provided for the direct and simultaneous election of three senators per district entered into force.

As demonstrated in table 2, because of the staggered election system, in which only half of the lower chamber turns over every two years, it took Argentina four years for the quota to be properly implemented in the lower chamber, known as the Chamber of Deputies. It took 10 full years for its complete implementation in the Senate (Lubertino 2003). Two determinate factors for Argentina's success have been the combined uses of a closed PR list and an enforcement mechanism used by the state to ensure party compliance.

First, the reason for Argentina's success with the Ley de Cupos is the specific form of electoral quota system used. As noted by Preschard, "establishing a certain percentage does not mean that women candidates are actually in a position to translate the percentage of candidates into a similar percentage of seats" (2002, 3). As mentioned before, PR is a type of voting system that allocates a percentage of the votes cast for a political party with equivalent representation in order for minority parties to have some share of the representation. PR systems "do on average have nearly twice as many women members of parliament as plurality-majority systems" (Reynolds 1998, 559). It has been suggested by many—and demonstrated in table 3—that a combined quota and PR system produces the best opportunity for women in legislatures (Preschard 2002; Tinker 2004; Carrió 2005).

Table 3. Women in parliaments (%)
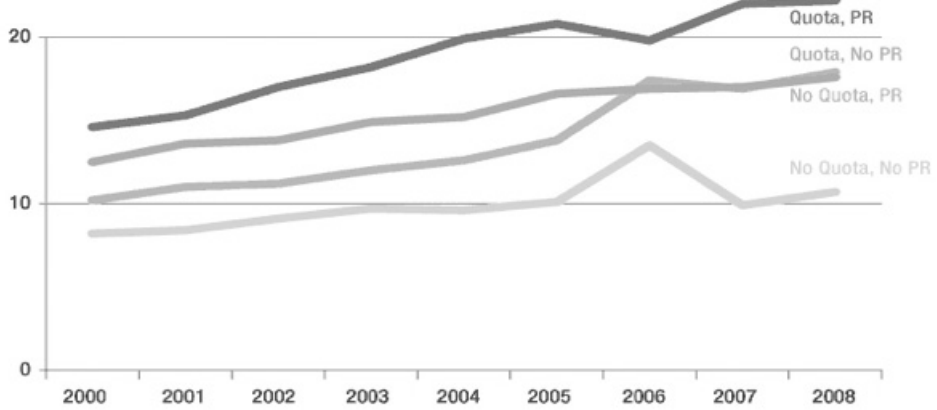
Source: UNIFEM (2003)

The party list system, a form of PR, has rules that determine which candidates fill the seats won by each party during a general election (Schmidt 2003, 2). Party list systems use either a closed- or open-list voting structure. As Gregory D. Schmidt explains, "most list systems are *closed*: voters choose only among alternative lists, not among individual candidates. In contrast, *open list* systems allow or require voters to cast ballots for specific candidates. Seats are allocated among the parties based on their respective shares of the vote, but distributed among the candidates of each party on the basis of the ballots that each one receives" (2003, 2). Women in Latin America have found the greatest success in elections with closed lists, while Argentinean women have found particular success in their *lista sábana* (closed-list ballots) combined with a PR system (Carrió 2005, 169).

The second and most distinguishing factor in Argentina's application of quotas has been the "rigorous enforcement mechanism derived to ensure party compliance" (Schmidt 2003, 8). If a political party does not follow Article 60 of the National Electoral Code that states that their list must have a minimum of 30 percent female candidates "in such positions that they have a chance of getting elected," then the list will not be recognized for voting (Carrió 2005, 60). The Argentinean law does not have the same loopholes that political parties in Brazil use and, therefore, has stronger enforcement and better results.

Argentina has been dubbed the "pioneer country" because of its successful implementation of quota laws (Carrió 2005, 170). The attainment of 30 percent and higher gender parity has shown not only Latin America, but also the international community, how far its legislature has come since the Ley de Cupos was implemented in 1983. Argentina is currently 11th in the world for women's representation in parliament (IPU 2010) and should be viewed by other states that are trying to obtain more equal representation as an effective model to explore.

Discussion and Concluding Remarks

Cultural, political, and socioeconomic factors certainly influence women's access to office. What I have argued here is that the presence of a party quota system, specifically one within a closed-list PR electoral structure with strong enforcement mechanisms, has the ability to trump these other factors. Identifying the aspects of the Argentine quota system that have been successful can prompt other states to create laws in order to pursue similar results.

Opponents of quotas have claimed that enacting these laws mean that parties will have to scramble to fill spots resorting to unqualified women who are incapable of stepping outside of their party's shadow to find their own voices. Another concern has been that parties will simply add the minimum possible number of women to the ballot and try to find any method possible to cheat the system. Not only has the Argentine legislature successfully obtained its quota since its implementation in 1993, it has also exceeded it (IPU 2010). Lastly, opponents have argued that simply changing to a closed-list PR system without quotas would be a better alternative and would not undermine a party's authority to choose the best candidate possible. As table 3 demonstrates, the combination of a quota and PR system is the most supportive of women's representation.

This research could be fruitfully extended in a number of directions. A cross-regional comparison is required to better sort out the influences of culture, region, and ideology on women's representation. For example, Finland and Denmark enjoy unparalleled representation of women (40 percent and higher) despite the absence of quota laws (IPU 2010). Regional influence and the presence of influential national and international women's organizations would be other factors to evaluate in further research. This paper has identified key components of Argentina's success, but other states and regions may have substantially different circumstances.

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Human Rights as Presidential Success: The Truman Era

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Abstract

Political success has traditionally been defined in terms of glory in battle and control over access to resources. This definition continues to be reflected in modern rankings of American presidents, which often measure executive success by personality traits, partisan influence, and attempts at increasing power while in office. However, the core purpose of American government, as stated in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, is to safeguard the human rights of American citizens and protect them from rights abuses. It follows that as the official defender of the Constitution, a president's human rights record should be the standard and primary criterion for measuring executive "greatness" or success. Because other evaluations have thus far neglected to employ such a criterion, this paper uses Harry Truman, who was president at the time of the United States' ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as a beginning example of evaluating presidential greatness based on contributions to human rights.

Introduction

Throughout human history, political leaders have striven to achieve glory and greatness by leading armies into battle, conquering vast tracts of land through violence, subjugating and enslaving the people who lived there, usurping other leaders, looting the coffers, and monopolizing resources to maintain control. After being subjected to unwarranted searches and seizures and being denied fair trials by the British, political figures in colonial America created a list of human rights and defined them as inalienable. These leaders then placed their new government under the law in case it tried to take those rights away. The result was a constitution which, despite certain flaws, gave citizens fundamental assurance of the prevention of human rights abuses. Consequently, when a president of the United States, upon his or her inauguration into the executive office, takes the oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution, he or she is vowing to protect human rights. The president's activities—such as proposing legislation to Congress, commanding the military, and nominating officials to federal positions—must therefore be evaluated in terms of this humanistic model. The president has a legal duty to protect the human rights of Americans and, as the figure who makes treaties and manages international affairs, a moral duty to use their relationships with foreign diplomats to encourage the protection of people's rights around the world.

Despite the enormous amount of literature on the presidency, little has been written about human rights as a particular measure of executive performance. Related works describe presidential involvement in the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, while others detail Jimmy Carter's policies or the fate of civil liberties in the aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001. But comparative studies of presidential performance seem to ignore human rights as central to "greatness," preferring instead to measure strategy, power expansion, and personality. In the revised edition of *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents*, Richard Neustadt wrote that an executive needs four main things for success: a historically relevant purpose, an understanding of power, the ability to withstand pressure, and a lasting legacy within policies and party (1991, 167). Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis echoed similar sentiments in their book, *Presidential Greatness* (2000). They defined presidential success as bringing about bold regime change, leaving behind a legacy, revolutionizing a political party, and bearing "a large share of responsibility for the public's civic education" (3–4). They selected five presidents (Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt) who "have already been deemed worthy of such enduring respect and reverence" by the American people and "hope to find some common thread" (2) among them. Clinton Rossiter claimed in his book *The American Presidency* (1956) that greatness is measured by activity and initiative during crises as well as a taste for using power, while Charles F. Faber and Richard B. Faber in their work *The American Presidents Ranked by Performance* (2000) returned to traditional measures of success: administrative accomplishments and personal qualities.

The criteria used by previous scholars are undoubtedly important considerations, but none address human rights as any kind of measure at all. This oversight could be compared to analyzing an employee's adherence to their job description without assessing their contribution to the company's underlying purpose, its *raison d'être*. If human rights protections are the core purpose of American government, as stated in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, it seems a president's human rights record should be the *primary* consideration when determining his or her success in office. But, mysteriously, this is not the case.

Numerous quantitative studies and polls on the topic have made the same error. The first landmark study to do so occurred in 1948 and was repeated in 1962, when Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr. distributed surveys to professional historians asking them to rank presidents according to their performance in office. The process was reproduced by his son Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. in 1996, and similar surveys of experts were conducted by Gary M. Maranell in 1968, David L. Porter in 1981, Steve Neal in 1982, Robert K. Murray and Tim H. Blessing in 1982, William J. Ridings Jr. and Stuart B. McIver in 1989, and the Siena Research Institute in 1982, 1990, 1994, 2002, and 2010. Some polls did not use specific criteria to measure performance and relied only on the overall opinion of historians and political scientists, while others used categories such as charisma, intelligence, decisiveness, and administrative achievements. Like the qualitative studies, the polls excluded human rights as a specific marker of success. The pattern in previous literature is a repetitive review of presidents' personal glories, political maneuverings, and attempts at increasing executive power. They have so far ignored the bedrock of modern democratic leadership—human rights.

One can only guess as to why human rights is not a standard measure of "greatness" or success in the history of the American presidency. Perhaps the concept

of human rights is considered naïve and too idealistic. If that is the reason, it is certainly not a valid one. Principles, though one may never meet them perfectly at all times, still serve as a moral North Star to keep one on course and are still legitimate even when violated. Or perhaps human rights is not on the scoreboard because it seems faddish, abstract or vague. That, too, is a weak argument. The United States is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which spells out in no less than 30 articles exactly what human rights entail, and the content of the document is as relevant now as it was in 1948. The point of this paper, then, is to make the case for adding human rights as a standard measure of presidential effectiveness, as a screen through which to filter the behavior of our presidents. The focus will be on the major activities of Harry Truman, who was president at the time of the American ratification of the UDHR.

New in the History of Nations

One of Harry Truman's most significant human rights successes was the implementation of the Marshall Plan. In the spring of 1945, the United States was working with other Allied forces to determine the next steps for Germany, which had not only twice disrupted all of Europe with its practice of traditional methods of conquering but also had organized and implemented an unprecedented system of human rights abuses. While Truman believed that the German military should be dismantled and its industry tightly controlled, he also believed, on the advice of Secretary of War Henry Stimson, that punishing Germans to the point of starvation and deprivation would do little but redirect them into a "non-democratic and necessarily predatory habit of life" (Truman 1955, 236–7). By the summer of 1947, under Joint Chief of Staff Directive 1779, American forces permitted German civilians a standard of living similar to the rest of Europe. Additionally, in June of that year, Secretary of State George Marshall said in a speech at Harvard that American foreign policy "is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist" (Marshall 1947, par. 7). Truman stated that he and Marshall "were in perfect agreement" and immediately made Marshall's plan part of his legislative agenda (Truman 1956, 113). Congress passed the European Recovery Act in the spring of 1948, and it continued as planned until 1952. As Truman explained in his memoir, *Years of Trial and Hope*:

> We set up the means to feed and clothe and take care of the physical needs of the people. We rehabilitated the conquered nations instead of attempting to keep them conquered and prostrate. We asked for no reparations. This was something new in the history of nations. The traditional practice had always been for the conqueror to strip the defeated countries and to make off with whatever spoils were available. Our idea has been to restore the conquered nations of Germany, Italy, and Japan to prosperity in the hope that they would understand the futility of aggression as a means of expansion and progress. We had to refute the historic claim that a nation must use aggression and military means to gain markets. . . . No neighbor of ours is afraid of us, and they like to do business with us because we accept their competition instead of demand their subjection. (1956, 238)

This humanistic, cooperative approach gained momentum when the United Nations conference met in San Francisco on April 25, 1945, as Franklin D. Roosevelt had planned before his death. Its Charter was officially ratified that October, and, in his first speech before Congress, Truman summarized the mission of the United Nations, stating, "While these great states have a special responsibility to enforce the peace, their responsibility is based upon the obligations resting upon all states, large and small, not to use force in international relations except in the defense of law. The responsibility of the great states is to serve and not to dominate the world" (Truman 1945, par. 42).

Truman's use of atom bombs in Japan may seem completely contradictory to his calls for global service and responsibility. Their detonation on civilian targets may seem like the worst violation of human rights possible. However, the war itself was perpetuating rights abuses in addition to draining precious resources for all countries involved. Truman was facing immense domestic pressure to end the fighting immediately, but that required even more destruction. If the president continued using traditional firepower on Japan, the fighting may have dragged on for many more months or even years, costing billions more in taxes and causing innumerable deaths on both sides. Russian troops were anticipated to have been advancing into Japan to assist Allied forces, but again, a traditional invasion would likely have extended the war. Indeed, there seemed to be no right answer, no conceivable way to humanely end the war, but, of all the options, *quickly* seemed the least cruel. And in order to end the war for good, Truman insisted on total and unconditional Japanese surrender but explained, "unconditional surrender does not mean extermination or enslavement of the Japanese people" (McCoy 1984, 22). After the bombing, Japan saw complete demilitarization but increased voting rights and other civil protections set down by occupying American forces; the restructuring of the Japanese economic and legal system paved the way for the island nation to adopt modern human rights practices.

In January 1949, Truman outlined humanitarian policies for the rest of the world as well. He created the Point IV program, which transported sanitation and food production technologies to "backward" areas that had long suffered under the "curse of colonialism," a travesty that Truman had "always hoped to see . . . disappear" (Truman 1956, 232). The plan received its name from the fourth of four legislative requests Truman had outlined in his inaugural address, and when asked by the press to explain his idea in January 1949, the president explained that he did not know the details yet but that he had spent much of his time "going over to that globe back there, trying to figure out ways to make peace in the world" (231). To sort out the details, that year he gathered officials to begin planning the program's proposal, which was approved by Congress in October 1950. Because the program focused on technological training to "any country that wanted it" (239), Truman touted Point IV as having "nothing in common with either the old imperialism of the last century or the new imperialism of the Communists" (234). By 1951, the program was underway in 33 countries, and it provided the inspiration to newly elected Senator John F. Kennedy, who would later use the program's concepts for his Peace Corps (McCoy 1984, 210).

Containment

Truman's containment policies were mostly out of line with human rights principles, with a few small exceptions. By 1946 the United States had already

developed a mistrust of Russia, which was intensified by American Ambassador to the Soviet Union George Kennan's now-famous "Long Telegram," sent to Truman that same year. The telegram described Russian authorities as understanding force better than logic and calling Communism "a malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue" (Kennan 1946, 19). Truman also increasingly believed that Communism was contrary to human rights, condemning it as "slavery" and "a false philosophy" that "purports to offer freedom, security, and greater opportunity to mankind. Misled by this philosophy, many peoples have sacrificed their liberties only to learn to their sorrow that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny, are their reward" (Truman 1949, par. 11). These beliefs formed the foundation of his war policy. In 1950, Truman approved National Security Council Report 68, which called for a militaristic containment of Communism. This report would serve as a manual for U.S. foreign relations until it was declassified in 1975.

In 1949, after trumping the Soviet blockade in Germany with the Berlin Airlift and sending economic assistance to Greece and Turkey to quell Communist rebellions there, the United States entered into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a military alliance with 11 other countries, to fortify their resistance to Communist aggression. When news broke that the relatively large North Korean army, backed by the Soviet Union and newly Communist China, had invaded United States-supported South Korea in 1950, the Soviet Union had already obtained and tested nuclear weapons of its own. Truman responded quickly, but, to calm fears of nuclear warfare, he told Americans "we are not at war" and privately stated "I do not want any implication . . . that we are going to war with Russia at this time" (Hess 2001, 27–8). He described the army-to-army battles in Korea as a "police action" and referred to the North Korean army, which was well over twice the size of the South Korean army, as "bandits" who were on a "raid" (27). Truman had been advised that Congressional approval was unnecessary because of the initially widespread public and bipartisan support for the war and so never requested such approval at all (31–6). Instead, the conflict seemed the perfect opportunity for the West to show a united front against Communism. Truman therefore relied on approval from the United Nations, so the conflict came to be viewed more as a United Nations war than an American one. This and other aspects of the conflict were murky and strange—was the United States really at war or not? What was the objective of the counter-offensive? What role was the United Nations supposed to be playing, exactly? And was the conflict causing a state of domestic emergency?

Unfortunately, murky areas are often where human rights are violated, where principles are fudged to achieve a different goal. When private steel mill strikes interfered with domestic prices and military equipment production, Truman ordered the mills to be seized. But unlike his abuse of war powers, the seizures were laid before the Supreme Court in the *Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company v. Sawyer* case and declared unconstitutional. Truman ordered that the mills be returned but threatened to use the Selective Service Act to draft the workers who continued to strike. This was a damaging move for a Democrat who had claimed to be pro-labor and not consistent with human rights ideals about fair labor practices.

Truman permitted other rights abuses on American soil as well. The constant rhetoric over containment created a ripe environment for politicians like Joseph McCarthy and Richard Nixon to use fear and suspicion to advance their own careers.

Truman had detested both men but did not publicly speak against them so as not to appear "soft" on Communism. Instead, he allowed Nixon, McCarthy, and others to perpetuate the hysteria, which led many innocent people to be ostracized, blacklisted, and fired from their jobs. In 1947, the president even signed Executive Order 9835, which created the Federal Employees Loyalty Program to investigate and fire hundreds of people for perceived Communist activity. This violated many employees' civil liberties and was clearly against human rights principles of protection from preemptive persecution and unwarranted searches. And while Truman did not allow the House Un-American Activities Committee to force loyalty oaths on its members, he only later condemned McCarthy as a sensationalist demagogue (Truman 1956, 284). In this case, he submitted to public frenzy instead of attempting to tame it, as the framers of the Constitution had recommended.

The Middle East

Unlike Truman's use of atom bombs, his recognition of Israel first appears to be a major human rights success, but, upon further inspection, the issue is similarly complex and controversial. In 1945, the British had reneged on their Balfour Declaration promise of granting entrance into Palestine to Jewish concentration camp survivors, so 100,000 Jews remained globally homeless, waiting in squalid refugee camps while most Western countries, including the United States, claimed to have reached their Jewish immigrant quotas. Truman, however, wrote in his first memoir, *Year of Decisions*, "It was my feeling that it would be possible for us to watch out for the long-range interests of our country while at the same time helping these unfortunate victims of persecution to find a home" (1955, 69).

The president began the diplomatic process by meeting and corresponding with the British many times in an attempt to work out an agreement for Palestine. An Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, composed of six British and six American scholars and statesmen, examined policies and conducted interviews in the United States, Great Britain, Egypt, Austria, and Palestine to fully investigate the issue. Their report recommended that Palestine become neither an Arab state nor a Jewish one but a neutral, internationally protected area, a safe haven for all peoples. They wrote, "We, therefore, emphatically declare that Palestine is a Holy Land, sacred to Christian, to Jew and to Moslem alike; and because it is a Holy Land, Palestine is not, and can never become, a land which any race or religion can justly claim as its very own" (Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry 1946, chap. 1). The Committee predicted that conflict would result if a non-neutral state was attempted, saying, "We have reached the conclusion that the hostility between Jews and Arabs and, in particular, the determination of each to achieve domination, if necessary by violence, make it almost certain that, now and for some time to come, any attempt to establish either an independent Palestinian State or independent Palestinian States would result in civil strife such as might threaten the peace of the world" (Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry 1946, chap. 1). Truman believed the report was "fair" (Beschloss 2007, 201) but noted that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were against a Jewish state because they "were primarily concerned about Middle East oil and in long-range terms about the danger that the Arabs, antagonized by Western action in Palestine, would make common cause with Russia" (Truman 1956, 149).

The issue had also been turned over to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, which recommended a partition plan of a half-Arab, half-Jewish Palestine, with Jerusalem as an international city. Jews had mixed feelings about this proposal while the Arabs completely opposed it. Truman "instructed the State Department to support the partition plan" believing that "a great industrial system could be set up under the Jews, and the productive potential of this region could be used to the mutual benefit of the Jews and Arabs" (1956, 155–56).

The president was also swarmed with public pleas to support a Jewish state; he received thousands of letters, telegrams, and phone calls from Zionist constituents and transnationals insisting that he was anti-Semitic for any considerations he gave to the Arabs. Truman had been notified that the Negev Desert in southern Palestine was especially important for nomadic Arab Bedouin tribes who had used the area for centuries for seasonal grazing and subsistence (Beschloss 2007, 214), so he initially resisted public pressures but eventually submitted to them. George Marshall accused the president of meddling with the Middle East merely to gain the Jewish American vote (198). On May 14, 1948, Britain pulled out of Palestine. The new country would be called Israel, and Truman gave it de facto recognition within minutes of the change. Later he would add de jure recognition.

Although Truman cannot be held entirely responsible for the decades of violent fallout from the establishment of a Jewish state (he had warned Israel that the United States would not give monetary or military support at that time), he planted a seed of relations with Israel against the recommendations of all his advisers and all the people who had investigated the situation in depth. He had been advised that a Jewish state would lead to further conflict and thus further human rights violations, but he dismissed this advice as well as alternative solutions to the problem. As the Committee pointed out, he could have supported a neutral (non-Arab, non-Jewish) state while pushing for higher immigration quotas in the United States. If Congress had refused, then Truman could have, as Eleanor Roosevelt suggested, negotiated to help settle them in "one of the Allied nations that won the war" (Beschloss 2007, 200). The Jewish people certainly deserved special protection from further abuses, but the formation and recognition of Israel was not the recommended alternative, and human rights abuses continue to plague the area. Despite decades of assistance from some of the world's richest countries, Israel is still under frequent attack by its Arab neighbors and is sometimes even the aggressor. The tragic irony is that in an attempt to resolve a particular human rights situation, Truman traded one set of rights violations for another.

Domestic Agenda

On the domestic front, Truman had more solid ideas for human rights-centric proposals but was unable to pass many of them through Congress. As a New Deal Democrat, the president made numerous legislative recommendations that promised all Americans a "Fair Deal." However, the Republican 80th Congress was simultaneously trying to disassemble Roosevelt's New Deal. Truman despised these Congress members, claiming that "The real threat of Communism in this country grows out of the submission of the Republican policies of the 80th Congress—policies which threaten to put an end to American prosperity" (Wallace 2004, 306). After the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill for national health care was rejected by Congress,

Truman proposed his own plan for a public health insurance option, which he stressed was nothing like "socialized medicine," a term "some people were bandying about" (Truman 1956, 19). He called the general sickness of the American population the "blot" and "disgrace for the greatest republic in the history of the world; first in everything but the basic responsibility of making healthful individuals" (18). In 1952, the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation reported that more money was spent on tombstones and monuments than on medical research in the United States each year, but these and other findings did not influence the 80th Congress as much as the intense lobbying by the American Medical Association. During this time, other Western countries like Great Britain and France were adopting national health care or similar insurance programs and even beginning to establish norms of health as a human rights issue and not a luxury while the United States remained under the thumb of medical lobbyists. Truman concluded, "Democracy thrives on debate and political differences. But I had no patience with the reactionary selfish people and politicians who fought year after year every proposal we made to improve the people's health. I have had some bitter disappointments as President, but the one that has troubled me most, in a personal way, has been the failure to defeat the organized opposition to a national compulsory health-insurance program. But this opposition has only delayed and cannot stop the adoption of an indispensable federal health-insurance plan" (Truman 1956, 23).

In fairness, some legislative failures were due to the Treasury's depletion by the Korean conflict, but Truman did have some success with other rights-related legislation, such as the Fair Labor Standards Act Amendment of 1949, which increased the minimum wage; the Housing Act of 1949; and the Social Security Act of 1950. Additionally, he was able to increase military capabilities while decreasing spending with the National Security Act of 1947, which also created the Air Force, CIA, and other departments (McCoy 1984, 116).

Truman's greatest contribution to human rights was his initiatives toward racial equality. A veteran himself, Truman had a deep respect for all Americans who had served in the armed forces (Gardner 2002, 21–2). He was particularly repulsed to discover that African American veterans of World War II, who had fought alongside whites in defeating the racism and human rights abuses of the Axis powers, were welcomed home with savage beatings and even lynchings by racist white mobs who almost always went unpunished. The discord between American principles and practices, then, became painfully obvious as the United States attempted to endorse justice and equality worldwide while millions of its own people were being, and had been for centuries, systematically oppressed, harassed, beaten, tortured, and terrorized.

Truman had first pledged to work for the end of racial violence when he ran as a senator in 1940, but at the end of World War II, with a long, complicated list of urgent domestic and international concerns, mainstream American society was hardly concerned with civil rights. In fact, 82 percent of Americans in a nationwide Gallup poll said they were against civil rights reform (Gardner 2002, 106). Despite a lack of support, on December 5, 1946, Truman issued Executive Order 9808, which created the first Presidential Civil Rights Committee to obtain a full factual picture of the state of racial affairs in the United States. Their report, submitted several months later, detailed the extensive inequalities and miserable treatment of blacks in all aspects of American

life. In response, Southern members of Congress threatened to withdraw support for Truman's international programs if he did not back down from civil rights. Truman refused. In a letter to a friend, the president wrote, "I can't approve of such goings on [segregation and racist violence] and I shall never approve of it, as long as I am here, as I told you before. I am going to try to remedy it and if that ends up in my failure to be reelected, that failure will be for a good cause" (131).

On June 20, 1947, Truman became the first sitting president to address the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In his speech, he explained, "We must make the Federal Government a friendly, vigilant defender of the rights and equalities of all Americans. And again I mean all Americans. . . . We cannot wait another decade or another generation to remedy these evils" (Truman 1947, par. 15). In his special address to Congress on February 2, 1948, Truman made numerous recommendations to enforce civil rights laws that already existed and to create new legislation for the creation of permanent civil rights committees and their extension into U.S. territories and possessions. On July 26, 1948, Truman signed Executive Orders 9980 and 9981, which desegregated the federal workplace and the military, respectively. Prior to Executive Order 9981, black troops were assigned to the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs in the military, most often cleaning and food service. After the orders went into effect, African Americans were granted access to higher positions. This allowed them some degree of economic advancement and stability, which then enabled a growing black middle class to be instrumental in the larger civil rights movements of the 1960s. Executive Order 9981 also created the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services to investigate the effects of the order. Additionally, Executive Orders 10210 and 10308 of 1951 prohibited military contractors and vendors from discriminating based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

By using his presidential power to enforce civil rights, Truman set up the American legal system to accept full protections of human rights. And unlike his successors Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy, Truman did not wait for public pressure to do so. NAACP administrator Roy Wilkins wrote to Truman:

> We have had in the White House great men—great diplomats, great politicians, great scholars, great humanitarians, great administrators. Some of these have recognized inequality as undesirable, as being at variance with the democratic principles of our country; but none has had the courage, either personal or political, to speak out or act in the Truman manner . . . As you leave the White House you carry with you the gratitude and affectionate regard of millions of your Negro fellow citizens who in less than a decade of your leadership, inspiration and determination, have seen the old order change right before their eyes. (Gardner 2002, 223)

The National Association of Human Rights Workers agreed. For Truman's civil rights work, in 1972 they granted him an award with the inscription, "In tribute to President Harry S. Truman who turned the nation's conscience to the task of making equality a reality. Nothing he did aroused more controversy or did him greater honor" (228). Retired Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark, who accepted the award in Truman's place (the president was in ill health and near the end of his life at that time), said the Human Rights Association "regarded Harry Truman as the greatest president since Abraham Lincoln that this country has ever had" (228).

The TNT that Truman had implanted into the folds of segregation was indeed exciting, but he also had some significant missteps in regards to human rights. Previous scholarly assessments have often rated Truman near the top 10 "greatest" presidents because of his decisiveness and his "glories" with political maneuverings like the Berlin Airlift. But if he were to be judged on his human rights record alone, he would still do fairly well because of his implementation of the Marshall Plan, his Civil Rights initiatives, his health care proposals, and his Point IV program. If one were to systematically apply the human rights filter to all previous presidents, many of them would have similarly mixed records, others would emerge as surprise winners, and others may slip a notch or two in their rankings. We already know that Franklin Roosevelt's record was sullied by his internment of Japanese Americans, that Woodrow Wilson's international peace efforts were blotted by his promotion of segregationist policies within the federal government, that Washington and Jefferson were slave owners until their deaths, and that Jackson was responsible for the forced dislocation of thousands of Native Americans. But if we were to judge our heroes in a more detailed way using the human rights measurement, other deeds toward humanity, both appalling and admirable, would likely emerge in importance and push traditionally valued traits like "charisma" into the shadows. If the rights category were to become popular in polls and surveys, it could possibly influence future presidents (who are no doubt conscious of how they will be recorded in history books) to consider human rights as a distinct and common section of their policy agenda. In the opposite case, continued neglect of a human rights meaurement both by academics and the general public is not only a deep insult to our humanity but also runs the risk of discarding the fundamental principles that have made the United States *truly* glorious and great.

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The Benefits and Limitations of Pet Therapy for People with Dementia

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Abstract

Evidence of a human-animal bond goes back to the origins of man. More recently, therapy that utilizes animals has been implemented in long-term care facilities to aid in the well-being of people with dementia. Pet therapy, or animal-assisted therapy, increases engagement with the environment, decreases agitation and depression, and promotes social interaction. Advances in technology have led to alternatives to using live animals. For example, both robotics and video technology have shown promising results. However, several factors limit the ability to evaluate animal-assisted therapy including a lack of controlled studies, the impact of clients' previous relationships with animals, and the use of by-proxy measures. Addressing these factors allows for a clearer picture of the benefits of animal-assisted therapy for people with dementia.

Novelist George Eliot once said, "Animals are such agreeable friends—they ask no questions, they pass no criticisms" (The Quotations Page). The nonjudgmental manner of animals makes them the ideal therapists for people in need of a companion, especially those with physical and mental disabilities. According to the American Veterinary Medical Association, 60 percent of households in the United States have at least one pet (ASPCA 2010). This statistic—along with studies on the human-animal bond—shows that pets are often an important part of a family. In particular, animals can provide a source of social support. This conclusion is supported by the number of Americans who "talk to their pet as they would a person, or consider their pet a confidant" (Beck and Katcher 2003). For older adults facing memory loss, animals supply unconditional love and companionship.

More than five million people in the United States are currently living with Alzheimer's disease, and this figure is projected to increase dramatically in the coming years (Alzheimer's Association 2010). Alzheimer's is a specific type of dementia, which is a general term for the progressive loss of cognitive ability. While there are

many forms of dementia, Alzheimer's is the most common. There is no cure for this disease, so various types of therapy are employed to improve individuals' quality of life. Some of the behavioral symptoms of Alzheimer's include depression, apathy, irritability, anxiety, restlessness, and difficulty engaging in social activities (Motomura, Yagi, and Ohyama 2004). One form of treatment that addresses many of these symptoms is animal-assisted therapy (AAT).

When used with people who have been diagnosed with dementia, AAT takes advantage of the human-animal bond to decrease behavioral and emotional problems and to increase social engagement and communication. People with Alzheimer's may experience difficulty finding the right words or forget what they wanted to say. Increased communication, both verbal and nonverbal, is an important benefit of AAT because it allows people with dementia to express their emotions and ideas and to relate to others. The ability to communicate can decrease the isolation and depression felt by those who have been diagnosed with dementia.

Many people assume that interacting with animals is advantageous, but what does the research indicate, especially with regard to people with dementia? There has been little empirical data to demonstrate who benefits the most from AAT and under what conditions these benefits can be maximized. In addition, the quality of current research needs to be examined, along with questions that have not yet been addressed. It is important to explore these questions in order to understand whether or not AAT is effective for people with dementia.

A Brief History of AAT

American child psychiatrist Boris Levinson is considered the father of pet-facilitated therapy. In the 1960s, he began to use dogs in his sessions with children suffering from emotional or psychological disorders. He found that when a dog was present, the child's communication increased and he or she was more likely to open up about his or her feelings (Knight and Edwards 2008). Levinson was not the first to use animals as therapists, but he generated interest in the human-animal bond and paved the way for research to be conducted on the possible benefits of AAT, not just for children, but also for the terminally or chronically ill, the elderly, and the depressed.

AAT became widespread in the 1960s and 1970s when the use of complementary and alternative medicine gained popularity in the United States. People wanted to explore different forms of therapy like music or art instead of relying solely on a biomedical approach to treatment.

However, despite its increased use in hospitals and nursing homes around the world, AAT has never been well-regulated. It has always relied on volunteers who are willing to take the time to train their animals and themselves to become practitioners of this form of therapy. There is no governing body that controls the certification of animal-assisted therapists or determines the criteria for training people and their pets to work with vulnerable groups. While AAT has come a long way in achieving its status as a respectable form of treatment for various populations, there is still the question of whether the training of animal handlers and their pets is rigorous and effective.

Training Guidelines and Procedures

To become an animal-assisted therapist, an animal and owner undergo some sort of training to be able to visit people in a health care setting. Various training programs

are available. For example, the Delta Society is a non-profit organization whose mission is to "help lead the world in advancing human health and well-being through positive interactions with animals" (Delta Society 2009). Through their Pet Partners® Program, people can train to visit a variety of facilities such as hospitals, nursing homes, schools, and rehabilitation centers. This program is the only national registry that requires training and screening of animals and their handlers.

Training is provided either through hands-on workshops with licensed instructors or through a home study course. Then the volunteer and his or her pet are evaluated by licensed professionals from Delta Society. For example, the visiting animal must pass a health screening and behavioral tests that show competence in interacting with vulnerable populations. Not every pet has the proper temperament to be around people whose behavior might be unpredictable, as can occur in people with dementia. When people complete the Pet Partners® Program, they are registered as having met the minimum requirements of the Delta Society, but they are not certified.

There are other programs like the Delta Society Pet Partners® Program. Many communities offer obedience classes for dogs, and there are various ways to become registered or certified in AAT. Unfortunately, there is no national organization that oversees the training of animals and their owners. This can make it difficult for someone interested in AAT to find the information they need. A standardized curriculum and evaluation would ensure that every owner and pet that visits a facility had met the minimum requirements to be certified by a central organization.

The Benefits of AAT for People with Dementia
Increased Communication and Social Interaction

One of the benefits most commonly seen with AAT is an increase in social behavior including increased verbal and nonverbal communication. Nancy E. Richeson (2003) conducted a study with 15 nursing home residents who had been diagnosed with dementia. She found that after daily AAT sessions over a period of three weeks participants showed a statistically significant increase in their levels of social interaction between the first week and the last week of the intervention. To determine whether social interaction increased after a therapy session, Richeson used a flow sheet that rated nine items, some of which included "looked at dog," "spoke to dog," "reminisced about own dog," "spoke to handler," and "remembered handler's name."

Richeson added that during the experiment the nursing staff would "engage the participants in conversation regarding the dogs that were about to visit" (2003, 357). It seems that the dogs created a common thread that connected the residents to the staff and gave them something positive to communicate and reminisce about together.

The residents were not just interacting with the dog, but also with the handler, other residents, and staff members. This brings up the question of whether the AAT itself increased the social behavior of the residents or whether it was confounded by the staff's positive reactions to the therapy. Richeson stated that "the intervention seemed to create an atmosphere of excitement and camaraderie for everyone involved" (2003, 357). Perhaps the residents were simply picking up on the anticipation that the caregivers felt when a dog was brought into the facility, and this led them to increase their social behaviors.

In Holly A. Draeger Chronis's study of the effects of pet therapy on social interactions and communication among residents of a long-term care facility, she found

that 100 percent of participants talked either to the dog, the handler, or a staff member if one was present. Data were gathered via a questionnaire read to participants called Client Pet Therapy Research Tool. The questionnaire included yes or no items such as "I reach out to touch people and/or animals" and open-ended questions like "When the animal is here, how do you feel?" A Pet Therapy Direct Observation Research Tool was also utilized by the researcher, who observed the participant during the session and marked any incidences of verbal and nonverbal communication, such as talking, smiling, touching, looking, laughing, and leaning (Chronis 1997).

After the data were collected, each participant response from the questionnaire was coded as either positive (for example, "I love dogs" and "happy") or negative ("I don't like them" or "no different"). More than 85 percent of the responses were positive. The researcher also noted the percentage of participants who engaged in each of the social behaviors described in the direct observation portion of the study. For example, it was found that smiling was observed 92 percent of the time and looking at the dog occurred 83 percent of the time (Chronis 2007, 46–47). Overall, these results show a positive correlation between pet therapy and elderly social interaction.

However, there is the possibility that the interpretations of the data were biased, especially since observations of clients' behaviors were made by the researchers. For example, while it is easy to observe a smile, it is more difficult to figure out the motivation behind the person's expression and whether or not it has any connection with the therapy dog. This particular study was descriptive instead of experimental, so it cannot give a definitive answer about the effects of AAT on elderly residents. It also did not include people with dementia, which likely would have affected the verbal communication aspect of the study.

The results of these studies suggest that AAT can increase communication and social behavior in people who have been diagnosed with dementia. Social interactions are not only directed toward the animal, but also toward the handler and staff members. While these findings seem promising, it is unclear whether it is the presence of the animal itself that causes the increase in social behavior or whether it is confounded by the presence of the animal's handler and the reactions of the caregivers toward the animal. Further studies should address this issue by controlling for outside factors.

Decreased Agitation

In addition to its effect on communication and social interactions, AAT has also been shown to reduce agitation levels in patients with dementia. Mara M. Baun and Barbara W. McCabe (2003) found that the presence of a therapy dog decreased agitation in people with Alzheimer's who resided in a special care unit. They also found that these effects were most prominent during the late afternoon/early evening, a time that is associated with sundown syndrome, which refers to an increase in confusion and agitation that occurs at this specific time of day. It is possible that the dog had a calming or stress-relieving effect on the patients, which decreased the likelihood that they would exhibit agitated behaviors such as screaming or biting.

Richeson (2003) also studied the effects of AAT on agitation in nursing home residents who had been diagnosed with dementia. The participants in her study were selected based on several criteria including having at least three documented agitated behaviors in the previous two months and needing an intervention for agitation. Results

showed a statistically significant decrease in agitated behavior immediately after the intervention and an increase in these behaviors during the follow-up phase. These results indicate that, while the therapy was effective in the dog's presence, it did not have long-lasting effects on agitation levels. In this study, the therapy sessions were conducted over a nine-week period, but Richeson concluded that "it is not known what is needed to maintain levels of functioning reached after the initial intervention phase" (2003, 357). Few studies have addressed the issue of how often AAT should be implemented (for example, daily versus weekly) and for how long of a period.

Decreased Stress

While increased social behavior and decreased agitation seem to be the most commonly studied benefits of AAT, other effects have also been evaluated. For example, researchers have looked at the link between pet therapy and stress levels. Mary M. DeSchriver and Carol Cutler Riddick (1990) examined the effect of watching an aquarium on the stress levels of people in a publicly subsidized housing unit for the elderly. In the study, participants watched either a fish aquarium or a fish videotape. Their stress levels were measured before and after the intervention using pulse rate, skin temperature, and muscle tension. Elevated pulse rates, decreased temperature, and high muscle tension are signs of stress, so researchers monitored changes in these three areas. While there were no significant results based on these physiological measures of stress, self-reports by the participants indicated that they found the activity to be enjoyable and relaxing.

DeSchriver and Riddick (1990) also suggested that if a live aquarium is used in a long-term care facility, the residents will benefit more if they are able to make decisions about tank decorations or the types of fish in the tank. In their study, the researchers found that each of the residents who observed the live aquarium took a special interest in one or two fish, and often named these fish. This bond increased the likelihood that the resident would talk about his or her favorite fish with other residents and staff.

Decreased Depression

Few studies have examined the relationship between AAT and depression, but there is evidence that attachment to a pet has a positive effect on depressive symptoms. Thomas F. Garrity, Lorann Stallones, Martin B. Marx, and Timothy P. Johnson found that pet attachment in elderly adults was linked to lower levels of depression under certain circumstances. Bereaved elderly who did not have any confidants were less likely to experience depression if they owned a pet. Also, when an elderly person has a low level of social support, a strong pet attachment is associated with less reported illness. Pet ownership and attachment do not seem to have an effect on depression when an elderly person has three or more confidants (Garrity et al. 1989). These findings suggest that in the absence of social support, pets can serve as substitutes for human confidants.

This line of research is useful for AAT because it shows that a lack of human connection can make people vulnerable to depression and illness. Sarah Knight and Victoria Edwards found evidence that "stroking, petting, or being in the presence of an animal can reduce physiological and psychological reactions to stressful situations" (2008, 439). Using AAT to enhance the social interactions of residents—especially

those with few confidants and those who have recently lost a loved one—can be beneficial in combating negative psychological affect.

Alternatives to Using a Live Animal

Sometimes it is not practical to use a live animal for therapy. If residents have allergies to pet dander, it is unwise to expose them to animals such as dogs and cats. In this case, a fish aquarium might be a good substitute because fish should not aggravate any allergies. However, it can be difficult to interact with fish because they do not provide the same tactile stimulation as other animals. For this reason, it might be more beneficial to utilize other options for AAT including robotic animals and stuffed animals.

Another benefit of using an alternative to the live animal model is that substitutes do not require a trained handler to be present during the therapy. When a live animal is involved, there is always a chance that a resident or the animal itself might be injured or otherwise negatively affected. With a live animal substitute, there is little concern of injury or psychological distress. Several studies have explored the efficacy of using alternatives to live animals, and the findings have generally been positive. This indicates that in cases where it is not feasible to bring a live animal to a facility, a substitute can be used to similar effect.

One of the most recent alternatives is the robotic dog AIBO that was first developed by Sony in 1999. Stephen C. Kramer, Erica Friedmann, and Penny L. Bernstein (2009) conducted a study that compared the effects of traditional AAT with AIBO-assisted therapy for people with dementia living in a long-term care facility. AIBO is able to look around, turn, dance, and wave its front legs. It also plays music and has colored lights that flash on its back and head.

It was found that the residents initiated more conversation when the AIBO was present than when the live dog was present. Most of the conversation was either directed at the AIBO itself or at the person who brought the AIBO to the room. When the residents talked to the AIBO handler, most of their questions were about the AIBO, indicating that their attention was focused on the robotic dog.

The researchers also looked at the number of times residents touched the social object (either the live dog or the AIBO) and did not find a significant difference between the two stimuli. This finding is particularly interesting because the AIBO has a plastic covering—a sharp contrast to the soft fur of a live dog. However, it seems that residents were just as willing to touch the AIBO as they were to touch the live animal. Kramer and his colleagues concluded that "interaction between residents suffering from dementia and an AIBO were not only similar to those with a live dog, but, in some cases, were even more effective" (Kramer, Friedmann, and Bernstein 2009, 56). However, it could be that the novelty of the AIBO had an effect on the results of the study. None of the participants had come in contact with an AIBO before the intervention, while all of them had had at least some exposure to live dogs. It could be that participants spent more time engaging with the AIBO because it was different from what they had previously experienced. It would be interesting to do a long-term study with the AIBO to determine if the positive effects balance out over time as residents become used to the robot.

Another study that explored live animal alternatives used both a plush, non-robotic cat and a robotic cat to determine whether an artificial animal could provide benefits

similar to that of a live animal. Alexander Libin and Jiska Cohen-Mansfield used the robotic cat NeCoRo, made by the Omron Corporation in Japan. The plush cat was chosen because it looked similar to the NeCoRo. The robotic cat is covered in synthetic fur and can "adjust to the level of interactivity maintained by its human partner" (Libin and Cohen-Mansfield 2004, 112). Unlike the AIBO, it does not play music or light up.

The researchers measured agitation, affect, and engagement before and after the intervention. They found that the non-robotic cat lowered the level of physical agitation more significantly than the robotic cat did. Affect had the opposite outcome, with the robotic cat yielding more significant results. Levels of engagement did not seem to differ from pre-test to post-test, but it was noted that 78 percent of the participants held the non-robotic cat, while only 22 percent held the NeCoRo cat (Libin and Cohen-Mansfield 2004, 113).

The overall conclusion of the study was that artificial animals can provide benefits comparable to those of live animals. However, this was only a preliminary study, and, while the robotic and non-robotic cats seemed to have positive outcomes for agitation and affect, they did not appear to affect communication and environmental engagement as well as traditional pet therapy. Robotic animals cannot discern nonverbal cues as well as live animals, which could explain why residents do not engage with these artificial creatures as much as they do with a real animal.

There are other substitutes for traditional AAT besides robots and stuffed toys. Marcia S. Marx and her colleagues (2010) examined the impacts of different dog-related stimuli on the engagement of people with dementia. Researchers used large, medium, and small live dogs, a robotic dog, a plush dog, a puppy video, and a dog-coloring activity. Results showed that, on average, participants engaged with the puppy video longer than any of the other stimuli. The lowest engagement was with the dog-coloring activity. The highest number of responses by residents occurred in the presence of the live dogs, and the fewest responses occurred in the plush dog and coloring groups.

The researchers also found that the participants had predominantly positive attitudes toward all of the stimuli except the coloring activity. This suggests that while live animals produce more communication than the alternatives, residents were still interested in the robotic, plush, and video dogs and that recorded material can engage people with dementia.

However, it was noted that real dogs are "more adept at reading subtle body language and responding appropriately . . . and show genuine affection and pleasure during interactions" (Marx et al. 2010, 44). Despite improvements in technology, robotic animals are still not able to provide the type of unconditional positive regard that live animals can. For example, while an AIBO can be programmed to make certain responses, it is not as adaptable as an actual dog. It cannot reciprocate the fondness that a person with dementia feels or offer the same spiritual connection that a living, breathing creature can. Non-robotic, plush animals and videos might engage a person with dementia, but they do not offer much in the way of interaction and communication. Despite these drawbacks, in cases where it is not feasible to bring a live animal into a facility, substitutes are at least an alternative that can provide some benefit.

Limitations of AAT Studies
Lack of Controlled Studies

Many of the studies on the benefits of AAT have been observational or correlational, meaning that they cannot provide cause-and-effect data. Of the experimental studies that have been conducted, few have included a control group. Those that do utilize a separate control group tend to overlook certain important factors including the use of behavior-modifying medication, which is commonly used in the dementia population (Perkins et al. 2008). Medication can have an effect on mood and overall functioning, which could impact the way participants in these studies react to the therapy.

Another factor that is often not controlled for in AAT studies is the severity of participants' dementia. A person's level of cognitive functioning could have a significant impact on the results of an AAT session. The type of connection with the therapy animal might need to be adjusted based on the progression of a person's symptoms. Without controlling for this aspect, it can be difficult to get a clear picture of the benefits that animals bring to residents living with dementia. More research involving this component will bring us closer to understanding how the severity of dementia affects a person's interaction with animals.

An additional limitation is how the results of the study are measured. Often, a person with dementia cannot directly communicate whether a pet therapy session was beneficial to him or her. There have not been self-report instruments designed to allow people with dementia to report on their own feelings about animal contact (Perkins et al. 2008). This means that proxy measures are commonly used to gauge whether a resident had any tangible improvements because of AAT. Caregivers and family members might be asked to report any changes in a person's behavior or affect that could be a result of the intervention. This method of measurement is prone to bias because simply being exposed to the therapy animal might influence caregivers to project their feelings about the pet on the person receiving the therapy.

More objective forms of measurement should be used to determine the outcome of a study. For example, the Apathy and Irritability Scale can be used to assess changes in levels of agitation, and the Social Behavior Observation Checklist can be used to examine social behaviors during a session (Perkins et al. 2008).

Previous Experience with Animals

It is likely that a person's previous engagement with animals affects their reaction to AAT. Researchers often recruit participants based on past relationships with animals and may exclude those who dislike or fear the animal to be used in the study. This method of selecting participants leads to biased results because it does not control for this important aspect of a person's experience.

Susan Filan and Robert H. Llewellyn-Jones examined the literature on AAT for dementia and concluded that "most visiting pet-study participants have a prior history of positive interaction with animals and their results are restricted to such individuals" (2006, 606). It is important to determine under what circumstances and for which patients AAT is the most beneficial form of therapy and how it compares to other forms of therapy for elderly people (Beck and Katcher, 2003). To accomplish this, more controlled studies need to be conducted that include a wider diversity of residents with

dementia and that examine aspects of the environment and the participant's past that may affect results.

Duration of Program

Studies on the benefits of AAT have used various approaches to implement the therapy. They differ in the length of each session (generally ranging from 10 minutes to several hours) and the duration of the program (often between 1 and 12 weeks). There is no consensus on how long an AAT program should last for a person to achieve optimal benefits. More sessions may not necessarily equal better results, as participants may become used to interacting with the animal and no longer respond as positively as they did in the first few sessions.

Another concern has to do with the duration of the impact of AAT. Richeson (2003) measured participants' behavior two weeks post-intervention and found that behavior had returned to baseline levels, suggesting that the positive effects of the therapy were not long-lasting. Few other studies have followed up on participants after the AAT sessions ended. This leaves us with a limited understanding of the stability of improvements in behavior and affect due to AAT.

Conclusion

A variety of studies suggest that AAT can be beneficial for people with dementia living in long-term care facilities. Increases in social behavior and communication and decreases in stress, agitation, and depression have all been observed during AAT sessions. AAT can provide people with dementia the chance to positively interact with another living creature. This can be especially beneficial for those who have a history of previous engagement with animals.

However, there are many problems with the way that AAT is currently implemented and evaluated. Training programs for animal handlers are not standardized; there is no national or international organization setting core requirements for obtaining certification in AAT. People who bring their animals to long-term care facilities do so on a volunteer basis, so it can be difficult to establish a consistent AAT schedule. A lack of controlled studies and little understanding about the conditions in which people with dementia would most benefit from AAT have led to criticism that pet therapy is not a good alternative to more established forms of therapy such as occupational or music therapy.

It is difficult to weigh the benefits of AAT against the limitations without further study on various aspects of this relatively new form of intervention. Further research should focus on determining the characteristics of people who benefit the most from AAT and the best way to implement sessions in long-term care facilities. Better statistical methods for measuring changes in participants' behavior and affect coupled with the use of control groups will improve the reliability and validity of future studies.

Finally, it is necessary to review the programs that offer training and certification in AAT to ensure that they are upholding ethical standards and providing volunteers with enough practice in working with vulnerable populations. Having one organization that oversees all these programs would be a big step toward standardizing curriculum and implementation of AAT. There is a special bond between humans and animals; AAT is a way to utilize that bond to enrich the lives of people with dementia.

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